

doesn't want to talk only to other gay progressives is laudable, but I can't imagine who else would listen. As two of his blurbists point out, Goldstein has written a "polemic," and polemics are good at rallying the faithful, not converting the heathen.

Much of the polemic consists of denunciations of the stars of the gay right—the "homocons" or "attack queers," as Goldstein calls them—especially Andrew Sullivan and Camille Paglia. He works himself up into a lather, not so much over their words or ideas, but over their looming presence on the gay landscape. To me, however, his jeremiad against the homocons is the book's least interesting aspect. Goldstein is far more successful when analyzing the homocons' appeal to straight liberals as well as to other gays. He first discusses the "liberal embrace": liberal society's ambivalent acceptance of gays. Such liberals are grateful to the homocons, who do the dirty work of trashing "unassimilable homos, thereby affirming the integrity of heterosexuals." As for the homocons' popularity with other gays, Goldstein makes the point that "most of us were middle-class before we were gay," and these gays have lost class privilege because of their sexuality. The homocons speak to the desire to regain that privilege. The question is how it is to be regained: "Progressives stand for the rise of groups; conservatives for the formation of elites." Homocons want individual gays to rise to heterosexual norms, while "the enduring goal of gay liberation" is "to realize the true entitlement of our birthright, which is not virtual normalcy but freedom."

Goldstein then focuses on one aspect of the homocon world view, the celebration of masculinity. Camille Paglia inspires his most successful polemical outbursts, nailing her as "a saucy broad whose imitation of masculinity pays tribute to the real

thing," and analyzing her gender essentialism as a form of liberal pornography, with "those images of vital men and vamping women, colliding like monsters from the id of Ayn Rand in a landscape of lust and lingerie." He makes the excellent point that "anyone who carries [gender conformity] off but doesn't reap the rewards" is part of "Sullivan's natural constituency." In response to Paglia's and Sullivan's praise of gender, Goldstein asserts that "feminism offers a different model, in which power flows from individuality," not from conformity to someone else's gender definitions.

Goldstein ends with a chapter on "Fighting the Gay Right," but—as so often happens with political books like this—his proposed solutions have a lot less oomph than his spirited assessment of the problem. He celebrates a "queer humanism" that is still essentially on the left "because it sprang from the left—or, more precisely, from the marriage (if you will) between bohemianism and socialism more than a century ago." As for the present, "Why would gay strivers who aspire above all to be normal still feel bound to the left? The answer is tradition. Culture has its reasons that self-interest does not know, and our culture grounds us in progressive values." This isn't argument; it's a desperate resort to a sort of political mysticism (or to the opening number of *Fiddler on the Roof*). It's not going to convince anyone who isn't already convinced.

In putting these two books together, I had hoped that they could create a kind of dialog—that David Brock could explain how a gay man could become a conservative, and Richard Goldstein could explain why he shouldn't be one. It didn't quite work out that way, indicating perhaps how difficult it is to get that particular dialog going.

The Magnum Opus of Magnus Hirschfeld

THE GAY MOVEMENT has never known anyone quite like Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935), a small, pudgy, Jewish, cross-dressing Berlin physician. A first-class scholar of the old school (i.e., rigorous), he co-founded the world's first homosexual rights organization, the Scientific Humanitarian Committee (*Wissenschaftlich-humanitäre Komitee*) in 1897. For over three decades he was the leading spokesman for homosexual emancipation, and a leader of the World League for Sexual Reform.

It is unfortunate that many gay scholars are not aware of works written before Stonewall or in languages other than English. In the last third of the 19th century and the first third of the 20th, Berlin was in many ways the world center of scholarship, certainly in gay studies and in medicine, outdistancing even its closest rival, Vienna. The 23 volumes of the Scientific Humanitarian Committee's

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**The Homosexuality
of Men and Women**

by Magnus Hirschfeld
Translated by Michael A. Lombardi-Nash
Prometheus Books. 1209 pages, \$200.

Yearbook (1899–1923) contain seminal and authoritative articles on literature, ancient and modern history, biography, jurisprudence, anthropology, the homosexual rights movement, and such sex-related phenomena as transvestitism.

Hirschfeld's *magnum opus* is the longest, and arguably the best, book written about gay men and lesbians by a single individual. After the Nazis' "cleansing" of many books, the 1914 German original of this great work could be found only in a few large research li-

braries until 1984, when it was reprinted in German by de Gruyter, with an informative introduction by Erwin J. Haeberle. Prometheus Books has now published a new English translation by Michael Lombardi-Nash, to whom we owe a debt of gratitude for his translations of the works of Carl Heinrich Ulrichs and Hirschfeld's study on transvestitism. This volume also contains a new introduction by the venerable historian of sex, Vern Bulough, who subsidized the publication.

Hirschfeld's predecessor, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, began the movement to decriminalize sodomy (sex between males defined as "*widernatürliche Unzucht*" or "unnatural lewdness") when Bis-

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marck prepared to extend the Prussian ordinance against sodomy to the German Reich in the Constitution of 1871. (Under the Code Napoléon, sodomy was not a crime in the German Confederation at that time.) Ulrichs, a civil servant in Hanover, took up the cudgels, and for the next thirty years fought a lonely battle against these repressive laws. (His contemporary, Károly Mária Kertbeny, who invented the term "homosexual" in 1869, confined his efforts to writing.) As early as 1867 he spoke out against these laws at a conference of judges and lawyers, who promptly shouted him down. But Ulrichs refused to retreat and published thirteen pamphlets over the years (all translated by Lombardi-Nash some years ago), dying in obscurity, in Italy, in 1895.

Ulrichs believed that "Urnings"—his term for gay men—represented a kind of intermediate sex; they had "female souls trapped in male bodies." Magnus Hirschfeld would carry this idea even further with his category of "sexual intergrades" (*sexuelle Zwischenstufen*), under which he grouped male and female homosexuals, transvestites, and "pseudo-hermaphrodites." Hirschfeld's sexual intergrades fell between normal men and normal women—physically as well as psychologically. As might be expected, men who favored the ancient Greek model of male love were outraged by Hirschfeld's obsessive focus on effeminate males and mannish females. Elisar von Kupffer commented in his 1900 anthology of romantic male friendship, *Liebling-minne und Freundschaft in der Weltliteratur*, that the geniuses and heroes of Greece could "hardly be recognized in their Uranian petticoats."

Hirschfeld seems to have learned from such criticism, since by 1914 his notions of the "third sex" and "sexual intergrades" had pretty much fallen by the wayside. However, he never gave up the idea that human beings are born with discrete and unchangeable sexual orientations, whether heterosexual, bisexual, or homosexual.

The Homosexuality of Men and Women is divided into two parts. The first has a clinical character, with penetrating analyses of the sexological theories then in existence. From his interviews with more than 10,000 homosexual men and women, Hirschfeld describes the practices and characteristics of gay men and lesbians. Nothing in gay literature is quite like the hundreds of anecdotes and case studies with which he illustrates his generalizations. For example, he observed two Urnings in criminal court, re-united after weeks of being imprisoned separately, who achieved mutual orgasm simply by touching. No one in the courtroom noticed except Hirschfeld, who asked them afterwards if this is what had happened. They said that it had.

After chapters on the diagnosis of homosexuality and the childhood and adolescence of Uranian boys and girls, Hirschfeld devotes several chapters to "differential diagnoses," which distinguish between genuine homosexuality and such things as friendship, pseudohomosexuality, bisexuality, heterosexual horror, hermaphroditism, gynandromorphia, and transvestitism. (With regard to "pseudohomosexuality," one of Hirschfeld's opponents, Benedict Friedlaender, commented scathingly, "It is inconceivable what is pseudo about it.")

In the chapter called "Classification of Homosexuals according to Their Direction of Taste in Choice of Partner and Forms of Sexual Activity," Hirschfeld makes the serious error of lumping the sexual practices of male and female homosexuals together. Even so, assuming that his discussion is mainly about males, he gives

us a good idea what gay men did in his time. Manual sex or mutual masturbation was the most common activity, practiced exclusively by approximately forty percent of his cases. Next was oral sex, also about forty percent. Less common was femoral (between the thighs) intercourse, our "Princeton Rub," preferred or practiced exclusively by about twelve percent. Least common was anal intercourse, favored by the remaining eight percent. Hirschfeld describes all of these practices in detail. For anal intercourse, men in his day used olive oil as a lubricant and sometimes used condoms.

Hirschfeld then analyzes theories on the origins and nature of homosexuality. His own opinion was that homosexual, heterosexual, or bisexual orientations were inborn and unmodifiable. He was unable to accept the bisexuality theories of Benedict Friedlaender, who believed that all men were born with the capacity for same-sex love, and that a completely straight man was a stunted being (*Kümmerling*) whose psyche had been artificially crippled by religious morality.

Part Two treats homosexuality from the standpoints of sociology, history, anthropology, zoology, and law. Although Hirschfeld assumes authorship for the book as a whole, it is clear that the chapters here are written by or in close collaboration with the specialists he acknowledges in the Introduction.

The eighty-page chapter on "Homosexuality in Classical Antiquity" is superb. The main collaborative author here is probably the classical scholar Paul Brandt (who sometimes wrote as "Hans Licht"). Even Brandt's later three-volume work, *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* (1925–28), translated into English in 1932 as *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece*, fails to include much of the raw material found in Hirschfeld. After a brief survey of Egypt, Assyria, and other cultures of the Near East, this chapter concentrates on ancient Greece. Especially acute are the analyses of the Plato dialogues and the *Timarchea*, a speech misinterpreted by homophobes as saying that the Greeks proscribed sex between males.

An excellent chapter, "The Legal and Social Victimization, Persecution, and Prosecution of Homosexual Men and Women," was either written by or under the direction of Eugen Wilhelm, a jurist who wrote for the *Yearbook* under the pseudonym of Numa Praetorius. After examining the Jewish and Christian scriptures and the writings of Philo Judaeus, Hirschfeld declares: "With regard to homosexuality, there cannot be any doubt that the historical bases of our present laws and interpretations are rooted in Judeo-Christianity." He disposes of the claim, based on a prejudicial interpretation of a passage from Tacitus, that the ancient Germanic peoples punished sex between males. To the contrary (quoting a Norwegian writer): "In the case of the North Germanic peoples, penal laws against the practice of man-manly love were introduced first by the Christians."

A chapter on the victimization of homosexuals by blackmailers and con artists is definitive. The final chapters deal with the struggle to restore the standing of gay men and lesbians, with an authoritative history of the early homosexual emancipation movement.

Hirschfeld sometimes made mistakes, and some of his ideas and information are mainly of historic interest. Nevertheless, this work is indispensable and unsurpassed in many areas. It belongs in every large library and in the private collection of every aspiring gay or lesbian scholar. ■