

CHAPTER 6

Nazi Persecution

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter discusses the effects of the Nazi regime on gay men and lesbians. It considers the motives behind Nazi policies toward homosexuality and also probes the thorny issue of whether scientific research into homosexuality opened the door for the Nazis to send homosexuals to the concentration camps.

OVERVIEW

When the Nazis took over Germany in 1933, they destroyed the constitutional framework of the short-lived Weimar Republic and thoroughly smothered much of the vibrant social and political culture that had developed in the country since the mid-nineteenth century. The urban gay scenes of Berlin and elsewhere, as well as the homosexual movement itself, were notable casualties. This chapter discusses the effects of the Nazi regime on gay men and lesbians. Although the Nazi Party had contained some homosexuals in its ranks during its rise to power—most notably Ernst Röhm, who headed up the party's stormtroopers—this fact did not stop the party from strengthening the country's laws against male homosexuality or from organizing a police crackdown. Hitler's government closed most gay and lesbian bars, shut down the homosexual publishing industry, and eventually interned thousands of gay men in Nazi prisons and concentration camps. The Nazi regime did not target lesbians with anywhere near the same intensity that it targeted gay men, but that does not mean that lesbians were unaffected by Nazi policies. Their bars, publications, and social clubs were closed down, and they were subjected to the immense pressure brought by the Nazi Party on all women to conform to traditional gender norms, to get married, and to have children.

This chapter considers the motives behind these Nazi policies toward homosexuality. Furthermore, it examines the fate of those scientific and psychiatric institutions that had devoted so much time to homosexuality since the mid-nineteenth century. In the process, this chapter also probes the thorny issue of whether scientific research into homosexuality opened the door for Nazi persecution. It concludes with some reflection on the sexual opportunities created by the Second World War.

KEY TERMS

homosexuality in the Nazi Party; Ernst Röhm; pink triangle; concentration camps; homosexuality and the Holocaust

Whisnant, Clayton J.

Queer Identities and Politics in Germany: A History 1880–1945
[dx.doi.org/10.17312/harringtonparkpress/2016.08.qipg.006](https://doi.org/10.17312/harringtonparkpress/2016.08.qipg.006)

© Harrington Park Press, LLC, New York, NY 10011

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

- 1 Kershaw, *Hitler*, 1:173.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 174.
- 3 Richard Bessel, *Political Violence and the Rise of Nazism: The Storm Troopers in Eastern Germany, 1925–1934* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).
- 4 Baumgardt, "Das Institut für Sexualwissenschaft," 41.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 154–55.
- 6 Eleanor Hancock, "'Only the Real, the True, the Masculine Held Its Value': Ernst Röhm, Masculinity, and Male Homosexuality," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 8, no. 4 (1998): 628.
- 7 Burkhard Jellonnek, *Homosexuelle unter dem Hakenkreuz: Die Verfolgung von Homosexuellen im Dritten Reich* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1990), 63.
- 8 Marhoefer, *Sex and the Weimar Republic*, 146–48.
- 9 Jellonnek, *Homosexuelle unter dem Hakenkreuz*, 65.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 61.
- 11 Plant, *The Pink Triangle*, 61.
- 12 Suzanne zur Nieden, "Aufstieg und Fall des virilen Männerhelden: Der Skandal um Ernst Röhm und seine Ermordung," in Nieden, *Homosexualität und Staatsräson*, 174–75.
- 13 Manfred Herzer, "Communists, Social Democrats, and the Homosexual Movement in the Weimar Republic," in Hekma et al., *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left, 197–226*; Alexander Zinn, "Die soziale Konstruktion des homosexuellen Nationalsozialisten im antifaschistischen Exil," in Grumbach, *Die Linke und das Laster*, 38–84.
- 14 For a queer reading of Nazi art, see Tim Pursell, "Queer Eyes and Wagnerian Guys: Homoeroticism in the Art of the Third Reich," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 17, no. 1 (January 2008): 110–37.
- 15 For a discussion of the long-standing association between Nazism and sexual perversity, see Dagmar Herzog, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 11–13.
- 16 Lothar Machtan's *The Hidden Hitler* (New York: Basic Books, 2001) has not generally been well received by historians.
- 17 Herzog, *Sex after Fascism*, 11.
- 18 "Second Directive of the Prussian Minister of the Interior, 23 February 1933," quoted in Grau, *Hidden Holocaust?* 28; emphasis in original.
- 19 Müller and Schneberger, "Schwules Leben in Köln" in Limpricht et al., "*Verführte*" *Männer*.
- 20 Hoffschildt, *Olivia*, 89–93.
- 21 Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Polizeibehörde I, 461 Band 2, Befehlsheft II no. 72, April 6, 1933.
- 22 Rudolf Klare, *Homosexualität und Strafrecht* (Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1937), 146.

- 23 Hans-Georg Stümke, "Von 'unausgeglichenen Geschlechtshaushalt': Zur Verfolgung Homosexueller," in *Verachtet, Verfolgt, Vernichtet: Zu den "vergessenen" Opfern des NS-Regimes*, ed. Projektgruppe für die vergessenen Opfer des NS-Regimes (Hamburg: VSA, 1988), 51–53.
- 24 Quoted in Helmut Fangmann, Udo Reifner, and Norbert Steinborn, "Parteisoldaten": *Hamburger Polizei im "3. Reich"* (Hamburg: VSA, 1987), 80.
- 25 Hoffschildt, *Olivia*, 84.
- 26 Quoted in Karl-Heinz Steinle, *Der Literarische Salon bei Richard Schultz* (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 2002), 48.
- 27 Manfred Herzer, "Die Zerschlagung der Schwulenbewegung," in Schwules Museum, *Goodbye to Berlin?* 158–59.
- 28 Stümke, *Homosexuelle in Deutschland*, 102; Manfred Baumgardt, "Das Institut für Sexualwissenschaft," 35–38.
- 29 Andreas Sternweiler, "'Nachteiliges über ihn konnte nicht festgestellt werden': Mitstreiter aus der Schwulenbewegung," in *Homosexuelle Männer im KZ Sachsenhausen*, ed. Joachim Müller and Andreas Sternweiler (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 2000), 150–51.
- 30 Andreas Sternweiler, "Exil," in Schwules Museum, *Goodbye to Berlin?* 169–73.
- 31 Weiss, *In the Shadow of the Magic Mountain*, 102–3.
- 32 Thomas Mann, "Humanism and Europe," *New Republic*, April 28, 1937, 349.
- 33 Weiss, *In the Shadow of the Magic Mountain*, 114–16.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 159–73.
- 35 *Ibid.*, 189–99.
- 36 Norton, *Secret Germany*, 727–37.
- 37 Hergemöller, "Hans Blüher," 150–51.
- 38 Andreas Sternweiler, *Liebe, Forschung, Lehre: Der Kunsthistoriker Christian Adolf Isermeyer* (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 1998), 35.
- 39 Hancock, "Only the Real, the True, the Masculine," 626.
- 40 Quoted *ibid.*, 623.
- 41 Andrew Wackerfuss, *Stormtrooper Families: Homosexuality and Community in the Early Nazi Movement* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2015).
- 42 For Willhart Schlegel's later career, see Whisnant, *Male Homosexuality in West Germany*, 172–74.
- 43 Willhart Schlegel, *Rolf: Eine Zeitgeschichtliche Erzählung* (Frankfurt: R. G. Fischer, 1995), 41.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 43–45.
- 45 Kershaw, *Hitler*, 1:503.
- 46 The full story of the Night of Long Knives is told *ibid.*, 500–524.
- 47 Micheler, *Selbstbilder und Fremdbilder*, 305–6.
- 48 *Ibid.*, 304–5.
- 49 *Ibid.*, 392–93.
- 50 Schlegel, *Rolf*, 46.
- 51 Micheler, *Selbstbilder und Fremdbilder*, 294.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 309–14.
- 53 Kershaw, *Hitler*, 2:54–56.

- 54 Ibid., 1:506.
- 55 Giles, "The Institutionalization of Homosexual Panic in the Third Reich," 235.
- 56 This speech is discussed in Oosterhuis, "Medicine, Male Bonding and Homosexuality in Nazi Germany," 201.
- 57 Kershaw, *The "Hitler Myth": Image and Reality in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 85; Jellonnek, *Homosexuelle unter dem Hakenkreuz*, 95–100.
- 58 Stümke, *Homosexuelle in Deutschland*, 8–9; Christian Schulz, *Paragraph 175. (abgewickelt) Homosexualität und Strafrecht im Nachkriegsdeutschland: Rechtsprechung, juristische Diskussionen und Reformen seit 1945* (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript, 1994), 109–10.
- 59 Schulz, *Paragraph 175*, 9.
- 60 Stümke, "Vom 'unausgeglichene Geschlechtshaushalt,'" 54; Jellonnek, *Homosexuelle unter dem Hakenkreuz*, 100–110, 122–24.
- 61 Micheler, *Selbstbilder und Fremdbilder*, 324–25.
- 62 Georg Stümke, "Vom 'unausgeglichene Geschlechtshaushalt,'" 53–54.
- 63 Ibid., 58.
- 64 Micheler, *Selbstbilder und Fremdbilder*, 330–31.
- 65 Ibid., 340–65.
- 66 Sparing, *Wegen Vergehen nach §175 verhaftet*, 168–72.
- 67 Andreas Pretzel, "Als Homosexueller in Erscheinung getreten: Anzeigen und Denuncationen," in *Wegen der zu erwartenden hohen Strafe: Homosexuellenverfolgung in Berlin, 1933–1945*, ed. Andreas Pretzel and Gabriele Roßbach (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 2000), 25–31; Sparing, *Wegen Vergehen nach §175 verhaftet*, 128–32; Micheler, "Homophobic Propaganda and the Denunciation of Same-Sex-Desiring Men under National Socialism," 117–24.
- 68 Pretzel, "Als Homosexueller in Erscheinung getreten," 32–39.
- 69 Gabriele Roßbach, "Sie sahen das Zwecklose ihres Leugnens ein: Verhöre bei Gestapo und Kripo," in Pretzel and Roßbach, *Wegen der zu erwartenden hohen Strafe*, 74.
- 70 Ibid.; Sparing, *Wegen Vergehen nach §175 verhaftet*, 132–46.
- 71 Andreas Pretzel, "Erst dadurch wird eine wirksame Bekämpfung ermöglicht: Polizeiliche Ermittlungen," in Pretzel and Roßbach, *Wegen der zu erwartenden hohen Strafe*, 43–54.
- 72 Geoffrey Giles, "'The Most Unkindest Cut of All': Castration, Homosexuality and Nazi Justice," *Journal of Contemporary History* 27, no. 1 (January 1992): 46–61; Joachim Müller, "'Um von meinem Trieb befreit zu werden': Kastrationen im Krankenrevier," in Müller and Sternweiler, *Homosexuelle Männer im KZ Sachsenhausen*; Frank Sparing, "'Daß er es der Kastration zu verdanken hat, daß er überhaupt in die Volksgemeinschaft entlassen wird': Die Entmannung von Homosexuellen im Bereich der Kriminalbiologischen Sammelstelle Köln," in *Das sind Volksfeinde! Die Verfolgung von Homosexuellen an Rhein und Ruhr, 1933–1945*, ed. Centrum Schwule Geschichte (Cologne: Centrum Schwule Geschichte, 1998), 160–81; Albert Knoll, "Totgeschlagen-totgeschwiegen: Die homosexuellen Häftlinge im KZ Dachau," *Dachauer Hefte* 14 (November 1998): 99–100.
- 73 As one might guess, inmates in German prisons were actually better off than those kept in Nazi concentration camps. Andreas Sternweiler even notes some cases of men in concentration camps who volunteered statements about their homosexual activity within the camps, hoping that this would lead to a formal prison sentence. See Andreas Sternweiler, "Chronologischer Versuch zur Situation der Homosexuellen im KZ Sachsenhausen," in *Homosexuelle Männer im KZ Sachsenhausen*, ed. Joachim Müller and Andreas Sternweiler (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 2000), 39. Rainer Hoffschmidt rightly remarks, though, that we know very little about conditions within Nazi prisons (*Gefängnisse*) and penitentiaries (*Zuchthäuser*), which have not been traditionally seen as "significant sites of confinement, pain, and death," despite evidence that they too produced increasing numbers of deaths in the

course of the Nazi period. See Rainer Hoffschildt, *Die Verfolgung der Homosexuellen in der NS-Zeit: Zahlen und Schicksale aus Norddeutschland* (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 1999), 143.

- 74 There are numerous accounts of life in the concentration camps. The most famous ones generally treat the Jewish experience of the death camps, usually Auschwitz, but much of these descriptions can be generalized to the larger work camps in Germany and Austria (Buchenwald, Dachau, Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Neuengamme, and Sachsenhausen). Four of the best-known are Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz: The Nazi Assault on Humanity* (1958; repr., New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996); Terrence Des Pres, *The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camps* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976); Elie Wiesel, *Night* (1955; repr., New York: Hill and Wang, 2006); and Eugene Heimler, *Night of the Mist* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1960).
- 75 Knoll, "Totgeschlagen-Totgeschwiegen," 85.
- 76 For a hint at the range of inmates in Sachsenhausen, see Andreas Sternweiler, "'Er ging mit ihm alsbald ein sogenanntes 'Festes Verhältnis' ein': Ganz normale Homosexuelle," in Müller and Sternweiler, *Homosexuelle Männer im KZ Sachsenhausen*, 58–78. For some examples of nonhomosexual inmates who were nonetheless classified as 175ers, see Andreas Sternweiler, "Wegen dringenden Verdachts homosexueller und bündischer Betätigung festgenommen: Homosexuelle aus der Jugendbewegung," in Müller and Sternweiler, *Homosexuelle Männer im KZ Sachsenhausen*, 109–44; and Karl-Heinz Steinle, "'Auf verlorenem Posten': Der sudetendeutsche Politiker Walter Brand," in Müller and Sternweiler, *Homosexuelle Männer im KZ Sachsenhausen*, 277–82.
- 77 This claim was above all made by Plant, *The Pink Triangle*, 165–66.
- 78 Andreas Sternweiler, "'Als ein Beweis, daß wir zusammenhalten': Freundschaft und Solidarität," in Müller and Sternweiler, *Homosexuelle Männer im KZ Sachsenhausen*, 316–30; Andreas Sternweiler, "'Er habe sich zeichnend am Leben erhalten': Der Künstler Richard Grune," in Müller and Sternweiler, *Homosexuelle Männer im KZ Sachsenhausen*, 190–206.
- 79 For a comparison of Neuengamme with Sachsenhausen, see Andreas Sternweiler, "Nachteiliges über ihn konnte nicht festgestellt werden," 155.
- 80 For example, Egon Wüst, a dancer at the Eldorado, was taken to Dachau for "reeducation measures" in 1933. See Sternweiler, "'Er ging mit ihm alsbald ein sogenanntes 'Festes Verhältnis' ein,'" 59–60.
- 81 For a good English-language overview of the expansion and systematization of the Nazi camp system in the course of 1935 and 1936, see Robert Gellately, *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 61–67.
- 82 Even before the Dachau system of identification began being used, though, many camps appear to have been making some more basic visual distinctions by 1936. In Dachau, one Social Democratic exile noted that gay inmates wore a large "175" on their clothing. At the same time in Sachsenhausen, several categories of prisoners were already being identified with different colored stripes (and a yellow spot if they were Jewish), though it is unclear if homosexuals were included in this earlier system. See Knoll, "Totgeschlagen-totgeschwiegen," 88–89; and Sternweiler, "Chronologischer Versuch," 34–35.
- 83 Knoll, "Totgeschlagen-totgeschwiegen," 89–90; Sternweiler, "Chronologischer Versuch," 39–40.
- 84 Sternweiler, "Chronologischer Versuch," 42.
- 85 Heinz Heger, *The Men with the Pink Triangle*, 2nd ed., trans. David Fernbach (Boston: Alyson Books, 1994), 40.
- 86 Joachim Müller, "'Wohl dem, der hier nur eine Nummer ist': Die Isolierung der Homosexuellen," in Müller and Sternweiler, *Homosexuelle Männer im KZ Sachsenhausen*, 89–108.
- 87 Joachim Müller, "'Wie die Bewegung, so die Verpflegung': Die Strafkompagnie Schuhläufer," in Müller and Sternweiler, *Homosexuelle Männer im KZ Sachsenhausen*, 181–89.
- 88 Joachim Müller, "'Unnatürliche Todesfälle': Vorfälle in den Außenbereichen Klinkerwerk, Schießplatz und Tongrube," in Müller and Sternweiler, *Homosexuelle Männer im KZ Sachsenhausen*, 216–63.

- 89 Plant, *The Pink Triangle*, 175–79; Sternweiler, “Chronologischer Versuch,” 50; Knoll, “Totgeschlagen-totgeschwiegen,” 99.
- 90 Kershaw, *Hitler*, 1:154, 316.
- 91 Hans Peter Bleuel, *Sex and Society in Nazi Germany*, trans. J. Maxwell Brownjohn (1972; repr., New York: Dorset Press, 1996), 6.
- 92 Udo Pini, *Leibeskult und Liebeskitsch: Erotik im Dritten Reich* (Munich: Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1992), 9–11.
- 93 Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality*, 9, 153–80.
- 94 Wilhelm Reich, *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*, 3rd ed., trans. V. R. Carfagno (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1970). This argument is also implicit in Bleuel, *Sex and Society in Nazi Germany*.
- 95 Elizabeth Heineman, “Sexuality and Nazism: The Doubly Unspeakable,” in *Sexuality and German Fascism*, ed. Dagmar Herzog (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), 26; Herzog, *Sex after Fascism*, 152–62.
- 96 Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, trans. Erica Carter, Stephen Conway, and Chris Turner, 2 vols. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 1:41.
- 97 *Ibid.*, 2:338.
- 98 *Ibid.*, 339.w
- 99 Nicolaus Sombart, *Die Deutschen Männer und ihre Feinde: Carl Schmitt, ein deutsches Schicksal zwischen Männerbund und Matriarchatmythos* (Munich: Hanser, 1991), 51–53.
- 100 For an excellent overview of the literature, see Heineman, “Sexuality and Nazism.”
- 101 Herzog, *Sex after Fascism*, 15–16. See also her summary in Herzog, *Sexuality in Europe: A Twentieth-Century History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 67–75.
- 102 Bunzl, *Symptoms of Modernity*, 16.
- 103 Both passages quoted in Stümke, *Homosexuelle in Deutschland*, 113.
- 104 Quoted in Erhard Vismar, “Perversion und Verfolgung unter dem deutschen Faschismus,” in Lautmann, *Seminar*, 320.
- 105 Klare, *Homosexualität und Strafrecht*, 13, 33–34.
- 106 Burleigh and Wippermann, *The Racial State*. See also Stümke, *Homosexuelle in Deutschland*, 92–94; and Günter Grau, “Persecution, ‘Re-education’ or ‘Eradication’ of Male Homosexuals.”
- 107 For a longer discussion of these critiques of the “racial state” paradigm, see Patrick Gilner, “Beyond the Racial State: Rethinking Nazi Germany,” *GHI Bulletin* 46 (Spring 2010): 163–70.
- 108 Peter von Rönn, “Politische und psychiatrische Homosexualitätskonstruktion im NS-Staat. Teil II: Die soziale Genese der Homosexualität als defizitäre Heterosexualität,” *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 11 (1998): 243–46.
- 109 Geoffrey Giles, “The Institutionalization of Homosexual Panic in the Third Reich,” 237–42. See also William Spurlin’s argument that “homophobia seldom operated alone, but operated in conjunction with other axes of power . . . including race, gender and particular national policies, which under the Third Reich included eugenics and population policies.” William J. Spurlin, *Lost Intimacies: Rethinking Homosexuality under National Socialism* (New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 7.
- 110 Mosse, *The Image of Man*.
- 111 Quoted in Claudia Schoppmann, “The Position of Lesbian Women in the Nazi Period,” in Grau, *Hidden Holocaust?* 11.
- 112 Jellonnek, *Homosexuelle unter dem Hakenkreuz*, 23–24.

- 113 Oosterhuis, "Medicine, Male Bonding and Homosexuality in German Nationalism"; Pursell, "Queer Eyes and the Wagnerian Guys."
- 114 Giles, "The Institutionalization of Homosexual Panic in the Third Reich," 238.
- 115 Micheler, *Selbstbilder und Fremdbilder*, 320–22.
- 116 Jellonnek, *Homosexuelle unter dem Hakenkreuz*, 100–110.
- 117 Geoffrey J. Giles, "The Denial of Homosexuality: Same-Sex Incidents in Himmler's SS and Police," in *Sexuality and German Fascism*, ed. Dagmar Herzog (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), 256–90.
- 118 Jellonnek, *Homosexuelle unter dem Hakenkreuz*, 330.
- 119 Heineman, "Sexuality and Nazism," 35.
- 120 Schoppmann, "The Position of Lesbian Women in the Nazi Period," 8–12.
- 121 *Ibid.*, 13.
- 122 Schoppmann, *Days of Masquerade*, 102–14. Some of Annette Eick's story can also be heard in the film *Paragraph 175*.
- 123 Schoppmann, *Days of Masquerade*, 31–37.
- 124 Schader, *Virile, Vamps und wilde Veilchen*, 77.
- 125 Schoppmann, "The Position of Lesbian Women in the Nazi Period," 13.
- 126 Schoppmann, *Days of Masquerade*, 11.
- 127 Leidinger, "Anna Rüling," 488–92.
- 128 *Ibid.*, 139.
- 129 Micheler, *Selbstbilder und Fremdbilder*, 412–19.
- 130 Fritz was biologically male, but I will assume, given what we know about her, that she would have preferred the use of the feminine pronoun.
- 131 Sternweiler, "'Er ging mit ihm alsbald ein sogenanntes 'Festes Verhältnis' ein,'" 59–62.
- 132 Carola Gerlach, "Außerdem habe ich dort mit meinem Freund getanzt," in Pretzel and Roßbach, *Wegen der zu erwartenden hohen Strafe*, 309–13.
- 133 *Ibid.*, 322–27.
- 134 Micheler, *Selbstbilder und Fremdbilder*, 398–406.
- 135 *Ibid.*, 420–21.
- 136 *Ibid.*, 437–39.
- 137 Rudolf E., quoted *ibid.*, 438.
- 138 The best-known work in this vein is Daniel Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996). It has, however, been severely criticized on many accounts by numerous historians. For some key works that have been better received by the historical community, see Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987); Omer Bartov, *Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992); Eric A. Johnson, *Nazi Terror: The Gestapo, Jews, and Ordinary Germans* (New York: Basic Books, 1999); and Gellately, *Backing Hitler*.
- 139 Quoted in Elizabeth Heineman, "Sexuality and Nazism," 37.
- 140 Micheler, *Selbstbilder und Fremdbilder*, 420.
- 141 Schoppmann, *Days of Masquerade*, 65–71.

- 142 Volkmar Sigusch and Günter Grau, *Geschichte der Sexualwissenschaft* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2008), 93.
- 143 Cocks, *Psychotherapy in the Third Reich*, 90.
- 144 Ibid., 109.
- 145 Ibid., 90–91.
- 146 Mildenberger, "Kraepelin and the 'Urnings,'" 327.
- 147 Ibid., 330–31.
- 148 Weckowicz and Liebel-Weckowicz, *A History of Great Ideas in Abnormal Psychology*, 209–10.
- 149 Weindling, *Health, Race and German Politics*, 328–31; Robert Proctor, *Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 35.
- 150 Weckowicz and Liebel-Weckowicz, *A History of Great Ideas in Abnormal Psychology*, 210; Shorter, *A History of Psychiatry*, 240–43; Proctor, *Racial Hygiene*, 40–43; Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics*, 309–10.
- 151 Susanne zur Nieden, "Erbbiologische Forschungen zur Homosexualität an der Deutschen Forschungsanstalt für Psychiatrie während der Jahre des Nationalismus: Zur Geschichte von Theo Lang," Ergebnisse 25 for the Research Program "History of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society in the National Socialist Era" (2008), www.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/KWG/Ergebnisse/Ergebnisse25.pdf, 11–13, accessed December 6, 2014.
- 152 Hans Habel, "Zwillingsuntersuchungen an Homosexuellen," *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 1 (1950): 168–80. See also Barbara Zeh, "Der Sexualforscher Hans Giese: Leben und Werk" (PhD diss., Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1988), 59.
- 153 Verschuer to Ministry of Interior, quoted in Zeh, "Der Sexualforscher Hans Giese," 61.
- 154 Nieden, "Erbbiologische Forschungen zur Homosexualität an der Deutschen Forschungsanstalt für Psychiatrie während der Jahre des Nationalismus," 15–17.
- 155 Theo Lang, "Über die erbliche Bedingtheit der Homosexualität und die grundsätzliche Bedeutung der Intersexualitätsforschung für die menschliche Genetik," *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie und ihre Grenzgebiet* 112 (1939): 237–54. For a discussion of Lang's research, see Rudolf Klimmer, *Die Homosexualität als biologisch-soziologische Zeitfrage* (Hamburg: Kriminalistik, 1958), 47–49; Giles, "The Most Unkindest Cut of All," 51.
- 156 Klaus Jensch, "Zur Genealogie der Homosexualität," *Archiv für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankheiten* 112, no. 4 (February 1941): 527–40. See also Jellonnek, "Homosexuellenforschung im Dritten Reich," 223.
- 157 Nieden, "Erbbiologische Forschungen zur Homosexualität an der Deutschen Forschungsanstalt für Psychiatrie während der Jahre des Nationalismus," 25–27.
- 158 For more on Deussen and Lemke, see Marc Dupont, "Biologische und psychologische Konzepte im 'Dritten Reich' zur Homosexualität," in Jellonnek and Lautman, *Nationalsozialistischer Terror gegen Homosexuelle*, 197–99.
- 159 Nieden, "Erbbiologische Forschungen zur Homosexualität an der Deutschen Forschungsanstalt für Psychiatrie während der Jahre des Nationalismus," 37–39.
- 160 Cocks, *Psychotherapy in the Third Reich*.
- 161 Ibid., 207–9.
- 162 Ibid., 209–10.
- 163 Giles, "The Denial of Homosexuality," 271.
- 164 Karl-Heinz Roth, "Großhungern und Gehorchen: Das Universitätskrankenhaus Eppendorf," in *Heilen und Vernichten im Mustergau Hamburg: Bevölkerungs- und Gesundheitspolitik im Dritten*

- Reich*, ed. Angelika Ebbinghaus, Heidrun Kaupen-Haas, and Karl Heinz Roth (Hamburg: Konkret, 1984), 130–34.
- 165 Hans Bürger-Prinz, "Betrachtungen über einen Homosexualitätsprozeß," *Monatsschrift für Kriminalbiologie und Strafrechtsreform* 29 (1938): 335.
- 166 Hans Bürger Prinz, "Gedanken zum Problem der Homosexualität," *Monatsschrift für Kriminalbiologie und Strafrechtsreform* 30 (1939): 433–35.
- 167 *Ibid.*, 437.
- 168 Dupont, "Biologische und psychologische Konzepte im 'Dritten Reich' zur Homosexualität," 201–2; Giles, "The Most Unkindest Cut of All," 50–51.
- 169 Bürger-Prinz, "Gedanken zum Problem der Homosexualität," 431.
- 170 Giles, "The Most Unkindest Cut of All," 50.
- 171 Bürger-Prinz, "Gedanken zum Problem der Homosexualität," 435.
- 172 For a more thorough treatment of the ways that Bürger-Prinz's ideas fit well with the Nazi worldview, see Peter von Rönn, "Das Homosexualitätskonzept des Psychiaters Hans Bürger-Prinz im Rahmen der NS-Verfolgungspolitik," in Jellonnek and Lautmann, *Nationalsozialistischer Terror gegen Homosexuelle*, 237–60.
- 173 Rönn, "Politische und psychiatrische Homosexualitätskonstruktion im NS-Staat," 240–45.
- 174 Giles, "The Denial of Homosexuality," 273–77.
- 175 On the brutality of war on the Eastern Front, see Bartov, *Hitler's Army*.
- 176 Gellately, *Backing Hitler*, 230–31.
- 177 This is according to current estimates of the U.S. Holocaust Museum: www.ushmm.org/learn/students/learning-materials-and-resources/homosexuals-victims-of-the-nazi-era/persecution-of-homosexuals, accessed December 9, 2015.
- 178 Whisnant, *Male Homosexuality in West Germany*, 46–47.
- 179 *Ibid.*, 43–44.
- 180 *Ibid.*, 46.