This chapter examines the ways in which various high-profile scandals, including the Eulenburg affair, helped raise public awareness of same-sex desire and consequently played a role in shaping same-sex identities. It also looks at the political alliances that various homosexual activists sought with Freudians, feminists, and youth-movement leaders.

**OVERVIEW**

The pioneering queer theorist Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick has suggested that the turn of the twentieth century was marked by “homosexual panic.” At that time we began to acquire the mental habit (familiar to us today) of constantly raising questions about people’s sexual preferences. The homosexual panic created a seeping paranoia about same-sex desire that worked its way into the fabric of our culture. It changed how we behaved in public and in private; it fundamentally reorganized the relationships between men and men, women and women, and women and men. This chapter examines several national scandals that played a significant role in Germany in promoting this homosexual panic. One involved a prominent businessman who headed up the nation’s principal steel company; a second revolved around a colonial governor in the far-off city of Dar es Salaam, the capital of German East Africa. The most important scandal, the Eulenburg affair of 1907, ended up taking down two central figures in the German Kaiser’s court.

These scandals created publicity for the homosexual movement, but not the kind that the movement wanted. In fact, the Eulenburg scandal produced a serious crisis for Hirschfeld’s WhK and created a political atmosphere in which the government seriously considered sharpening the law against homosexuality instead of repealing it. To get through this difficult period, homosexual activists tried to build alliances with other movements: feminism, Freudianism, and youth organizations. Not all these alliances would prove productive, but the effort to build them was a critical step in the maturation of the homosexual movement.

**KEY TERMS**

Friedrich Alfred Krupp; Philip von Eulenburg; Kuno von Moltke; Johanna Elberskirchen; Hans Blüher
NOTES TO CHAPTER 2


5 Lybeck, *Desiring Emancipation*, 92.

6 Quoted ibid., 98.

7 Ibid., 95–98.

8 Ibid., 33–34.

9 Ibid., 19, 35–36.

10 Ibid., especially chaps. 2 and 3.


12 Ibid., 45.


18 Ibid., 39.

19 Ibid., 37–38.

20 Ibid., 39–43.

21 Ibid., 44–47.

22 Ibid., 49.


Jeffrey Alan Schneider, “Militarism, Masculinity and Modernity in Germany” (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1997), 153–54.

For a history of the Moltke family, see Olaf Jessen, Die Moltkes: Biographie einer Familie (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2010).

Winzen, Das Ende der Kaiserherrlichkeit, 17.

Ibid., 22–24.


Schneider, “Militarism, Masculinity and Modernity in Germany,” 142.


Schneider, “Militarism, Masculinity and Modernity in Germany,” 144–47.

Bruns, “Masculinity, Sexuality, and the German Nation,” 125.

Winzen, Das Ende der Kaiserherrlichkeit, 9.


Peter Winzen, Das Ende der Kaiserherrlichkeit, 193–98.


Winzen, Das Ende der Kaiserherrlichkeit, 273–93.

Ibid., 333–37.


Winzen, Das Ende der Kaiserherrlichkeit, 345.


James Steakley, “Iconography of a Scandal,” in Duberman et al., Hidden from History, 233–63; Bruns, “Masculinity, Sexuality, and the German Nation.”


Mancini, Magnus Hirschfeld, 100.

Kennedy, Anarchist of Love, 18.

Herzer, Magnus Hirschfeld, 74.
Ibid., 75.

58 Kennedy, Anarchist of Love, 15–16.


65 Herzer, Magnus Hirschfeld, 94.

66 Ibid., 75.

67 Wolff, Magnus Hirschfeld, 100–101.


69 Ibid., 462–63.

70 Herzer, Magnus Hirschfeld, 110–11.


72 Quoted in Herzer, Magnus Hirschfeld, 112.

73 Ibid., 116–17.


76 Wolff, Magnus Hirschfeld, 130–31; Dickinson, Sex, Freedom, and Power in Imperial Germany, 249.

77 Dickinson, Sex, Freedom, and Power in Imperial Germany, 281–303.


80 Sengoopta, Otto Weininger, 88.
82 Ibid., 47.
83 Sengoopta, *Otto Weininger*, 89.
86 Ibid., 488.
87 Ibid., 477.
91 Ibid., 36, 38.
92 Though it had the same name (*Bund für Menschenrecht*), this is not the same organization as the homosexual group led by Friedrich Radszuweit, which will be discussed later. I translate *Bund* in this case as “League” but in the latter case as “Federation” to make the difference clear.
93 Leidinger, “Anna Rüling,” 495.
94 Ibid.
96 Quoted ibid.
100 Weindling, *Health, Race and German Politics*, 250.
102 Ibid., 425.
103 Ibid., 426.
104 Ibid., 428; Wolff, *Magnus Hirschfeld*, 92.
108 Ibid., 93.
109 Ibid., 94.
110 Ibid., 95.
112 Ibid., 113–14; Elena Mancini, *Magnus Hirschfeld*, 110.


115 Quoted ibid.


117 Ibid., 16.

118 Ibid., 19.


122 Ibid., 252.

123 Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology*, 84.


128 Ibid., 49.


130 Ibid., 236.

131 Ibid., 118–22.

132 Ibid., 238–39.

133 Ibid.


135 Ibid.


141 Ibid., 235–36.

142 Ibid., 239.

143 Ibid., 2, pt. 1.

144 Ibid., pt. 2.


146 Ibid., 170.


150 Ibid., 125.

151 Ibid., 126.