ABOUT THE EDITOR

Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, PhD, an Italian born in 1947 in Scotland and raised in Ireland, is a graduate in German from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). He took his doctorate from ONE Institute Graduate School of Homophile Studies in Los Angeles in 1986 and is now an independent scholar. He became a U.S. citizen and changed his surname from Lombardi to Lombardi-Nash in 1990. Dr. Lombardi-Nash lives in Jacksonville, Florida, with his partner, Paul Nash.

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs:
Urning Pride and the First Known Gay Activist

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Cover illustration: "Ulrichs in Munich" by Frederick Bennett Green, 1978.
To

Paul J. Nash

Thanks for the nearly 40 years together.
Preface to Research on the Riddle of Man-Manly Love

by Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1898)

Magnus Hirschfeld

KEYWORDS. Homosexuality, Germany, history, 19th century

One of the first projects of the newly organized (1896) Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, formed by sexologist Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld (1868-1934), publisher Max Spohr and others was a reprint of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs' 12 volumes on homosexuality. The source of the translation is Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, Forschungen über das Rätsel der mannmännlichen Liebe; rpt. 1898 ed. by Magnus Hirschfeld (Berlin: Max Spohr); facsimile rpt. ed. by Jonathan Katz (New York: Arno Press), 1975, pp. 7-14. The reprint is a special issue dated 1925 of the original 1898 edition published by Max Spohr.

PREFACE TO RESEARCH ON THE RIDDLE OF

MAN-MANLY LOVE
In fond memory of the one hundredth anniversary of the birthday of Carl Heinrich Ulrichs, the great, unselfish pioneer who fought for the freedom of same-sex lovers from legal prosecution and social despise, the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee in Berlin has, on the 28th of August 1925 published this omnibus volume of his books and research on the riddle of man-manly love, in a unique edition of 25 and 5 copies. These have been issued to only 5 stockholders and 25 registered members of the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee. Each volume is numbered and autographed by the editor.

The number of this copy is 18

(Signed) Magnus Hirschfeld

PREFACE

SPOHR PUBLICATIONS has provided a hard-earned, decisive service by producing, and not without difficulty, a new edition of Ulrichs' works. However, these writings are
out of print yet so much in demand that individual copies of the latter in a bookstore would cost fifty times the amount of their original price. With the growing interest not only of doctors and jurists but also of wide circles of the population in the area in question, and with the augmentation of homosexual literature, the desire is understandably increasing to become acquainted with the original works, because this research is captivating and stimulating. Did not von Krafft-Ebing, the author of the classic *Psychopathia sexualis*, write to Ulrichs himself: "Graz, 29th of January 1879. Studying your writings on man-manly love has interested me to a great extent...because you...publicly spoke out these facts for the first time. From that day, when you sent me your writings I believe that was in 1866 I turned my attention to this phenomenon which was for me just as puzzling as it was interesting; it was solely through the knowledge of your writings which motivated me to take up studies in this highly important area and to write my experiences in the article in the *Archives for Psychiatry*, which is known to you."

Today, if we were to sample through Ulrichs' entire life's work, with what true admiration we would recognize his exceptional diligence and the totality with which the author comprehended his subject, not only from the judicial, but also from the scientific-medical, theological and philosophical standpoints. Since the first appearance of Ulrichs, much has been researched and written in this scientific area, except that new viewpoints have hardly been added, and many authors who did not have these works at their disposal have discovered to their amazement how concepts found here are not only interpreted but also perfected, ones which they had once looked upon as thoroughly new. This is also valid namely for the biological-embryological interpretation of contrary
sexual feelings. ix

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, born in 1826 (sic), was descended from a highly respected Hanoverian jurist and official class family to which also a few clerics belonged. x A close relative of his was a Hanoverian minister for a short time. After he had already manifested unusual versatility as a high school student, and was awarded the academic prize in Göttingen for his writing On the Right of Assembly, xi at the age of 22 Ulrichs received the golden medallion for his work On the Peace of Westphalia xii by the law faculty at Berlin.

Of his own free will, however, he ended his job as a civil servant and as an official assessor and lived in the small town of Burgdorf to follow his academic inclinations, unpretentiously and unmolested. Paragraph 175 xiii did not exist then in Hanover. Equally important as a jurist and a philologist, he completely mastered the classical languages and published excellent translations of the Roman classics. Later he published several of his own Latin poems, for example, Lyric Poems on the Death of Ludwig II of Bavaria. xiv

In 1864 the first two volumes of The Riddle of Man-Manly Love, "Vindex" and "Inclusa," appeared one after the other. The content of the former leans more toward the legal, the latter the scientific. A bitter struggle with his family preceded the publication of these books. They energetically advised him not to publish his views. Many years before their publication, he confided in his relatives because of his strong yearning to search for the truth. The letters to his kinsfolk, which are in our possession, they will be printed in the first annual for homosexual research xv they will have an emotional impact because of their frankness, clarity, solidity and insight. xvi
For the sake of his kinsfolk he kept silent about his name, which was against his nature. In the first five books he called himself Numa Numantius; only in 1868, upon the publication of his best book, "Memnon," did he allow the veil of his pseudonymity to fall.

"Vindex," "Inclusa" and later "Gladius furens" and "Memnon" were confiscated by the police in different [German] states then later released. At the trials which took place for this, a true flood of moral indignation and poisonous scorn was aimed at Ulrichs. Because he was so far ahead of his times and was so involved in his raison d'être, he was believed to have lost presence of mind.

Since there was no anti-Uranian law to fight against in Hanover, his original fight was only against social prejudice. However, when the events of 1866 occurred, the entire question for Ulrichs had only one interpretation: Hanover had no Paragraph 175 and Prussia did have Paragraph 175. He became an enraged Guelph and an enemy of Prussia, held fiery speeches as a Guelph agitator and for some time played a political role. He was booked by the Prussian-German side, arrested and sentenced to one year imprisonment in Minden. At that time the newspapers reported that the police had seized his papers, but instead of finding political material as the police had hoped, they discovered an extensive Uranian correspondence which included the most respected circles.

A short time after his release, Ulrichs took a step which filled him with special pride in spite of the heavy pressure they applied to him. On August 29, 1867, at the jurist convention in Munich, in front of more than 500 jurists, accompanied by representatives of the Bavarian royal court and parliament, he "stepped up before the
forum with his heart beating in his breast" to publicly protest that the proposal drawn up by him and Tewes, xxv a professor of jurisprudence and a PhD at the University of Graz (Austria), had been suppressed. The proposal demanded that "congenital love for persons of the male sex be punished only under the same conditions under which love for the female sex is punished."

It is worthwhile to linger a few moments on this interesting episode, which was so extremely decisive for Ulrichs .... (the episode is translated in this book, below as "From Raging Sword"). "Yes, I am proud," Ulrichs wrote in "Raging Sword," the book in which he turns to the jurists of Germany in relation to this event in Munich, "I am proud that I found the courage to strike the first blow to the hydra of public contempt."

To avoid the anti-Uranian laws, Ulrichs meanwhile moved from Hanover to Württemberg. xxvi He spent his time there writing and breeding exotic butterflies. At the end of the 1870s he went to Naples. xxvii He lived a vegetarian's life there in extreme simplicity, always pursuing his goal by writing and corresponding. He spent his last years in Aquila in the Abruzzi Mountains, xxviii where he lived modestly and in peace. A generous friend took care of him, of his burial and of providing a memorial. xxix "He was a martyr to his convictions, a man who had not a bad streak in his body" was a statement made about him by a famous writer who was his friend. xxx

After a time, the victory over conviction and the great optimism which Ulrichs had taken up the fight made way to greater distress the more he was convinced how difficult it was to wipe such rooted prejudices from the face of the earth. Most distressing to him was a committee of the Austrian House of Representatives' reintroducing the anti-Uranian law. As Paragraph 273, it had been taken off the books by the governmental
project of Minister of Justice von Komor but was unanimously readopted likewise as the fateful regulation, Paragraph 175 of the new German penal law code book, in spite of the opposing opinion of the royal Prussian scientific deputation for the Minister of Medicine in Berlin on March 24, 1869.

How would this noble, very misinterpreted man have rejoiced had he been able to see to what extent homosexual research and literature has blossomed in recent years, given that he had closed his main work with these words, "In a desolate desert my voice resounds, like Memnon's columns against the dusk." How he would have been fulfilled with well-earned satisfaction if he had witnessed the great number of the most important people in his country demanding the abolition of the anti-Uranian law, in a petition in the German House of Representatives. He was German through and through, resting now from his laborious battles in the distant town in the Abruzzi.

Thirty years have passed since that assembly of jurists found itself unable to touch the delicate theme, when now representatives in the House and in government enter into consultation on the same subject. Just as was to be expected by the relative novelty of the subject, forehand with a negative bias. Still, the prejudice of the people's representatives can be many times greater than their basic knowledge. In this matter, personal feelings should be put aside and only objective and scientific research be considered.

Only when posterity has registered and totaled the number of Uranian persecutions in that sad chapter listing the persecutions of all other persons of a different faith and of a different race and that this shall take place beyond all doubt is a sublime thought then will the name of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs remain unforgotten; remembered as the first and most noble of those who, in this search for truth and neighborly love,
helped persons to gain their rights by his striving hard with vigor and courage.

Charlottenburg, in the month of July 1898.

Dr. M. Hirschfeld.

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i In older German, the letters "c" and "k" were occasionally interchanged; Karl Heinrich Ulrichs was born on August 28, 1825.

ii The Wissenschaftlich-humanitäre Komitee, a legally registered organization, was instituted by Hirschfeld and was its first chairperson; he directed until the 1920's.


iv Spohr Publications was then the largest gay publishing house in Germany. Max Spohr (1850-1905) was the unofficial secretary to the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee.

v Dr. Richard von Krafft-Ebing's (1840-1902) book (Stuttgart, 1887), was considered the definitive compilation of sex research even well into the twentieth century.

vi Graz, city located 100 miles southwest of Vienna, Austria.

vii The *Archiv für Psychiatrie* was a journal edited by Karl Westphal in Berlin (1869).

viii Besides his 12 (or 13!) gay/anthropological studies, Ulrichs penned an anthology of short stories, wrote correspondence, student songs, epigrams and translated classical writers. In Latin he published a news-sheet and two dissertations, among other poetry and prose.

ix "Conträre Sexualempfindung," the term for homosexual devised by Karl Westphal in 1869, was applied by early sexologists Krafft-Ebing and Albert Moll in their articles treating homosexual culture.
Ulrichs' father was an architect, and his grandfather was a superintendent, a type of bishop, in the evangelical (protestant) church.


The anti-gay law instituted in 1871 by the government of the Second Empire.


Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen, the annual journal for sexual intermediaries was published from 1899 until 1923 under Hirschfeld's editorship. His motto was "from scientific knowledge to justice."

Numa, a classical Roman name.

Translated as "Raging Sword" in Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, *The Riddle of “Man-Manly” Love: The Pioneering Work on Male Homosexuality, 1864-1879; 2 vols.,* translated by Michael Lombardi-Nash (Buffalo, New York: Prometheus Books), 1994; all 12 of Ulrichs' books on the "riddle" are translated in these two volumes.


Uranian, Ulrichs' term given to the nature of the homosexual male, was employed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Europe and in the United States, to some extent.

In 1866 the Prussian government and its anti-gay laws were instituted in Hanover,
Ulrichs' domicile. Ulrichs was incarcerated for about one year for protesting.

A Guelph is figuratively a member of a papal and popular political party in medieval Italy that opposed the authority of the German Emperors in Italy.

Minden, located southeast of Hanover, North Rhine-Westphalia, had become a part of a Prussian state (again) in 1814.

The convention was held at the Odeon Theater, images of which appear online at http://www.angelfire.com/fl3/celebration2000/munodeon.html. Wolfram Setz and others honored Ulrichs in 1998 in Munich by having a city square named after him.


Württemberg was a former major state in south Germany, with its capital at Stuttgart, where Ulrichs was domiciled when he wrote "Raging Sword."

From 1880-1883 Ulrichs traveled to Florence, Ravenna, the suburbs of Rome, then settled in Naples, on via Vico freddo (he later moved from via Carlo Poerio 4, Naples, in 1883 for health reasons); before settling in L'Aquila he visited Pesto, Benevento, Sannio, Frigento and Basilicata; images of Ulrichs' domiciles are online at
Aquila is the capital of L'Aquila province and of the Abruzzi region, central Italy, located on a hill above the Aterno River, northeast of Rome.

Reference to Marquis Niccolò Persichetti (1849-1915), minister of archeology and director of the arts in Aquila. He wrote a memorial to Ulrichs in 1896 (translated in this volume).


In Egypt the name of Memnon was connected with the colossal (50 ft.) stone statue of Amenhotep III near Thebes. Partly destroyed in 27 BCE by an earthquake, every morning when the rays of the morning sun touched the statue, it gave forth musical sounds like the twang of a harp string. This was supposed to be the voice of Memnon responding to the greeting of his mother. After the statue was restored in 170 of the Common Era, the sounds ceased.

A parliamentary committee considered (and rejected) the petition in 1898. Only the Social Democrats (and August Bebel) supported the petition; cf. James Steakley, The Homosexual Emancipation Movement in Germany (New York: Arno Press), 1975.
Translator's Preface

After three decades of translating into English the works written in the 1860s to
the 1890s by Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (and other pioneers in the history of homosexuality in
Germany), begun on the eve of what might be called an Ulrichs renaissance initiated in
the mid 1970s by sexology historians such as Jonathan Katz, James Steakley, John
Lauritsen, David Thorstad and especially Hubert Kennedy, a state-of-the-art look is
warranted to see what has been yielded from this revival, recovery and restoration of Karl
Heinrich Ulrichs to his rightful place.

As has been recently noted by James Brundage, professor of medieval history at
the University of Kansas, "...a generation of notable scholars, largely ... in Germany,
began to publish serious studies of sexual practices in past societies." Sexology
historians in America, such as Vern Bullough, dubbed one of the greatest humanists of
the 20th century, and archivists and curators in the field of the history of homosexuality
Dorr Legg and Jim Kepner, called attention early in the second half of the twentieth
century to the need for translations of the 19th-century German scholars and to Karl
Heinrich Ulrichs in particular. In fact, Vern Bullough's "research and publications on the
history of sexuality picked up where those earlier scholars had left off," Brundage added.
Since Bullough had considered the body of work in German a treasure trove, he longed
for translations of the cream of the crop, as he called the works we had chosen to
translate. Katz, Bullough, Legg, Kepner and philanthropist Paul J. Nash shared a
common vision that ultimately turned out to be a sex classics in English translation series
of seminal publications in the history of homosexuality in Germany. A niche had been
created for the translation of the 80- to more than 100-year-old texts and articles.

I seized the moment, and in 1977 a sex classics in English translation series (dubbed "Urania Manuscripts") grew out of that niche, which in 1990 as a labor of love Vern Bullough and I turned into a cottage industry, to use his words. Some possible or probable reasons for the interim delay in the translation of seminal works in the history of homosexuality include competent translators at universities running up against the guilt by association with homosexuality and tenure as well as the fact that translations count for naught in the academic culture of publish or perish. In addition, German has never been the most popular language, and the World Wars helped little to endear translators to render any history of homosexuality written in that demonized language. Add to that the fact that the availability of the material decreased when the Nazis burned what remained after homosexual curators dismantled their libraries and scattered the material. That explains, perhaps, why it has taken at least 80 to more than 100 years for translations of the works on homosexuality by Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (and Magnus Hirschfeld) to "see the light of English," as Vern Bullough once quipped.

It is a fact that the English translations gave some relief, however, when it came to the research and recovery of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, in the past three decades the translations comprised of only a fraction of the contributions generated around the world. During the 1980's and 1990s, especially around the 100th anniversary of Ulrichs' death in 1995, biographer Kennedy and archivist Massimo Consoli did much to restore the history of Ulrichs' life and works. Moreover, Wolfram Setz reprinted and published several volumes of Ulrichs' primary and secondary literature, and besides that had a public square in Munich named after Ulrichs. Jörg Hutter, Giorgio Piccinini,
and an unknown (to me) person had three more streets or squares named after Ulrichs in Bremen, L'Aquila and Hanover, respectively. Folks in Hildesheim \textsuperscript{xix} and Göttingen, \textsuperscript{xx} too, went to great lengths to have plaques placed on buildings where Ulrichs had lived or worked. Up to 2007 Consoli had held 19 annual ceremonies at Ulrichs' gravesite on the latter's date of birth (August 28). Consoli began in 1988 to call attention to the noted "German scholar" buried in the mountain city in central Italy. In 2000, on the 175th anniversary of Ulrichs' birth, a truly international gathering met at Ulrichs' grave to celebrate. Furthermore, two German gay films have featured Ulrichs, \textsuperscript{xxi} and a few organizations have given "Karl" awards! \textsuperscript{xxii} Paul J. Nash's Web site and festschrift \textsuperscript{xxiii} certainly must be credited with furthering the success of the popularization of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. \textsuperscript{xxiv}

As asked by Bruce "Bud" Baker, a colleague at work, whether Ulrichs was aware of the historical nature of the latter's actions, I had to answer in the affirmative. One of the origins of gay pride began with Karl Heinrich Ulrichs when he exclaimed in 1867 that his deeds would redound to his honor. The following reveals the meat of his one-man "Uranian" movement.

Besides being against the death penalty, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, a renaissance man in his own right, became the first known person in modern world history to come out of the closet, first to family, then publicly. He was responsible for several other "firsts," including the first to speak in public to defend "Uranism;" to write coming-out letters to his family; to set a positive standard for everyone who followed: "Uranism" is natural, no sin, no disease and no crime; to encourage "Uranians" to come out of the closet; to demand "Uranian" rights be equal to "heterosexual" rights; \textsuperscript{xxv} to call for abolishing
anti-"Uranian" (sodomy) laws; to demand women be given equal rights; to advise the people of the church to accept "Uranians;" to ask families to support "Uranians;" to reject the "Uranians-are-sick" theories of physicians; to claim "Uranism" also to be a moral and ethical lifestyle; to write the first books (12 of them) positively identifying "Uranians" as natural (that is, not as degenerate "heterosexuals"), and as being healthy, in the state of grace, and upstanding citizens; to address in his speeches and writings every conceivable "Uranian"-related issue, such as abortion, suicide, murder, police harassment, childhood sexuality, blackmail, the military, family values, hate crimes, privacy, economics, democracy and marriage; to outline the first known bylaws for a "Uranian" organization; to suggest fundraising to aid "Uranian"-bashing victims; to identify May 26, 1864 (the day a ban on his books was lifted) as the beginning of a "Uranian" movement only to become a Latinist and thereby promote peace among all nations!

Now to turn to this volume.

The text begins with an excerpt from "Raging Sword" (1867) by Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. Ulrichs recounts speaking in Munich in front of more than 500 or more civil servants and the subsequent pride at having demanded to be heard with regard to the rights of "urnings." This account may be the first time pride had ever been expressed in association with gay activism.

The next item offers "Karl Heinrich Ulrichs and America," a paper I presented (in German) in Munich in 2000 on the occasion of the 175th anniversary of Ulrichs' birth. The speech gives indications of Ulrichs' influence on American literature and culture.

This is followed by an excerpt from Magnus Hirschfeld's "The Restoration of the Good Name of Homosexual Men and Women," the title to Chapter 38 of Hirschfeld's The
Homosexuality of Men and Women. xxvi A pithy and concise biography of Ulrichs, including a personal interview in 1909 with Niccolò Persichetti, Ulrichs' patron in L'Aquila, Italy, makes up the bulk of this item.

"In Memory of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs: Author of the Journal Whose Title is Alaudae: A Collection" (1896) is a festschrift mostly in Latin and Italian published in turn by Niccolò Persichetti the year after Ulrichs' death. It contains a resume penned by Ulrichs, himself, death notices, a list of donations raised to put a stone over Ulrichs' grave, the epitaph on Ulrichs' gravestone, and a eulogy, among other items.

The final article, my "Emanuel Valk (1697-1732): The Sodomy Trial of a Preacher in 18th-Century Holland: A Dossier," a supplement, has been appended because Karl Heinrich Ulrichs wanted to write a history of a pogrom that took place in Holland in the 1730s. Just as Ulrichs' other correspondence in my unpublished Karl Heinrich Ulrichs: Sailor Stories and other Writings by the First Known Gay Activist complements his four coming-out letters in my Sodomites and Urnings: Homosexual Representations in Classic German Journals, xxvii the Valk article supplements the article by L. S. A. M. von Römer on the 1730 persecution of "Uranians," also in Sodomites and Urnings.

Culturally, Ulrichs appeared to have been caught between romanticism and realism in Germany. Perhaps this book may reveal somewhat the process of the transformation of north German Ulrichs from suited lawyer championing the rights of gays into the italicized, barefooted river-bather who promoted the Latin language to further world peace.

Michael A. Lombardi-Nash
Jacksonville, Florida


iii Cf. John Lauritsen and David Thorstad, *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement (1864-1935)* (New York: Times Change Press), 1974; in the Introduction to *Ulrichs* by Hubert Kennedy, translated into Italian by Roberto Cruciani (Bolsena [VT], Italy: Massari Editore), 2005, p. 8, Massimo Consoli says, "It would not be far from the truth to say that it is probably the work that had the greatest influence on the gay movement in my country (Italy).


vii Cf. W. Dorr Legg, David G. Cameron and Walter L. Williams, *Homophile Studies in Theory and Practice* (San Francisco: GLB Publishers), 1994, pp. 21, 30, 32, 47, 87, 199 f., 327; as far back as 1957, the folks at ONE Institute in Los Angeles were vehemently indignant with regard to the bowdlerizing and censorship of translated texts in the field; they identified "biasfree translations" of texts as an "essential working tool" in the future of homophile studies.


ix In the history of homosexuality in Germany, lesbians in Germany and America were also writing about lesbian-feminism in turn-of the century Germany; cf. Lillian Faderman and Brigitte Eriksson, eds., *Lesbian-Feminism in Turn-of-the-Century Germany: Stories and Autobiographies* (Weatherby Lake, MO: The Naiad Press, Inc.), 1980; Lillian Faderman, "The Mordibidifacation of Love between Women by 19th-Century


\*iv Cf. Massimo Consoli, "Karl Heinrich Ulrichs," *Cronache Lucane* (Rome, September
25, 1988); Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, "Vindex," trans. Massimo Consoli, Rome Gay News (August 2000), n. pag.; Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, Spada furente (Raging Sword), trans. Massimo Consoli (Rome: Fabio Croce Editore), 2002; the Introduction (in Italian) to Karl Heinrich Ulrichs: Pioniere del moderno movimento gay by Hubert Kennedy (Bolsena [VT]: Massari editore), 2005; the Foreword to my unpublished Karl Heinrich Ulrichs: Sailor Stories and Other Writings by the First Known Gay Activist (the Foreword is an English translation of Consoli's Introduction to the Italian version of Kennedy's Ulrichs).


xvi Images of Karl-Heinrich-Ulrichs-Platz, Munich, as well as other streets named after Ulrichs, are available online at the time of this printing at www.angelfire.com/fl3/celebration2000.

xviii Giorgio Piccinini animated the Karl Heinrich Ulrichs Study Center in L'Aquila and helped to convince the city to unveil a promenade called Piazzale Karl Heinrich Ulrichs; information is available online at http://xoomer.alice.it/csulaquila/_sgg/m1_1.htm.

xix Franz Karl Diestel-Hartmann heads the Gay Circle of Friends in Hildesheim, and their tribute to Ulrichs is available online at http://hannover.gay-web.de/sfk.hildesheim/auftauplan02.htm.

xx Jochen Engling and Wolfgang Böker of the Göttingen Gay Center took pains to restore Ulrichs' grave, to establish an Ulrichs' genealogy, to have Ulrichs' abode officially recognized as a historical site, among other contributions to the knowledge of Ulrichs; details are available online as of this printing at http://www.angelfire.com/fl3/celebration2000/go.html.

The International Lesbian and Gay Law Association (http://www.ilglaw.org/cnfaward.htm) and the Stone Wall Society (http://www.stonewallsociety.com/CAP/ulrichsawardcriteriahtm.htm), for example, have awards named after Ulrichs.

"Karl Heinrich Ulrichs: Celebration 2000," a pithy and concise biography, and "Memory Book," a festschrift commemorating the 175th anniversary of Ulrichs' birth, are online as of this printing at www.angelfire.com/fl3/celebration2000.


Cf. Magnus Hirschfeld, The Homosexuality of Men and Women (1914; 2nd. ed.)
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Thanks, finally, to the late Dr. Vern Bullough, who took me under his wing.
From *Raging Sword*

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs

**KEYWORDS.** Homosexuality, Germany, history, 19th century

The first known expression of gay pride was penned in 1867 by Karl Heinrich Ulrichs in "Raging Sword," the sixth book in a 12-volume series titled *Research on the Riddle of Man-Manly Love* (1864-1879). Using the pseudonym Numa Numantius (which was dropped soon after), Ulrichs recounts the experience of having addressed the Association of German Jurists in Munich, Germany, in person to demand equal rights for "urnings."

**FROM RAGING SWORD**

*Inner voice:*
"Speak, speak! or be judged"

Until my dying day I will look back with pride when on August 29, 1867, I found the courage to come face to face in battle against the specter of an age-old, wrathful hydra which for time immemorial has been injecting poison into me and into men of my nature. Many have been driven to suicide because all their happiness in life was poisoned. Indeed, I am proud that I found the courage to deal the initial blow to the hydra of public contempt.

What gave me strength in the last moments finally to mount the speaker's box at the
Association of German Jurists was the awareness that at that very moment the distant gaze of comrades of my nature was fixed on me. Should I return their trust with cowardice? Also giving me strength were the thoughts of a recent suicide caused by the governing system and whose effects are still smoldering since it occurred in Bremen in 1866. And also a letter I received as I was on the way to our session informing me that a colleague was said to have remarked about me, "Numa is afraid to take action."

And in spite of all this, weak moments continued to creep up on me, and an evil voice whispered into my ear:

"There's still time for silence, Numa. You need only to forgo the words you have prepared. Then your heart palpitations shall cease!"

But it was almost as if another voice began to whisper. It was the warning not to be silent, the one that warned my predecessor Heinrich Hößli in Glarus and which at that moment loudly resounded in my mind forcefully:

"Two paths lay before me [Hößli]: to write this book [Eros] and submit myself to persecution, or: not to write and be riddled with guilt when I enter my grave. For, surely I have already been confronted with the temptation to give up writing. But then the images of Plato and the Greek poets and heroes would appear to me, those who belonged to the nature of Eros and who became all that which should become of humanity. And beside these images I saw before me what we have caused such men to become. Before my eyes appeared the images of the persecuted and of those already damned who are yet unborn, and I behold the unhappy mothers beside their cradles rocking cursed, innocent children! Then I saw our judges and their blindfolded eyes. Finally I envisioned the gravedigger
slide the cover of my coffin over my cold face. Then the overwhelming urge to rise and stand up for the oppressed truth powerfully seized me victoriously. And so I continued to write with my eyes decidedly turned from those who labor for my annihilation. I do not have a choice between keeping silence and speaking. I say to myself:

"Speak, or be judged!"

I should like to be worthy of Hößli. I, too, did not desire to come under the hand of the gravedigger without having willingly attested to my oppressed inalienable rights and without having broken through one alley of freedom (der Freiheit eine Gasse), even if for me there is less fame and a greater name to be made.

With these thoughts and with my heart pounding in my breast, I mounted the speaker's box on August 29, 1867, in the grand hall of the Odeon Theater in front of more than 500 jurists of Germany, among whom were members of the German parliament and a Bavarian prince.

I mounted with God!

I emphatically read the following document aloud:

"Gentlemen:

"Two years ago Dr. , professor of law, who resides in Graz, and I, according to regular procedure, proposed a motion as members of the Association; and I wish to make a protest because it has been denied by our committee, namely because it was classified
as 'unsuitable for deliberation' by the Association of Jurists and has been excluded from the agenda. I shall establish my protest materially and formally.

"I. Material.

"This proposal addresses the revision of the existing material penal law, especially and finally to repeal a specific unlawful paragraph in the penal code handed down to us from past centuries. It is directed to abolish this paragraph of the penal code which discriminates against an innocent class of people.

"It is also a question of preparing to unify the laws of Germany which in these points unity does not exist. Bavaria and Austria both presently condemn prosecution, and their legislation stands diametrically opposed to the remainder of Germany.

"Finally, and secondarily, it is also a matter of concern finally to choke the source of abundant suicides, especially those of the most shocking sort.

"I believe that these are far more worthy, serious and important questions concerning the penal code and ones that the Association of German Jurists was rightfully and truly called upon to rule on.

"Gentlemen, the matter also concerns a group of persons whose size numbers in the thousands in Germany alone. Many of the most eminent and noble persons in our nation and in foreign nations have belonged to this group..."

(Apparent amazement and scorn; isolated shouting, "Adjourn!")

"...this group of men which is discriminated against for no reason other than the process of an undeserved criminal prosecution..."
(Tempestuous outcry, "Adjourn, adjourn!" The presiding privy councillor, von Wächter, wished to call for a vote to close the matter which was being loudly demanded. What do I say? "Under the circumstances I give up the floor and lay my call for justice down on the table of the House." But now outbursts as loud as the previous ones fence forth from the opposite side of the hall, "No, no, continue, continue!" After I began to continue, the words which follow were spoken with heightened emphasis,)

"...a group of men which is discriminated against for no reason other than the process of an unjust criminal prosecution because creative nature has implanted in this group a sexual nature which is inconsistent with the common, vulgar one..."

(Chaotic uproar and violent interruption. Uncommon excitement in the audience on the side that prevailingly calls for adjournment. The president says, "I request that the speaker continue reading his proposal in Latin!" But I lay my manuscript down on the desk of the president, and I left the speaker's box. To continue, the manuscript went as follows:)

"...a puzzling nature which, in fact, an edifying text by Numa Numantius has recently attempted to clarify, and because you yourselves are involved in an error which can be excused, you look at the matter only superficially: what you consider real, that this true and puzzling nature is not considered natural at all, you resolved to consider it as against nature and that the only action you initiate is to draw the sword of justice against this puzzling nature, and driven to utter abuse, you slash the Gordian knot.

"This abuse has similarities in yet other puzzling phenomena that have also been misunderstood, namely the witch hunts of earlier centuries.

"The abuse under question has been plainly abolished from the present penal code
book of Bavaria, just as the Code Napoléon earlier did, while Austria, even now in its outlined penal code placed before parliament, prefers similar abolition 'to provide a practical accountability of the results of scientific research,' as the Austrian minister of justice expressly stated on June 26 of this year.

"Would it not truly be the most serious and commendable duty of the Association, gentlemen, if the witch hunts were as yet not abolished, to enter the lists against them? Indeed, even if Bavaria and Austria had not already taken action?

"And what is the function of the Association, I ask, if it be deprived of discussing the most serious matters?"

"II. Formulation.

"Formally it appears to me that this committee is so constituted, that, without a resolution from the Association, by its own authority, is out of order when it attempts to restrain a proposal that rightly falls under the jurisdiction of the Association of Jurists.

"Whereby, in my own name and in the name of my cosponsor, I hereby make a protest against the restraint of the proposal."

I would now like publicly to repeat this protest that was made, and, as I portrayed, was suppressed. Likewise, I enter a protest against the Association and its suppression of this protest.

During my entire speech I distinguished between two groups in my audience:

(1) There were the unbiased who were not prepared for my speech (they were to my right), and who challenged me to continue;
(2) Those who called for adjournment were already familiar with the Tewes-Ulrichs Proposal. (They were in front of me and to my left.) Among those were Appellate Court Justice von Groß from Jena and Attorney General Schwarze from Dresden, who both had sat on the committee.

I was already harassed by isolated calls for adjournment on the 27th and 28th when I delivered technical speeches that apparently had nothing to do with the matter concerned.

I want to deal now with the meaning of this behavior toward me and of the calls for adjournment that put a close to my speech on the 29th.

These shouts were not calls for adjournment in the literal sense. It was, rather, as if the sounds were just a disguise of a call to:

"Crucify, crucify!"

During and before the beginning of my speech on the 29th, those who called for adjournment were apparently only in the minority. I requested permission in writing from the president to speak before the full assembly and to enter a protest against the omission of a proposal from the agenda and to place it before the president. The president immediately gave expression to one of his wishes, "May the King of Bavaria soon enjoy marital bliss, because it is the ultimate happiness of men," then put it to a vote "whether Mr. Ulrichs should be allowed to speak to these aims?" To this a few isolated voices called out, "No, no!" Meanwhile, a strong majority called, "Yes!"

At least the large assembly listened to me with an extraordinary attentiveness. Of
all the speakers in both full assemblies on the 27th and on the 29th, none enjoyed a similar experience.

When I stepped from the speaker's stand, an indescribable excitement prevailed. Moreover, there was evident confusion of what the circumstances involved and of what needed to be said, who was to speak, and what was to be decided. After a long pause, the president reached for a manuscript and said, "I will try to continue reading to verify the matter." Another pause. Then the president began to speak, his voice quaking, "The proposal refers to crimes of the flesh." (Did the manuscript say one word about that?) He then turned to me and said, "I would like the speaker to read the proposal according to the letter." I began, "The proposal is lawfully submitted to the committee. It has to be in the hands of the president. It is not in my possession. My personal copy was confiscated in April of this year when I was taken to Minden Castle."

[I insert it here as follows:

"The Association of Jurists may wish to declare a pressing demand for legislative justice by submitting the existing German penal code concerning so-called sins of the flesh to an immediate revision in the following two matters:

"(I) That innate love toward a person of the male sex be punishable only under the same provisions that concern love to persons of the female sex; that they remain guiltless as long as:

"no rights have been abused (by force or threat of force, by abuse of minors, unconscious persons, etc.)

"or there was no disturbance of the peace;

"(II) That the present vague penal regulation concerning 'disturbing the peace
because of sexual behavior' be replaced by one that would guarantee protection under the law."

Now Schwarze from Dresden requested to speak and declared,

"I represent the decision of the committee. The proposal is, if you will, not acceptable; indeed! We decided to restrain it because as it stands it is inconsistent with the present laws. Secondly, because it offends our sense of morality. It would have excited the indignation of the Association even if it were read. Our faces would turn red with shame! Indeed, if we are supposed to be speaking in Latin, then I can be sure to say it is of a sexual nature."

When these gruff words were heard by the groups to my left they shouted bravo, and I expected nothing less than to be personally insulted. I was troubled with fears every second. I could no longer consider answering Schwarze when such a mood was shared by a large part of the Association. I just remained passive. I was certain that I would loudly protest, declare my withdrawal, and exit the hall at the slightest insult.

Following Schwarze, an elderly gentleman with whom I was not acquainted spoke to thank the committee "in the name of the Association," for restraining the proposal in the interest of morality. (Very loud shouting, although not all had joined in. See below.)

Is it moral, I ask, to cut off an advocate of the oppressed, who asks to be heard?

This rudeness, in all its sharpness, was directed solely to the matter. No one personally insulted me. So, I held out in my seat.

The matter was postponed, and the president began quickly to expedite remaining matters after which he adjourned the meeting.

The excitement continued. I heard them ask each other what the matter really
concerned. From the answers I heard (which were spoken in a calm tone) some had
guessed correctly.

But there were exceptions. Some thought that I wanted to defend all crimes of the
flesh, incest, rape, adultery, all of them.

While still in the hall, two members surpassed these notions whey they addressed
me and said, "Oh, you are the one who just gave the speech. But do please tell us what
kind of race it is that is haunted by such prosecutions?" I advised these gentlemen to
please acquaint themselves with the works of Numa Numantius.

Then others approached me. One was King's Counsel Justice Feuerbach from
Stuttgart, who firmly declared to me,

"The Association was totally incompetent to decide. They judged without
knowing the material. I abstained from voting. You neglected to share the proposal with
us yourself."

Makower, a lawyer from Berlin, as I was soon told, spoke about the matter as
follows:

"The committee need not patronize us. However, it was unjust that it did not
allow the speaker to finish. It did not immediately have to vote on it; indeed, one could
have voted against it. And why should we not listen to what he had to say? Are we young
maidens? We do not even conduct open sessions. What the speaker wishes, and I agree, is
to discuss the question. The love to which he refers was not forbidden at all times in
history, not in Greece, nor in Rome. It is a legal question for debate."

Mr. Makower confirmed this to me when I turned to him for help. On October 29,
1867, he wrote,
"Of course I shall speak my mind: This question" (if the practice of man-manly love is legal or not) "is discussible, particularly legislation such as this which is not settled here; and these could very well have been discussed by the concerned department." (Of course, I demanded only that Department III consult the proposal.) "No one need doubt that a question concerning criminality which is settled elsewhere by different legislation, can also be treated among jurists."

I forwarded §§1-72 of my later text, Memnon, to Feuerbach, whom I have mentioned, about which he wrote to me from Stuttgart on March 29, 1868,

"I read your little text with great interest. The views contained in it are not entirely shared by me" (which is understandable due to its novelty and to the scientific problems of the matter concerned), "however, I do agree with the practical part, in the question of legislation." [Which also corresponds to the statements made by Justices Weinhagen and Rose; see Vindicta, Preface (q), and Formatrix, Preface (e).]

It was reported that another member remarked, "But my goodness, the sponsor places himself in the position of being highly suspicious of being so himself!" Dear Sir, let me say that people need not be ashamed of their birth by the creator of all beings just because they have a different nature than you.  

Then I made the unexpected discovery that there was actually an Urning among the members whom I had addressed. He is an official at the royal Bavarian Court. When I met him he led me to believe that my speech had strongly surprised him, indeed, that it had stunned him. He did not take part in the shouting from either side.

At the celebration in the afternoon of August 29 in the Glass Palace and at the tour to Würm Lake in which all took part on the 30th, a few seemed to avoid my
company because I had spoken out that Urmings also have a right to happiness, and at the same time some avoided me as a creature in whom this nature might dwell, which -- well, which had been inherent in Socrates and in Plato, Brutus, Virgil, Emperor Titus, King Friedrich and our lauded poet!xi

But opposed to those who avoided me, I had the satisfaction that others freely and loyally engaged in conversation with me.

The German press ignored the whole proceedings, as I am informed, with total silence: again allegedly "in the interest of morality."

What a different impression it made on my colleagues. Following a short report about me which was circulated, I received a series of letters including the following.

"Potsdam, October 2, 1867. Yesterday evening your report from Munich dated August 31 and September 3 reached me by --- from Coblenz.

"Thank you a thousand times for your valiant fight. All those whose fate it concerns right up to the present generation will have you to thank for bringing up the matter forcefully into public debate. It will bear good fruit!

"How you must have felt! When I read through your report I was so seized by it that it remained in my mind for hours. Even now my heart is throbbing."

With what truly comforting eagerness they hurried to raise a sum of money needed to publish this text and a later one. (Just as before, they wanted to pay my way to Munich, neither of which I could afford.)xii Even the poor do their bit when it concerns cooperation in a fight for the common cause.xiii

I will now explain my views on the proceedings in Munich.

Who could truly celebrate a triumph on August 29? You, gentlemen, certainly
could not. What could you boast about except that you stifled my words, drowned out my voice and -- forcefully took away my right to voice the opposition. These are your laurels.

But I may enjoy the glory of yet another kind. I raised my voice in protest against a thousand years of injustice. The right of unbiased, oral and open debate of man-manly love has been secured under the seal of secrecy to the present day. Allowed to go free were words of hatred. It alone has had the freedom of speech. These discriminations I decried; forcefully I shattered them open without having thus offended my duties to uphold public morality. By so doing I initiated that the other side of the freedom of scientific public debate also be restored, a freedom that was enjoyed in Greece and Rome, discussed in the debates of Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Plutarch, Lucian, Atheneus and Pliny. Moreover, the most important part is that my protest has been given voice! Finally, testimony has been given publicly and openly to restore the rights of Urnings' love; testimony has been given before jurists, before a distinguished assembly, as it were, before the whole of Germany. This offers them at least some food for thought. At least thinking about it will affect a majority and must bear fruit. Although I was finally suppressed, my protest has given the initial blow to the system. It sufficed to breach the brook. We should take advantage of this initiative and pursue it hotly. xiv

And then something else. The present battle situation has totally changed. Prior to this we were a dismembered body of defenseless weaklings, persecuted and mangled, seeking our salvation miserably in exile and in hiding places, as it were, seeking refuge from the three gruesome dragons: hateful wrath, ugly betrayal, and poison-spewing humiliation.
They say that the dragons lacerate those victims who quake with fear and who flee. They withdraw their fangs from those who stand their ground. They become rooted to the spot when one bravely and boldly looks them in the eye. Our fear feeds their cruelty; their poisonous words feed our cowardice.

We have found courage! Hence shall we decidedly stand and face these persecutions. We shall be steadfast. **We refuse further persecution. We refuse to allow ourselves to be prosecuted! We simply refuse!**

Out with you, you miserable persecutors, and do battle in an honorable war! I mean a war that is based on rights. We shall reveal that our sword is wrought of genuine might and right, namely, our inalienable right, our right by God's grace, and we shall display that we are practiced in using our swords. We shall see which one of the two, yours or mine, will withstand the blows of the opponent.

Gentlemen, your shouting for adjournment made quite an impression. Should it be allowed that legislation bring wrath against persons who possess a personal innate nature and those who have their human rights -- to prosecute them continuously without a hearing or an inquest?

Gentlemen, the hall in which I spoke was sanctioned by justice! When people cry out for justice, why do you stifle their words before they can open their mouths? And you consider yourselves just? I would almost believe that those who joined in that motion to adjourn are unworthy of considering themselves people of justice!

I publicly protest against the manner in which I was denied speech when my voice was overpowered by the others.

They reproach my proposal and even my speech because they are supposed to
offend morality. Let us put it to a test.

Urnings are strongly accused by legislation itself. I wished to establish a defense against this. And I resolve that as long as this accusation continues to exist without offending morality, then this morality cannot be offended by a stand in opposition to this accusation.

What attitude does the legislature take when, as a powerful accuser, does not restrain itself from taking up "morality" as a defense, while, on the other hand, the defenseless accused are not allowed to stand in opposition, under the pretext that it is in the interest of morality? If the rules of morality suggest that we trample on the primary precepts of justice, then I must protest against such "morality!" Modesty demands a mode of expression from the defense which would conceal it in all its nakedness. It would plainly be an immoral modesty to silence the defense completely or only to hear a defense which was properly veiled.

Man-manly love is a highly personal matter and may not be a matter of public debate in the forum. (Of course, this does not exclude science.) However, as long as this love publicly exists in the law books, as long as state prosecutors and the courts emphasize the fact: lovers of this kind may open public channels in their behalf to come before the forum and to enter their protest and to establish here their petition of rights.

The accused and those threatened must be permitted to stand absolutely in opposition to each accusation made by legislators and each sentence to punishment, and to carry on a defense, if the sentence and punishment are unjust. And as long as the Association calls forth its elevated duty to prepare and discuss legislation and the penal code, then it must also permit this defense.
I think that an all-round agreeable form can be agreed upon which would raise no objection and would give voice to the content of my proposal. I am willing to agree to a mutual drawing up of the plans. I recommend all of my associates mutually to search for a form for it themselves after they have been instructed in the subject of my proposal.\textsuperscript{xv}

I recommend the following to the Association of German Jurists: that my revised proposal be discussed and be allowed due process at the next session.

I appeal to a better informed Association of Jurists and to its sensitivity to justice.

Written in Munich and Würzburg in September and October 1867

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs

\textsuperscript{i} Eros: On the Love of Men (Eros: über die Männerliebe) by Heinrich. 2 volumes: Glarus, 1836; St. Gallen, 1838, printed by C.P. Scheitlin. (Vol. II, pp. xxx-xxxi; Vol. I, Dedication.)

\textsuperscript{ii} "Der Freiheit eine Gasse!" is the title of an aggressive political poem Georg Herwegh wrote in 1841 to inspire courage to fight the reactionary government. Ulrichs may have read it (Trans.)

\textsuperscript{iii} To prove that this sexual inclination is natural should be scientifically validated. It is in fact proven. You may convince yourselves by reading Hößli's and Numantius' works.

\textsuperscript{iv} Clause II has been appended so that when prosecution has been abolished in principle
it will not be once more drawn under the umbrella of laws concerning alleged disturbing the peace.

v Certainly! It demands that these be abolished. Spee and Beccaria "stood in opposition to the existing laws" when the former demanded abolition of witch hunts and the latter of torture.

vi Which words in the evidence have to do with the speaker appearing shamefaced? Allegedly the words, "innate love to persons of the male sex." Even to speak these words aloud is somewhat unusual. But I dispute whether they offend our sense of morality in an assembly of persons who are scientifically knowledgeable. Other thoroughly bare expressions such as divorce and incest, etc., are used without objection by the jurists, and because the nature of the expressions above disagrees with our sense of morality, they appear in an arbitrary euphemism.

vii Where did he receive the mandate from?

viii At this point I should like to mention that Professor Tewes of Graz, although himself not possessing the nature of an Urning, nonetheless signed the proposal out of his sense of justice. It is to be highly commended when one fearlessly takes the position of conviction after one has tested initial doubts. See further considerations in Vindicta, Preface (r).
There are countless Urnings with official positions in all branches of government in Austria, Prussia, etc.; this is only natural.

See, for example, the report in the literary section that appeared in the *New Würzburg News (Neue Würzburger Zeitung)* dated March 6, 1868; for further information see in the work mentioned above, Vol. I, p. 296. Moreover, this is adequately known in South Germany.

You will be convinced after a superficial reading of Platen's love poetry.

Supplement to March 1868. Contributions are being made in Prussia, Bavaria, Bremen, Holstein, Vienna, Switzerland, Hungary, Paris and London. London and Berlin display special eagerness.

As a pitiable contrast to this willingness to sacrifice, I met a miserable miser at the house of a colleague who lives on the banks of the Main River in Mainz. This capitalist, who saves each gold piece to travel to Italy, leaves not a mite for our important matter. Why save, you childless Urning? For your pension? What good are riches when you become old, and what gratitude will your soul receive from that beautiful land across the Alps, if at first, now in the laurel grove [Germany (trans.)], if you forever and everywhere must say to yourself when you are an old man, that you lost the respect of your fighting colleagues, indeed, even the respect of our opponents. Speak, do you deserve that? And can you fail to unite with us by hurrying to help your poverty-stricken colleagues who are
like you, in order to save them from the dungeons to which they are daily confined, and from the humiliating shame? How their tears of joy would be your reward. Oh, you misanthrope!

xiv On October 12, 1867, a Swiss physician wrote the following to me. "Your proposal meeting with no approval in Munich was predictable. The main point is that this subject has finally come up for debate and thereby initiating action." Later, he wrote, "You may find consolation with Berryer who lives in Paris. Did you read about his fiery speech of February 14, 1868, in the legislative body about the dependent state of French judges? This speech was also choked off by the majority. Of course, the initial blow has been taken, and such a remark cannot remain without having consequences."

xv For those who may wish to collaborate with me, may I refer you to my agency which is the bookstore whose name appears on the title page [of the original (trans.)].
"Karl Heinrich Ulrichs und Amerika" was one of seven lectures in the Munich Ulrichs Committee's International Lecture Series held July to September 2000. The series, titled "The History of Homosexualities and Gay Identity at the Turn of the Millennium," was presented on the occasion of the 175th birthday anniversary of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (August 28, 2000). I delivered "Karl Heinrich Ulrichs und Amerika" (in German) on Thursday, August 24, 2000, at the Café Regenbogen (AIDS-Hilfe) at Lindwurm Strasse 71, Munich, Germany. Wolfram Setz translated my original English-language "Café talk" and greatly expanded and augmented it (especially the parts about Ulrichs in American literature) and then published the piece in German; the following version is a translation back into English of the German version edited by Setz.

KARL HEINRICH ULRICHs AND AMERICA

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs in America began even in his own time. But more of that
later. First allow me to tell how Ulrichs came to me as an American.

Paul Nash demanded, "Translate the Ulrichs!" and his imperative in 1977 marked the beginning of "Karl Heinrich Ulrichs and America" for me.

What had happened? I was a student at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). One day I was at the University Research Library browsing the stacks that contained the books on homosexuality. My fingers found one very slim volume tightly tucked in among larger volumes. It had a UCLA binding: a hard cover with no title or author. That could mean only one thing: the book was old and an original copy. I remember pulling the volume out and opening it. I liked the fancy style of the cover. I read the word *Urningsliebe*, but I could understand only *liebe* (love). I saw the names Numa Numantius and Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, but I did not know who they were or that Numa Numantius was Ulrichs' pseudonym. I did not know then that the translation of the title of the volume, *Gladius furens*, was *Raging Sword*. My feeling was, here I am, a graduate student in German, and I did not know what the book before me was about.

While reading the book at home, I was keeping Paul up to date on practically every sentence. I was telling him about someone named Numa Numantius or Karl Heinrich Ulrichs going to Munich and speaking about rights for gay people. Paul finally looked up from his own book and told me to translate the thing. And I did.

Then I began to ask experienced historians about Ulrichs. Dorr Legg, director of (then) ONE Institute of Homophile Studies in Los Angeles (now ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives, housed at the University of Southern California), told me that Ulrichs was very important. I talked to Jim Kepner, curator of the then Gay Archives in Los Angeles (now part of ONE). Jim, who had a copy of the 1975 Arno reprint of Ulrichs'
works, which I will talk about later, began to give me more of Ulrichs' works to translate. Dorr and Jim strongly supported my work. They must have put the word out about the translation, because Jonathan Katz, the editor of the Arno Press reprint, on his own account sent me a free copy of his edition of the Ulrichs.

In 1978, the good reception of the Ulrichs' translation was immediate and lasting. The desire for more translations has kept me busy now for 23 (in 2000) years. Thanks to Paul Nash, I have had the life-long freedom to pursue the art of translation in a field held dear to both of us.

That is how "Ulrichs and America" began for me. I translated Ulrichs' *Gladius furens*, which turned out to be *Raging Sword*, Ulrichs' report about addressing the Association of German Jurists in 1867 in Munich. Through the Arno series, I discovered that *Raging Sword* was only one of a series of 12 books by Ulrichs. The series was titled *Forschungen über das Räthsel der mannmännlichen Liebe* (*Research on the Riddle of Man-Manly Love)*.

As I translated, I indexed all the places where Ulrichs mentioned America. He refers to America 14 times, addressing subjects as diverse as the Native Americans (Inclusa, p. 77; *Raging Sword*, p. 275), anti-gay laws (Critical Arrows, p. 690: Ulrichs apologizes to his readers for not being able to provide a more exact overview because of the great number of the laws in the individual states), and finally places where his books had been bought. According to information from his publishers, during the years 1868/69 places included, among others, Saint Petersburg, Moscow, Pest, Raab, Klausenburg, Zurich, Berne, St. Gallen, Florence, Naples, Paris, London, Oxford, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Copenhagen, Stockholm and even New York. Ulrichs adds, "privately they have
been passed on also to St. Louis and other states in North America" (*Prometheus*, p. 592).

I will give two examples of interesting quotes, both a bit scary.

In *Argonauticus* (1869), Ulrichs wrote (p. 518), "An American, iv who is studying medicine and who takes scientific research seriously, has read my books. On August 2, 1869, he personally voiced the wish to be changed into an Urning by blood transfusion, i.e., by transfusion of my blood, for approximately fourteen days, so that during that time he could make studies of Uranism on himself." Ulrichs also points to the place where the American got the idea. In *Formatrix*, his fourth piece of writing of 1865, we read, namely under the heading Uranian Platform (pp. 135-136), the following notice dated December 20, 1864:

"Newspapers and medical journals mention reports of blood transfusions in human experiments. These experiments caused a temporary change in the mental capacity of the person being experimented on. So now they are injecting fox's blood into lambs, allowing them to assume the vicious nature of the wild animal for approximately fourteen days. They poured the blood of a healthy young boy into the veins of a madman, and the latter's sanity was restored permanently, if I am not mistaken. Why not inject an Urning with the blood of a Dioning? Would he become a Dioning for a fortnight? Then the change will surely not be permanent. It would be particularly interesting to observe the gradual transformation of the Dionian drive back into the Uranian one; namely, to determine whether for a time a dual orientation [bisexuality (trans.)] can be observed. Conversely, the blood of Urnings or women could perhaps be injected into Dionings to see whether they became Urnings for fourteen days."

The second example hails from *Prometheus*, the tenth piece of writing (1870),
which was intended to be the first (January) issue of a monthly titled *Uranus*. The subtitle sketches his goal: "Contributions to the Research on the Riddle of the Nature of Uranism and Discussions on the Moral and Social Interests of Uranism." Apparently a permanent rubric of the magazine was to be briefs under the heading "Daily Chronicle" (*Prometheus*, p. 584). In the reports in the first issue, it concerns, as Ulrichs stresses, an example of "original correspondence." Besides news from Vienna, Innsbruck, Pest, Berlin, Kempen (Province of Posen), Schwerin, St. Petersburg, Hamburg and Moscow, the following locations were given in advance (p. 584), "For lack of space, held over until the February issue are original reports ... from Chicago about the attempted lynching of an Urning by the people ...." Unfortunately, there was no February issue, so we have no further details. Ulrichs' notice is perhaps the first report of a hate crime in the USA based on sexual orientation.

"In his inaugural address of March 4, 1869, General Grant said, 'I know no method to secure the repeal of bad or obnoxious laws so effectively as their strict enforcement.'" (*Argonauticus*, p. 532). Ulrichs quotes the president of the United States to illustrate the importance of coming out and, as it were, daring the authorities to enforce sodomy laws.

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A very different relationship of Ulrichs to America appears in a festschrift for Ulrichs published in 1896, the year after his death. The publisher was Marquis Niccolò Persichetti, Ulrichs' patron and friend during the last years of his life. The little book (translated in this volume) contains besides a "Literary Resumé" (written in Latin) of Ulrichs, and Persichetti's eulogy, a collection of expressions of sympathy and other
writings about Ulrichs' death in the Latin, Italian, English and French languages. Americans, we discover, lamented Ulrichs' death as the death of a great Latinist, not of a gay activist. Persichetti also gives a list of those who contributed to Ulrichs' grave stone: among them we find no less than six donors from America (only one donation came from Germany, from Pastor Karl I. Klotz in Nuremberg).

From the five contributions from the USA, here is a short quotation from an article in the then Philadelphia periodical *Praeco Latinus* (Latin Herald). The publication certainly had a similar goal as Ulrichs' journal *Alaudae* (Larks), namely to demonstrate that Latin can be a force to unite nations. The article in *Praeco Latinus* was originally written in Latin, and part of it went as follows:"

"Alas! The cultivators of scholarship in America have the same compensation coming to them! Oh! Young people, look what may happen; learn how to play ball, ride horses, become horse-boys, innkeepers, jugglers, learn how to throw dice, and you will earn hundreds of dollars." The quotation goes on for several lines. The tone: a virtuous man like Ulrichs will end up in poverty.

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From the decades before Stonewall, meaning before the weekend around June 27, 1969, Ulrichs' theory pops up in literature. The earliest and at the same time most clear example is the short novel *Imre* (1906) by Xavier Mayne, the pseudonym of Edward Irenaeus Prime-Stevenson.

Edward Irenaeus Stevenson, born in 1868 in Madison, New Jersey, was by 1900 already a respected author and journalist. At the beginning of the 20th century he left his homeland and went to Europe. There he became "The father of American homophile
literature," as Noel I. Garde formulated it. With Imre, a Hungarian officer, we have a soldier before us whom Ulrichs admires so much and has sung about in poetry:

But to me the most preferable were:
the soldiers, the nation's young warriors;
be it the lofty form of blue-eyed, decorated guards, or blond hussars with their downy mustaches who approach me with powerful strides and clanking spurs and yet who do not know how handsome they are and how powerful they appear.  

(Inclusa, p. 69)

The Imre of the short novel is no much-courted Dioning as in the poem, but rather an urning himself, and certainly, as Mayne formulates it, of the "super virile" kind. Through lengthy dialogs with Oswald, an Englishman who feels the same as he, he succeeds in accepting what he is. Both find that friendship is love and love is friendship.

The novel deserves special interest because it represents the literary sidepiece to Mayne's main work: a comprehensive cultural and moral history of homosexuality titled *The Intersexes: A History of Similisexualism as a Problem in Social Life*. The preface is dated "Rome, 1908," yet the book seems to have been published at the end of 1909 or even 1910, but it contains a great number of pieces of news from the years 1908 and 1909 (also about Munich). The abundance of news unites Mayne's work with Ulrichs' research, which in many ways also reports about the life of urnings who were his contemporaries.
Mayne repeated a whole series of Ulrichs' examples to round out his own image. One of them is the report about a young man in Vienna, who with his friend went "to elegant dances dressed in splendid toilette" without "ever being recognized as men (Memnon II, p. 394), and also quotes the section in which Ulrichs reports about his own sexual development (Formatrix, p. 172).vi

Black culture in Harlem in the Art Deco era accompanies the depiction of gay culture in the 1930s with specific reference to Ulrichs in Strange Brother, published in 1931 by Blair Niles. The importance of the novel is seen by the fact that it, too, along with both of Xavier Mayne's books mentioned, was taken up into the reprint program of the Arno Press in 1975.

In his book Gay New York, George Chauncey writes that in the 1930s all of New York seemed to have been talking about homosexuality, and he reprints an advertisement for the novel. It says, "Society had made him ashamed of what he was. The law had made him afraid of what he was. To the woman who opened her arms to him he could not return man's real love."vii

The novel, the work of a woman, a journalist, presents itself as a "sympathetic" depiction, in the language of self-appraisal, a "brave and daring story," and relates information about the gay scene of the time. The book is considered to be, for example, the first depiction of the famous "drag balls" in Harlem, where, as it says in the novel, men "in elaborate wigs" can be seen, "from the towering curled and powdered hair-dresses of the Marie Antoinette period to the close marcelled bobs of 1930" (p. 211). Even toilets are talked about. But wherever the urning (he is called "intermediate man" in the advertisement) is only "a half-man" (p. 153), who can neither make a woman happy
nor ever be happy himself, the toilets are not so nice sub-cultural places, and so, Mark
Thornton, the "hero" of the novel, tells in the same breath about extortion and about the
"sordid tragedy of men's lavatories ### underground in the subway" (p. 197). The "half
man" has ### and here Ulrichs' formula of the female's soul in the body of a male sounds
familiar ### "the body of a man and the psychology of a woman" (p. 153).
The author grants the hero none of the joy of being an urning; the novel is, as Roger
Austen formulated it, stamped more by tragedy than by rage;\textsuperscript{viii} the urning appears only
as a pathetic misfit of nature. And so, placed above on the advertisement it, says,
"Women, Save Him!" In the novel, suicide is the inevitable ending.

Named in the novel are many men who have occupied themselves with the
homosexual phenomenon: Havelock Ellis, Edward Carpenter and Magnus Hirschfeld.
The poetry of Walt Whitman is cited many times, and there is also no lack of a list of
"historical" urnings, which extends from Alexander the Great to Alexander von
Humboldt (p. 264 f.). In this sense Ulrichs is also addressed. After mentioning Magnus
Hirschfeld as "director of the new Sex Science Institute in Berlin," it says (p. 299), "And
there was Ulrich [sic], an Austrian, writing fifty years ago, 'There are people, born, as it
were, on the dividing line between the sexes ... people who while belonging distinctly to
one sex as far as their bodies are concerned, may be said to belong mentally and
emotionally to the other.'"

The main source for that kind of information must have been the often mentioned
Edward Carpenter and especially his anthology \textit{Ioläus}, whose American edition appeared
in New York in 1917. The misunderstanding that Ulrichs was Austrian can be traced
back to Edward Carpenter. Carpenter knows and says that Ulrichs hailed from the
Kingdom of Hanover, but then he says that Ulrichs "occupied for a long time an official position in the revenue department at Vienna." ix

On the other hand, speaking about the unhappiness of urnings held no priority for Mae West, who at the end of the 1920s (sometimes under the pseudonym "Jane Mast") wrote and produced several theater pieces with sex as the theme. In New York it led to not only to bans and trials ### even Mae West had to spend 10 days in jail and made out of it a minor triumphal procession ### but also even to greater censorship in general. The plays have been published recently, and so, you can now read with amazement, that in "The Drag: Homosexual Comedy in Three Acts," x which premiered on January 31, 1927 in Poli's Park Theatre in Bridgeport, Connecticut, Ulrichs' name crops up, and to be sure right in the first scene. With one of his books, Ulrichs is, as it were, present on the stage, where we see the famous physician Dr. James Richmond at home in his library in dialog with his sister Barbara:

Barbara: Do you want this book?

Doctor: Yes -- The Ulrich [sic] book I've been so eager to get.

Barbara: I'm glad you've got it! (p. 97)

We do not discover which book, which is frequently referred to throughout the first act, yet one thing is clear: one who takes the time to engage the writings will not have to be content with traditional clichés. For example, it is the physician who makes himself the advocate of urnings. The urning is ### as Ulrichs' formula goes in Mae West's case ### "neither male nor female," and "physically a male with feminine instincts." Yet that does
not amount to a "half man" as in Blair Niles' case, but rather to "something of both" (p. 107). Standing opposed to the doctor is Judge Robert Kingsbury, who with pithy sayings, such as "Nature has no misfits" and "A man is what he makes of himself," knows of an excellent means against the social evil: "People like that should be herded together on some desert isle" (p. 107).

Rolly, the judge's son, of all people is an urning. His gaze, too, falls on the Ulrichs book. He takes it in his hand and returns it "much disturbed" (p. 115). Rolly is married to the doctor's daughter.

In the third act Rolly takes advantage of the absence of his parents and of his Claire. When the curtain is raised we become witnesses to a "drag ball" at the judge's house! It is reported that the ball, for which there is no dramaturgic premise, nevertheless lasts for 20 minutes and with no less than 30 gay actors on stage half of them in rags, the other in smoking jackets. xi

As the dance music plays, the campy dialog begins. We hear about the latest police raid ("The police were perfectly lovely to us weren't they girls?") or a dialog as follows:

Winnie: By the way, I saw your husband the other day.

Kate: Which one, dearie, which one? (p. 132).

The piece ends with Rolly's death a disappointed lover shoots him. The judge puts his world aright when he directs the inspector to make the murder into a suicide.

The play was a challenge. The newspaper reporters warned against going on Broadway with this play. Warnings likewise were given in the case of another of her plays, Sex, in the form of a riot on February 9, 1927. Two months later, the warnings led
to stricter censorship laws, so that a play was not permitted to bring "sex degeneracy or sex perversion" to the stage.xii

Mae West appears to have had a thoroughly authentic knowledge of Ulrichs' work. Her biographer cites her with the sentence, "I read Freud and Ulrichs, who called gays 'Urnings.' I learned a lot about the yearnings of urnings."xiii

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In order for authors to be effective, their works have to be available *** and certainly in the language of those who are addressed. This is the point where I would like to go into greater detail about my efforts to bring Ulrichs closer to Americans.

The 150th anniversary of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs' birth fell in 1975, and by coincidence that same year the already mentioned reprint of Research on the Riddle of Man-Manly Love also appeared in a new edition, one that Magnus Hirschfeld had edited.xiv Like others before me, I soon discovered that Hirschfeld abridged the text; others justifiably spoke clearly about "castration." It was from this volume that Jim Kepner, curator of the Gay Archives in Los Angeles, fed me more Ulrichs to translate. Through a personal ad in a German gay magazine, I came into contact with Eckhard Prinz, who supplied me with copies of the original versions. Meanwhile, the latter have become readily available, since in 1994 Ulrichs' biographer Hubert Kennedy published a reprint with commentary in the Bibliothek rosa Winkel (Pink Triangle Library).

At the conclusion of the 1970s, Paul J. Nash, my partner, and I imagined a "Urania Manuscripts," a home publishing hobby, whose aim was to make the name of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs better known. The "books" were typewritten and bound manuscripts. The response was encouraging. Don Amador, a professor of anthropology,
who may be the first person ever to have taught a gay studies class at a college, reprinted our translation of *Raging Sword* in his class textbook, *Gay Studies*. Later, when Don became the Los Angeles Mayor's liaison to the gay community, he wrote in a letter on official stationery that the translation of Ulrichs was the "most significant contribution to knowledge in the field for 1978."

From 1977 to 1979, I translated *Gladius furens (Raging Sword)*, *Letters to His Kinsfolk*, *Vindex* (the vindicator) and *Inclusa*, which got its name because Ulrichs said that while he was a male, his body "included" a female spirit. Also in the late 1970s, I was translating lesbian material, such as the 1905 speech by Anna Rüling, the first known lesbian activist.

Paul, on the other hand, won a prize at an all-college speech contest. His speech was to inspire, and it was based on Ulrichs' coming-out speech in Munich.

Also at the conclusion of the 1970s, I was asked to speak on panels to discuss "Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, 'John the Baptist' of the German Homophile Movement." The interest in Ulrichs was gaining momentum. After reading *Raging Sword*, Frederick Bennett Green, a professional artist, was inspired to create a line drawing of Ulrichs for the (then) Gay Academic Union *Newsletter*. The League of Voters for Equal Rights *Home Companion*, a newsletter for Gay political activists, reprinted Ulrichs' picture and included a short biography. Editors at the East Side Association, a Los Angeles homeowner's group, of their own accord mentioned Ulrichs and his 1867 speech in their *Newsletter*. Finally, in San Francisco, a placard with Ulrichs' name was carried in that city's 1979 Gay Pride parade.
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I continued to translate through the 1980s, and together with Paul Nash I distributed flyers. Meanwhile, I had found the only existing authentic picture of Ulrichs in one of Hirschfeld's *Jahrbücher (Annuals)*. We had the picture reproduced, which in turn was reproduced by others. By 1980, members of the Gay Archives had fashioned a button and a placard with Ulrichs' image for the Gay Pride celebration in Los Angeles. His picture also appeared in Los Angeles in that year's Pride *Catalog*.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s I was a member of two national organizations. They were the Lesbian and Gay Caucus of the Modern Language Association, and the Committee on Lesbian and Gay History. I sent scores of items to their newsletter editors, and the announcements of my translations of Ulrichs as well of his birthday were printed. Every year around July 1 we also brought attention to the gay and lesbian press of Ulrichs' upcoming birthday (August 28), and we continued to speak and lecture. Paul and I spoke of "Karl Heinrich Ulrichs: A Hero for the 80s" in San Diego at one of the then Gay Academic Union conferences, and later, at ONE Institute I held a speech under the same title.

Throughout all these years I did not translate only works by Ulrichs. For example, I also translated L.S.A.M. von Römer's lengthy essay on homosexuality in The Netherlands and the dossier of Emanuel Valk, a preacher in The Netherlands in the 1730s, accused of sodomy. I give these examples to avoid giving the impression I always had only Ulrichs in mind.

At the beginning of the 1980s ONE Institute was officially accredited by the State of California to award graduate degrees. In 1984 I was the first person to take a doctorate
from this Institute. The theme of my dissertation was Ulrichs.\(^{xxi}\)

Besides the dissertation I also wrote a screenplay (unfortunately not yet filmed!), whose title I took from one of Ulrichs' books, "Raging Sword."\(^{xxii}\) Among my creative attempts was a short amateur video titled "Karl Heinrich Ulrichs: Gay Pioneer" (1984). Rosa von Praunheim's filmic adaptation of Ulrichs' life and work in the context of a 1997 film titled "Schwuler Mut" (Gay Courage), prompted by the '97 Berlin Expo "100 Years of the Gay Movement" (referring to Magnus Hirschfeld), came to my attention only when I came to the Munich exposition of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (in 2000).\(^{xxiii}\)

In the course of time other people more and more frequently made use of my translations, for example even in 1981 the English translator of a book by Martin Dannecker.\(^{xxiv}\) In Brazil Louis Mott used Paul Nash's text on Ulrichs when Mott had a postcard with Ulrichs' image made on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Ulrichs' death (1995). More recently (2000), Paul's Web site and the celebration of the anniversary of Ulrichs' death (www.angelfire.com/fl3/celebration2000) was translated into Spanish and French by Lyman Hardy and partially into German by Alexander von Ostermann. At that time, too, Massimo Consoli had begun to translate Ulrichs' texts into Italian.\(^{xxv}\) Lyman Hardy made French and Spanish translation of Ulrichs' books ### all based on the English (American) versions.

I would like to note that with certain pride that there is no comparable source of information about Ulrichs other than Paul's Web site. Even the German Lesben-und-Schwulenverband in Deutschland (Lesbian and Gay Union in Germany), which claimed to offer a "Karl-Heinrich-Ulrichs-Bildungswerk" (educational outreach) came out to be only a link to our Web site.
In 1989 Paul and I moved from Los Angeles to Jacksonville, Florida. Here, too, I continued to translate Ulrichs and file away the already existing ones.\textsuperscript{xxvi} I also planned at that time to publish Ulrichs' \textit{Sailor Stories}. "Manor," one of the \textit{Sailor Stories}, can be considered the first gay male vampire story. It had been translated by me several years earlier and has been frequently printed not only in German; in English there have been two translations. Hubert Kennedy likewise translated it independent of me; Eric Garber included the latter translation in his anthology \textit{Embracing the Dark}.\textsuperscript{xxvii}

At the beginning of the 1990s Paul and I enlisted support for a new edition of Ulrichs' writings and found a patron and friend in well-known writer Vern L. Bullough, who wrote to us in 1991 that he wanted to help with our plan. On August 28, 1991 -- on Ulrichs' birthday -- he was able to tell us that the folks at Prometheus Books (Buffalo, now Amherst, New York) had given the green light for an Ulrichs' edition. The two-volume edition with all 12 books in Ulrichs' \textit{Research on the Riddle of Man-Manly Love} appeared then in 1994.\textsuperscript{xxviii}

Meanwhile, I had also begun to translate a book by Ernest Borneman\textsuperscript{xxix} for the same publisher.

In addition, 1994, the San Francisco gay newspaper \textit{Bay Area Reporter} printed an article about Paul and me under the headline "Gays Push for Recognition of 19th-Century Gay Leader" (meaning Ulrichs).

For several years Paul and I prepared for the 100th anniversary of Ulrichs' death in 1995. Paul suggested honoring with the event he would call "Karl Heinrich Ulrichs: 100 years of Pride in 1995." We sent letters and articles and requested organizers of gay
parades to remember Ulrichs. The response was encouraging. In Germany the then existing Bundesverband Homosexualität (National Homosexual Union) took the bait and dedicated CSD '95 (Christopher Street Days) to Karl Heinrich Ulrichs.

The greatest response from the press outside the USA came from Rome and L'Aquila, Italy. Every year since 1988 Massimo Consoli has held a small celebration at Ulrichs' grave in L'Aquila on Karl Heinrich Ulrichs' birthday. Massimo kindly mentioned our efforts concerning Ulrichs and confessed that through us he had been motivated "to rediscover" Ulrichs.

In 1996, besides others, Ulrichs' name could be read on the rotunda mural at the San Francisco Public Library. In addition, a colleague in San Francisco also hinted in a letter that the induction of Ulrichs probably was due to our efforts.

In August 2000, on the 175th anniversary of his birth, one could truly say that Karl Heinrich Ulrichs had been lifted out of obscurity and has taken his rightful place in the history of homosexualities. For many people, Ulrichs belongs to cite the title of a short lexicon by David Bianco to the Gay Essentials.

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ii See also Jonathan Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac: A New Documentary* (New York), 1983, p. 684, n. 31. Katz obtained his information from Hubert Kennedy, who, a few years later, published the first comprehensive biography of Ulrichs: *Ulrichs: The Life and*


iv In this case Ulrichs probably means the same "North American physician" who referred him to Medical Jurisprudence, the work of "a British authority" (Alfred Swaine Taylor, 1806-1880; Argonauticus, p. 503). (Setz)

v The festschrift In memoriam Caroli Henrici Ulrichs, ephemeridis cui titulus Alaudae auctoris, Sylloge has been translated in full below as "In Memory of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, Publisher of the Journal Alaudae: A Collection."


viii Roger Austen, Playing the Game: The Homosexual Novel in America (Indianapolis and New York), 1977, p. 87: "Sympathetic gay novels such as Niles' Strange Brother ...
were written more in sadness than anger, reflecting the fact that during the thirties there was very little of that political feistiness that gay men have displayed in recent years."


Lillian Schlissel, ed., *Three Plays by Mae West: Sex, the Drag, the Pleasure Man* (London), 1997, pp. 95-140. (Setz)

Chauncey, p. 313; Schlissel, p. 12; Emily Wortis Leider, *Becoming Mae West* (New York), 1997, p. 158 f. (Setz)

Leider, p. 166. (Setz)

Leider, p. 157. (Setz)


xix  Cf. Lee Rice, "The Urania Manuscripts," *Gay People's Union News* (October 1980), pp. 13-16: "the Urania series offers some relief to the lack of historicity in the gay movement...and deserves the enthusiasm of all of us."


xxiii In 2005, in cooperation with the Forum Homosexualität und Geschichte München, Wolfgang Tröscher produced Der Freiheit eine Gasse brechen: Münchens schwule Geschichte (Breaking a Path to Freedom: Munich's Gay History), which features Ulrichs.


xxvi I would like to mention a few examples: Paul Nash, Sacred Forest: Some Poetry and Prose by Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1982); Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, A Casket of Cypress Wood: Lyric Poems in Memory of Ludwig II, King of Bavaria (1886); Karl Heinrich
Ulrichs, *Letters to His Publishers and Other Correspondence* (1862-1894).


xxx In 1998 Massimo said, "A few people have persisted, with the necessary energy, in researching the heroic past of a troublesome history which many have sought to hide or diminish or have us forget. If it were not for Michael Lombardi and Paul Nash...we, today, would not even know about the existence of Ulrichs." Cf. Consoli's *Bandiera Gay: Il movimento gay in Italia dalle origini al 2000 attraverso l'Archivio Massimo Consoli* (Roma: Edizioni Libreria Croce), 1999, p. 53.

xxxi David Bianco, *Gay Essentials: Facts for Your Queer Brain* (Los Angeles & New
York), 1999, pp. 21-25. (Setz)
From "The Restoration of the Good Name of Homosexual Men and Women: Pioneers in the Struggle for Freedom from Goethe to Krafft-Ebing"

Magnus Hirschfeld

KEYWORDS. Homosexuality, Germany, history, 19th century

This pithy and concise 1914 biography of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs is taken from Chapter 38 of Magnus Hirschfeld's The Homosexuality of Men and Women, possibly the world's first encyclopedia of homosexuality. As indicated by the chapter's subtitle, there were pioneers before and after Ulrichs, and these included Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) and Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902).

FROM "THE RESTORATION OF THE GOOD NAME OF HOMOSEXUAL MEN AND WOMEN"

Now we come to Ulrichs himself. Today, when we sample through the work Ulrichs produced throughout his life, we truly have to admire his unusual diligence and recognize his wide range of interest not only law, but also science and medicine, theology and philosophy.

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs was born on August 28, 1825, in Westerfeld near Aurich. His father was a land surveyor, and his grandfather was a superintendent in the
Evangelical (Protestant) Church. He attended high school in Aurich, Detmold and Celle, and later the Universities of Göttingen and Berlin.

Even as a high school student he displayed unusual scholarship. At the University of Göttingen he was awarded an academic prize for his writing "De foro reconventionis" (On Cross Litigation), and, at the age of 22, he was awarded a gold medal by the law faculty at the University of Berlin for his work "De pace Westphalica (On the Peace of Westphalia). However, of his own accord, he ended his career as a civil servant and, modestly and undisturbed, lived in the small town of Burgdorf in the Kingdom of Hanover. At that time there was no Paragraph 175 following his inclination toward scholarship.

Ulrichs was a man of universal learning. He was not only fully at home with his majors, law and theology, but also with science and philosophy. He also excelled in other areas, such as mathematics, astronomy, archeology, numismatics and the study of butterflies. Because he so completely mastered classical Latin, contemporary authorities looked on him as the unequaled champion of that language.

In 1864, one after the other, the first three writings "on the riddle of man-manly love," "Vindex" (The Vindicator), "Inclusa" (Inclusive) and "Vindicta" (Rod of Freedom) were published. Very much against his nature, for the sake of his relatives he kept silent about his name in the first five writings and called himself "Numa Numantius." Only in 1868, upon the publication of "Memnon," his major work, did he throw back the veil from his pseudonym. The issuing of these works was preceded by a hard battle with his family, which energetically advised him against publishing his views.

Several years before his books appeared, he had confided in his relatives about his
quest for the truth that had developed so strongly in him. The letters to his kinsfolk are thoroughly moving in their frankness, simplicity, sterling quality and urgency.

In the first volume of the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (Annual for Sexual Intermediaries) in 1899, I published four of the most important and significant letters. They were placed at my disposal by Ulrichs' only living sister. They originated in the second half of the year 1862, and in them, Ulrichs, at 38 years of age, expressed his views and challenges in the most decisive manner.

In the first of these letters, written from Frankfurt-on-Main, he comes out to his sister as a pure, unmixed "Uranian," who was a woman in his sexual orientation and who belonged to "the third sex."

Approximately two months later a second one followed as a circular letter to eight relatives. He expressed the wish to shed some light between them and him, which I paraphrase:

The Uranian's female nature was born in the mother's womb. Uranism was a singularity in nature, a play in nature, such as the existence of whales and dolphins, mammals in the bodies of fish. It was a species of hermaphroditism or more probably a coordinated related form of it. The feminine nature of Uranians was in no way solely sexual. It could also be documented in earliest childhood consisting of characteristics more like those of a female, expressed in a disinclination toward wilder boys' games and a propensity toward girlish preoccupations. So, his mother told him when he was a child, "You're not like other boys." (One of his relatives made a note in the margin here in the circular letter, "I certainly believe I have always noticed such a feminine trait in Karl.") In no way did the Dionian (heterosexual) majority have the right to constitute human society
as exclusively Dionian. This abuse was all the more outrageous because the Uranian, too, had the right to exist in human society, exactly as the gnats and oysters, which in the rest of the animal kingdom were hermaphroditic in nature.

Two of the letters are addressed to an uncle to whom Ulrichs stresses the importance of the dream images that accompany nocturnal emissions, and Ulrichs expresses his opinion about the strong relationships of Uranians, who are united in a natural condition; however, the relationships in no way are equal to vulgar love, but rather more like the expression of natural marriages, meaning lasting, loving unions similar to marriage, ones we often find in ancient Greece.

Even in a postscript to the third letter, Ulrichs announced the publication of informative writings. He believed that it was in his own interest and in the interest of his fellow sufferers that such publications appear, because they were "most urgent and necessary."

In spite of the remonstrations and objections from his relatives, in April 1864, under the pseudonym Numa Numantius, the author himself published a short sociological and legal study on man-manly sexual love with the title "Vindex" (Vindicator). As a vindicator, this writing was to be made public as defender and emancipator of Uranians from the bigotry and persecution of the Dionian (heterosexual) majority. The foreword is an emotional and spirited appeal to the intellect and sense of justice of his readers. Then he gives a short overview of the major early authors and, according to recent research, a calculation of the percentage of Urnings that was much too low (.002% instead of 2%). Ulrichs then defends his main thesis of the congenital nature of man-manly love, to disprove that it was unnatural, the assumption upon which criminality was based.
In the second part, Ulrichs offers legal proof that the sexual act for congenital Urnings was in no way unnatural but rather thoroughly natural according to their inborn drives. Therefore, judges had the duty to investigate whether or not this ground for exception existed.

In the second book, published in the following month of May of the same year, titled "Anthropologische Studien: Inclusa," Ulrichs first repeated the preface to the first one, so that he could then introduce more classical authors as proof that the Greek word *pais* in no way meant a boy in the sense of a sexually immature child, but rather is to be understood as a youth at arms-bearing age.

In the main section of "Inclusa," Ulrichs introduces proof of the possibility and the necessary historical development of psychical hermaphroditism, of Uranism, based on the scientifically proven existence of physical hermaphroditism, which again finds its reason in the dual sexual nature of the human embryo. His formula for this orientation, in the form of a Latin distich (I have the beard of a man, my body is that of a male//Inside [inclusa], however, I am and remain a female), which at the same time contains the key to the title of the writing, is certainly a satisfactory formula to one segment of the homosexuals, while most surely another segment strongly rejects the part that states: "I am and remain a female."

Ulrichs concludes that just as heterosexuality is sometimes idealized by culture, so is homosexuality eminently apt to have an ideal side. As proof of this he intended to publish an anthology of Uranian love poetry under the title "Nemus sacrum" (Sacred Forest), including poets such as Ibycus and Theocritus.

The third, somewhat shorter writing, "Vindicta" (Rod of Freedom), whose
publication was in November of the same year, 1864, is divided in half by content and also almost in length. In the first half, in the Preface, Ulrichs describes the success of his writings published up to that time, which in May had been confiscated by the Leipzig police. However, the ban was lifted again when a court decided that "the material was treated thoroughly in a first-class scientific manner, clearly and carefully avoiding offending modesty and morality." In connection with this Ulrichs gives gleanings from several clerics, jurists and physicians, the most noteworthy ones being from his friend, Dr. Tewes, a law professor in Graz, and Rudolf Virchow.

On August 19, 1864, Virchow wrote to Ulrichs, "I take no exception to your explanation of the female psyche in a male body. You feel as a woman toward the man of your choice, your lover. On the contrary, that is a very important point, and your publications, in fact, have described it not without success."

After a quotation from an essay by Baron Richard von Krafft-Ebing, M.D., mentioned here for the first time by Ulrichs, the short, little book, yet one rich with regard to content, concludes with these words by Goethe (Faust II, 5): "Only those who must fight daily for freedom and life deserve them."

A few pages before this he warns his fellow sufferers and those caught up in his fate: "As Urnings, we should and must step forth. Only then among human society do we conquer the ground beneath our feet, otherwise never." And only then are they called upon to be touched by the "vindicta," the "rod of freedom," with which in ancient Rome the praetor touched the slaves who were presented their freedom.

Just as the major part of "Vindicta" (Rod of Freedom) continued the legal side of the problem first presented in "Vindex," Ulrichs' fourth writing (1865), "Formatrix" (She
Who Creates) followed "Inclusa" with further material on the question of the
duality of the nature of human sexuality and of the inborn homosexual orientation, which
has its basis in the appearances of Uranian inclinations established even in earliest
childhood and on the question of the impossibility of sexual self-determination.

An arrangement of "Uranian stages" forms the conclusion of these important
statements. The "stages" aligned a fully manly type with a fully womanly type, and
Ulrichs now also attempts to justify the virile type of Uranian in opposition to the
womanly type, which heretofore had received almost all the attention. He believed he had
found the key to the riddle of Uranian love with the sentence: "Creative nature, 'natura
formatrix' (see the title), is never successful in forming all its creations according to rule."

In conjunction with the statements of the first four writings in the areas of science
and law, in the fifth, "Ara spei" (Refuge of Hope), which likewise was published in 1865,
Ulrichs, after a biting satire of the extensive and arbitrary interpretation and criminal
application of "arousing public annoyance," holds a detailed discussion on the
relationship of Uranian love to morals, Christianity, and the moral order of the world.
Concluding the writing, which Ulrichs designated as a "refuge of hope," he includes a
few poetic contributions, such as three lyric poems by Hafiz, which were all too freely
rendered by Daumer, and one of his own spirited poems, "Antinous" (rendered above in
Paul Nash's "Sacred Forest" [Trans.]).

Even in "Vindicta" (Rod of Freedom), Ulrichs reported about his petition with
regard to a pastor, one Hofer, to the Association of German Jurists, of which he himself
was a member. Together with his friend, Dr. Tewes, the law professor in Graz, he then
constructed a proposal to the named Association that it make arrangements for a revision
of the German penal code on the so-called crimes of the flesh, and certainly in the
direction, that (1) "inborn love for persons of the male sex be punishable only under the
same conditions as those which punish love for the female sex," namely only in cases
made complicated with force, abuse of minors or unconscious persons, and arousal of
public annoyance, and that (2) "the present, often thoroughly unclear penal law
concerning arousal of public annoyance by sexual behavior be replaced by such a one
that guarantees justice." This proposal was stricken from the agenda by the Association's
authorized committee "as not suitable for discussion."

Meanwhile, Ulrichs was not one to be satisfied with this rejection. On August 29,
1867, in Munich, he made an official protest against this refusal. He reasoned that the
existing laws were based on an error by the legislators that exposed a class of innocent
persons who numbered in the thousands to undeserved prosecution that often led to the
suicide of the parties in question. The same Association of Jurists, which (an irony of
coincidence) hoped that the Urning King Ludwig II of Bavaria "would soon enjoy the
bliss of marriage, because it is the greatest fortune of any man," did not consider it
beneath its dignity to shout down this thoroughly regular motion, so much so that Ulrichs
was forced to leave the podium in the middle of his speech. Even the efforts of the aged
president of the Association, Privy Councilor Carl Georg von Wächter,\textsuperscript{xi} was
unsuccessful in his attempts to have the matter treated in a regular manner.

Among additional material, Ulrichs included the historical description of this high
point in his struggle in the sixth writing, "Gladius furens" (Raging Sword), published in
1868.

Meanwhile, he had become acquainted with Heinrich Hößli's \textit{Eros}\textsuperscript{xii} and adopted
it. Ulrichs now demanded that in criminal cases against Urnings, half the jury be
composed of Urnings, in the manner of the British alien jury. In this way he gave the lie
to the motivations of the people at the office of the Prussian attorney general (and of the
elder Johann Anselm von Feuerbach), which were based on the so-called moral
degeneration of Urnings and their destructive influence on the strength of the people, by
pointing to the existence of the same manifestation in the case of strong peoples, and he
condemned the position taken behind public opinion and the "legal awareness of the
people" with the observation that only until very recently the persecution of heretics,
witches and Jews also had corresponded to the subjective opinions of the people. A
casuistry (the solving of special cases of right and wrong in conduct and deciding how far
circumstances alter cases) on suicide and extortion close the writing, which is supposed
to wrestle the raging sword (gladius furens) against innocent people out of the hands of
Justice, which by right should wield the avenging sword (gladius ultor) against actual
injustice.

The events of the meeting of the Association of Jurists in Munich showed Ulrichs
just how far away he was from the goal he desired. In the meantime, he had the
opportunity to collect more material. In the same year that "Gladius furens" was
published (1868), he assembled this material in his book, "Memnon," the most
comprehensive and richest in content of all of Ulrichs' works, filled with new ideas and
detailed reports.

After the experiences at the meetings of the Association of Jurists in Munich and
with the continuation of the many strict punishments, it was no miracle when the restless
pioneer was meanwhile overcome by a feeling of resignation and consequently concluded
this work with the words, "And like Memnon's columns, my voice went toward the rising sun in quiet desolation."

Just as the case of Dr. Desgouttes in his day called the trusty citizen of Glarus, Heinrich Hößli, out of the closet, Ulrichs was again motivated to take up the pen near the end of the [eighteen] sixties by a sensational murder trial in Berlin.

In this trial, which at the time had attracted much attention, it was a case of mutilation and the attempt of and accomplished murder of two youths. The accused was the 48-year-old former Lieutenant K. E. von Zastrow, the descendant of a respected family and son and nephew of two Prussian generals.

Even before this, Ulrichs, even if only in passing, maintained that abuse of children and sadism were in no way special characteristics of Urnings, but rather pathological manifestations in themselves, which likewise occurred in the case of Dionings [heterosexuals]. When the press and public opinion about the Zastrow case revealed themselves as using Zastrow's name as a generic term, he now saw himself again forced to return to the basics and throw light on this special area.

So, even by May 1869 he had "Incubus" published, based on a large amount of casuistic material from ancient and modern times describing sexual "bloodthirstiness" (at the time not yet named sadism), which "goes far beyond responsible emotional states, and persons affected by them appear to become emotionally encumbered, as if an 'incubus' [nightmare] had descended on them from the realm of darkness."

In July of that year, the proceedings of the Zastrow trial had attracted so much publicity that the book sold out in such a short time that the author had cause to publish a new edition expanded by a full third, which he launched in September 1869 as
"Argonauticus," so that he could "finally reclaim the golden fleece of freedom from the
grotto of Justice."

The Zastrow trial gained special interest because no fewer than three prominent
forensic authorities were called upon, namely Westphal, Liman and Skrzezka. Of these, it
was Prof. Carl Westphal, the director at that time of the psychiatric department at the
Berlin Royal Mercy Hospital, who recognized the congenital nature of Zastrow's Uranian
orientation, and based on his considerations of the emotional state of the defendant,
pleaded for a longer period of psychiatric observation, while Privy Councilor Liman, the
nephew of Casper and publisher of the later issues of his uncle's Handbuch der
gerichtlichen Medizin (Handbook of Forensic Medicine), confirmed in the case of
Zastrow an hereditary psychical disposition; today we would say "a psychopathic
constitution."

It should be noted that the physician for the court, Dr. C. Skrzezka, in spite of the
fact that his expert opinion was not in favor of Zastrow, also in that same year, 1869, was
a member of the Royal Scientific Committee for the Board of Health that gave legal
advice to the named Board in favor of the abolition of the Urnings' paragraph of the law.

It was Ulrichs' own opinion that because of Zastrow's notorious effeminate nature,
he could hardly be the culprit, because womanly men do not feel attracted to young,
immature individuals, but rather only to strong manly personalities, a conclusion which
has not been proven by numerous observations.

So that the tragedy of the Zastrow case did not want for the play of satire, in
"Argonauticus" Ulrichs devotes a chapter to Uranism and party politics. It is amusing to
learn in these dozen pages how the conservative, orthodox, middle class and liberal press,
using this "case" each time, is preoccupied with unmasking the opposition party, provoking and gloating. That is the way it was in antiquity at the time of Demosthenes and Aeschines, and that is the way it is today.

Just as "Memnon" had been the supplement to and continuation of "Gladius furens," Ulrichs, in the year 1869, added a tenth writing, "Prometheus," to his series in the same year as both of his books on the Zastrow case. The booklet is opened by the program of the planned magazine "Uranos." We have no exact knowledge why it was not published. Following that, there is the story of the origin of same-sex love from Aesop's fables (Phaedrus 4.14), according to which Prometheus, after leaving a Bacchanalia, was drunk when he was busy creating humans, and was responsible for a calamitous exchanging of the sexual parts.

Seriously, Phaedrus (first century CE) here acknowledges the inborn nature of the Uranian orientation. It is further reported that in his Berlin lectures on criminal law, Franz von Holtzendorff, the famous law professor, even in November 1869 had expressed his opinion that the prosecution of same-sex behavior among adults was unjust.

In the year 1869, there was to be a unified legal code for the entire North German Confederation, and the official Prussian press pledged "that those strict laws that had been criticized in the Prussian penal code would be stricken from the North German draft." In spite of that and although many important voices had declared themselves to be in favor of striking Paragraph 143 of the Prussian penal code book, especially the then Hanoverian Minister of Justice Leonhardt as well as the entire Royal Prussian Scientific Committee for the Board of Health, the highest medical board of the Prussian state, also to which Privy Councilors von Langenbeck and Bardeleben, both at the same
time major generals in the Medical Corps, belonged, Paragraph 143 was nevertheless preserved as Paragraph 152 in the penal code book of the North German Confederation, by reason of the "legal awareness of the people, or public opinion." Behind this business was the arch-reactionary, the minister of spiritual, educational, and medical affairs, Heinrich von Mühler, closely shadowed by his pious wife Adelheid (née von Gossler).

The expert opinion of the Royal Scientific Committee for the Board of Health, given in Berlin on March 24, 1869, reads literally:

"We have been summoned to render an expert opinion on how medical science is to judge indecent sex acts. First, with regard to indecent sex acts by humans with animals, the earlier laws against them basically assumed that such a mixture was fruitful and that mongrels could be conceived between humans and animals. This notion originated in earlier times by a totally false diagnosis of so-called monsters, that is, malformed human fetuses in whose case people with an active imagination and fantasy believed they recognized a similarity of corresponding bodily parts of some animal in one or the other abnormally formed bodily parts. This led to the idea that such a fetus had a half human, half animal form and to the conclusion that it was the product of a sexual mixture of a human and an animal. Since then, science has long ago revealed how the so-called mongrels came into existence by a pathological development or the retardation of certain bodily parts in their formation. Moreover, it has been shown without a doubt that it is impossible to have a fruitful admixture of human and animal. According to this, even if the basic reason for the penal code in question is invalidated, any grounds for its preservation also cannot be produced from a medical standpoint.

"Cases of indecent sex acts with animals generally occur only rarely, and then
mostly in cases where ignorance is high, for example, among peasant youths, shepherds, etc., who live most of the time with livestock, and out of loneliness and boredom are led to this unnatural kind of gratification of the sex drive. There is no reason to believe that this has adverse effects on their health. Perhaps this could occur if those acts were done too frequently, and the same would have the same effects as masturbation. The latter is to be considered unequally a more dangerous vice, and because this now has become much more prevalent than indecent sex acts with animals, the latter hardly deserves consideration. In any case, indecent sexual activity between persons of the male sex is more important, because this crime particularly is closely related to the behavior defined in Paragraph 144 (persons under 14 years) of the Prussian penal code book.

"The motive for the warning issued in the Prussian penal code book because of indecent sex acts between persons of the male sex consists in the fact that the same 'demonstrates such a gross degeneration and debasement of the person, and is so dangerous to morality that it cannot remain unpunished.' On the other hand, the draft for the Austrian penal code book contains no warning of punishment for the behavior in question, and in its motives explains that this special kind of indecent sexual activity is no different from any other that nowhere else is threatened with punishment, no matter if one wants to conceive the same by nature to be lewd or behavior dangerous to one's health.

"With regard to the latter point, there is no objection to this on the part of medical science, and especially since the Royal Superior Court in various decisions granted that masturbation practiced between men was not indecent sexual activity between persons of the male sex, we have to agree fully with the interpretation of the Austrian model. With
regard to health, only masturbation would be considered important, while an imitation of coitus between male persons, except for some local injuries, can basically be disadvantageous only in cases of excess, just as it is with usual coitus.

"It is not within the realm of competency of medical authorities to render a judgment whether indecent sexual activity practiced between persons of the male sex is more offensive than between men and women, or between women. Accordingly, we are not in the position to produce any reasons exactly why indecent sex acts with animals or between persons of the male sex should be threatened with punishment while other kinds of indecent sexual acts are left unheeded by the penal laws. Finally, we submit to the judgment of another to weigh if the eventual striking of Paragraph 143 perhaps could have influence on the interpretation of Paragraph 146 (prostitution) of the Prussian penal code book."

This expert opinion was signed by: (1) Lehnert, Dr. O., second physician at Elizabeth Hospital, Höniggrätzer St. 126 II; (2) Jüngken; (3) v. Horn, Dr. W., senior medical officer, Unterbaum St. 7; (4) B. v. Langenbek, Dr., medical privy councilor, professor at the University of, etc., Sommer St. 4; (5) Houselle, Dr. C., med. priv. coun., advisor in the Ministry of Public Worship and Education, Krausen St. 39; (6) Martin, E., med. priv. coun. and professor, Dorotheen St. 5; (7) Dr. Rudolf Virchow, professor, Schelling St. 10; (8) A. W. Hofmann, professor of chemistry, member of the Academy, Dorotheen St. 10; (9) Dr. Bardeleben, med. priv. coun., university professor, dir. Surgical Clinic at Mercy Hospital, Schiffbauer Causeway 18; (10) C. Skrlezka, general practitioner, professor, Doctor of Forensic Medicine, Link St. 14.

When Minister of Justice Leonhardt sent this medical opinion to Minister of
Public Worship and Education Mühler, the latter replied (April 12, 1869), "I consider the justification of the penal code given in the motives for § 143 of the penal code book of April 14, 1851, even in opposition to the expert opinion of the Scientific Committee, as well-grounded."

The motives brought into play here read:

"§ 152 preserves the punishment legislated in § 143 (sodomy and pederasty) of the Prussian penal code book. For, even if this penal code were stricken from the medical standpoint, as can be justified by reasons understood from many theories of criminal law, the legal awareness of the people judges this behavior not only as a vice but also as criminal, and legislators rightly will have to hesitate declaring this behavior as not punishable in the face of this view of the law, behavior which public opinion fortunately considers worthy of punishment. To take away from the civil penal code the conviction of such persons who have sinned in this manner against the laws of nature and to submit to the moral code, would be criticized no doubt as being a legislative mistake, and for that reason, too, the draft reflects our belief that we could not follow the processes of other legislatures in this matter."

As was to be expected, Ulrichs, too, took up a position, and to be sure in his "Araxes: Ruf nach Befreiung der Urninsnatur von dem Strafgesetz" (Araxes River: Call for the Freedom of the Uranian Nature from the Penal Code), the eleventh of his writings, published in March 1870, addressed to the imperial assemblies of North Germany and Austria. Here, he concisely summarizes all the results in scientific and legal areas gained by his earlier published writings, and he again introduces his most essential authorities, to whom he now includes Otto Henne ten Rhyn, the famous cultural historian. But this call,
too, was to fall on deaf ears. It was still not in the Uranian nature to be summoned to
break the shackles and chains of the law against them, unlike what was occurring in the
distant canyon in the Caucasus, where the raging Araxes River struggled against the
forceful yoke of any bridge.

On the contrary, times for homosexuals actually became worse. This medieval
penal law was not stricken with the founding of the German Empire, brought about by the
events of 1870/71. The legislative conditions adopted for the unification of the German
states finally were not modeled after the second largest, centralized German confederacy,
after Bavaria. The penal law of the North German Confederation, supposedly because the
Prussian model was the best of all the German penal code books, on the contrary
preserved § 152, which was pronounced indefensible by the progressive scientific
knowledge of that time. It was preserved in the Imperial penal code book, where the
ubiquitous § 175 now again prolongs its calamitous existence for more than a full
generation.

The echo of the patriotic enthusiasm about the gains during the war left the call of
the minorities for justice in silence. As a consequence, in 1872, the impunity was
repealed in Bavaria, where it had existed unopposed already for three quarters of a
century, as well as in Württemberg and Baden, where impunity likewise had existed for a
generation, and the Paragraph, even if its minimum legal punishment were set at one day
in jail, which, moreover, would be the case only very rarely, was maintained as a sign of
the disregard of science and as a Paragraph of heresy in sexual matters henceforth valid
everywhere in the German Empire.

After a long pause, Ulrichs, now in his 60's, for those reasons mentioned above,
again took up his pen to reveal the nature and the effects of the harmful Paragraph in the light of criticism, in his "Critische Pfeile" (Critical Arrows), the twelfth and final writing, again a memorandum to the legislative bodies in Berlin and Vienna. He again proved that the Paragraph was unjustified because it lacked every criminal element on the part of the doer, because of its lack of any goal, because it effects neither an improvement of the doer nor a prevention of a repetition, and it was cruel, because it demanded a lifetime of abstinence from the born Urning.

Ulrichs completed his eleventh writing, "Araxes," on May 24, 1870, exactly six years after his first. There then was a nine-year pause. His last writing on Uranism, "Kritische Pfeile" (sic), was completed in Stuttgart on March 29, 1879. He had authored his first four writings in his Hanoverian homeland.

Upon the events of the year 1866, Ulrichs had only one thing on his mind: in Hanover no § 175; in Prussia § 175. He became an enraged Guelph agitator and for a time played a political role. He was arrested by the Prussian-German side and sentenced to one year in prison in Minden.

At the time, a notice was seen in the newspapers that his papers had been confiscated, but instead, as hoped, of finding political material, they discovered extensive Uranian correspondence that had reached into the highest circles.

To get out of the way of the Uranian Paragraph, Ulrichs moved from Hanover to Würzburg in Bavaria where there was no punishment. Here, he wrote his writings "Ara spei" (Refuge of Hope) to "Araxes," and then settled in Württemberg, which likewise had no punishment, and where he spent his time in Stuttgart writing and raising rare butterfly larvae.
After 15 years of fighting seemingly in vain, Ulrichs', exactly as Hößli's, powers began to dwindle. In his first writing, "Vindex" (The Vindicator), he wrote, "The past two centuries were given up to abolishing the persecution of heresy and witchcraft. Hopefully, it remains for our century, indeed, or decade, to abolish the persecution of man-manly love." This confidence of victory, this great optimism with which Ulrichs took up the battle, faded with the years into a grief that became worse as time passed, the more he became convinced how difficult it was to abolish from the world a prejudice that had rooted itself to such an extent.

Most painful to him was the reinstatement by the Austrian parliament of the Uranian § 273 that Minister of Justice Komer had stricken in a governmental draft. And also the acceptance of the fateful § 175 in the new German Imperial penal code book, in spite of the opposition stated in the expert opinion of the Royal Prussian Scientific Committee.

As he more clearly saw how little response his flyers and books found, and how minimal the support and encouragement from his fellow sufferers was, he gave up the race, left home, and went (mostly by foot) over the Alps to Italy, there, where many German Uranians before him had found refuge and peace of mind.

He reached Naples in 1880 and spent more than two years there. Because of a skin infection, he believed that the fresh air high in the Abruzzi Mountains would be more suitable than the hot surroundings of Vesuvius. He went to L'Aquila, where he lived almost forgotten by his fellow sufferers in Germany.

He rarely occupied himself with the homosexual question there. On the contrary, he devoted almost all his time publishing a small Latin newspaper, *Alaudae* (Larks),
whose classical scholarship and form of expression gained for him many friends and patrons. A union of both of his special fields is found in his last writing, Carlo Arrigo Ulrichs, *Cupressi: Carmina in memoriam Ludovici II Regis Bavariae: June 13, 1886* (Cypress Twigs: Lyrical Poems in Memory of Ludwig II King of Bavaria; Berlin, 1887; rendered above).

On April 18, 1909, I carried out a wish I had entertained for a long time. I went to L'Aquila. It was a happy coincidence that his patron there, the aged marquis, Dr. Niccolò Persichetti, was still living, and personally was able to show me all the quarters "the German professor" blessed with his presence. He told me about other interesting details about his last years. With every story, Persichetti added at the end, "Oh, he was an extraordinary man, very respectable, admirable, but too modest."

I will relate my conversation with Persichetti exactly as I wrote it after my visit with him. He said, "I first heard of him at the senate in Rome. The minister of education asked me, 'What kind of man is he, the one who publishes a Latin newspaper where you live in L'Aquila? Queen Margherita reads it, and she is totally charmed by it.'"

[Persichetti responded] "There must be some kind of mistake. There is no one there who could do that.

"When I returned," Ulrichs' patron continued, "I inquired at the police station, but no one knew anything about it. Someone finally said to me, 'Perhaps you mean the elderly German whom you can always see hurrying along the street, alone, with books under his arm.' I went to look him up [Persichetti showed me the old corner house] where he lived, and found him in total desperation. Just the night before, a fire in his apartment had burned all his books and papers, all his belongings. I gave him lodgings [Persichetti
continued] in a house that I had inherited from my ancestors. There just happened to be an empty attic room with a splendid view of the Gran Sasso d'Italia (Great Stone Mountain). Look, [Persichetti led me up a dark staircase] he used to write up here; that is where his bed used to be. Over there is his desk at the window, where he could see way out into the distance. Here is where he put his flowers, which he loved so much, and over there he cooked his own meals, which certainly occurred only rarely, because he lived almost exclusively on bread, cheese, eggs, milk and fruit, with which he occasionally took some local wine. I would like to have a plaque affixed to the house in his memory [the marquis said as we went down the stairs].

"He often came to visit us. On Sundays 'il professore' always came to eat at our family table. I always served Rhine wine at these meals. My children were always around him. You could ask him anything you wanted; he knew about everything. I have never seen such a memory or such knowledge. He knew about every coin, every little picture, every book. He especially knew how to tell a story. There was nothing foreign to him about astronomy, botany, philology and philosophy. One time when he came to visit us, my Edoardo was brooding over some mathematical problem that he could not solve. He not only helped him to get on the right track, but at the same time also told who had first set up this problem and something about the man's personality.

"His needs were so few it was astonishing. My wife several times wanted to make a present to him of new clothes, but he constantly refused them. Besides us, he socialized only with an aged Austrian woman; otherwise there were no other Germans living here. Ever since he arrived here he never again set foot out of the place or its surroundings *** the Abruzzi Mountains. He wandered a lot around the area. He much preferred the
chestnut forests; they appeared to him to be a piece of the south of Germany, he told me.

"When once he failed to appear after a long time, I went up to see him. There he had been in bed for four days alone in his attic room in great pain. It was probably a bladder infection, because he was unable to pass water. I called for the doctor. He said he immediately had to go to the municipal hospital. But Ulrichs did not want to part with his books and flowers. However, in the end I did bring him to our hospital. When on the next day I went to visit him in his nice, clean hospital room [Persichetti showed it to me] Ulrichs said to me, beaming with all modesty, 'Oh, Marquis, I am so comfortable here. From my bed I can see your country home in the mountains, where I was so often happy with your family. And just think of my delight when yesterday evening I heard the sisters singing nearby in my beloved Latin "Ora pro nobis" (pray for us) and "Pater noster" (Our Father), and "Ave Maria" (Hail Mary). It made me much more relaxed.'"

After Ulrichs had been in the hospital for five days, Persichetti brought him a diploma that the University of Naples had conferred on Ulrichs in recognition of his Latin newspaper, *Alaudae* (Larks). He was even too ill to read it himself. He only smiled contentedly and died soon after in the arms of Persichetti. He still has this diploma in his safekeeping. He also possesses various Latin publications by Ulrichs, as well as his Uranian writings in the original editions; he also showed me a picture taken in his last years, a very small photograph that we looked at with a magnifying glass, an elderly, gray-bearded man with a little black cap in the circle of the Persichetti family. "Of his anthropological studies," the marquis said, and thereby meant the homosexual question, "he spoke about them here in L'Aquila only very rarely. He devoted all his interest to the care of Latin. His newspaper had enthusiastic admirers on every continent. Besides the
Queen of Italy there also was King Oscar of Sweden who subscribed. Colonel Young wrote him a letter in Latin every day from England. The people whom he fought for no longer bothered themselves about him," the aged Marquis Niccolò Persichetti concluded, who had him placed in a grave beside his family mausoleum.

On the afternoon of that day, I made inquiries at the cemetery located about a half an hour from L'Aquila in a picturesque valley in the Abruzzi Mountains. When I asked about the grave site of Carlo Arrigo Ulrichs, the aged grounds keeper said to me that in the 14 years since his being laid to rest, I was the first person who had asked about the estranged German.

We spent more time on Ulrichs because he is of importance to us in a three-fold manner as a researcher on Uranism, as a pioneer in the field, and ultimately as a Uranian personality.

The little books published on plain paper printed in small editions and on commission by Ulrichs had found only a relatively small readership. The free copies the author sent out fell on the most fertile ground, and in one case the effect was so powerful that the seeds that germinated here alone made the effort worthwhile. That was the case of Krafft-Ebing. ....

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ii Paragraph 175 (§ 175) during the German Empire (1871) punished "unnatural" sex acts, i.e., coitus-like behavior between persons of the male sex only with prison terms set at
one day up to five years, with an age shelter for children up to age 14; see Hirschfeld, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women* (2000), p. 954. (Trans.)


v In September of that year they were subject to the same fate in Prussia; see "Formatrix" (She [Mother Nature] Who Creates), [translated in Ulrichs, *The Riddle of “Man-Manly” Love: The Pioneering Work on Male Homosexuality*, 1864-1879; translated by Michael Lombardi-Nash. 2 vols. (Buffalo, New York: Prometheus Books), 1994].

vi In the mid 1860s Heinrich August Tewes (1831-1913) cosponsored with Ulrichs a request to the Association of German Jurists to have a discussion of the laws affecting urnings. (Trans.)

vii Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902) is known as the "father of pathology." (Trans.)

viii In an essay on the deception of the senses in *Friedreichs Blätter für gerichtliche Medizin* (Forensic Medicine News) (Nuremberg), 1864, p. 244: "Diminished capacity
caused by an abnormal somatic or psychical process leaves the individual in a psychically imprisoned condition."

"The last word in wisdom is: As for life and liberty//Only those who overcome them daily will gain them." (Trans.)


In his works in criminal law, C. G. von Wächter (1797-1881), himself, collected a great deal of important material on the question.

Hößli's *Eros* appeared in two volumes, in 1836 and 1838 respectively. (Trans.)

See Niccolò Persichetti, "In memoriam Caroli Henrici Ulrichs, Ephemeridis cui titulus "Alaudae" auctoris sylloge" (Santi Cassiani, 1896) (In Memory of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, Author of the Journal Whose Title is "Larks": A Collection; rendered below).
Niccolò Persichetti (1849-1915), the Marquis of Santa Mustiola, Italy, and an archeologist and historian, became the final patron and intimate friend of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. The marquis published this festschrift to raise funds to place and maintain a stone over Ulrichs' grave. After decades of neglect the stone fell into decay but was restored recently by concerned Germans and Italians. See the Web site [http://www.angelfire.com/fl3/celebration2000/restoration.html](http://www.angelfire.com/fl3/celebration2000/restoration.html) for illustrations and more information. The original of Persichetti's memorial, written in Italian, French, Latin and a sprinkling of English, is titled In memoriam Caroli Henrici Ulrichs: ephemeridis cui titulus Alaudae auctoris: sylloge (author of the journal whose title is Larks [The Songbirds]: A Collection) (San Casciano near Florence), 1896. A Latin-German bilingual edition of this work by Persichetti, translated by Jochen Engling and Wolfram Setz, appeared in Karl Heinrich Ulrichs zu Ehren: Materialien zu Leben und Werk, ed. by Wolfram Setz (Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel), 2000.
Contents of "In Memory of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs"

* Quotation from Pliny on the unexpected death of those who create something immortal.

* Preface: Opening words by Persichetti.

* A literary résumé by Ulrichs (1894).

* Il Popolo Romano (The Roman People; Rome): A death notice.


* Eulogy by Niccolò Persichetti.

* La Rivista Abruzzese (The Abruzzi Review; Teramo): A death notice.


* Myosotis (Palermo): A death notice.

* Praeco Latinus (The Latin Herald; Philadelphia): A notice announcing the availability of Persichetti's In memoriam Caroli Henrici Ulrichs for sale.

* Expressions of sympathy to Persichetti in letters from Munich, London, Philadelphia, Berkeley, California; Nuremberg; Alingsås, Sweden; Helsinki; Florence with a plea for funds for a stone over Ulrichs' grave; England; L'Aquila, again from Florence; New York, New Zealand, again from L'Aquila; with various letters containing epigrams and offering suggestions for an epitaph.

* The epitaph on Ulrichs' tombstone composed by Enrico Casti.
* Names of contributors: The names and locations of those who sent money for the placement and maintenance of the gravestone, including the amount of the donation.

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**IN MEMORY OF KARL HEINRICH ULRICH**

(Translated from Latin)

... However, the early death of those who create something immortal always seems to me to be very harsh. For, those who devote themselves to pleasures live as if for the day; living, they complete matters daily. Those who recognize the true meaning of the future and expand it in their minds, to these death is by no means ever unexpected; so that this always interrupts something that is incomplete.

### Pliny, Ep. 5, 5

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**Preface**

[Niccolò Persichetti]

(Translated from Latin)

You have, most kind reader, collected here in one work, all that has been published or written to date on the lamentable death of the most brilliant and learned man, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. It is hoped that you will be pleased and delighted with this collection.

Included here is the literary résumé most elegantly composed by lamplight by
Ulrichs himself, which he sent to the Academia Pontaniana at their request, and which was kindly sent to me by a distinguished professor, Joannes Antonelli, from the University of Naples, for whose politeness and kindness I sincerely give thanks.

I consider this text by the brilliant author to be very readable, firstly because it has as yet not been published, and secondly because in an astounding way it allows one to recognize the sincere, mild manner and extraordinary integrity he displayed. It also seemed to me as being appropriate to take up the text in which I, myself, eulogized this man. Finally, I am also making available a list of the distinguished men who as a matter of course placed money at our disposal that we might place a gravestone in the L'Aquila cemetery for the scholar. It gives me great pleasure to report that it has been completed in the meantime.

I now publish this, a testimony of my friendship, devotion and respect for him. I am certain that the memory of such great virtue, learning and humanity will remain alive in everyone's heart.

### Nicolavs Persichetti

L'Aquila on the Aterno River, on the day before the ides of July, 1896

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**Literary Résumé**

[Karl Heinrich Ulrichs]

(Translation from Latin)

I was born on the 28th day of August 1825 across the Alps in the Kingdom of Hanover in the region near Aurich, belonging to East Friesland. I am the son of an architect, grandson of a Protestant superintendent and doctor of theology. I attended the
preparatory schools (Gymnasium/lyceum) in Aurich, Detmold and Celle and the universities of Göttingen and Berlin.

At Göttingen I wrote an academic dissertation on cross litigation. This was distinguished with a first-place award in the year 1846. The prize, moreover, was a gold medallion with the inscription

APTITUDE AND SCHOLARSHIP.

In the year of 1848 I wrote another academic dissertation in Latin at the University of Berlin, titled *Pax Westphalica: quid constituerit de principum jure reformando religionisque exercitio subditorum?* (The Peace of Westphalia: law reform of the rights of the ruling class and the freedom of religion of its subjects).

This one, in fact, did not take first place. However, it received honorable mention, at least, and did win an award. I had not satisfied one of the formalities; therefore, on the 5th of August 1848 I was paid the sum of 40 Thalers (150 Marks or 187.50 Francs) from the royal treasury of Berlin "in recognition of his aspirations." I made mention of this in my book about the monopoly of the post office, *Postfürstenthum*.

Having completed my studies at Göttingen and Berlin, I entered the service of the Kingdom of Hanover in my country, the memory of which is even now deeply engraved into my heart. I was also an administrative assistant to His Excellency von Linde, who was the representative of the Principality of Lichtenstein, Reuss and Homburg to the legislative assembly of the German Confederation as well as to Austria. But I partly made a living as a jurist.

At that time I began to write about the history of capital punishment and the abolition of it, both of which I left unfinished, seeing that the work was too much. Yet
occasionally this work led me to write letters in Latin to a man in Italy. Even His Excellency Nicolaus Lami, minister of justice of the Grand Duchy of Etruria, most courteously corresponded with me in Latin. Actually, he continued to honor me with colloquies and letters in Latin for several years thereafter in his old age.

When in 1866 the Prussians occupied my country I held public meetings where I declared I was an adversary of their invasion and hostility and faithful to the King of Hanover. This very much annoyed a Prussian commander, who imprisoned me in a Prussian jail. But I received letters from someone named Elster, who wrote to me by order of King George V, who was banned and exiled. Moreover, he was actually ordered to inform me the king thanked me for my extraordinary faithfulness to him during those critical moments. Similarly, someone named Borchers, an officer, notified me of the sincere thankfulness of the queen, by her own order.

Although my writings were published I was distinguished by none of them. I always loved literature. I was very concerned with different sciences, treating them superficially, some even more or less to a greater extent, as is proper for such things, and I became not entirely unskilled, and I am willing to advance myself whether in an institution or among learned men. I have touched upon archeology and have become experienced in numismatics and astronomy, the queen of the sciences. I also energetically wrote a basic work on anthropology to investigate a certain riddle of certain anthropological persons, which I also published in German, writing by lamp-light.

I wrote some epigrams in German, published in Leipzig in 1875 and Latin songs, published in the same place in 1879.

Two of my Latin songs to be sung or played on an instrument written in Vienna in
1879, were recommended for two honorary diplomas, and then they were ordered to be typeset.

My name and several of my writings were chosen from the names of many other living German authors for a yearbook: *Deutscher Literaturkalender*, published in Stuttgart.

In 1880 I left Germany, and I betook myself to Naples, where I remained for three years. From there I moved to L'Aquila in 1883 because of the climate.

Friends I have made in Italy include Sir V. Mariani, the Marquis Persichetti, both from L'Aquila; Cavarocchi, the city clerk (Chieti), Sir Mengozzi (San Casciano), military officer Sommati de Mombello (colonel in Brescia), whom I taught. I gave instruction to the son of Professor Antonelli and to others. Among my German friends, I name Professor Tewes at the University of Graz in Steiermark, recently elected by the Emperor to the Knights of the Iron Crown, who always proved himself a faithful friend of mine.

All my life I have liked the Latin language. I resolve to always devote myself to it so that it may endure: The Latin language will not be annihilated. For the love and cultivation of Latin I was moved, in the year 1889, to publish, for a few farthings, a Latin periodical which I called *Alaudae*.

*Alaudae*, written by me, had not many followers and readers. But at least I did accomplish what I had set out to do: to use this periodical as a means of reaching many nations. In just about every European city there are readers who subscribe to it, especially in Britain and in Russia, also in America, in Egypt (Cairo and Port Said), in Asia (Madras and Tashkent, in Tashkent no less than 15), some go to the Antipodes, to New Zealand, mostly to Wanganui. Among the subscribing readers are a king (across the
Alps), a queen (of Latin origin), the British Museum and Library in London, in Finland, the library of a Swedish high school in Helsinki. It is in itself a mark of distinction that *Alaudae* is sent to the Apostolic Library of the Vatican...

### Karl Heinrich Ulrichs

In L'Aquila, 18 Oct. 1894
(Translated from Italian)

The Roman People ### Rome, 18 July 1895, vol. 23, no. 197:

L'Aquila: Dr. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, the notable Latinist from Aurich (Hanover), who left his home twelve years ago, publisher of the celebrated periodical *Alaudae* in the Latin language, died in the local civic hospital yesterday.

This city, which is honored to have hosted him, was profoundly saddened by his death and paid its last respects with the intervention of the principal authorities and a large gathering of people. The Marquis Niccolò Persichetti recited the eulogy of the illustrious dead.

(Translated from Italian)


For Carlo Arrigo Ulrichs.

Sunday, the 14th of this month, at five in the afternoon, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, who lived a modest life of work and productivity and a time-honored resident of our city and editor of the widely-circulated and most valued Latin periodical *Alaudae*, died peacefully in the Civic Hospital. The funeral was a more extensive and ostensible one than is usual, which gave proof of the true and profound manifestation of grief over the death of the illustrious man. Present were Sir Jacobucci, mayor of L'Aquila, Commissioner Ciolina, president of the Provincial Deputation, Sir Mancini, knighted municipal assessor, Prof. Parrozzani, dean of the Technical Institute, Attorney Gentile, president elect of the Congregation of Charities, Sir Muzii, president of the Council of
Discipline of Attorneys, Sir Vincentini and Sir Mariani, members of the Council of the Order of Advocates, Cocciolone, notary and president of the Workwoman Society, and a great multitude of students and workers.

On the funeral carriage was a remarkable wreath from the Persichetti family, another from Sir von Tewes, professor at the University of Graz and a third from the staff of our periodical.

At the cemetery, Marquis Persichetti, who was bound to the deceased in a steadfast tie of friendship which was open-hearted and true, gave an extensive eulogy, which was filled with profound sentiment.

And we, reprinting that discourse, for our part, believe we are showing our gratitude to the most honorable, talented and pure soul, on the other hand, we are paying our last respects to the memory of Prof. Ulrichs, who, from our L'Aquila, which he loved as his own home, distributed his melodious Alaudae [Larks (the songbirds)] to some of the most remote places in the world.

Here, therefore, in its entirety, the eulogy given by the Marquis Persichetti.

(Translated from Italian)

EULOGY

[Niccolò Persichetti]

"To you, O Lord, who has harvested a mournful and noble sentiment around this bier, demonstrating in a solemn way the profound grief which we feel at the death of the illustrious man who is the subject of it, and to demonstrate the highest esteem we held
him in, to you, who knew more about his intimate life and works of his most elegant
talent and who certainly blessed me more than any other by having the honor and the
fortune of bringing him here, I am going to tell all his good qualities to you, O Lord, I do
not know how, at this moment, to give this eulogy of he whom the city today bitterly
weeps the loss, as bitterly as his many admirers in every part of the world will weep, as
far as the Antipodes, when the very sad news of this truly irreparable loss reaches them.

"Would that my ability be equal to the wish to honor him as he merits and as my
heart dictates to me; if I could only say how unsurpassable and enviable he was not only
in letters and sciences; better still of a virtuous, modest, beneficent, faultless man with an
upright character, how unchangeable his political beliefs; if I only had the necessary
authority to be able to form an adequate and respectable opinion of him and his works,
but my grief does not have the skill, the time and all of the requisite information to do
this; since you yourselves know that ever since he came to take up residence in our city
he withdrew, shut himself in, happy to be in the company of his thoughts, of his studies,
of his correspondence and of his publications. And being the most private and most
delicate person, it was suitable, therefore, to treat him with equal sensitivity, never to
venture to ask him about himself and about his affairs; I do not know much more about
him; when he, himself, sometimes would come to talk to me he could hardly wait to
withdraw his noble and grand figure completely and properly.

"However, permit me at least to place a flower on his bier, because he dearly
loved flowers very much; and to shed a sad tear, because the fullness of affection
prevents me from holding it back.

"Karl Heinrich Ulrichs was medium built, had a high forehead, over which fell his
somewhat long hair a little, wore a serious look on his face, marked by perfect lines, wore
a short trimmed beard, was hardly ever wanting in material or intellectual needs, dressed
in clothing that was perhaps a little humble and modest; his majestic walk was calm and
solemn and without affectation, supporting himself with a cane, always in the company
of some book which he carried under his arm. Those who met him on his way, even
without being acquainted with him, soon became aware of every stately and reverential
aspect; that this man was intellectually an uncommon and superior being who avoided
vulgar crowds. It was sufficient after having only one conversation with him to know
how well he was provided with great talent, vast knowledge, profound learning and polite
manners, and to soon acquire the mixed feeling of sentiment and reverence. ###I will tell
you briefly, as I pointed out, what little I learned about him myself.

"Karl Heinrich Ulrichs was born on August 28, 1825, in Westerfeld, a suburban
tenement district near Aurich (Hanover), of Hermann Heinrich Ulrichs and Anna
Heinrichs.

"His father, an architect with a government agency, was the proprietor of a
modest piece of property in Westerfeld where he lived quietly enjoying it with his family
in the delightful countryside. As a boy Karl Heinrich went to elementary school in Aurich
on foot with his two sisters every day. He often used to recall the early years of his life
and in the most minute detail, being they were the most happy of his tormented existence.
Shortly afterward, while he was still in his formative years, misfortune began to knock on
the door of his house with the loss of his father, who, while taking some measurements,
slipped into a pit dashing his kidneys so forcefully that it incurred a malady that lead to
his death. The grief that the unfortunate lad felt at the premature loss of his most beloved
father was so profound that it left an indelible mark on his heart. As an orphan his
maternal grandfather, a senior parish priest and superintendent of the parish churches,
took him into his care and sent him to Celle to study at the junior high school there and
then to the high school in Detmold. Everywhere he distinguished himself by his
uncommon talent for writing prose as well as poetry and by his love of learning. And it
was in Detmold, in the Saltus Teutoburgensis (Teutoburger Wald, mountain range in
eastern Westphalia) where the miserable and memorable slaughter of the legions of
Quintilio Varo occurred, where the Roman military leaders, commanded by Germanico,
were bloodily attacked by the nation of Herman, it was in Detmold, in the high school
there, that Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, this notable son of Friesland, developed and
passionately consumed the study of history, literature, law, and even more, of the
language of ancient Rome: studies he never abandoned, which brought him fame and
respect, which around his head had formed a wreath of glory, which he today takes with
him to his grave.

"From the high school in Detmold he then attended the University of Göttingen;
then the one in Berlin, devoting himself to the study of law. And at both universities, by
theses written in the language of Latium, competing with many of his colleagues at
school, he was awarded the first prize of a golden medal. The winning dissertation at
Göttingen in 1846 was on the courts of law, and the one he wrote two years later at
Berlin, was on the Peace of Westphalia. However, because of the omission of a required
formality, his prize was converted into the sum of 150 Marks. And because he had
struggled in this contest for the medal and not really for the money, he refused it
scornfully, thus giving proof positive of the nobility and dignity of his character. Having
completed his university studies he returned to Hanover and took up his career as a magistrate, where he reached the level of jurist in the Hildesheim judicial system. This career, nevertheless, was not agreeable to his temperament; it was his wish to travel and get to know the world. He resisted following such an inclination while his mother was living, but after having the misfortune of losing her and after the marriage of his sisters, and after having to sell the small holding in Westerfeld, he left the magistrateship and fulfilled, as far as he was able, the desire to expand his knowledge by traveling.

"After visiting Mainz, Cologne, Leipzig, Stuttgart, Monaco, Vienna, Graz and Prague, in 1861 he met Mr. von Linde, ambassador of the Principality of Lichtenstein, at the Diet of the German Confederation in Frankfurt, who, admiring his great talent, vast and profound knowledge and flawless honesty, took him on as his personal secretary.

"Ulrichs, having entered thus into the diplomatic world, spending some years in Frankfurt, had the opportunity to meet illustrious personages, with one of whom, the well-known Windorsth, he formed a close tie of friendship, and to write two works of a juridical-diplomatic nature on the right of the Prince of Thurn and Taxis to regulate the postal service in some German states, titled Der Nassau Taxis'sche Postvertrag u. der Braun'sche Antrag in der Nassauischen 2. Kammer: Eine juristische Untersuchung (The Nassau Taxis Postal Contract and the Braun Proposal in the Nassau Second Chamber: A Juridical Investigation), and Das deutsche Postfürstenthum, sonst reichsmittelbar: jetzt bundesmittelbar: Gemeinrechtliche Darstellung des öffentlichen Rechts des Fürsten von Thurn und Taxis als Inhaber der gemeinen deutschen Post (The German Postal Principality: Formerly Regulated by the Empire, Now Federally Regulated: A Legal Statement of the Public Right of the Prince of Thurn and Taxis as Proprietor of the
General German Post Office) by Karl Ulrichs, retired jurist for the Kingdom of Hanover, member of the Free Academy in Frankfurt-on-Main, (Giessen, 1861). But he not only occupied himself with this during his stay in Frankfurt, but he also took up his pen to write on the history of the death penalty and on the abolition of it, a work which remained incomplete and unpublished.

"A few years later, precisely in 1864, he began the publication of twelve differently titled pamphlets (the titles of the pamphlets are: I. *Vindex* (The Vindicator; Leipzig, 1864); II. *Inclusa* (Inclusion; Leipzig, 1864); III. *Vindicta* (Rod of Freedom; Leipzig, 1865); IV. *Formatrix* (She [Nature] Who Creates; Leipzig, 1865); V. *Ara Spei* (Refuge of Hope; Leipzig, 1865); VI. *Memnon*, 1868; VII. *Gladius Furens* (Raging Sword; 1868); VIII. *Incubus*, 1869; IX. *Argonauticus*, 1869; X. *Prometheus*, 1870; XI. *Araxes* (The River; Schleitz, 1870); XII. *Kritische Pfeile* (Critical Arrows, Stuttgart, 1879). This was a series of studies on a new and delicate anthropological question. The general title of the work is *Forschungen über das Räthsel der mannmännlichen Liebe* (Research on the Riddle of Man-Manly Love), or, *Sozial-Juristische Studien über mannmännliche Geschlechtsliebe* (Social-Juridical Studies on Man-Manly Sexual Love). At first the author hid himself behind the pseudonym of 'Numa Numantius' but after the first few pamphlets revealed his true name. With this work he attempted, with great courage and firmness, to radically reform the evaluation of some judicial matters. By so doing he endured some grief, and he also underwent a trial in Württemberg in which he was successfully acquitted after having struggled in a manly way to demonstrate that his aim was totally scientific. The work was read cursorily with much interest, but it was not spared any bitter criticism, and only shortly after his death was there the consolation of
seeing his theories accepted by other scholars (consult: Ulrichs, *Alaudae* (Larks), p. 355.

"At the outbreak of the war in 1866 led by Prussia and the Confederate States, Ulrichs did not abandon the endangered sovereign to whom he swore fidelity, and he used all his might to sustain the tottering crown. And, this fall occurring in spite of his efforts, he did not submit in the face of the victor, but he took heart and did not give in. He organized some meetings in which he held noble and patriotic speeches in favor of the dispossessed king. This angered the victors, who had him arrested and shut up in the fortress in Minden for four months in prison, where he was met enthusiastically by the Hanoverian soldiers who were prisoners of war, for which he was again arrested and imprisoned in the same fortress in Minden for another six months. After being released he was forced to leave Hanover.

"For him this was the beginning of a life filled with difficulties, sadness and numerous sacrifices. At that time he had to become a distinguished exile. Having lost all hope of being able to help his sovereign, he went on a search for a refuge far away from the country he loved, and his heart was filled with a deep sense of sadness. For many years he wandered here and there, taking comfort in his beloved studies, which he continued to publish as 'Social-Juridical Studies,' and in 1875 in Leipzig he wrote a little volume of epigrams in German titled *Auf Bienchens Flügeln: Ein Flug um den Erdball in Epigrammen und poetischen Bildern* (On the Wings of the Little Bee: Around the World in Epigrams and Poetic Images), and in 1880 another one of poetry, in Latin, titled *Apicula Latina: Lateinische Studentenlieder: Mit angehängten kleinen deutschen Poesien* (The Little Latin Bee: Latin Student Songs: Including Short German Poems). But this nomadic life of privation was too painful for him; therefore, he felt the great need to take
up residence where he could lessen the bitterness of the forced separation from his country of birth. He did not hesitate in his choice: Italy and Rome flashed into his mind, and he followed through on his decision to see that Rome which he had always greatly admired, left his country in poverty but rich in knowledge, being able to claim as Simonides did, 'I carry all my possessions with me.'

"He made the journey southward to Italy almost entirely on foot, begging for his keep bit by bit. He arrived in poverty, and he remained poor up to his final day. On the way he became ill and, finding himself in great distress and in extreme poverty, he made a request to the Department of Education of the Prussian government for the 150 Marks which I mentioned, which was granted to him as an award in the university contest; and although many years were to pass, somehow the money was soon dispatched, and so he was able to continue to travel.

"Having arrived in Italy in 1880, he stayed in Ravenna and Florence then in the suburbs of Rome, but, falling sick with malarial fever, he had to leave Rome and go to Naples. There he suffered other illnesses, and he decided it was time to get out. He went to visit some local provinces, preferring those places he had learned about in literature and in history. And so he went to Pesto, Benevento, Sannio and Frigento. And quite a few of these places visited by him he then celebrated in elegant Latin verses in his Alaudae. He returned to Naples when he suffered a relapse, and upon the advice of his friends, he came here to settle down in the second half of the year 1883. The pure air of these mountains reinvigorated his failing health, and he cheered up his low spirits so that he was able to devote himself anew to his studies, the fruit of which was the publication in the German language of some of the most beautiful novellas titled Matrosengeschichten:
Argumenta poetica et fabulosa, quae finxit esse narrata a nautis Norvegicis (Sailor Stories: Poems and Fables Which Were Told by the Sailors of Norway; Leipzig, 1885). He was able only to publish the first volume, having lost the manuscript of the second one in the fire from which he suffered the loss of the house he was living in. And in the Latin language he wrote some poems titled Cupressi: Carmina in memoriam Ludovici II regis Bavarae (Cypress Trees: Poems in Memory of Ludwig II, King of Bavaria; Berlin, 1887), not to mention his renowned Alaudae, so titled because the first issue began exactly with an ode 'Ad meas Alaudas' (To My Larks), and with this periodical he greatly distinguished himself and our city.

"Then, consequently, he stayed to spend the remaining years of his life no more prosperously and happily than the preceding ones, and he lived a frugal, simple and modest life, and he kept his spirit cloaked in simplicity and modesty. However, he did teach French, English, German, Latin and Greek. However, he did publish the above-mentioned most sought after publication, and he was content to receive every bit of the modest compensation which he derived from it so that it was enough to live on. He had neither money nor property, not even a book-case, however, in his mind he did possess a library. The books he did have were some dictionaries and some works that were given to him, which he may have used as resources and references. The things he really did like to have in his modest little and scantily furnished room were the flowers that he had always lovingly gathered in the countryside and in the woods, and which he cultivated with such care and affection, so that two days before his death, while he was already in the hospital, he said to me in a voice that was touching, 'Whatever is going to happen to my poor flowers?' A revelation of the exquisite gentleness of his spirit! And so
he used to go to collect his thoughts in the woods whenever he wanted to take a little time to comfort and amuse himself, because the shade and the rustic fragrance had an ineffable and delightful effect on him, awakening in his spirit the sweet memory of the thick and shady forest of his native soil.

"And living in this withdrawn and solitary manner in our city, fortunate for having given him hospitality, and in which he had few but sincere friends, his name probably would have remained unknown if his works, especially *Alaudae*, had not been diffuse and made to shine everywhere.

"And because this would not be the best time and place to make a critical analysis of his scientific and literary works, I will limit myself only to saying that he was greatly talented and bright, had a vivid imagination filled with the Latin poets, and had a memory that was most unfailing and wonderful. With such intelligence, joined by a great and unending love for the study of every branch of human knowledge, and which shaped his passion and his delight, he had become not only a cultured man but had a profound knowledge in science, archeology, law, mathematics, astronomy, botany and of classical languages. Even at this late age he had youthful poetic fire so that to read Latin verses such as his you would have to go back to the era of Augustus, at least to Poliziano and to Fancastoro. But what really distinguished him and will immortalize his name is the noble mission which his *Alaudae* had assumed, to revive and conserve the classical Roman language, to spread the use of Latin in science and in everything that has the character of universality and of perpetuity, whence he adopted the motto: A kind of wonderful power is contained in the Latin language to bring nations together (linguae latinae mire quaedam vis inest ad jugendas nationes). And he used to lament that this tradition might be
extinguished mostly by us Italians neglecting our great native country. In one word, he was not one of those people born to consume the fruits of the earth (fruges consumere nati), but of those destined for immortality.

"With so much merit, with so much talent, he was deserving of great fortune but which he did not receive. He was greatly esteemed in the world of the learned by his publications. They were read and admired not only in Italy, France, Germany, Russia, Sweden and Norway, but also in Siberia, Egypt, India, America and Australia. And they were read by especially illustrious personages such as the Vatican librarian, the late Monsignor Carini, by the immortal G. B. De Rossi, by Count Delianov, minister of the Department of Education of the Russian Empire, by the sovereigns of Württemberg and of Sweden, and even by our very own gentile and majestic queen, and Ulrichs, with so much inherited talent and esteem, should have lived more distinguished and less uncomfortably than what he did. Instead of this, he almost always granted his favors to those who should have been more deserving of them, but they turned out to be the most stingy to him. He did not really have employment, a profession or distinction, not even an academic diploma. Only the Accademia Pontaniana awarded him one through its associates, upon a proposal made by one of our fellow-citizens, Commissioner Giovanni Antonelli, a professor at the University of Naples. But the great man received the diploma on the day he entered our hospital, after having been stricken with a serious illness. I look upon the diploma with scorn, which for him would almost be a final mockery of fortune foretelling the end was near.

"In fact, the disease he was stricken with (nephritis) could not be cured by any available medication, by any of the remedies which were intelligently, affectionately and
reverently lavished upon him, or by any of the assistance I gave, up to the end, which rendered my heart because the sadness was great.

"The serenity that accompanied him all his life did not leave him even at the hour of his death; nor did he fail to turn his high mind to God, who was always first in his thoughts. And yesterday, therefore, when the last ray of the sun disappeared and vanished behind the distant mountains, likewise did his mundane existence disappear along with all his talent. He had a noble and great existence a highly potent intellectual has passed from the light into the darkness.

"But with your loss, oh Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, the fame of your works and your virtue will not likewise disappear. It will not erase the spirit of the great esteem and veneration which only you would know how to inspire in us. It will not erase the great and profound sadness in our hearts by your departure, but rather, as long as intelligence, virtue, learning, insight, poetry and science are cultivated on the earth and survive the weakness of our bodies as long as the noble prominence of genius and knowledge are rewarded, we and those who come after us will shed tears and scatter flowers on your venerated grave."
(Translated from Italian)

The Abruzzi Review##Teramo, September 1895, vol. 10, no. 9, p. 411.

Carlo Arrigo Ulrichs. Died in L'Aquila on the 14 of July of this year. Was born in 1825 in Westerfeld near Aurich close to Hanover. He was uncommonly talented and cultured, but suffered an adverse fate, and to remain loyal to his sovereign he had to take the path of the exile. The last twelve years of his life were spent in L'Aquila, where he published a Latin periodical titled Alaudae. He had a facility for writing the most correct Latin prose and poetry and was a diligent supporter of the language of the Latium as a universal means of communication for scholars of the civilized world.

The Review, as one of his distinguished collaborators, published some of his Latin poetry. We hope that some of those scholars in L'Aquila would collect the inheritance of Ulrichs and continue to publish the Alaudae, certainly to the honor of Abruzzo.

Our associate, Marquis Persichetti, gave poor Ulrichs a splendid historic eulogy, ultimate proof of the hospitality of his L'Aquila and supreme sign of friendship of the orator.

##Sir Giacinto C. Panella, professor.
(Translated from Latin)

*The Latin Herald* # Philadelphia, in the month of September, 1895, vol. 1, no. 12:

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, to the best of our knowledge the most illustrious and learned publisher in Europe of a Latin periodical titled *Alaudae*, died unfairly and unrewarded at the age of 70 around the end of July in a public hospital.

It is not sadness and mourning, but indignation, which moves our pen to translate [into Latin] this sad announcement for the readers of the *Herald*.

The most respected and commendatory marquis, Niccolò Persichetti, patron and intimate friend, kindly sent us the death notice published in an issue of the Italian periodical *The Future of Democracy*, L'Aquila (Abruzzi, Italy), and in which one might learn about the sad fate of Karl H. Ulrichs. And so, he was born very near Westerfeld, not far from Aurich, close to Hanover, in Germany, in the year 1825, of upright and good parents who were not affluent but to whom the want of the necessities of life was unknown. He began to study at the lyceum in Detmold, then at the universities of Göttingen and Berlin, and because he completed his studies he left there. After the war caused political changes, in which Ulrichs by no means had taken an excessive part, he wandered through Germany and Austria, finally leaving the country itself, which appeared to be a good decision, destitute of all material things, as the Marquis Persichetti stated, "being able to claim as Simonides did, 'I carry all my possessions with me.'"

After several crises he settled in L'Aquila, Italy, where, several years later, he founded *Alaudae*, and also made a living teaching the Greek, Latin, English and German languages, spending a modest, frugal and simple life. His knowledge and education in law, archeology, mathematics, natural history, astronomy, also history as well as
languages made him greatly admired by all, as his modesty, humility and virtue surpassed all excellence. He left behind not a few writings, as for instance, *On Open Forums; On the Peace of Westphalia; Research on the Riddle of Man-Manly Love; On the Wings of the Little Bee; The Little Latin Bee; Cypress Trees; Sailor Stories*, volume two of which he lost in a fire. Whether he was married is not clear in the source. Moreover, his funeral carriage was attended by the most illustrious personages, and the noble family of the Marquis Persichetti, von Tewes, professor at the University of Graz, and *The Future* joined together to place wreaths on the carriage. Behold the fate of men who are worthy of the greatest fortune and glory! This very old and learned man was famous and honored all over the world. He, who was admired and venerated by many all over the world for his remarkable knowledge, modesty, loyalty and patriotism, whose cultivation was universal and which is now denied to us, died miserably in a small-town hospital: What, immortal gods, an indignation!

Is this the reward for knowledge, learning, virtue, modesty and fame? Was there no Italian university that could find the humanity, the kindness or rather the honor to summon such a virtuous man to a professor's chair? Was there no government agency or university which considered it fitting to provide more carefree and dignified living conditions to he who was honored by Queen Margaret and was respected all over the world? What deceit, what parasitism, that such a kind and worthy man should be supported at the public expense and be compelled to be buried in a grave of the destitute. Woe to the learned, woe to the respectable!

Alas! The cultivators of scholarship in America have the same compensation coming to them! Oh! Young people, look what may happen; learn how to play ball, ride
horses, become horse-boys, innkeepers, jugglers, learn how to throw dice: you will earn hundreds of dollars, now, while you are young you inhabit the royal temples; when you are elderly, on the other hand, you will make senators, presidents of banks, of railroads; you will be wealthy, the people will respect you, you will be flattered, you will be petty kings, you will travel in your own yachts, and when, in fact, death drags you off, the remains will be placed in marble and alabaster caskets and buried in splendid sepulchers.

Withdraw from patriotism, modesty and learning! Away with you, virtue! Be extravagant, obstinate, unrestrained; try to sell, evaluate and fling away education; attack the Board of Education; flatter the leaders, the supporters; hang on to the shirt tails of the influential, in this way, oh, young people, you will reach the stars! Serve the worthless passions of the people, flatter the brutalities of your people, and you will be blessed. Believe me, but first of all believe your parents and superiors who give these examples, they are showing you this way to step into.

This is the lesson that the life and death of the illustrious Karl H. Ulrichs has taught us.

May this son of Tuisto find eternal rest and glory!
(Translation from Latin)

Poor *Alaudae*, flying and singing far beyond, and for that reason you are not heard. You soothed the spirits of mortals. The envious icy fingers of death have grasped your throats. Your old songs are heard in the four corners of heaven. Rest now! If your leaders are caught sight of, the *Latin Herald* will follow their tracks, not only to hear the more pleasant songs but also those telling of the wars of Caesar conquering one nation after another. *The Herald of the Latin People* will calmly strive and will bear the mark "The Senate and People of Rome" (S.P.Q.R.) until the support of the Latin language, its recognition and also the rights of the ancients have been restored.
Latin Herald, edited by the most illustrious and learned man Arcadio Avellano (i.e., Prof. Arcade Mogyoróssy), Hungarian, wrote the following in English in vol. 1, no. 12:

The sad news of the death of our distinguished colleague Mr. Charles Heinrich Ulrichs, the editor of Alaudae, will impress every reader of the herald, no doubt, as deeply as it has impressed us. A man of excellent character, of profound learning and of classical accomplishments in which he had few peers, yet he died in his old age in a public hospital without a home or family. The Academia Pontaniana of Naples sent him an honorable diploma, which reached him as he lay, already unconscious on his death bed, his eyes glazing from the frigid touch of the grim and ghastly reaper. It is shocking! Think of the brutality of our so-called civilization, one that permits vile historians, minstrels and rope-dancers to earn a comfortable living; drink-dispensers, ball-pitchers, jockeys etc. to receive princely incomes for serving the curious brutality of a well-dressed "civilized" community, while a Latin editor, a scholar of great reputation, modesty and virtue, after a long and useful life dies a pauper. Could the Italian universities not extend to him a call? Could not any European school, which, no doubt, supports more than one drone and parasite, offer him a chance? We shudder at the thought of what is too often the reward of learning and modesty at the hands of the mighty, when in competition with charlatanism and impudence.
Our friend, Dr. Carlo Enrico Ulrichs, German by birth, a man who was most fluent in Latin, Greek and modern languages, in the positive sciences and elegant and fine Latin poetry, died in L'Aquila last July. He published a Latin newspaper *Alaudae*.

We salute him.

(Translated from Latin)


At that time when *The Herald* was to begin to go into print, it was a distinguished man of letters, the commendatory Marquis Niccolò Persichetti, who came to our aid. The sad fate of the author Karl H. Ulrichs is bewailed in the book *In Memory*, which was published by the illustrious men, in which is included our letters and writings in honor of he deceased. Moreover, the same admirable man has made arrangements to place a tombstone to grace the sepulchral mound in perpetual memory of the fate of the deceased at rest. Therefore, in order that we may pay a token of respect and make a pledge of our reverence, we, too, are making an offering and are donating five Lire. If anyone meets with other Americans interested in Latin who might like to do the same, may wish to send us the offering, and we will immediately transmit it to the kind marquis. Those who are able to do it, do not delay.

Indeed, the *Herald* has fortunately collected a large sum and greatly appreciate the
kindness of distinguished Professor Arcadio Mogyoróssy. The names of the persons making an offering will be published.

(Translated from French)

Munich (Bavaria) 20 July 1895

Sir:

With what sadness did I just receive the issue of *The Roman People*, which announced the death of our poor friend Mr. Ulrichs. I thank you a thousand times for allowing me to take part in this sad event. It is a great consolation to me to know he had in you, sir, a much devoted friend in his last days, which he ended far from his homeland. We will always have fond memories of him.

Yours truly, I remain your very humble servant,

Baron of Gravenreuth

__________
London, 3 August 1895

My Dear Friend,

   Before leaving London I am going to write you a few words to tell you that I read your very congenial eulogy for poor Professor Ulrichs, given over the remains of a man who was admirable and intellectual as well as unhappy during his life.

   His death acutely touched me, I confess. Personally, I never saw him (not even a photograph), but there was something attractive about him (the word escapes me); a melancholic spirit, as the one of a man mentally disheartened.

   He suffered much, no doubt, and as a consequence his spirit may have become bitter and difficult (as the French say). Well, all that has now ended for him, my dear friend, and may he rest in peace "at the right hand of God."

   His last letter was dated 23 June, and I will keep it as a souvenir of a friend, unacquainted, yet very esteemed.

   You have given me the greatest pleasure, I assure you, by permitting me to take a personal interest in the placement of a gravestone, "in memory," on the grave of our poor friend in the L'Aquila cemetery. Therefore, permit me to remit the sum of 2 Lire sterling (two pounds).

   Continue writing to Malvern, and I, dear Sir, remain yours sincerely,

   Colonel W. Siddons Young.
(Translated from Latin)

*The Latin Herald* ...Not only is it distinguished and *Tusculum* to know Latin, but is a disgrace not to know it.


1328 Spring Garden Street

Philadelphia, Pa. 10-7-1895

Arcadius Avellanus

To The Marquis Niccolò Persichetti.

Your Excellency. I have in due form received the periodical *The Future of Democracy* which you kindly sent to me. Although I am by no means an expert in the Italian language, my knowledge of the Latin language, however, helped me to understand that my colleague, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, the admirable publisher of *Alaudae*, had died, and You gave a eulogy so worthy of the man, which was published.

I am so greatly shaken by this sad event. Immortal gods! Is this the fate of learned, honest, virtuous and famous men of letters who are also gently graced with decorations?! He, who alone amid the 300,000,000 people of Europe, published the periodical that supported and encouraged, by his passion, the fire of love in their hearts and souls, had to be admitted to a public hospital? Good gracious! May the son of Tuisto rest eternally in peace!' You, however, noble and distinguished Sir, accept my most profound thanks, not merely mine, but also that of all the world of learned people and also of all good people, seeing that, although you are far away, You have not failed, as an admirer of Latin, to notify us, and what is more, perhaps it will be a comfort to You in
this time of great mourning that it is shared by everyone everywhere. Your kindness will be proclaimed to the world by me and also by the publisher of The Latin Herald.

Please, Your Excellency, may I inquire as to what the future of Alaudae will be. Who will attend to undertaking it, or will it simply cease to be published?

Again, may I say thank You and bid You farewell.

The University

Berkeley, California

Dec. 4th. 1895

Dear Sir:

Permit me to thank you for the newspaper in which was contained your admirable speech in memory of poor Ulrichs. I read it with deepest interest, and am happy to think he had such a friend as you. I used to see now and then an issue of the Alaudae.

Yours most truly,

Prof. Albin Putzker
23 Upper Pirkheimer Street
Nuremberg, 6 Dec. 1895

Sir:

I was truly grieved when I read your announcement containing the sad news of the death of Dr. Ulrichs. Please believe me when I say that I sincerely join in this sorrow of all his friends who knew the excellent and noble character of the deceased, whom I particularly liked as the editor of his *Alaudae*, to which I had a long and faithful subscription. One could truly say: God excels in fortitude. Who can show him the way? And who could say to him: You are doing wrong? (Job 36:23).

Permit me, sir, to present to you my small offering to place a gravestone for the friend we shared.

I have just sent you by post five Francs to your address.

Yours truly, and with profound respect, I remain your servant,

Charles I. Klotz
(Translated from Latin)

To Doctor and Marquis Niccolò Persichetti.

From Dr. C. O. N. Dahlgren, Dr. Theodorus Nattsen, Dr. J. F. Kylander.

We would like to extend our deepest appreciation to you, most distinguished Sir, that, although you are living so far away, you still kindly sent to us the announcement of the most bitter death of that renowned man, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. Truthfully speaking, it is sad news you send from there, that the voice of the renowned Alaudae, alas, has been silenced forever. Alaudae was for us most pleasant reading, and we enjoyed looking forward to receiving it. However, we are gladdened to know from the literature we have received that this man's most noble, talented and upright spirit was generously surrounded by the most charming and the most loyal friends in the country of Italy, where he concluded his life. It was also heartening for us to know that it was on account of you, one of the most eminent men, who smoothed the way and gave consolation in his life, which was disquieted by unhappiness, hardships, poverty and other misfortunes which befell him in his later years, and you tried to make them happier ones, which he, himself, actually might have dared to hope for. You Italians are inspirational, and we Swedes are accustomed, by nature itself, to rightly judge and appreciate your magnanimity and compassion, when death has cruelly troubled each and every one of us, but you have embraced us and also encouraged us by your better kind of dignity and friendship. Consequently, to observe and celebrate the memory in some way of this, our most respected and learned friend, we, too, would like to contribute some money and have undertaken to write a small check which we are sending with this letter. Farewell.

Alingsås, Sweden, 23 January 1896.
(Translated from Latin)

Dr. F. Gustafsson

Professor of Latin literature at the University of Helsinki

To His Excellency Niccolò Persichetti.

Dear Sir,

Thank you for the writing which you kindly sent to me and which I greatly appreciate having. I should also like to thank you that you, seeking no advantage to yourself, showed so great a kindness to this man when he was living and gave such great praise at his funeral. Such is unconditional friendship; such is true virtue. Farewell, Your Excellency, and continue to patronize the arts.

Helsinki, 20.1.96

——

The same most respected professor, F. Gustafsson, added this epigram:

Fortunate are they who cultivate the earth and grow a multitude of flowers,

And are blessed with flowers from the heavens and songs from a muse.

F. G.
Joseph Mengotius, presently an associate of *Alaudae*.

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs has died. He was the founder of *Alaudae*, an author, tutor and contributor, a man of high mentality, of noble spirit, one provided with the greatest talents and honesty; an expert in natural history and botany; knowledgeable in jurisprudence; distinguished in astronomy; one most skilful in both ancient and modern languages and also literature; an eloquent and elegant poet; a native of Friesland.

It is not our function to tell about the great works of this man, or about the events of his life. One thing we do wish to do: as partners in *Alaudae*, we can use our voice to call forth each and every one of his qualities while we are still greatly moved to tears by his death, by the misery, hardships, sadness and poverty he had been a victim of every day of his life until his death in a public hospital, and not to let his bones rest in foreign soil unmarked, without a marble memorial, as is the case with countless common people, lost to memory.

Those who may wish to inquire how this, in fact, can be done, I will answer shortly. What noble persons will join the associates of *Alaudae* itself to collect money to place a stone that will be fitting for the one who sent *Alaudae* to some of the most remote places (he formed an immense league of nations, linguistically speaking)? What greater honor and pledge of respect than to support by writing an inscription about the deceased author of *Alaudae* whom we lament along with all its associates? We will be able to offer for sale a polished and complete memorial publication at an agreeable price, the money from which will increase the collection to be applied to the proposed marble slab in memory of he whom we held most dearly when he was alive, so that he may not be
forgotten. Therefore, the associates entreat and implore everyone to please send any agreeable amount of money whatever to defray the expenditure mentioned above to the Marquis Niccolò Persichetti, L'Aquila, Italy, as soon as possible, for the short little work calling to our minds Ulrichs' writing Latin by lamplight. The names of the contributors and a list of the money are cataloged and appear in writing, along with the epitaph by Professor Canon Henrico Casti, head librarian at the L'Aquila Library, who recently conducted a sermon in Latin, which we appreciated. I have nothing more to add to the evaluation, friendship and respect or the effect that the death of this admirable man has had.

San Casciano in the Province of Florence.

12 October 1895
In memory of my beloved friend Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, whose death on the day before the Ides of July, 1895, in L'Aquila, has caused much grief.

In Memoriam

Do you believe that by the loss of this man, who in death rests in peace, all is laid beneath this gentle earth? Not so: for quietly the bones may lie Peacefully in the grave, the writings, however are prevailing, distinguished and honored.

### W. Siddons Young

Malvern, 22 July 1895

In memory of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, Hanoverian, a man of high spirits and perseverance, most expert in the Romance languages, who, in exile, spent the final day of his life and died in the public hospital in L'Aquila in Central Italy in 1895.

Oh! Would that Italian writers be as much distinguished as this man of character and follow in his footsteps by displaying talent, simplicity, spirit and virtue.

Dr. Carlo Pietropaoli

Canon at the L'Aquila Presbytery

Professor in the Archbishopric School
Oh! What sadness! Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, presently stricken down, was mighty in the knowledge of nature and flowers! He knew ancient and also modern languages, and his skill shined in his supreme command and genius. Devoted to the laws of the heavens, he also showed people their own legal rights. The author of *Alaudae*, as long as he was alive, sent larks throughout the world for everyone to read, in the knowledge that by means of the Latin language a bond could be forged from Pole to Pole. And he would have succeeded if Parca, the god that allots fate to each, had not suddenly cut him off. Friesian by birth, he spent his last days in misery in Italy, where, alas, he is buried beneath this sepulchral mound! A pauper while he was living, he died, however, rich in honesty that shined brightly along with his great talent, intellect and spirit.
The most distinguished Sir Joseph Mengotius recently sent me this inscription.

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs.

Citizen of Friesland. A man of whom we are most grieved by the loss. Distinguished among the learned ones. Extraordinary among the philosophers. Most eloquent among scholars and poets. Provided with all those things which the best of the citizens is accustomed to he died in his seventieth year on the fourteenth of July, 1895, in L'Aquila. He edited and published his own journal titled *Alaudae* which served admirers, friends, subscribers and readers in every part of the world to spread the Latin language for use in serious discussions. The erection of this monument, which was paid for by donations, is proof of his fame.

Oh! What misfortune that an untimely death has stricken down the most learned man who, alas, is resting in this grave.

You are envied by the living, and, although denied fame by your fate, you have provided yourself with honor and glory.

### Composed by candlelight

in San Casciano by Joseph Mengotius on 7 July 1896.
New York, Octob. 30, 1895

My dear Marquis,

I am very sorry to learn that my great countryman, the most illustrious Carolus Henricus Ulrichs, author of *Alaudae*, is no more among the livings (sic). May he rest in peace!

This time I send the international money order directed to you. I send 10 Francs; five for his gravestone, and five for your monograph *Viaggio archeologico sulla Via Salaria*, which you will kindly forward to me.

With high esteem, I am

Your obedient servant

Dr. J. H. Mennen.
From the region of the Antipodes a most distinguished professor, Walter Empson, sent me twenty-five farthings (one pound) for the gravestone for K. H. Ulrichs, and enclosed these words:

Collegiate School, Wanganui
New Zealand

To Niccolò Persichetti: Greetings.

In memory of

"an upright and tenacious person."

Walter Empson.

13 Feb. 1896
You, Heinrich, a mighty genius, a virtuous man blessed by the gods, left your country far behind, went into exile and became a pauper.

After many years of grief, misery and crises, Italy kindly received you as a guest.

Then you settled in the city of the people of Vestini, where the sad fate of your death occurred prematurely.

And now, good and brave man, rest in peace: beyond this life rest from your labors.

Living, you were unable to enjoy your homeland, now, perhaps, you will be happier in your everlasting homeland.

###A. Aloisio, clergyman.

L'Aquila in Vestini, 1 June 1896
(Translated from Latin)

E P I T A P H

Here lies
Carolvs Henricvs Vlrichs
who was born in Westerfeld near East Friesland
He distinguished himself and became renowned among his
equals by his mental faculties in the humanities and other
disciplines through instruction he received in Göttingen and Berlin.
He was concerned about new problems in anthropology
and jurisprudence.
He had a remarkable sense of duty.
He was not elevated to prosperity nor was he humbled
by the attacks from his adversaries.
As a pauper he left the region of Hanover and went
into exile. He traveled through a great part of Europe.
He displayed everywhere a model character by his
knowledge and virtue.
Finally he came to live in Aquila in central Italy
to live for a long time.
He edited a Latin journal titled "Alaudae" [Larks] which
received praise from the old and new world.
Not complaining, not anguished, he died in our city
in his 70th year
on the day before the Ides of July

1895

His loyal friends and admirers here and across the Alps joined in to pay for this gift for their best friend whom they mourn the loss of, and mock his lack of fortune by this truly excellent monument.

### written by [Prof.] Henricus Casti
[head librarian at the Aquila library].

__________
(Translated from Latin)

THE NAMES OF THOSE WHO CONTRIBUTED MONEY FOR THE PLACEMENT AND CARE OF THE GRAVESTONE FOR CARLO HENRICO ULRICHs IN THE L'AQUILA CEMETERY.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<td>Andræ, Dr. P. Copenhagen, Denmark</td>
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<td>Applequist, Dr. Prof. H., Helsingfors, Finland</td>
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De Frassine, Venanzio, L'Aquila
Empson, Dr. Walter, Prof. at Collegiate School, Wanganui, New Zealand
Gagliardi, Prof. Gaetano, L'Aquila
Gavrilenu, Demetro, Hârșova, Romania
Gustafson, Dr. F., Prof. at the Univ. Helsingfors, Finland
Isah, Capitanul, Commander 4th Comp. of the 34th Reg., Hârșova, Romania
Jacobovics, Mariani Louise, L'Aquila
King, Dr. Prof. Eugene P., Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.
Klotz, Dr. Karl I., Curator, Nuremberg, Germany
Kylander, Dr. I. F., Alingsås, Sweden
Lattanzi, Avv. Pasquale, L'Aquila
Lucantonio, Carmine, L'Aquila
Macé, Dr. C., Aix les Bains, Savoy
Mengozzi, Prof., Sir Guiseppe, publisher, San Casciano
Mennen, Dr. J. H., New York, U.S.A.
Mogyoróssy, Prof. Arcade, director of the *Latin Herald*, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
Nattsén, Dr. T., Alingsås, Sweden
Nitzu, Stélian, Hârșova, Romania
Oancia, Joan, Hârșova, Romania
Perelli, Avv. Luigi, L'Aquila
Persichetti, Marquis Comm. Niccolò, L'Aquila 25.00
Perucatti, Prof., Sir Placido, president of the
    High School, L'Aquila 3.00
Politi, Caterina, L'Aquila 1.00
Putzker, Dr. Albin, Prof. at the Univ. of California
    Berkeley, U.S.A. 1.00
Rossi, Paolo, L'Aquila 1.00
Scribans, N., Hârsova, Romania 2.00
Siddons Young, Col. William, Great-Malvern, England 50.00
Sommati di Mombello, Col., Sir Gustavo,
    Command. of Dist. Mil., Brescia 10.00
Spielmann, Typogr., Philadelphia, U.S.A. 1.00
Sprague, Charles E., president of the Union Dime
    Savings Bank, New York, U.S.A. 1.00
Veissbuch, T., Tulcea, Romania 1.00

________________________
Total Lire 284.35

________________________
Rubber Stamp: Acquisition No. 812,698
i That is, July 14, the anniversary of Ulrichs' death. (Trans.)

ii The most illustrious William Siddons Young, a military commander and distinguished cultivator of the Latin language, was the best friend of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, while he was living, and the one who evaluated his talent and knowledge most justly, himself being one of the fifty readers in Britain who subscribed to the periodical titled *Alaudae*. (Persichetti)

iii This is the epitaph that actually appears on Ulrichs' gravestone. (Trans.)
Supplement#

Emanuel Valk

(1697-1732)

The Sodomy Trial of a Preacher in 18th-Century Holland

A Dossier

Michael Lombardi-Nash

**KEYWORDS.** Homosexuality, The Netherlands, history, 18th century

This supplement partially fulfills Karl Heinrich Ulrichs' wish to write about the 1730s persecution of "Uranism in The Netherlands." The item also amplifies Sodomites and Urnings. The dossier brings into relief a changing social climate, using homosexuality as a barometer. The images from this piece dated 1731 contrast drastically from the ones of today's society in The Netherlands, where same-sex couples can enjoy full marriage rights. Only one generation after the 1730 pogrom, the Code Napoléon put the brakes on the death penalty for sodomy there in 1804. The movement for equal rights for homosexuals that rose in the early 1950s from the ashes of the Nazi occupation of The Netherlands won marriage rights for homosexuals there in the first year of the twenty-first century. Source of the translation: Advys van regtsgeleerden (Opinion of Legal Experts). Utrecht: Pieter Muntendam, 1731.

Translator’s Preface
New York playwright Nick Deutsch contacted me in 1978 to translate L. S. A. M. von Römer’s 1906 Uranism in The Netherlands: A Bibliographic Study. Emanuel Valk’s name appearing twice in the bibliography and on a list of approximately 250 victims of the Dutch war on "Sodomites" in 1730 suggested further research.

What we have here is a detailed report of and by Emanuel Valk. The dossier contains the legal advice he received in 1731 and two letters of resignation. Valk, a Protestant pastor in the Dutch Republic, was accused of sodomy and took legal counsel before he was willing to carry out a church order to clear his name. His counselors indicated that insufficient evidence existed to convict him, that it was not obligatory to purge himself, and that he should be allowed to keep his office as pastor. However, he did finally write two letters of resignation addressed one each to the Presbytery of Gouda and Schoonhoven and to the Church Council of Vianen, where he was pastor.

Although the synods, the governing bodies ranking between the presbyteries and the general assemblies, and presbyteries of the Dutch Reformed Church, the unofficial national church of The Netherlands, often devoted their attention to all kinds of sin, sodomy was hardly ever discussed. Thus, in the Valk trial, you see that his accusers never discuss the real matter at hand, the sodomy charge. The subject was confined to the purge mandate and nothing else. By "purge" it was understood that persons whose characters had been defamed by rumor could request a purge mandate, and the accusers were called into court to give testimony or be sentenced to be forever silent. Rumors had spread that Valk had seduced a valet. In his own defense, titled Vertoog wegens de Zaak van Emanuel Valk (Document Formally Stating Points of Grievance Concerning the
Case of Emanuel Valk), Valk, himself, used the term "malicious vice." The offense of the accused was often referred to as "filthiness," "being horribly unchaste," and, in Latin, the *crimen nefandum* (flagrantly wicked crime).iv Sodomy was also believed to be a contagious disease.v The laws of the emperor of sixteenth-century Emperor V, were enforced in The Netherlands at this time. His code called for the death penalty, a sentence that until the 1730’s had rarely been pronounced. In the preceding centuries, any sex act that did not generate offspring was condemned,vi and "legal action was brought against sodomites only if they patently violated the principles of marriage or sexually abused children."vii The court files of the Dutch pogrom "enable us to reconstruct in detail not only the proceedings themselves, but also the lives of the accused before their arrest and the reactions of the population toward what they had perceived the conduct of the sodomites to be."viii Although sodomy was believed to be a sin of a few "depraved heterosexuals," as the persecutions mounted, it became more evident that there was a community, and this altered perception...foreshadowed nineteenth-century preoccupations with homosexuality.... [The theory Karl Heinrich made popular in the 1860’s], ‘a feminine mind in a man’s body,’ is the actual wording in one of the pamphlets issued..." during the Dutch pogrom.ix

The following ten paragraphs mainly consist of a loose translation of the history of the Valk case written by M. J. A. de Vri in 1932.

Emanuel Valk was born in 1697 in Amsterdam. He studied theology at Leiden College in 1717 and took his initial examinations before the Haarlem Presbytery in 1723. He held the office of pastor in Velsen from November 21, 1723, to April 18, 1730. Five days later he left Velsen, and on May 14 he arrived in Vianen, where he took up his
second post as pastor. In June of the same year, he was accused of sodomy and was summoned.

He wanted to go to Amsterdam to consult with his family and friends but was advised against this journey, because it might appear he was fleeing. However, informed of his father’s ill health, he did go to Amsterdam for six weeks, accompanied by his wife and some friends "in his own carriage." Apparently, he was an influential and wealthy man. It is said he might have been the victim of jealous associates.

In his absence, the Church Council of Vianen convened on June 17, 1730. One of the councilmembers, reported that a petition was being circulated among the congregation for the purpose of allowing Valk again to stand behind the pulpit. The signers of the petition maintained that they had enjoyed listening to Valk’s sermons, that they had gained from his services, and they were looking forward to hearing him speak again. The petition was spearheaded by Augustus, a pharmacist, who admitted that Valk, himself, had drawn it up. As punishment, the presbytery refused to allow Sagittarius to take part in Holy Communion and in all church services. His assistants were denied only Holy Communion.

Returning to Vianen, Valk was called to the town hall and told not to preach until he had "proven" his defense. He offered to swear a solemn oath to attest to his innocence, but the church council refused to accept his offer on the grounds that such was not following usual procedure. On October 24, 1730, the presbytery, too, barred Valk from the pulpit until he had purged himself. Valk made a plea to the court of Vianen to force the church council to give him a record of the proceedings of his case. On December 18, 1730, the court refused and referred him to the church judge, who, on January 16, 1731,
called for a special meeting of the presbytery to convene on February 13 in Dordrecht. It was decided then and there to give Valk access to the records. Three preachers appealed this decision in the South Holland Presbytery. Because some of the committee members had spoken to Valk, on July 3 the presbytery voted in his favor, and he was given a copy of the earlier proceedings. It was stated that the earlier committees of the synod and church council had acted correctly by deciding that the defendant should purge himself before a civil judge, and if he refused to do so within a certain period of time, the church at Vianen was to be declared vacant.

Valk was said to have claimed that the crime was not all that great and that the law against sodomy and adultery smacked of the politics of Israel. Here is what happened besides. Some deputies were on their way by state yacht to sell goods and land around the Vianen area. They ran into shallow water and were held up about an hour and a half. Out of politeness they asked a preacher standing nearby to join them on the yacht. After getting acquainted, they began to talk about the rumors going around about the doings of Pastor Emanuel Valk. The deputies gave the evidence of the charges against Valk, which astonished the preacher being informed. The next day they went to Vianen and asked Valk to meet them, which he declined to do. First he wanted to know why they had requested to see him. It appeared that three witnesses had presented evidence against him on July 5, 7, and 12, 1730, which ended in his being charged with committing the "wicked crime" during his ministry in Velsen. His accomplice was supposed to have been one of Gerrit ’s valets, Lord of Velsen and Sandpoort and former sheriff of Amsterdam. The valet at this time was a fugitive of the law, himself being charged with the same crime. The valet, Dirk de Zoete, attested on June 30, 1730, to Valk’s good character and
denied ever having made such a charge against him. The sheriff and church council of Velsen were so angered by his statement that on July 8 they suspended him for six weeks and extended that by eight days. When word got around of the testimony of June 30, other witnesses came forward and stated that Zoete had indeed accused Valk of seducing him into the "abominable sin." When Valk left Vianen, Zoete took leave of his wife and fled. On September 20, 1730, another witness stated that Lord ver’s valet entered the parsonage in Velsen only once while Valk was there, that he was present, and that he had witnessed no evil doings at that time.

However, Valk was summoned to be in the city of Dordrecht on Monday, July 9, 1731, in order to respond to the purge mandate and appear before a synodal committee the following morning at eight o’clock. The hearing lasted into the afternoon and was continued before the full synodal assembly in the afternoon of the next day. At his request, he was reluctantly given copies of the resolutions of the presbytery dated October 24, 1730, and June 19, 1731, stating that he should resign his office of pastor and surrender himself to civil authorities to respond to his purge mandate. He wrote letters of resignation to the Presbytery of Gouda and Schoonhoven and to the Vianen Church Council dated August 19, 1731.

After resigning, he went to live in Utrecht, but his case had not been resolved. The civil court in Vianen put him on the calendar to appear on August 27, 1731, to have him answer to the charges on September 10. He was summoned four times, and his wife went to the court of Vianen for a request by form, which took another week. But then the Vianen authorities asked the Utrecht court to have Valk arrested at his home. He was out, and when he failed to return, he was sentenced on November 19. His property was
confiscated, and he was banished forever.

He had been accused of sodomy on August 27, 1731, following regulations on page 75 of *Schouwtoonell soo der Geexecuteerde als Ingedaagde: Over de verfoeielijke Misdaad van Sodomie. Tot waarschouwinge der goede en afscrick der booze geopent in de voornaamste Steden van Hollandt en Over-Yssel*, 1730 (Dramatization of Executions and Summonses for the Abominable Misdeed of Sodomy Shown As a Warning to the Good and As a Deterrent to Evil-Doers, Opened in the Most Distinguished Cities of Holland and Upper-Yssel). He had been exiled on November 19 following regulations on page 149 of *Vervolg op alle de Copyen van Indagingen*, 1731 (Record of All Copies of Summonses).

Valk showed up in Utrecht after the sentence was passed in Vianen. His lawyers said that the Vianen court no longer had any jurisdiction over their client and must cease all harassment. But on Tuesday, July 10, 1732, by order of the Utrecht court, the sheriff, assisted by four deputies, arrested him and took him to prison in his own coach. At three o’clock in the afternoon a special court convened. The sheriff of Vianen came to take him back in an open wagon to humiliate him. From Utrecht and the surrounding areas, many people came by barge, carriage, and on foot to see the spectacle. The clerk who authored the *Kort Histories Verhall* (Short Legal History), who was malicious toward Valk, wrote that the prisoner was even fortunate enough to have been accompanied from Utrecht to Vianen by a mock serenade with kettles, pans, and horns.

On Monday, July 14, 1732, his hearing lasted from nine until noon. Two days later, the news came that Valk had hanged himself with his shirt in prison. His suicide was interpreted as an admission of guilt. In compliance with item 4e of the degree dated
July 21, 1730, he was "towed through the city in a cart with his head trailing on the pavement" on the 19th, placed on a ship to Upper Brielle, and was thrown into the sea following regulations in *Schouwtoonell* (Dramatization), page 82.

There are no examples of a persecution with the magnitude such as which took place in the Dutch Republic from 1730 to 1732. Although "the parallels with Salem or the...are striking...the persecution of witches or heretics is no longer condoned by modern Christianity, [but] Sodom-mongering is still fully respectable in conservative religious circles...."  

The 21-page original text consists of three main parts: the introduction to the legal advice of the counselors, the advice of the counselors, and two letters of resignation by Valk, himself.

The introduction tells of the summons of Valk to appear in Dordrecht for a hearing before the church council on July 9, 1731, and of the order to submit himself to a purge mandate and surrender himself to the civil authorities to clear his name.

In their *Opinion*, the lawyers cautioned Valk not to submit himself to a purge mandate. They claimed that the evidence against him was not substantial enough to convict him. They said that the synod, which wanted to declare the church at Vianen vacant if Valk did not submit to the purge mandate within a certain period of time, was pronouncing unjust punishment in light of the fact that no one, not even the synod, had been willing to discuss the real matter at hand, the charge of sodomy. The advisers had at their disposal Valk’s 120-page defense written in his own hand, *Vertoog wegens de Zaak van Emanuel Valk* (Document Formally Stating Points of Grievance in the Case of Emanuel Valk). He claimed here to the Presbytery of Gouda and Schoonhoven that the
charges against him were unfounded. From this document, the counselors recommended that Valk not submit to the purge mandate and concluded that he should be allowed to resume his office of pastor.

Then, the protocol is given. Persons mandated to purge themselves are advised how to proceed and when and where to appear. The procedure is described in a matter-of-fact manner, thus making it difficult to think of the horror that was the result of a conviction: any combination of exile, up to 25 years imprisonment, humiliation on the gallows, whipping, branding, singeing, placing of a halter around the neck, half-choking, choking to death, drowning, burning to ashes, beheading, and hanging, only then for the dead to be handled in any combination of hanging by the feet from the gallows, dragging through the streets, or placing in a sack weighted by stones to be thrown into the sea.

The macabre manifestations of the miscarriage of justice by frightened and ignorant people in the church, state, and in society.

The letters of resignation to the presbytery and church council appear to be regulation. However, Valk does again proclaim his innocence of the charge. The reader will notice that Valk thinks he will be allowed to become an ordinary member of the congregation. It appears that he had little knowledge of what fate had in store for him—exile, imprisonment, and suicide.

Chronology of Pastor Emanuel Valk
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1697 Born in Amsterdam

1723 November 2, passed examinations in theology;
November 21, pastor in Velsen

1730 April 18, vacated office in Velsen
May 14, pastor in Vianen
June 17, church council convenes, summons,
charges, ban on preaching
June 30, Dirk de Zoete attests to Valk’s good character
and denies making seduction charge against Valk

July 5, 7, and 12, witnesses for the prosecution heard
July 8, Zoete suspended, becomes a fugitive; witness
for the defense heard

September 20, witness for the defense heard

October 24, presbytery ban on preaching

December 18, civil court refers him to church court

1731 January 16, church court calls for presbytery hearing
February 13, special presbytery vote to give Valk
access to records
June 19, presbytery resolution

July 9, Valk summoned to Dordrecht
July 10-11, synodal committee hearing
July 18, full synodal assembly hearing
August 19, resigns, moves to Utrecht

August 27, ordered to appear before Vianen court;
accused of sodomy

September 10, hearing set

November 19, sentenced in absence, property
confiscated, banished

1932

July 10, arrested in Utrecht; special court convened;
taken to Vianen in an open wagon accompanied
by a mock serenade with kettles, pans, and horns

July 14, hearing nine a.m. to noon

July 16, suicide by hanging, interpreted as admission of guilt

July 19, towed through the streets with his head
trailing, put on a ship, and thrown into the sea.
Opinion of Legal Experts

A Dossier

Opinion of Legal Counselors, by which it appears that EMANUEL VALK, Clergyman in VIANEN, has well-grounded reasons not to submit himself to a Purge Mandate, such as has been imposed on him by the Synod of South Holland, held in Dordrecht in July 1731. With some of the prior circumstances and the later Results with regard to the resignation from his office of Clergyman and service.

The matters stated above, which took place before the reading of this same recommendation, are given for your information.

Namely, that upon the occasion of the appeal of some members of the Presbytery of Gouda and Schoonhoven, and which appeal did not exactly concern Pastor Valk, the same clergyman was notified in writing by the police of the following recommendation to be present in the city of Dordrecht on Monday the 9th of July, 1731, and to appear before the Assembly of the Synod in the great church for a hearing on the following Tuesday at eight o’clock in the morning.

That he ensure that his case be introduced and discussed there by the authorities.

He should also have understood from this writing that the aforementioned
Presbytery was the same Committee that placed the Synod in charge of opening the proceedings of the case, and which placed the same into the lap of the Synod.

Consequently, he was ready and fully prepared for that purpose, and sent a speedy reply that he would appear before the Synod at the appointed time and place.

That he also did go there on Monday the 9th of July, 1731.

And on Tuesday the 10th of July did appear in the great church before members of the Committee formed by the Synod for that purpose.

He was questioned and heard by this Committee in the morning and in the afternoon, and on the morning of the following day.

Though, to his great surprise, he found that it did not concern the principal matter.

But only the previous discussion in the Presbytery of Gouda and Schoonhoven, and the resistance to submitting to the purge mandate and matters related to it.

Without anyone having wanted to introduce the principal matter, or to investigate it directly or indirectly.

That he was summoned to appear before the full synodic assembly in the afternoon of the following Wednesday.

When he appeared there, a resolution was read aloud to him whereby the Assembly as well as the Presbytery failed entirely to say anything having to do with the investigation of the principal matter concerning him.

But ordered him to deliver himself into the hands of a civil or criminal court of justice in order to submit to the purge mandate within a specified period and under penalty as such expressly stated by the police and to enter the following complaint:

That the malicious rumor someone spread, that the clergyman Valk is alleged to
have engaged in any such activity, is a complete untruth and should be ignored.

Meanwhile, contrary to this committee’s advice, the synodic resolution itself gives evidence that he submitted a written statement containing the following words:

"Revered Sirs:

"I am trying to obtain authenticated copies of the resolution. I shall not and I cannot concede to a purge mandate. First, I must have copies and see what it says, what was resolved and recorded. And when I have it, then I will be able to think it over.

"(Signed) Em’l Valk."

And whereupon the Revered Chairperson responded:

"The Synod has resolved that you should be given a copy of the resolution (namely of the Synod) together with what was resolved by the Presbytery of Gouda and Schoonhoven on the 24th of October, 1730, and on the 19th of June, 1731, and not of what was recorded or noted."

And he did indeed obtain the resolution of the Synod.

They also had copies of the two resolutions of the Presbytery, dated as mentioned, sent to him.

And these copies were authenticated by Pastor Warmvliet.

But, he was not permitted to have the records of the Presbytery or the notations or the resolutions of the church committee of Vianen, concerning his case.

These were retained and were not given to him.

Nevertheless, his supporters realized that the resolution relied on the record, and that he, thus lacking the records that contained the charge and the grounds to which the
resolution refers, was, in fact, kept in the dark.

Next, he took counsel and carefully evaluated everything.

And, having been advised by several judicious persons and loyal friends, he did obtain an *Opinion of Legal Counselors* besides.

The trusted advice of friends and the opinion of legal counselors were in agreement in their conclusions that he should not submit to a purge mandate.
OPINION
of Legal Counselors

CONSIDERED BY THE UNDERSIGNED IS THE PRINTED DOCUMENT
FORMALLY stating points of grievance of Dom Emanuel Valk, the title of which reads
in the following manner:

"Document formally stating points of grievance concerning the case of Emanuel
Valk, Minister in Vianen, to the respected Presbytery of Gouda and Schoonhoven, to
attend to the clearing up of the matter of the invented vice and unfounded falsehoods
circulated about him everywhere since the middle of last year, 1730, which resulted in his
departure."

This being the title page and the second page, signed by him in his own hand.
And by this document, which contains approximately 89 pages, the same preacher
makes the attempt to defend the holding of his office and service as before.
On which the Synod of the Presbytery was to give its opinion.
And further, the undersigned, in fact, were informed that some members of the
Presbytery did compel the Synod of South Holland to give a copy of the records and
resolution of the case to Pastor Valk at his request, and although this action did not
actually concern him, however, the above-mentioned Presbytery did compel the
committee in charge of the case of Dom Valk to begin a full report of the hearing
concerning the matter at hand and to place the same into the hands of the Synod, asking
advice on how to conduct further proceedings, and to include the previous recommendation with the same.

And that thereupon the Synod, held in Dordrecht in July 1731, referred the case to a committee, and the previous recommendation advanced by the committee members in the case was converted into a synodal resolution, and as such made it understood that Dom Emanuel Valk, in the face of the blame which is placed on him, should clear himself before a police or secular judge, concede to a purge mandate, be it before the Court of Holland or the Court of Vianen, and should do that within a certain period, before the Presbytery’s post-synodal is convened.

And furthermore, the Presbytery has the synodal authority to declare that the Church of Vianen is vacant if Dom Valk fails to purge himself within the time and in the manner specified,

Even though it has pleased no one to come and serve as the defense of Pastor Valk or to investigate his departure or the soundness or unsoundness of the charges or the innocence of the same.

In addition to this, Jan van Styl, who, in fact, was named and described in the document formally stating points of grievance, furthermore, was served with a writ of subpoena so that he might give an explanation and make a sworn statement, the content of which was to be added to the testimony gathered against Pastor Valk; and the document was printed later, although (it is said) he is supposed to have stated even less than what the testimony contains.

But, Dom Valk never did see this sworn statement, nor was he given a copy of it, but was told what had occurred.
This is all that was said and done concerning the clearing of the purge mandate placed upon the clergymen Valk, which was to result either in his again occupying the office of pastor and performing his services as before, or in the Synod indeed seeing fit to have him concede to a purge mandate, under the penalty mentioned above.
THE UNDERSIGNED ARE OF THE OPINION, THAT THE IMPOSITION OF A purge mandate upon Dom Emanuel Valk is of no avail and fails to show it will achieve its aim, and to the effect, that he should resume his office as pastor and perform his duties as before, and that the Synod should never have seen fit to have him submit to a purge mandate, and its punishment, as has come to pass.

For, it is quite clear that the same clergymen, according to the testimony stated in his document formally stating points of grievance, and further, everything that was also given and sworn to in a statement by Jan van Styl, the content of which was touched on above, lawfully should not or cannot be held guilty or be convicted by any judge, especially not in the light of the fact of the existence of the counter-evidence, likewise touched on in the document, and printed behind it.

Besides, with respect to the yielding to a purge mandate, it should be noted that not only does the same entail various difficulties but also scandalous circumstances, to which an honest person and a pastor should not be subjected, but which, however, are required of the purge mandate.

All the same, it is beyond dispute that, according to the ordinances of this country and common practice, after any mandate is imparted, the receivers of purge mandates and all other interested parties should set a certain trial date with the officer in charge, and it should be remembered that the recipients, on the day of the serving of the mandates, must appear on the cause-list and present themselves in person to be placed on the calendar for trial at the place indicated, bareheaded, in the courtyard where all criminal prisoners are placed, whenever they have to appear on the calendar for trial.
Also, that they must present themselves to be taken into custody or be placed in confined detention and, with regard to the proceedings, must remain present all the while until that time when the interested parties, who should also be available, concerning the purge in question, have been heard by the judge, and the charges have been dismissed or, at least, until the court has been adjourned.

Moreover, after having come into detention, then statements and questions can be heard.

And, there are other similar circumstances, such as ones all criminal prisoners must undergo.

Confer the Instructions for the Court of Holland, article 225. The Ordinance of the Court of Utrecht, section on criminal trials, articles 24, 25 and following. in the tract concerning criminal matters, title 3, of purges, numbers 32, 38, 39, 65, 66 etc.

See number six where, among other places, Bouricio is cited as to how it is advised to proceed with a purge.

Together with number 51, where Carpzov is cited as to how the reputations of honest persons are heavily damaged when called to testify in a criminal investigation.

And further, the odiousness is clearly demonstrated.

Yet, above all of that, and what is most important concerning the clergyman Valk, is that the office of pastor be made good the sooner the better, and further, that it would be better if he should discharge himself from the office entirely and completely than to hold it in suspense any longer, and thus rendering the imposing of a purge mandate upon Dom Valk useless in the present case, because it would not serve the purpose for which it was meant.
Because, the claim or conclusion of the purge in question here finally must consist in the recipient of the purge mandate, by decision, being declared pure, clean, and innocent with respect to the alleged crime or misdeed that he is said to have done, and, moreover, in an eternal silence being imposed on the plaintiffs and all others. See the regulations in the *Ordinance* and in *Bort*.

Meanwhile, what remains now is the question of doubt.

Such as, not a little can be caused by some circumstance or testimony (especially in matters of this nature, as the rumors in these), no matter how insignificant, how malicious, how wicked the same, or how infamous even the person of the witness might be.

Should the judges in this or any other case harbor a shadow of a doubt, they may proceed simply by dismissing the recipient of the purge, under oath.

That is, under promise by oath, at all times (when so ordered) to surrender themselves again exactly as they found themselves at the time of the provisional dismissal.

The case is entirely different when an officer agitates against someone over an offense or crime committed.

Not so when the testimony by the officer has not been proven, in which case the person summoned or the person to appear on the calendar must be absolved.

Indeed, even in cases of doubt or where there is insufficient evidence, then the judge must rather tend toward absolution of the person summoned, than toward condemnation.

But, when people come to clear up a purge mandate, then the recipients of the
mandates must prove their innocence and clearly give proof that they are pure, clean, and innocent.

Which to do is extremely difficult. And when the facts are incontrovertible, any proof given of one’s innocence only seldom, and almost never is completely sufficient proof, and rarely has the effect of clearing the judge of any doubt.

And in cases where such suspicion remains, then the conclusion that follows is usually not to be declared pure and innocent: but only a violent dismissal.

The usual practice everywhere is such that nothing further in addition is required.

And then in general the recipient of the purge mandate remains in custody.

From all of this it appears that, with respect to his aim of maintaining the office of pastor, Pastor Valk in his case is completely and totally frustrating the matter,

Since he, remaining in custody, will not be able to hold his office, and thus creates a much worse condition than before.

Whereas, if he should even then possibly still continue the dispute and suspend the action to resign his post, his service would suffer a great deal in the process, during his time in custody.

So that the remedy in this respect would be worse than the evil, which would not be eliminated but multiplied by it.

Consequently, he was advised against that remedy as being not at all satisfactory.

And that everything would proceed on its own, and that the Synod by no means should have seen fit to require the above-mentioned Pastor Valk to clear himself of a purge mandate, especially not to provide such a heavy penalty.

And it was unnecessary to invest the Presbytery with the synodal authority to
declare vacant the Church of Vianen if Dom Valk neglected to purge himself within the
designated time in the said manner,

Without anyone so much as willing to enter into the matter itself or investigate it,
no one, in fact, can serve as his defense, such as the undersigned are instructed to do.

And no further progress has been possible in the judgment by virtue of the proof
that was submitted compared to that which was handed down to prove his innocence.

And, regarding the fact itself, that such a truly heavy penalty could possibly ever
be decreed if the purge mandate is ignored, seems incredible in light of the fact that
Pastor Valk should be so condemned in this way without a hearing.

And difficulties already have been made by the announcement of the penalty of
the vacancy of the place, and if one had been willing to investigate the case, perhaps he
would not have been condemned on principle or have been punished in this manner.

Consequently, even if the synod itself serves instead of this preliminary trial and
steps in duly to investigate the case without refusing the same, even introducing the
condemnation and ordering Pastor Valk, under penalty, to purge himself before the civil
judge and to submit to a purge mandate, for reasons of preliminary redress, he is not
advised at all to do so, because it would be prejudicial to him in the attainment of his
purpose.

Above all, for the invincible legal reason of rights, that it is purely a thing of
feasibility and of the will whether people purge themselves and will or will not submit to
a mandate.

Whereas, no one may be compelled to act against one’s will or to incriminate
oneself (tit. Cod., "No one is compelled to act against one’s will or to incriminate
oneself”),

The usual rule of the old and natural law is introduced, that persons are not compelled to act against their will or to establish any of their actions, when, as a favor and benefit for someone, they are defamed by the other, and that the plaintiffs can be defamed by law (originally from the text *in l. diffamari 5. Cod. de ingen. manumiss* [Laws Concerning Defamation and the Code of Free Birth and Emancipation]) and for that reason their names become notorious,

By which legal remedy the persons defamed are compelled within six weeks or a shorter period of time, under the penalty of defamation, to establish the acts which made them notorious by charges brought against them, under the penalty of an eternal silence being imposed on them. Joh. Voet in *commentar. ad tit. fs. de judiciis*, numbers 20 and 21.

And the model in civil court (see Bort, mentioned above) is also herewith introduced, that it is the practice in criminal law, that whenever people are said to have committed a crime or criminal offense, they can and may clear themselves of it only if they want and are advised to do so.

But, persons are not compelled to do the same if they do not want to.

Consequently, neither can it be imposed or forced upon them by order.

Those who do someone a favor in good faith ought not to have it thrown back into their faces. *jur. vulg.* (Common Law).
See Bort, *dict. tit.* 3 of purges, numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6.

Thus advised in Utrecht

on the 4th of August 1731.

Ant. D. Ruever.

Joh. Woertman.

Will. van Cleeff.

JS, V. Schoonhoven.

J. Vervoorn.

J. Munnicks.
The grounds why the above-mentioned Emanuel Valk has been advised and has made a firm decision to resign his entire office and service as pastor are augmented by this Opinion.

The legal grounds which led him to the same can be rendered in detail if it is required.

Because of these, irrespective of his previous wish to perform his office of pastor and therein to continue his entire life, he has now chosen and is willing to resign his office rather than to be held up by a drawn out process and no longer be of service to his congregation.

Then, he actually did resign his office and service of pastor following a letter to the Presbytery of Gouda and Schoonhoven dated 19 August 1731 sent from Utrecht addressed to the board of directors of the Presbytery.

He also notified the Church Council of Vianen of the same by mail.

And took up his fixed abode in the City of Utrecht.
Letter to the Presbytery

Your Reverences:

After the resolution of the Synod, which is known to Your Reverences, was placed in my hands in the past month of July, I took counsel at that time when the same Resolution was read aloud to me in the Synodal Assembly, where I was advised that I should give an answer in writing. Now, I have proceeded to make a firm decision, herein contained; that, no matter how much I would like to keep my office and provide my services as pastor as before, and therein to continue the rest of my life, nevertheless, since the frequent difficult changes discourage and are of no benefit to me, and, for the following reasons, I would rather hand in the resignation from my office and services.

By means of my published document formally stating points of grievance, I have justly and repeatedly launched the honest protest before God and the entire world, even as I again reiterate and in God’s presence, that I deny and that I am totally innocent of everything that has been charged against me, and such has never occurred directly or indirectly, yet in this respect, however, I have also given careful thought to and am mindful of the wise advice that was given to me by my loyal friends.

Just as I have also greatly taken the tranquility of the Congregation of the Church of Vianen to heart, that it would be beneficial to them if I remain one of its ordinary teachers, otherwise I should have to drag it through the lengthy proceedings I shall have to endure, and since I may possibly never see an end to it and should be found delinquent, I hope that by the resignation from my services the discord and bitterness originated by my case in the same Congregation shall cease and come to a stop, and that
I, being on the outside, also will be better off: being able to find and enjoy my own peace of mind.

For which reason and for other reasons, by this writing I do declare the stripping of myself of all church services as well as of the office of pastor, as well as all the functions pertaining thereto, from which I resign, whereby the office of pastor of Vianen is laid vacant by my no longer occupying that post.

I wish the Lord’s blessing over this Revered Assembly, and remain,

Your Reverences’

Most humble servant,

Eml. Valk

Utrecht, on the 19th of Aug. 1731.

The superscription was:

To the Revered Presbytery of

Gouda and Schoonhoven
Revered Members of the Church Council of VIANEN,

Having seen the Synodal resolution made in the month of July 1731, I have thus for that reason sought advice and have come to a firm decision to strip myself of all church services as well as of the office of pastor with all the functions thereto pertaining, and to resign from the same, about which I have today written at length to the Revered Presbytery of Gouda and Schoonhoven, by which the office of pastor is laid vacant by my leaving it, and of which I give Your Reverences notice by this writing. I wish the Lord’s blessing over this Revered Assembly, and remain,

The Revered Members of the Church Council’s
Most humble servant,

Eml. Valk

Utrecht, on the 19th
of Aug. 1731.


iii M. J. A. de, "De Storm om het crimen nefandum in de jaren 1730-1732" (The Storm Over the Wicked Crime in the Years 1730-1732). In: Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis (Dutch Records of Church History), new series (1932), part 25, p. 213.

iv Noordam, 219.


vi Noordam, 223.

vii Noordam, 220.

viii 2.
Boon, 1.

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PAUL JEROME NASH was born on February 20, 1934, the son of Denis Nash and Hazel Irwin, in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Paul was a middle child, with two older brothers, Peter and Vic, and three younger siblings, Shaun, Mary Jo and Denis.

Paul matriculated at North Adams State Teachers, where he took his Bachelor of Science in Education degree in 1958. In the mid 1980s Paul took his Master of Arts degree in Homophile Studies from One Institute Graduate School in Los Angeles.

Paul received an honorable discharge from the US Navy in 1954. A year later, after Paul's father was hit by a car and killed, Paul and his siblings moved their mother to Jacksonville, Florida, where Vic had been stationed while serving in the US Navy.

Since Paul was not one to hide his homosexuality, and was gregarious, he was driven from the teaching position he had held at Nathan Bedford Forrest High School from 1960 to 1962. Paul grabbed his to-be lifelong friend John Michael Roddy and drove to Los Angeles to meet Ron Williams, one of Paul's friends from Massachusetts.

In Los Angeles, Paul first worked in Gay bars but later became an admitting supervisor at a hospital. Paul had met Don Giguere, whom he had lived with until the early 1970s. By 1972, Susan Lenti and Patrick Small, who both worked at the hospital, had befriended Paul. They, too, became his earliest lifelong friends.

During this time Paul was living in a bachelor's apartment on Sunset Boulevard. He had broken up with Don but had a neat circle of friends from work, bars and from a personal ad in "The Advocate." I, too, wanted "fun and friendship" (and a roommate near school), so, I answered the ad.

While Paul introduced me to his Gay world, which I entered in May 1972, he became acquainted with mine. I had been living with my parents in south central Los Angeles, tutoring at Compton College as well as studying German at the University of California. I was also an anti-Nixon activist. Paul almost immediately specifically wanted a wedding ring from me.

As we honeymooned (he got the ring for Christmas), Paul described the discrimination, persecution and prosecution of Gay people, and I talked about my disgust with politics, and about my German studies. We helped each other come out to family and friends. We
traveled far and wide, and went beyond the narrow limits of a sickening, suicide-
encouraging society. Our adventure as a couple had begun with joining forces, as it were.

To improve my German, Paul and I traveled to Germany in 1975 and met with Gay
activists there. Back in Los Angeles, Paul gave speeches and wrote many articles about
and in defense of the rights of Gay people. He participated in three Marches on
Washington, at one of which, in the mid 1980s, we were wed. Paul voted in every single
election. He told me to translate seminal Gay history books from German into English,
the publication of which he later subsidized. He also sponsored a Gay Cuban refugee in
1980 for six months. From Jacksonville, we traveled to Italy in 2000 to celebrate with
Gays from many countries. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, the first known Gay activist, is buried
there, and Paul had worked to informally gather Gay activists worldwide at Ulrichs' grave
site. In 1999 Paul created his Ulrichs Web site, which is also another one of Paul's
legacies.

Paul, who had moved back to Jacksonville in 1989 because I wanted the house his sister
there had offered to sell to us, lived a well-grounded life working as a clerk to keep
poverty at a comfortable distance. When he retired, he did his chores and ran errands at
his leisure. He enjoyed a week's vacation once a year. He upgraded his house while
enjoying the grounds around it. While keeping the home fires burning, he liked to read,
do crossword puzzles, watch sports on TV and write to family and friends. Then there
were all the smokes, including the ones he shared during vespers. Paul would have
celebrated his 38th year with me on May 13, 2010.

I owe Paul a huge debt of gratitude for having made my personal dreams -- the lifetime
relationship, the education and the publications -- and the American Dream -- the house,
car and chicken in every pot -- come true.

Paul died on May 7, 2010, at age 76, the results of a year-long of suffering from a brain
tumor. His spirit roams now just as he had walked forth in life: taking every opportunity
to witness what he can share on earth and turn to happiness.

-- Michael Lombard-Nash, Jacksonville, Florida, May 9, 2010