

Sexologists, Authors, and Lesbian Identity:  
Britain and Germany from the 1890s - 1930s

By

Julianne Hofstede

Supervised by

Dr. Kristin Semmens

A Graduating Essay Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements,

in the Honours Programme  
for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts  
in the Department of History

The University of Victoria

April 1, 2025

## Table of Contents

<b>List of Figures.....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter One: Interactions.....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Chapter Two: Impacts.....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>35</b>

### List of Figures

**Figure 1.** “Detail from the photo-wall ‘Sexual Transitions’ at the Institute of Sexual Science,” 1928 in “Institute for Sexual Science 1919-1933: Online-Exhibition by the Magnus-Hirschfeld Society.” magnus-hirschfeld.de. Last modified November 8, 2001. [https://www.hirschfeld.in-berlin.de/institut/en/theorie/bilder/theo\\_03b1.html](https://www.hirschfeld.in-berlin.de/institut/en/theorie/bilder/theo_03b1.html).

**Figure 2:** Hall, Radclyffe. *The Well of Loneliness*. New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1928.

**Figure 3:** Weirauch, Anna Elisabet. *The Scorpion*. Translated by Whittaker Chambers. New York: Greenberg, 1932. <https://www.abebooks.com/Scorpion-WEIRAUCH-Anna-Elisabet-Greenberg-1932/31451104332/bd>.

## Introduction

The formation of identity is an essential part of a person's life, which also makes it an essential subject for historical research. An especially pertinent aspect of identity to explore is sexual identity because of its association with personhood: many people see their sexual identity as central to who they are. This paper seeks to explore how same sex loving women in Britain and Germany began to identify themselves in the 1920s and early 1930s, while discussing the roots of those identities as early as the late nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> I will begin with sexology: sexology was the scientific study of human sexuality, including sexual behaviours, interests and functions, which began as a medical field in the nineteenth century. Both Britain and Germany had significant sexologists writing about non-normative sexuality. These sexologists' interactions with one another created ideas which went beyond borders, thereby laying the foundations for a transnational conception of lesbianism. There were many layers of interconnectedness between the sexologists and authors of both countries; they formed ties through written interactions and personal relationships. Authors interpreted sexology through their work and made the elite sexological field accessible to non-elites. Though they sometimes used different terminology, many same sex loving women's conceptions of themselves and the world were shaped by transnational science and literature about lesbianism. These exchanges of ideas created a transnational lesbian identity in Germany and Britain into the twentieth century.

I choose primarily to use the term lesbian because this paper focuses on women who love exclusively women, so it suits our modern understanding of the term, and it was also used in this context by people in the period. However, at times I will use other words, including queer,

---

<sup>1</sup> This study chooses to refer to Britain rather than England because most of the literature consulted also refers to Britain more inclusively.

homosexual, and invert. Queer is used when non-heteronormative traits that are not easily categorized are discussed or as an overarching category for all non-normative sexualities.

Homosexual is used interchangeably with lesbian to indicate same sex desire, and because it was also a term used by the sexologists and authors themselves. Invert is the one term not in modern parlance that I will use because it refers to a contemporary understanding of homosexuality that combines notions of gender and sexuality.

Chapter One: Interactions will explore how German and British sexologists and authors engaged with each other's work cross-culturally to create transnational ideas, concepts and relationships. This chapter will summarize some of the developments in sexology and elucidate how the interconnectedness of scientific and literary writers formed ties between Britain and Germany. While the first chapter focuses primarily on the interaction of elites, Chapter Two: Impacts will illuminate how sexological concepts influenced two specific pieces of popular literature. This literature in turn made those concepts available to a wider audience and impacted many women's self-conception. Both works examined were written by lesbian authors and feature lesbian characters: *The Well of Loneliness* by Radclyffe Hall and *Der Skorpion* (The Scorpion) by Anna Elisabeth Weirauch. *The Well of Loneliness* was published - and soon banned - in Britain in 1928 then republished in America and France shortly after.<sup>2</sup> *Der Skorpion* was published in 1919 and was the first book of a trilogy whose subsequent parts were published in 1921 and 1931.<sup>3</sup> The first two installments appeared in a single English translation in 1932 and all three were republished in English in the 1970s; this paper will examine the first installment in

---

<sup>2</sup> Alistair McCleery, "Banned Books and Publishers' Ploys: *The Well of Loneliness* as Exemplar," *Journal of Modern Literature* 43, no. 1 (2019): 46-7. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2979/jmodelite.43.1.03>.

<sup>3</sup> Katie Sutton, *The Masculine Woman in Weimar Germany* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 168. [https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/12198k2/alma9957655146107291](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/12198k2/alma9957655146107291).

the trilogy using the 1932 edition.<sup>4</sup> Both novels helped some women understand themselves better and spurred many to identify with the protagonists. *The Well of Loneliness* was a transnational phenomenon and portrayed a masculine lesbian (or as identified by some sexologists at the time, an invert) which helped inform conceptions of what it means to be a lesbian even today. *Der Skorpion* similarly portrayed masculine lesbians, but its protagonist identified herself in contrast to those figures, thus broadening the view of what a lesbian could be. The impact transnational concepts of sexology had on these two books and the subsequent impact on reader identities, regardless of nationality, is demonstrative of a lesbian sense of self that is not confined within the borders of one country.

Whether lesbian identity is a category that can be applied across boundaries of time and space has been a subject of academic debate for many years. When lesbian studies distinguished itself as a unique discipline in the 1970s it primarily sought to find connections between the lesbians of their present and lesbians of the past. Many scholarly works linking lesbianism across historical and national boundaries were written, including Bertha Harris's 1973 article which suggests that lesbianism transcends national difference.<sup>5</sup> By the early 1980s the first books on lesbian history were published, such as Lillian Faderman's *Surpassing the Love of Men*, which recounted the long history of women's relations to one another in Europe and connected it to lesbians of "today."<sup>6</sup> Martha Vicinus and Rebecca Jennings identify this early scholarship as

---

<sup>4</sup> Anna Elisabet Weirauch, *The Scorpion*, trans. Whittaker Chambers (New York: Greenberg 1932).

<sup>5</sup> Bertha Harris, "The More Profound Nationality of their Lesbianism: Lesbian Society in Paris in the 1920s," in Phyllis Birkby et al., eds., *Amazon Expedition: A Lesbian Feminist Anthology* (Albion, Calif.: Times Change Press, 1973), 79. See also Adrienne Rich, 'Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence', *Signs*, 5/4 (Summer 1980):631– 60.

<sup>6</sup> Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women From the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: Quill, 1981), 18.

searching for a lesbian identity “continuum” both historically and spatially.<sup>7</sup> By the mid-1980s an alternative mode of study in the discipline emerged which emphasized alterity, meaning the differences between sexual identities now and sexual identities of the past.<sup>8</sup> Rather than viewing one ahistorical identity in different contexts as earlier scholars did, this approach proposed a model of sexual identity which is completely relative to its context. One of the most important publications articulating identity alterity was Carol Smith-Rosenberg’s 1985 book *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*.<sup>9</sup> In the following decades both the universalist approach and the alterity approach continued to have relevance.<sup>10</sup> Many scholars today seek a middle ground, advocating for a more universal or continual view, while emphasizing the importance of avoiding ahistorical definitions or anachronism.<sup>11</sup> Essentially, this debate is a discussion over the specificity of identity, which asks whether more unifies or divides women loving women throughout time.

This question of differentiation also connects to the discussion of the specificity of identity across space: can it be studied beyond borders (transnationally) or should it be regionally

---

<sup>7</sup> Martha Vicinus, “The History of Lesbian History,” *Feminist Studies* 38, no. 3 (2012): 568-70. [https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/10hem39/cdi\\_proquest\\_miscellaneous\\_1667353606](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/10hem39/cdi_proquest_miscellaneous_1667353606); Rebecca Jennings “From ‘Woman-Loving Woman’ to ‘Queer’: Historiographical Perspectives on Twentieth-Century British Lesbian History,” *History Compass* 5, no. 6 (2007): 1902. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1111/j.1478-0542.2007.00482.x>.

<sup>8</sup> Vicinus, “The History of Lesbian History,” 571.

<sup>9</sup> Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1985).

<sup>10</sup> After the emergence of the alterity approach, Bernadette Brooten is an example of a scholar who still worked with the continuum approach. See Bernadette J. Brooten, *Love between Women: Early Christian Responses to Female Homoeroticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 17-8. [https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/12198k2/alma9957546691807291](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/12198k2/alma9957546691807291).

<sup>11</sup> See Aranye Fradenburg, Carla Freccero, and Kathy Lavezzo, eds. *Premodern Sexualities* (New York: Routledge, 1996), xix. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.4324/9781315811529>. Valerie Traub preferred to emphasize specific contexts while investigating the way continuous lesbian identification become “culturally salient at particular moments; Valerie Traub, “The Present Future of Lesbian Historiography” in *A Companion to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Studies*, eds. George E. Haggerty, and Molly McGarry (Newark: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2007), 127. <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/lib/uvic/detail.action?docID=350877>.

specific? Scholars have not yet settled upon a single definition of transnationalism. Joanne Meyerowitz views transnationalism as “movements, transits and circulations” across or despite national borders.<sup>12</sup> More specifically, Andrew Gorman-Murray and Catherine Nash define transnationalism as people’s migration and movements across borders.<sup>13</sup> Deborah Cohen and Maura O’Connor define transnationalism as an “interdependence or relation” that “supersedes national sovereignty and boundaries.”<sup>14</sup> James Wilper’s approach is especially useful and relevant to this paper because of his focus on the “discursive links... between the German- and English-speaking worlds.”<sup>15</sup> Wilper emphasizes language over nation and suggests transnationalism is a discussion beyond borders.<sup>16</sup> This study will define transnationalism as a condition in which an identity, a community, an idea or a discourse supersedes national boundaries, or through which those subjects are exchanged beyond borders.

Proponents of transnational queer studies, such as Meyerowitz, argue that histories of sexuality are about shedding boundaries, so working transnationally suits the subject.<sup>17</sup> Though most comparative studies between countries focus on the essential differences between the practices and identities of each place, the editors of *Comparatively Queer: Interrogating*

---

<sup>12</sup> Joanne Meyerowitz, “AHR Forum: Transnational Sex and U.S. History,” *The American Historical Review* 114, no. 5 (2009): 1273.

[https://americanstudies.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/amst\\_meyerowitz\\_transnationalsexushistory.pdf](https://americanstudies.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/amst_meyerowitz_transnationalsexushistory.pdf).

<sup>13</sup> Andrew Gorman-Murray, and Catherine J Nash. “Mobile Sexualities: Section Introduction,” in *The Routledge Research Companion to Geographies of Sex and Sexualities*, eds. Kath Browne, and Gavin Brown (Abingdon Routledge, 2016), 197. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.4324/9781315613000>.

<sup>14</sup> Deborah Cohen, and Maura O’Connor, *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2004), XIII.

[https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/12198k2/alma9957636432807291](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/12198k2/alma9957636432807291).

<sup>15</sup> James Patrick Wilper, *Reconsidering the Emergence of the Gay Novel in English and German* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2016), 1.

[https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/12198k2/alma9957517451407291](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/12198k2/alma9957517451407291).

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Meyerowitz, “AHR Forum” 1274.

*Identities across Time and Cultures* incorporate a transnational approach.<sup>18</sup> They argue that queerness is about in-betweenness, and chose to focus their studies on things in-between or beyond traditional boundaries in true transnational fashion.<sup>19</sup> A useful example of a transnational study for my own work is Heike Bauer's edited collection examining the interconnections of the field of sexology through translation across borders.<sup>20</sup> Many of the articles overview sexology in multiple contexts and countries; this approach is comparable to the exploration of sexological concepts in Chapter One of this paper. Another important example of a transnational study is Wilper's consideration of the gay novel, since his contexts, Britain and Germany, are the same as this paper. However, he focuses on representations of gay men in literature, not women. Nonetheless, his analysis, which explores transnational trends in literature and its reception in different places, is similar to this paper's approach in Chapter Two where sexological representation in literature and the transnational impact of that literature is explored.<sup>21</sup>

In contrast to scholars highlighting connections between places, proponents of geographically specific studies emphasize the contextual differences and unique aspects of a particular queer community or identity. Kath Browne and Gavin Browne edited a collection which "considers the different ways in which human sexualities vary geographically" and

---

<sup>18</sup> The difference between comparative and transnational history is still hotly debated by scholars. See Cohen and O'Connor, *Comparison and History* for a collection of authors with often contrasting perspectives on the differences between comparative, transnational and cross-national literature. For this paper, I align with Micheal Miller in the aforementioned collection, and I define comparative history as focusing on the differences between two or more places, while transnational history focuses on the interconnections and aspects which supersede boundaries. By this definition, Hayes and Higonnet's collection is more of a transnational work.

<sup>19</sup> Jarrod Hayes, Margaret R Higonnet, and William J Spurlin, eds., *Comparatively Queer Interrogating Identities across Time and Cultures*, 1st ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

<sup>20</sup> Heike Bauer, ed. *Sexology and Translation: Cultural and Scientific Encounters across the Modern World*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015). <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvrf88r8>.

<sup>21</sup> Wilper, *Reconsidering the Emergence of the Gay Novel*.

pinpoints the essential differences between places.<sup>22</sup> Many studies have turned to specific urbanities and their queer subcultures, such as Matt Houlbrook's *Queer London* and the collection *Queer Cities, Queer Culture: Europe Since 1945* in which each contribution focuses on a single European city and emphasizes its uniqueness.<sup>23</sup> Some studies consider a particular rural context, like Matthias Foit's work on queer experiences solely in the eastern German provinces.<sup>24</sup>

National histories of lesbian sexuality typically utilize the alterity approach, rather than exploring transnational identity, and much of the scholarship consulted in this paper is focused specifically on Germany or Britain. Katie Sutton and Laurie Marhoefer both concentrate on expressions of sexuality and gender within Weimar-era Germany.<sup>25</sup> Marti Lybeck and Heike Bauer both focus specifically on Berlin or spaces within Berlin.<sup>26</sup> British lesbian histories include Emily Hamer and Deborah Cohler's works which focus on sexuality within letters and literary

---

<sup>22</sup> Kath Browne and Gavin Brown, "An Introduction to the Geographies of Sex and Sexualities," in *The Routledge Research Companion to Geographies of Sex and Sexualities* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 1. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.4324/9781315613000>.

<sup>23</sup> Matt Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918-1957* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Matt Cook and Jennifer Evans, eds., *Queer Cities, Queer Cultures: Europe since 1945* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

<sup>24</sup> Mathias Foit, *Queer Urbanisms in Wilhelmine and Weimar Germany* (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2023)

[https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/1ohem39/cdi\\_askewsholts\\_vlebooks\\_9783031465765](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/1ohem39/cdi_askewsholts_vlebooks_9783031465765).

<sup>25</sup> Sutton, *Masculine Woman*, 152; Laurie Marhoefer, "Lesbianism, Reading and the Law" in *Sex and the Weimar Republic: German Homosexual Emancipation and the Rise of the Nazis*, 52-79 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015). [https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/12198k2/alma9957769836107291](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/12198k2/alma9957769836107291); Marhoefer has also written a book focusing on the international travels and gay rights movement of Magnus Hirschfeld, which could reasonably be considered transnational. However, this book did not play an integral role in the shaping of this study because this book focuses mostly on the 1930s and gay rights, whereas this paper emphasizes sexology before the 30s and lesbian identity. See Laurie Marhoefer, *Racism and the Making of Gay Rights: A Sexologist, His Student, and the Empire of Queer Love* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022).

<sup>26</sup> Marti Lybeck, "Emancipation and Desire in Weimar Berlin's Female Homosexual Public Sphere," in *Desiring Emancipation: New Women and Homosexuality in Germany, 1890-1933* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014). 151-188. [https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/1ohem39/cdi\\_proquest\\_ebookcentralchapters\\_3408906\\_37\\_1\\_62](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/1ohem39/cdi_proquest_ebookcentralchapters_3408906_37_1_62); Heike Bauer, *The Hirschfeld Archives: Violence, Death, and Modern Queer Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2017).

works, but are geographically specific to lesbianism in Britain.<sup>27</sup> Laura Doan investigates the creation of the modern lesbian through various “sites” within “English modernity,” and though modernity is a transnational phenomenon, argues for focusing on the uniqueness of British lesbianism. Doan asserts that “it is a mistake to presume too great an interconnectedness of national cultures in relation to a lesbian sub-cultural style,” thoroughly placing her study in opposition to transnational studies.<sup>28</sup>

My own study advocates strongly for a transnational perspective. It will reveal that in both Britain and Germany many women based their identity on transnational sexological ideas as represented in fiction written by lesbian women.<sup>29</sup> Though this does not dismiss the usefulness of an in-depth study of one place, I contend that to omit the aspects that unify is to miss something about what it meant to find identity as a homosexual woman in the early twentieth century. I hope to embed the specificities of each place back into its transnational contexts.

---

<sup>27</sup> Emily Hamer, *Britannia's Glory: A History of Twentieth-Century Lesbians* (London: Cassel, 1996); Deborah Cohler, *Citizen, Invert, Queer: Lesbianism and War in Early Twentieth-Century Britain* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

<sup>28</sup> Laura L. Doan, *Fashioning Sapphism: The Origins of a Modern English Lesbian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), XVII, XIX.

<sup>29</sup> Sutton, *Masculine Woman*, 168.

## Chapter One: Interactions

The field of sexology was very reliant on transnational connections, and sexologists often went beyond their country's borders to find case studies or build on other ideas. First, I will provide a brief summary of important figures and their work within this field. Unfortunately, most sexologists focused on male homosexuality and relegated lesbianism to footnotes, so an overview of the sexological studies of lesbianism will be left until after I have explored the foundations of the field. The most prominent early members of the developing field in the nineteenth century were German and Austrian, but soon their ideas exploded beyond national boundaries across Europe. Some of the first influential studies were done by Karl Heinrich Ulrich and Richard von Krafft-Ebing.<sup>30</sup> Ulrich advocated for improvements in homosexual status and he identified a category called "Urning" which he described as male bodies with feminine souls.<sup>31</sup> Krafft-Ebing expanded upon Ulrich's ideas but increased categorization for queer individuals, examining "contrary sexual instinct" as well as differences in anatomy and gender attitudes, including what we today consider transgender people.<sup>32</sup> Krafft-Ebing's work asserted that these non-normative sexualities and gender expressions were due to degeneration, and he pathologized what he viewed as medical conditions.<sup>33</sup> The established importance of Germany in the field of sexology led Havelock Ellis, the most famous British sexologist, to publish his seminal work *Sexual Inversion* in German translation in 1896, one year before it was published

---

<sup>30</sup> Michael Thomas Taylor, "Magnus Hirschfeld's Institute for Sexual Science as Archive, Museum, and Exhibition," in *Not Straight from Germany: Sexual Publics and Sexual Citizenship since Magnus Hirschfeld*, Michael Thomas Taylor, Annette F. Timm, and Rainer Herrn, eds., (University of Michigan Press, 2017), 20. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.3998/mpub.9238370>.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis with Special Reference to Contrary Sexual Instinct: A Medico-Legal Study*, 304.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

in English.<sup>34</sup> *Sexual Inversion* was cowritten by John Addington Symonds who was responsible for collecting many of the case studies used; in his correspondence with Ellis, Symonds said that he had framed his questions in the same manner as Ulrichs and Krafft-Ebbing, which demonstrates their influence beyond their own country.<sup>35</sup> Translation across linguistic and national borders helped define sexology as a field, marking it as transnational.<sup>36</sup>

Though they had their differences, the German sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld and Havelock Ellis had much in common, including a position of importance in the field and the shared conviction that inversion was not a disease. In the 1890s, Magnus Hirschfeld founded a scientific journal and an activist group which sought to legalize male homosexuality in Germany.<sup>37</sup> He also founded the Institute for Sexual Science in Berlin in 1919 which functioned as a place of research, a treatment facility, and a museum of non-normative sexualities.<sup>38</sup> Hirschfeld studied sexual intermediacy and coined the term transvestite, arguing that both were part of a natural constitution for a minority of people.<sup>39</sup> As a public figure, Hirschfeld often wrote for general audiences and even appeared in a widely released film in which he lectures about the naturalness of homosexuality.<sup>40</sup> In 1913 Hirschfeld set up a display on “intermediate

---

<sup>34</sup> Vincent Brome *Havelock Ellis, Philosopher of Sex: A Biography* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1979), 95.

<sup>35</sup> Ivan Crozier, “Havelock Ellis, Eonism and the Patient’s Discourse; or, Writing a Book about Sex.” *History of Psychiatry* 11, no. 42 (2000): 131.

[https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/1ohem39/cdi\\_proquest\\_miscellaneous\\_72488809](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/1ohem39/cdi_proquest_miscellaneous_72488809).

<sup>36</sup> Kate Fisher, and Jana Funke, “British Sexual Science beyond the Medical: Cross-Disciplinary, Cross-Historical, and Cross-Cultural Translations,” in *Sexology and Translation: Cultural and Scientific Encounters across the Modern World*, ed. Heike Bauer, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015), 95.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvrf88r8.12>.

<sup>37</sup> Female homosexuality was not mentioned in the criminal code. Taylor, “Magnus Hirschfeld’s Institute for Sexual Science,” 16.

<sup>38</sup> Heike Bauer, “From Fragile Solidarities to Burnt Sexual Subjects: At the Institute of Sexual Science,” in *The Hirschfeld Archives: Violence, Death, and Modern Queer Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2017), 79.

<sup>39</sup> Ina Linge, “Sexology, Popular Science and Queer History in Anders Als Die Andern (Different from the Others),” *Gender & History* 30, no. 3 (2018): 596. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1111/1468-0424.12381>,

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 597-8; Richard Oswald, dir., *Anders als die Andern* (1919; Berlin: Richard Oswald Film). Recovered by Kino International in association with Filmmuseum München.  
[https://webapp.library.uvic.ca/videos/view.php?vfn=Anders-Als-Die-Andern-\(English\).mp4](https://webapp.library.uvic.ca/videos/view.php?vfn=Anders-Als-Die-Andern-(English).mp4).

human sexual types” at the international medical congress in London which sex reformer E.B. Lloyd wrote an article on.<sup>41</sup> Lloyd emphasized Hirschfeld’s move from binary ideas of gender and sexuality to a more nuanced and inclusive conception. Along with other German and British sexologists, Hirschfeld and Ellis shared the ambition to make sexual science a cross-disciplinary focus of study rather than only a subfield of the medical field.<sup>42</sup> The two often published in the same journals, including *Mutterschutz* (Protection of Motherhood), which was edited by a close associate of Hirschfeld’s.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, Ellis was among the multiple British sexologists who published in the journal that Hirschfeld established in the late nineteenth century.<sup>44</sup> By working in similar circles, using each other’s methods and challenging one another’s theories, German and British sexologists engaged in a transnational dialogue with one another.<sup>45</sup>

Now that we have explored some key figures and their foci, we can investigate their exploration of lesbianism. In the late nineteenth century, the dominant conception of female homosexuality amongst sexologists was the female invert. Some sexologists linked female inversion with masculinity and dismissed feminine women who engaged in homosexual acts as not being truly homosexual. Ulrichs claimed that an invert not only is attracted to their own sex but also feels that they align with the ‘opposite’ sex internally, for example a woman who feels more like a man.<sup>46</sup> Ellis asserts that sexual attraction to one’s own sex (here he uses the word homosexuality) could be had among any person without inversion; he defines inversion as the

---

<sup>41</sup> Cohler, *Citizen, Invert, Queer*, 97-8.

<sup>42</sup> Kate Fisher and Jana Funke, ““Let Us Leave the Hospital; Let Us Go on a Journey around the World”: British and German Sexual Science and the Global Search for Sexual Variation,” In *A Global History of Sexual Science, 1880–1960*, eds. Veronika Fuechtner et al. (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018) 51-2.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1vjqqxw.7>.

<sup>43</sup> Bauer, “From Fragile Solidarities,” 80.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.; Fisher and Funke, ““Let Us Leave the Hospital,”” 56.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Magnus Hirschfeld, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000), 59.

“sexual instinct turned by inborn constitutional abnormality towards persons of the same sex,” which essentially associates inversion with biological homosexuality.<sup>47</sup> He separately categorizes women who are simply not disgusted by the advances of other women from those who are “actively inverted” and differentiated by their “distinct trace of masculinity.”<sup>48</sup> This association between homosexuality and sexual inversion shifted in the early twentieth century, and in 1914 Hirschfeld argued that one could be a transvestite or have gender inversion but not be homosexual, and that “homosexual women do not have to be virilized [masculine].”<sup>49</sup> In the 1920s when Hirschfeld discussed “a woman with all sorts of male characteristics,” he referred to her as among the sexual intermediaries, but not necessarily as a homosexual.<sup>50</sup> Likewise, in the 1920s Ellis began recognizing that legitimate homosexuality could be separate from gender expression.<sup>51</sup> In both Britain and Germany inversion was still a common term even as some sexologists began conceptualizing female homosexuality as a distinct notion.

This transnational dialogue between German and British intellectuals extended beyond the realm of sexology: two institutions that Magnus Hirschfeld founded attracted interest from artists, authors and politicians from around the world. His Institute for Sexual Science had housing opportunities in its building, where the British anthropologist and archeologist Francis Turville-Petre stayed for many months while he was treated for syphilis at the institute.<sup>52</sup> Francis’ friend, the author Christopher Isherwood, also stayed at the institute, and later wrote

---

<sup>47</sup> Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds, *Sexual Inversion*, reprint edition (New York: Arno Press, 1975), 1.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>49</sup> Katie Sutton, “‘We Too Deserve a Place in the Sun’: The Politics of Transvestite Identity in Weimar Germany,” *German studies review* 35, no. 2 (2012): 336; Hirschfeld, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*, 61. [https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/1ohem39/cdi\\_proquest\\_miscellaneous\\_1027676139](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/1ohem39/cdi_proquest_miscellaneous_1027676139).

<sup>50</sup> Oswald, *Anders als die Andern*.

<sup>51</sup> Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex Volume XII: Eonism and Other Supplementary Studies* (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Company, 1928), 27-8.

<sup>52</sup> Ofer Bar-Yosef and Jane Callander, “A Forgotten Archaeologist: The Life of Francis Turville-Petre,” *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 129 no. 1 (1997): 10, <https://doi.org/10.1179/peq.1997.129.1.2>.

about his experience encountering the museum's collection of sex and fetish objects in his memoir, *Christopher and His Kind*.<sup>53</sup> The Dutch poet Til Bruggman also visited the displays, which inspired her to write a poem about them, "Warenhaus der Liebe" (Warehouse of Love).<sup>54</sup> Part of the museum included a wall display of photographs demonstrating Hirschfeld's theories of sexual transitions and sexual intermediaries. This wall visually portrayed his theory by presenting photographs of different bodies, making it accessible to non-experts, and was clearly created with the intention of making the theory transnational: its text was in English and French as well as German.<sup>55</sup>



Figure 1: The Institute for Sexual Science Museum display on "Sexual Transitions" with labels in English, French and German.

<sup>53</sup> Christopher Isherwood, *Christopher and His Kind* (New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 1976), 16-17.

<sup>54</sup> Magnus-Hirschfeld-Gesellschaft e.V. "Institute for Sexual Science 1919-1933: Online-Exhibition by the Magnus-Hirschfeld Society." [magnus-hirschfeld.de](https://www.magnus-hirschfeld.de/institute-for-sexual-science-1919-1933/). Last modified November 8, 2001. <https://www.magnus-hirschfeld.de/institute-for-sexual-science-1919-1933/>

<sup>55</sup> "Detail from the photo-wall 'Sexual Transitions' at the Institute of Sexual Science," 1928 in "Institute for Sexual Science 1919-1933: Online-Exhibition by the Magnus-Hirschfeld Society." [magnus-hirschfeld.de](https://www.magnus-hirschfeld.de). Last modified November 8, 2001. [https://www.hirschfeld.in-berlin.de/institut/en/theorie/bilder/theo\\_03b1.html](https://www.hirschfeld.in-berlin.de/institut/en/theorie/bilder/theo_03b1.html)

In 1928, Hirschfeld founded yet another organization, the World League for Sexual Reform, and, though it only met in congress until 1935, it successfully planted branches in countries across Europe and had many German and British members.<sup>56</sup> The League's 1929 congress took place in London, and included talks by doctors, sexologists and reformers from Britain, Germany, the Soviet Union and the United States.<sup>57</sup> The congress included a darker side of sexology that was also transnational: eugenics. Many sexual scientists recommended abstinence to those who were sexually abnormal in any way and, though it is beyond the scope of this essay to analyze this eugenicist element further, its reality as part of sexology must be acknowledged. Hirschfeld's opening speech was quoted in *The Times* which reports that he emphasized the goal of reform to be sexual equality between men and women, and that those whose "sexual temperament diverged from the normal" should be allowed to "live their own lives," but, in line with eugenicist ideology, not to reproduce.<sup>58</sup> *The Times* made these messages public, spreading the ideas of reform and sexology to many British readers. An important demonstration of the League's influence can also be gleaned from the listed letters of regret; the writer H.G. Wells wished to have been able to come and pay homage to Havelock Ellis, who was in attendance, and the novelist Hugh Walpole wished the congress "all possible success."<sup>59</sup> Author Aldous Huxley wrote that he was glad papers were to be read before the congress about literary censorship and that it was time for censorship laws to change.

---

<sup>56</sup> Ralf Dose, "The World League for Sexual Reform: Some Possible Approaches," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12, no. 1 (2003): 1, 3.

[https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/1ohem39/cdi\\_proquest\\_miscellaneous\\_38542744](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/1ohem39/cdi_proquest_miscellaneous_38542744).

<sup>57</sup> "The Scientific Study of Sex Problems: International Congress of The World League for Sexual Reform." *The British Medical Journal* 2, no. 3585 (1929): 544–45. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25333741>.

<sup>58</sup> "League for Sexual Reform International Congress Opened," *The Times*, September 9, 1929. <https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/ps/i.do?p=TTDA&u=uvictoria&id=GALE%7CCS151986473&v=2.1&it=r>

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

Huxley's comments are indicative of a topic that was on the minds of many British authors at the time of the congress. In 1928, Radclyffe Hall's novel *The Well of Loneliness* was published in Britain and subsequently banned for its representation of an inverted woman and a lesbian relationship. When the publisher disputed the banning, it went to trial, and the obscenity trial brought together authors and sexologists in a very public way. Havelock Ellis was always a supporter of the book and wrote a commentary which appears at the beginning of the novel. Additionally, his words appeared in a 1928 *New York Times* advertisement for the book, stating that *The Well* "possesses a notable psychological and sociological significance" which lends the book "a high level of distinction."<sup>60</sup> Ellis and Hall corresponded often and Ellis supported Hall during the suppression of the novel.<sup>61</sup> Despite their friendship, Ellis declined to act as a witness in the case due to his experience of his own obscenity trial for *Sexual Inversion* (which though it was condemned still managed to become popular).<sup>62</sup> The offers to stand witness were not lacking, however; E.M Forster, Vita Sackville-West and Virginia Woolf all went to the first trial to support *The Well of Loneliness* and testify against censorship.<sup>63</sup> *The New York Times* reports that "forty literary witnesses were in court ... to defend Miss Hall's much discussed novel."<sup>64</sup> Ultimately, they were not called to the stand and the publisher of *The Well of Loneliness* lost both the first trial and the appeal, despite attempting to argue the book's merit based on its

---

<sup>60</sup> "Radclyffe Hall's 'The Well of Loneliness'" Advertisement in *The Times*, 1928, July 27. <https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/apps/doc/CS152510203/TTDA?u=uvictoria&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=73abbaf3>

<sup>61</sup> Diana Souhami, *The Trials of Radclyffe Hall* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998), 184.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 195.

<sup>63</sup> Adam Parkes, "Lesbianism, History, and Censorship: The Well of Loneliness and the Suppressed Randiness of Virginia Woolf's Orlando," *Twentieth Century Literature* 40, no. 4 (1994): 435.

[https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/1ohem39/cdi\\_proquest\\_journals\\_221595516](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/1ohem39/cdi_proquest_journals_221595516). Though the authors had varying opinions on the quality of the novel, with Woolf calling it dull and Sackville-West "not the least interesting" (Souhami 185-6).

<sup>64</sup> "Publishers Lose Appeal: British Court Upholds Seizure of Radclyffe Hall's Novel." *New York Times*, 1928, Dec 15.

representation of sexological concepts.<sup>65</sup> Nonetheless, the trial brought together sexological ideas with various authors and created prominent interactions that might otherwise have gone unnoticed.

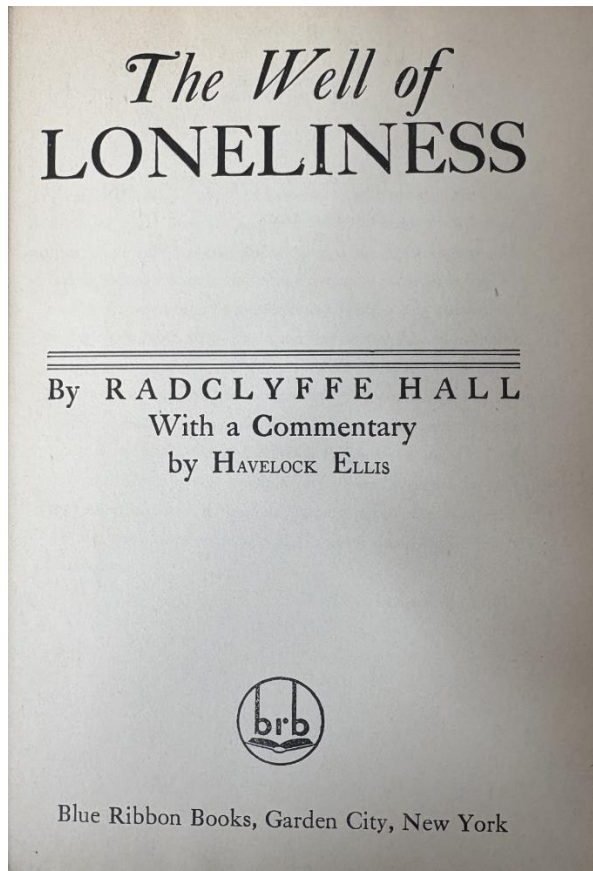


Figure 2: *Well of Loneliness* 1928 American edition title page emphasizing Ellis' commentary.

Ellis was not Hall's only connection to sexology, and in the trial, Hall wanted to bring up Magnus Hirschfeld, whom she read and admired. She prepared a statement that she wished to read in court to defend her novel on the basis of it revealing a real problem in how inverts were perceived, citing Magnus Hirschfeld - "whose statistics are generally considered to be the most accurate" - that "fifteen person in every thousand are inverted and the question is of grave social

---

<sup>65</sup> Parkes, "Lesbianism, History and Censorship," 435, 440-1.

importance.”<sup>66</sup> Una Troubridge, Hall’s long-term partner, noted that very same statistic in her 1928 diary, perhaps while helping Hall research for her statement.<sup>67</sup> Troubridge also noted a quotation from Hirschfeld’s 1926 *Manual of Sexual Science* that emphasizes homosexuality as natural and not a result of “homosexual seduction,” which demonstrates how an emphasis on biology could resonate with someone who identified as an invert.<sup>68</sup> Not only did Hall consider Hirschfeld an important part in the defense of her British lesbian novel, but Troubridge incorporated his work into her worldview for the rest of her life. When she was 71 (shortly before her biography of Hall was published) and was asked about the concept of a cure for homosexuality, she quoted Hirschfeld again: “if ever an invert was cured by psycho-analysis, either he was not an invert or was not cured.”<sup>69</sup>

Hall and Troubridge were not the only prominent queer writers who interacted with transnational sexology and were supported by other authors. Virginia Woolf and Vita Sackville-West were both women who had relations with other women. Though Woolf was more hesitant to label herself using specific terms than Radclyffe Hall was, she and Sackville-West had an affair for several years.<sup>70</sup> Both women were members of the Bloomsbury group, writers, economists, philosophers, and artists who formed a close group of friends and who often had affairs with one another.<sup>71</sup> The Bloomsbury group spoke about the latest sexological theories and

---

<sup>66</sup> Souhami, *The Trials of Radclyffe Hall*, 199.

<sup>67</sup> “Una Troubridge Diaries,” 1928, Lovat Dickson Papers, H-1197, Vol. 2, Image 656, Library and Archives Canada. [https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac\\_reel\\_h1197/656](https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_h1197/656).

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Una Troubridge, Letter to Father Brocard Sewell, 22. VII. 58. Brocard Sewell Fonds, University of Victoria Archives.

<sup>70</sup> Karyn Z. Sproles, *Desiring Women: The Partnership of Virginia Woolf and Vita Sackville-West* (University of Toronto Press, 2006), 4. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3138/j.ctvcj2sww.5>.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 4.

debated their merit.<sup>72</sup> Woolf did not accept the idea of the “invert” that Ellis endorsed, and she did not see herself in the ideas of intermediaries which Hirschfeld espoused.<sup>73</sup> However, Sackville-West’s identification as an androgenous individual attracted to men and women was inspired by the Austrian sexologist Otto Weininger.<sup>74</sup> These intellectuals formed conceptions of themselves based on the transnational sexological theories to which they had been exposed, whether they aligned with the theory or chose to deny it.

Sackville-West forged links between Britain and Germany, and she encountered others who helped create a transnational subculture of lesbians who interacted with sexology. From 1927 to 1929, Sackville-West’s husband Harold served as a diplomat in Berlin, and Vita spent time with him there.<sup>75</sup> In Berlin she had multiple lovers and engaged with the Berlin lesbian subculture and nightlife.<sup>76</sup> Sackville-West was involved with Margaret L. Goldsmith who helped form transnational connections between German-speaking lesbians and English-speaking lesbians by translating the novel *Zwischenfall in Lohwinckel* (Results of an Accident) into English.<sup>77</sup> This book describes the Berlin lesbian clubs and depicts a character who learns about other “masculine women” like her, who desire other women along the lines of the sexologically defined invert.<sup>78</sup> Vicki Baum, the German author of *Zwischenfall in Lohwinckel* is another example of literary and sexological transnationalism; her works were widely known in both

---

<sup>72</sup> Brenda Helt, “Passionate Debates on ‘Odious Subjects’: Bisexuality and Woolf’s Opposition to Theories of Androgyny and Sexual Identity,” *Twentieth Century Literature* 56, no. 2 (2010): 133. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41062468>.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> Kathryn Batchelor, Lesley Chamberlain and Alison E. Martin, “Harold in Germany, Vita in Love: Stories from Sissinghurst’s Library,” *UCL Discovery*, 3. <https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/10156167/>

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>77</sup> Goldsmith, Margaret, Trans. *Results of an Accident*, by Vicki Baum (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1931).

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 175-6.

Germany and Britain, and she was popular enough to reach a broad range of readers.<sup>79</sup> Though her work was not targeted to a specifically lesbian audience, the fact that such a famous author included a lesbian character illustrates the increased visibility of that community in Britain and Germany.

As we have seen, British and German sexologists and authors formed transnational connections through personal relationships and through literary interactions. Sexologists interacted across borders to create transnational conceptions of identity categories. Whether they embraced them or rejected them, many authors confronted these sexological categories. Through translations, texts and relationships, British and German authors spanned the divide of their nations while engaging meaningfully with sexology from both countries.

---

<sup>79</sup> Lynda J. King, "The Image of Fame: Vicki Baum in Weimar Germany," *The German Quarterly* 58, no. 3 (Summer, 1985): 375, 377. <https://ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/image-fame-vicki-baum-weimar-germany/docview/1290415674/se-2>.

## Chapter 2: Impacts

While the previous chapter has indicated how sexologists and authors interacted transnationally, this chapter will explore the impacts of those interactions: how sexology was represented in lesbian books and how that literature was received by the public, fostering a transnational lesbian identity. As Hamer points out, most English-speaking lesbians could not read the German sexological studies or afford the costly specialist journals.<sup>80</sup> Inaccessibility to journals and the language barrier to English publications would have also affected German lesbians, restricting their access to sexological texts.<sup>81</sup> However, novels made sexological concepts available to the average reader. Two of the most famous works of lesbian literature in the 1920s and 30s, in Britain and Germany respectively, were *The Well of Loneliness* by Radclyffe Hall and *Der Skorpion* by Anna Elisabeth Weirauch; both these works directly reference sexology. These references demonstrate the potential practical applications of sexology and how it impacted fictional representations of lesbianism. Importantly, these works made sexological ideas available to the wider public who likely did not have otherwise read those studies.

Stephen, the main character of *The Well of Loneliness*, is the proto-typical female invert. The novel follows her through her childhood on her parents' British country estate, until her mother discovers her love for a woman and casts her out. Stephen begins a career as an author and moves to London, but when the First World War begins, she feels the need to fight. She joins an all-woman ambulance unit and falls in love with one of her compatriots. Ultimately, Stephen decides to end her relationship with the younger woman and remain alone so that the

---

<sup>80</sup> Hamer, *Britannia's Glory*, 11.

<sup>81</sup> Though this paper examines how *Der Skorpion* made sexology accessible, there were other literary works which did this as well, including some lesbian magazines which catered to the middle class. See Lybeck, *Desiring Emancipation*, 151-188.

other woman may marry a man and have a normal life. As a young girl, Stephen is interested in playing and dressing like a boy and her father picks up on the fact that there is something different about her early on.<sup>82</sup> In his search for answers, Stephen's father "read and re-read" a "slim volume" by "a German, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs."<sup>83</sup> When Stephen falls in love with her governess at a young age, her father sends the governess away but promises to treat Stephen "like a boy."<sup>84</sup> Years later, after her Father has died and Stephen is a young woman, she falls in love with a neighbour's wife and wonders "what am I in God's name – some kind of abomination?"<sup>85</sup> Her answer to that question comes after her mother discovers her love and requests that she leave their house so she would not have to live under the same roof as Stephen. Distraught, Stephen goes to her father's study to bring some of his books with her, and she discovers a work by Krafft-Ebing with her father's notes naming her in the margins.<sup>86</sup> She reads every related volume in her father's collection. Outraged that he kept this information from her, Stephen is shocked that "there are so many of us – thousands of miserable unwanted people who have no right to love, no right to compassion."<sup>87</sup> Stephen experiences complete identification when she feels part of an "us" of inverts identified by the sexological studies.

*The Well of Loneliness* aligns itself with those sexologists who foregrounded the biological basis for inversion, or as Hirschfeld put it, "the organic determinedness of homosexuality."<sup>88</sup> As noted earlier, inversion was often conflated with both masculinity and homosexuality, and Stephen portrays what sexologists characterized as masculine physical traits:

---

<sup>82</sup> Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness* (New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1928), 13, 9.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 21

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 231-2.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 232.

<sup>88</sup> Hirschfeld, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*, 31.

“muscular shoulders... small compact breasts” and “slender flanks of an athlete.”<sup>89</sup> This physical description matches Krafft-Ebing’s categorization of masculine characteristics, including “narrow pelvis” and “straight thighs.” Stephen’s physicality also mirrors Ellis’ remarks on the masculine “physical anomalies” of one female invert, including “heavy shoulders” and “no waist.”<sup>90</sup> Other than Stephen’s physical characteristics, the narrative further reinforces natural homosexuality rather than acquired homosexuality when the narration shifts to Stephen’s friend Valérie’s thoughts, who muses that “inverts were being born in increasing numbers.” This thought is an inherently biologically based idea, since if it is inborn it is not acquired.<sup>91</sup> Similarly, Stephen rails against her lot in life and wonders “how long [will God] tolerate the preposterous statement that inversion is not a part of nature?” which implies a lack of interference from human society and belief that inversion is God given and biological.<sup>92</sup> Hall was a devout Catholic, and she often included religious themes in her work including when, in the last sentence of the novel, Stephen appeals to God to give inverts the right to their existence.<sup>93</sup> Even the fact that Stephen displays differences as a child suggests that it is not something that she developed, rather was born with. This innate difference reflects the idea endorsed by many contemporary sexologists that abnormality can be observed “even in early childhood.”<sup>94</sup> These sexological ideas - expressed by scientists and thinkers in both Britain and Germany - found realization in the text, which demonstrates the impact of the transnationality of sexologists.

---

<sup>89</sup> Hall, *The Well of Loneliness*, 211.

<sup>90</sup> Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis: With Especial Reference to Contrary Sexual Instinct*, classic reprint ed., trans. Charles Gilbert Chaddock (London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 317.

<sup>91</sup> Hall, *The Well of Loneliness*, 469.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 468.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 506.

<sup>94</sup> Hirschfeld, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*, 150.

Turning now to *Der Skorpion*, we see a similar interaction with sexology. The main character Metta grows up in her family's large house in Berlin and falls in love with another woman. Her family tries to send her away, but she runs away to live with her love, the older and confidently masculine Olga. Metta is tracked down by her family and successfully separated from her love interest, who dies shortly after. Metta comes of age, receives her fortune, and the second book details her life exploring urban queer subculture. Like Stephen in *The Well*, Metta is first confronted with sexological texts in her father's study. After Metta and Olga are separated by Metta's family, but before Metta learns that Olga has died, Metta returns home where she explores the books of her father's study. She finds books, pamphlets, novels and medical works "all treating of one theme": non-normative sexuality.<sup>95</sup> She reads of orgies where "hundreds of women dressed and comported themselves like men," and the deterioration of bodies "as a result of unnatural practices." She also reads of "sexual inverts" who are united "never by love, but by a common lust for a common form of excess."<sup>96</sup> The reference to deteriorating bodies mirrors Krafft-Ebing's work on "anatomical signs" of degeneration.<sup>97</sup> The direct reference to sexual inverts is also a clear link to sexology, while the reference to orgies in "well-known clubs" is an indication (and probably exaggeration) of the Berlin nightlife.<sup>98</sup> Unlike Stephen, Metta's encounter with these materials was not the answer she was looking for, and left her with more

---

<sup>95</sup> Anna Elisabet Weirauch, *The Scorpion*, trans. Whittaker Chambers, Kindle Edition (London: Olympia Press, 2007), 165.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>97</sup> Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 42.

<sup>98</sup> The image of lesbian nightlife was captured in a tourist guide called *The Lesbians of Berlin* in 1928 with a preface by Magnus Hirschfeld. See Camilla Smith, "Challenging *Baedeker* through the Art of Sexual Science: An Exploration of Homosexuality in Curt Moreck's *Guide to 'Depraved' Berlin* (1931)," *Oxford Art Journal* 36, no. 2 (2013): 245, 247. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1093/oxartj/kct018>.

questions. Nonetheless, she does experience some level of identification because she wants to interrogate Olga and ask if there are “such people? Are you one of them? Am I?”<sup>99</sup>

*Der Skorpion* also engages with sexological concepts in a less explicit way. Like Stephen, Metta portrays proclivities for same-sex desire in childhood, though unlike Stephen she does not display masculine preferences in games and clothing. However, young Metta falls in love with her governess and is so infatuated with her that she steals and pawns her family’s silverware at her governess’ behest.<sup>100 101</sup> As discussed previously, Metta’s childhood proclivities towards women supports the biological argument for homosexuality, a perspective that Metta endorses when she insists that what ails her is “not contagious.”<sup>102</sup>

Though Metta encountered homosexual desire in childhood as theorized by many sexologists, she does not neatly fit into the category of invert like Stephen does; Metta does not aspire to be more masculine in presentation, nor does she feel as though being a woman does not suit her. Though by the 1920s some sexologists admitted that non-masculine women could legitimately be homosexual, inversion was still a more solidly defined form of female homosexuality. The continued search for biological differences by some sexologists associated things like late period onset and the potential secretion of sperm with homosexual women, making sexology less able to portray a lesbian as a typical (more feminine presenting) woman of the period.<sup>103</sup> However, *Der Skorpion* includes a more classic representation of an invert with the

---

<sup>99</sup> Weirauch, *The Scorpion*, 167.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 13-17.

<sup>101</sup> Interestingly, despite the similar plot beats of the governess and the sexological literature, my research has not unearthed any hard evidence that Hall was directly referencing *Der Skorpion*, which came out several years before *The Well*. The scholars writing in English who reference the similarities, including Sutton and Marhoeffer, do not indicate any knowledge of Hall purposefully calling on *Der Skorpion*. Such scholarship may exist in German, which is unfortunately not accessible to this author. Given the publication dates and the fact that Hall could read German, it is possible that *Der Skorpion* was a direct influence, but more research into this topic is needed.

<sup>102</sup> Weirauch, *The Scorpion*, 110.

<sup>103</sup> Hirschfeld, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*, 170-1.

character Olga. She is described as having a “decidedly masculine manner,” a deep voice, and being “tall and slender.”<sup>104</sup> She also dies by suicide, something that many sexologists associated with inversion, or at least discussed in relation to abnormal sexualities.<sup>105</sup> Furthermore, Metta forms her homosexual identity through her contact with and in relation to the invert masculine-type.<sup>106</sup> Although Metta herself does not perfectly fit into the invert category, her identity is still shaped through that sexological notion as represented by her love interests and encounters with masculine women.

As seen with Metta’s embrace of femininity, in both books, lesbian authors were not uncritical of sexological concepts, despite their depictions of some sexological theories. In *Der Skorpion* the excerpts of sexological literature that Weirauch chose only illustrate the most lurid or garish descriptions of “filth” which makes Metta feel “ill.”<sup>107</sup> Weirauch’s choice to present only those specific sexological studies is a pointed critique, and Metta’s reaction indicates that there is a break between the “real” homosexual and the representations of homosexuals.<sup>108</sup> Unacknowledged in *The Well of Loneliness* is a latent critique of some sexological notions, even as it outright embraces the definition of the invert. Some scholars suggest that *The Well of Loneliness* strove to recreate sexological inversion in a fictional setting rather than portray a genuine representation of lesbianism, but that argument does not acknowledge the questioning of some prominent sexological concepts in the novel.<sup>109</sup> Though Stephen struggles with self-loathing at times, she still believes her love to be “natural and sacred” and refuses to be shamed

---

<sup>104</sup> Weirauch, *The Scorpion*, 1, 22.

<sup>105</sup> See Hirschfeld, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*, 95; Oswald, *Anders als die Andern*; Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 11,

<sup>106</sup> Sutton, *Masculine Woman*, 168.

<sup>107</sup> Weirauch, *The Scorpion*, 166.

<sup>108</sup> Sutton, *Masculine Woman*, 171.

<sup>109</sup> See especially Parkes, who claims that Hall was simply “mimicking Ellis’ voice” and essentially denying her own voice’s validity. Parkes, “Lesbianism, History and Censorship,” 441.

for it.<sup>110</sup> This belief in her purity contradicts the idea that sexual abnormality is one of the “functional signs of degeneracy,” which was a concept championed by Krafft-Ebing.<sup>111</sup> Even as Stephen sees herself in Krafft-Ebing’s studies, she does not uncritically accept all his propositions.

These critiques demonstrate that lesbian authors’ works were impacted by some of the transnational ideas and discussions of sexology, even as the authors interpreted these concepts in their own way. Consequently, these novels impacted people’s conception of lesbian women and the way lesbian women saw themselves. Both books played a role in the identity formation of many of its readers, especially those of lower socioeconomic status for whom sexology was relatively inaccessible. This, in turn, shaped the foundation for a lesbian sub-culture in both Britain and Germany.

In the late 1950s Radclyffe Hall’s long term partner Una Troubridge corresponded with Brocard Sewel, the editor of a literary periodical. In this (unpublished)<sup>112</sup> correspondence, Troubridge recalls letters that Hall received regarding *The Well of Loneliness*; she states that there were “literally thousands of letters” and that based on reading those, she believes the novel “helped people who did not understand themselves and made them less desolate.”<sup>113</sup> Troubridge’s emphasis on understanding oneself through text parallels Stephen’s understanding when she reads the sexologists’ books. However, for these letter-writers, the sexology was filtered through fiction, and *The Well* made these concepts readily available for more people. Even after it was banned, many people still managed to get copies of it. In this letter and in her

---

<sup>110</sup> Hall, *The Well of Loneliness*, 269, 229.

<sup>111</sup> Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 34.

<sup>112</sup> That is, unpublished at least since the UVic special collections acquired them in the 1960s or 1970s.

<sup>113</sup> Una Troubridge, Letter to Father Brocard Sewell, 20. IV. 58. Brocard Sewell Fonds, University of Victoria Archives.

biography of Hall, Troubridge suggests that the following of the book remained in the thousands, both abroad and in Britain.<sup>114</sup> This widespread distribution allowed non-elites to understand themselves better through the sexological ideas in the novel.

Alongside readers who newly found identity through the novel, *The Well of Loneliness* was championed by those already fighting for queer existence and rights in Britain.<sup>115</sup> *Urania* was a magazine published in London from 1915-1940 which endorsed the erasure of the gender binary.<sup>116</sup> Due to the magazine's name being synonymous with homosexuality, it was aligned with the burgeoning of that cultural identity in Britain.<sup>117</sup> In the summer of 1929, months after it was banned in Britain, *Urania* published on its front page a mostly positive review of *The Well of Loneliness*, once again demonstrating the book's lasting impact in Britain despite the censorship. Edited by Esther Roper, Eva Gore-Booth and Thomas Baty, this review recognizes Stephen and her ultimate love interest as "two loving spirits" but critiques the fact that Hall chose to "depict [...Stephen] as masculine in shape and tastes."<sup>118</sup> This review endorsed certain aspects of the novel, such as the depiction of "spirits in each garb [gender] who prefer their own type to the other" but rejects the idea of inversion or "perversion."<sup>119</sup> This rejection indicates an engagement with the sexology behind the idea of "mannishness or effeminacy" in urnings (or

---

<sup>114</sup> Troubridge, letter 20. IV. 58; Una Troubridge, *The Life and Death of Radclyffe Hall* (London: Hammond, Hammond and co., 1961), 94-5.

<sup>115</sup> I use the word queer here because the political and philosophical outlook of *Urania* was not specifically for homosexual emancipation, though the word urning was often used synonymously with homosexual. The magazine endorsed the erasure of gender and the return of humanity to a single sex, which included the erasure of heterosexuality but was more complicated than a simple endorsement of homosexuality (See Hamer, *Britannia's Glory*, 73).

<sup>116</sup> Hamer, *Britannia's Glory*, 69.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 67, 72.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 67; *Urania*, "The Well of Loneliness," May-August 1929, nos. 75 & 76, London School of Economics Library, Women's Rights Collection: Journals. <https://lse-atom.arkivum.net/uklse-dl1wr040030110002-uklse-dl1-wr04-003-011-0002-0001-pdf>. 1.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

inverts).<sup>120</sup> Even though *Urania* does not fully embrace the vision of lesbian identity posited by Hall and Ellis, this review indicates the way in which the text could act as a point of departure while still fostering non-heteronormative identity formation.

*The Well of Loneliness* not only helped some women identify themselves as inverters or lesbians but also put a public face on lesbianism. Margaret Cruikshank claims that Oscar Wilde exposed male homosexuality to the British public, while Hall revealed lesbianism.<sup>121</sup> Troubridge's letter indicates that the book was read and understood by non-queer people as well. She claims that the book inspired people "to be more charitable," and it "helped them to understand their own children as growing people in their care."<sup>122</sup> The implication is that this growth of understanding and empathy was due to a new knowledge of inversion as "only...natural" just as Stephen's father calls Stephen's emotions.<sup>123</sup> The visibility of lesbian relationships brought public empathy but also public outcry, which led to the book being banned. Despite the ban, Hall's portrayal of lesbianism became emblematic of the community to the public.<sup>124</sup>

Transnationally, *The Well of Loneliness* had an important impact as well. It was published in eleven different languages shortly after it was banned in Britain, including German.<sup>125</sup> By the time *The Well of Loneliness* was published, there were established lesbian communities and publications in Germany. Many writers were still working on identifying what lesbianism meant to them, and these publications served as the testing ground for their ideas.

---

<sup>120</sup> *Urania*, "The Well of Loneliness," 2.

<sup>121</sup> Margaret Cruikshank, *The Gay and Lesbian Liberation Movement* (London: Routledge, 1992), 65.

<sup>122</sup> Troubridge, letter 20 IV 58.

<sup>123</sup> Hall, *The Well of Loneliness*, 24.

<sup>124</sup> Rebecca Jennings, *A Lesbian History of Britain*, (Oxford: Greenwood, 2007), 119.

<sup>125</sup> Troubridge, *Life and Death*, 94.

One such publication, *Die Freundin* (The Girlfriend), typically embraced the sexological conception of an invert or more masculine lesbian partner in each lesbian relationship.<sup>126</sup> Due to this fact, the journal also embraced *The Well of Loneliness* for its representation of an inverted partner and a more feminine partner. It advertised the book as leaving behind everything “that fiction has so far had to say about lesbian love,” which emphasizes it as an important development in the conception of the lesbian.<sup>127</sup> It continued to advertise the book under the section “Books for Women” until the magazine was discontinued in 1933.<sup>128</sup> A similar German publication is the magazine *Garçonne*, which often featured short stories with lesbian characters. One such story features a chicken farmer who happens upon a copy of *Garçonne* which includes a review of *The Well of Loneliness*.<sup>129</sup> Inspired, she orders a copy of the book which she finds immersive and fosters her longing for the love of a woman, which she is able to find by placing an ad in *Garçonne*.<sup>130</sup> This not only advertised the usefulness of the magazine, but also the usefulness of *The Well* in learning how to recognize yourself and find love. The book showed the reader what was possible and, in this fictional representation of its reception, fostered her pursuit of a same-sex relationship. These representations illustrate how *The Well of Loneliness* promoted a lesbian identity even outside of Britain.

Like *The Well*, *Der Skorpion* also influenced identity formation for many of its readers.

Due to the lessening of censorship during the Weimar Republic (1918-1933) the book was

---

<sup>126</sup> Angeles Espinaco-Virseda, “‘I Feel That I Belong to you’: Subculture, *Die Freundin* and Lesbian Identities in Weimar Germany”. *Spaces of Identity* 4, no.1 (2004): 88-9. <https://doi.org/10.25071/1496-6778.8015>.

<sup>127</sup> *Die Freundin*, no. 13 (1929), Forum Queeres Archiv Munchen. Translated using Deepl. <https://archiv.forummuennenchen.org/objekt/die-freundin-1929-ausgabe-13/>

<sup>128</sup> *Die Freundin*, no. 9 (1933), Forum Queeres Archiv Munchen. Translated using Deepl. <https://archiv.forummuennenchen.org/objekt/die-freundin-1933-ausgabe-9/>

<sup>129</sup> Marhoefer, “‘The Book was a Revelation,’” 62.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

popular, had high circulation, and was widely available in Germany.<sup>131</sup> Hilde Radusch was a young woman during the Weimar years and for her, the book “was a revelation” which she said she “recognized [her]self in.”<sup>132</sup> She read the book after feeling a spark when she kissed an acquaintance, and she felt that *Der Skorpion* explained why that was.<sup>133</sup> The recognition and identification with the characters in the book enabled the claiming of her own identity. Another example of identification appears in *Die Freundin*: a woman who is experiencing much hardship writes that *Der Skorpion* is her “only joy” and that it brought a sense of belonging.<sup>134</sup> This found sense of belonging indicates a connection through identity to community, even if that community is not physically present. This type of community cannot be limited by borders, as identification with a text is not inhibited by nationality.

*Der Skorpion* also contributed to a transnational community, both in its German and English editions. As with *The Well of Loneliness*, *Die Freundin* also promoted *Der Skorpion*: the two novels often appeared in the same advertisement section “Books for Women,” with the entire trilogy of *Der Skorpion* available to order in the early 1930s.<sup>135</sup> *Die Freundin* was sometimes distributed beyond Germany’s national borders, which would have granted access to its articles as well as the possibility to order *Der Skorpion*.<sup>136</sup> Therefore it is possible that international German speakers had access to the novel during the 1920s and early 1930s. Additionally, an English edition combining the first two volumes was published in 1932, which made it available to English speakers as well. The book gained scholarly recognition in English

---

<sup>131</sup> Marhoefer, ““The Book was a Revelation,”” 68.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 69.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Charlotte Falk, “Briefe an die Freundin!” *Die Freundin*, 12 August 1931, iss. 32. <https://archiv.forummuenchen.org/objekt/die-freundin-1931-ausgabe-32/>

<sup>135</sup> *Die Freundin*, no. 9 (1933).

<sup>136</sup> Sutton, *Masculine Woman*, 154.

circles by feminists in the 1970s when it was once again republished in English.<sup>137</sup> However, the fact that it was deemed worth publishing in English not once, but twice, indicates the novel was popular in its earlier original 1932 English translation and likely had transnational implications on conceptions of lesbian identity.

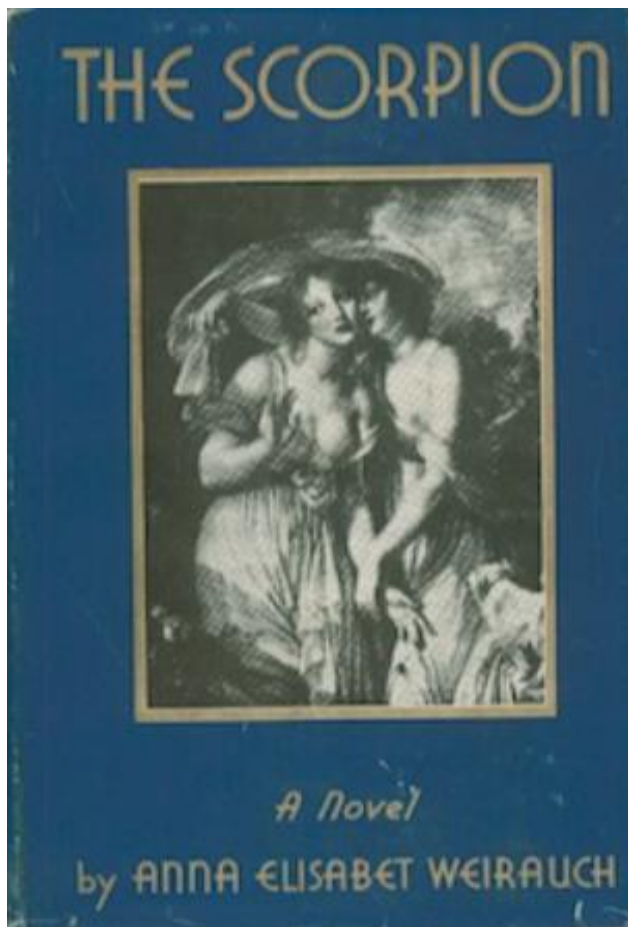


Figure 3: *The Scorpion*, 1932 English translation.

By representing sexological discourse in an accessible way for non-elites, both *Der Skorpion* and *The Well of Loneliness* made public new available categories for identification and women who loved other women took full advantage. These novels impacted individuals' perceptions of themselves and forged a sense of connection to others who felt the same way. The

---

<sup>137</sup> Sutton, *Masculine Woman*, 168.

two books revolutionized the way lesbianism was perceived and contributed to a transnational identity. Jennings credits the 1920s and 1930s with the “formation of explicitly lesbian communities” and lesbian clubs were formed in the years following *The Well* in Britain.<sup>138</sup> Similarly, during the Weimar period the tacit allowance of homosexuality in German metropolises facilitated a growth of a lesbian subculture which *Der Skorpion* helped promote. *Der Skorpion* worked alongside magazines like *Die Freundin* to limit the perceived isolation of lesbians in Germany and to help them better understand themselves. This growth of the subculture coincided with the growth of the transnational conception of lesbian identity. Lesbians themselves considered Hall’s depiction of lesbianism as the defining image of female homosexuality for much of the twentieth century, and its transnational success bolstered the image of the masculine invert in relation to lesbianism.<sup>139</sup> *Der Skorpion* helped shape the transnational conception of lesbianism by engaging with some sexological concepts but also by representing an alternative mode of lesbianism that is contrasted with inversion. In alignment with the goals of the critiques made in *Urania* explored earlier, it made lesbian femininity more normalized and functions as the other side of the coin to Hall’s masculine lesbian. In a period of expanding sexological discourse on female homosexuality, it presented options which, although less prevalent than Hall’s representation, showed the multifaceted aspects of conceptions of lesbianism transnationally.

---

<sup>138</sup> Jennings, *A Lesbian History of Britain*, 109, 133.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

## Conclusion

Through the international interactions between sexologists, authors, and their works, the foundation for transnational conceptions of lesbian identity were laid. The literary impacts these interactions had and their reception by people beyond elite circles allowed individuals to interpret and modify this identity. Women in both Britain and Germany claimed homosexual identity for themselves and contributed to its meaning which forged a transnational lesbian identity.

The interactions between sexologists across national borders led to a transnational discourse of sexology that created sexual types and identity categories with many variations. Some scholars credit sexologists with creating the modern lesbian, but authors contested and embraced sexological categories in a critical way.<sup>140</sup> They shaped how lesbians were represented to the public, who ultimately were the ones to create their own conception of lesbianism by embracing those representations. *The Well of Loneliness* and *Der Skorpion* helped many readers to understand themselves and brought comfort to some who discovered they were not alone. A German lesbian who read *The Well of Loneliness* would know that people like her also lived in Britain, while a British reader would encounter German sexological concepts that might help her identify herself. *Der Skorpion* may not have reached thousands of English readers, but it did reach some in the 1930s and reached many German readers, opening up possibilities other than the masculine lesbian.

These ideas and connections which reached beyond national borders continue today, and they help inform the way lesbianism has been shaped over the last century. Not only is there still

---

<sup>140</sup> Vicinus, "The History of Lesbian History," 571.

a transnational conception of lesbianism, but the interconnected nature of our world allows for identity categories to be shaped by many voices, even more so than in the 1920s. The ideas circulated by the sexologists and authors still influence the perception of lesbians and lesbian identity. The emphasis on masculinity from *The Well* and the representation of femininity from *Der Skorpion* can be seen in the butch/femme discourse which continues to this day. By interacting beyond borders and playing off transnational ideas, authors and sexologists helped the formation of lesbian identity in all its complexity.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

Baum, Vicki. *Results of an Accident*. Translated by Margaret Goldsmith. London: Geoffrey Bles, 1931.

“Detail from the photo-wall ‘Sexual Transitions’ at the Institute of Sexual Science,” 1928 in “Institute for Sexual Science 1919-1933: Online-Exhibition by the Magnus-Hirschfeld Society.” magnus-hirschfeld.de. Last modified November 8, 2001.  
[https://www.hirschfeld.in-berlin.de/institut/en/theorie/bilder/theo\\_03b1.html](https://www.hirschfeld.in-berlin.de/institut/en/theorie/bilder/theo_03b1.html)

*Die Freundin*, no. 13 (1929), Forum Queeres Archiv Munchen. Translated using Deepl.  
<https://archiv.forummuenchen.org/objekt/die-freundin-1929-ausgabe-13/>

*Die Freundin*, no. 9 (1933), Forum Queeres Archiv Munchen. Translated using Deepl.  
<https://archiv.forummuenchen.org/objekt/die-freundin-1932-ausgabe-12/>

Ellis, Havelock, and John Addington Symonds. *Sexual Inversion*. Reprint edition. New York: Arno Press, 1975.

Ellis, Havelock. *Studies in the Psychology of Sex Volume XII: Eonism and Other Supplementary Studies*. Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Company, 1928.

Falk, Charlotte. “Briefe an die Freundin!” *Die Freundin*, 12 August 1931, iss. 32. Forum Queeres Archiv Munchen. Translated by Deepl.  
<https://archiv.forummuenchen.org/objekt/die-freundin-1931-ausgabe-32/>

Hall, Radclyffe. *The Well of Loneliness*. New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1928.

Hirschfeld, Magnus. *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Translated by Michael A. Lombardi-Nash. New York: Prometheus Books, 2000.

Isherwood, Christopher. *Christopher and His Kind*. New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 1976.

“League for Sexual Reform International Congress Opened.” *The Times*, September 9, 1929, 9.  
<https://go-galecom.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/ps/i.do?p=TTDA&u=uvictoria&id=GALE%7CCS151986473&v=2.1&it=r>

Oswald, Richard, dir. *Anders als die Andern*. Berlin: Richard Oswald Film, 1919. Recovered by Kino International in association with Filmmuseum München. UVic Libraries Database.  
[https://webapp.library.uvic.ca/videos/view.php?vfn=Anders-Als-Die-Andern-\(English\).mp4](https://webapp.library.uvic.ca/videos/view.php?vfn=Anders-Als-Die-Andern-(English).mp4).

“Publishers Lose Appeal: British Court Upholds Seizure of Radclyffe Hall’s Novel.” *New York Times*, 1928, Dec 15.

Krafft-Ebing, Richard von. *Psychopathia Sexualis: With Especial Reference to Contrary Sexual Instinct*. Translated by Charles Gilbert Chaddock. Classic Reprint edition. London: Forgotten Books, 2012.

“Radclyffe Hall’s ‘The Well of Loneliness’” Advertisement in *The Times*, 27 July 1928.  
<https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/apps/doc/CS152510203/TTDA?u=uvictoria&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=73abbaf3>

“The Scientific Study of Sex Problems: International Congress of The World League for Sexual Reform.” *The British Medical Journal* 2, no. 3585 (1929): 544–45.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25333741>.

Sproles, Karyn Z. *Desiring Women: The Partnership of Virginia Woolf and Vita Sackville-West*. University of Toronto Press, 2006. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3138/j.ctvcj2sws.5>.

Troubridge, Una. Letter to Father Brocard Sewell, 22. VII. 58. Brocard Sewell Fonds, University of Victoria Archives.

Troubridge, Una. Letter to Father Brocard Sewell, 20. IV. 58. Brocard Sewell Fonds, University of Victoria Archives.

“Una Troubridge Diaries.” 1928. Lovat Dickson Papers, H-1197, Vol. 2, Image 656, Library and Archives Canada. [https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac\\_reel\\_h1197/656](https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_h1197/656).

*Urania*. May-August 1929, nos. 75 & 76, Women’s Rights Collection: Journals, London School of Economics Library. <https://lse-atom.arkivum.net/uklse-dl1wr040030110002-uklse-dl1-wr04-003-011-0002-0001-pdf>.

Weirauch, Anna Elisabet. *The Scorpion*. Translated by Whittaker Chambers. Kindle Edition. London: Olympia Press, 2007.

Weirauch, Anna Elisabet. *The Scorpion*. Translated by Whittaker Chambers. New York: Greenberg 1932.

## Secondary Sources

Batchelor, Kathryn, Lesley Chamberlain and Alison E. Martin. “Harold in Germany, Vita in Love: Stories from Sissinghurst’s Library,” UCL Discovery.  
<https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/10156167/>

Bauer, Heike, ed. *Sexology and Translation: Cultural and Scientific Encounters across the Modern World*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.2307/j.ctvrf88r8>.

- Bauer, Heike. *The Hirschfeld Archives: Violence, Death, and Modern Queer Culture*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2017.
- Brome, Vincent. *Havelock Ellis, Philosopher of Sex: A Biography*. Abingdon: Routledge, 1979.
- Brooten, Bernadette J. *Love between Women: Early Christian Responses to Female Homoeroticism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.  
[https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/12198k2/alma9957546691807291](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/12198k2/alma9957546691807291).
- Browne, Kath and Gavin Brown, "An Introduction to the Geographies of Sex and Sexualities," in *The Routledge Research Companion to Geographies of Sex and Sexualities*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2016. 1-10. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.4324/9781315613000>.
- Cohen, Deborah, and Maura O'Connor. *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective*. New York: Routledge, 2004.  
[https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/12198k2/alma9957636432807291](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/12198k2/alma9957636432807291).
- Cohler, Deborah. *Citizen, Invert, Queer: Lesbianism and War in Early Twentieth-Century Britain*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.
- Crozier, Ivan. "Havelock Ellis, Eonism and the Patient's Discourse; or, Writing a Book about Sex." *History of Psychiatry* 11, no. 42 (2000): 125–54.  
[https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/1ohem39/cdi\\_proquest\\_miscellaneous\\_72488809](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/1ohem39/cdi_proquest_miscellaneous_72488809).
- Dose, Ralf. "The World League for Sexual Reform: Some Possible Approaches." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12, no. 1 (2003): 1–15.  
[https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/1ohem39/cdi\\_proquest\\_miscellaneous\\_38542744](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/1ohem39/cdi_proquest_miscellaneous_38542744).
- Doan, Laura L. *Fashioning Sapphism: The Origins of a Modern English Lesbian Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.
- Espinaco-Virseda, Angeles. "'I Feel That I Belong to you': Subculture, Die Freundin and Lesbian Identities in Weimar Germany". *Spaces of Identity* 4, no.1 (2004): 83-113.  
<https://doi.org/10.25071/1496-6778.8015>.
- Fisher, Kate, and Jana Funke. "'Let Us Leave the Hospital; Let Us Go on a Journey around the World': British and German Sexual Science and the Global Search for Sexual Variation." In *A Global History of Sexual Science, 1880–1960*, eds. Veronika Fuechtner et al. Oakland: University of California Press, 2018, 51–69.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1vjqqxw.7>.
- Fisher, Kate, and Jana Funke. "British Sexual Science beyond the Medical: Cross-Disciplinary, Cross-Historical, and Cross-Cultural Translations." In *Sexology and Translation*:

- Cultural and Scientific Encounters across the Modern World*, ed. Heike Bauer, 95–114. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvrf88r8.12>.
- Foit, Mathias. *Queer Urbanisms in Wilhelmine and Weimar Germany*. Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2023.  
[https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/1ohem39/cdi\\_askewsholts\\_vlebooks\\_9783031465765](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/1ohem39/cdi_askewsholts_vlebooks_9783031465765).
- Fradenburg, Aranye, Carla Freccero, and Kathy Lavezzo, eds. *Premodern Sexualities* (New York: Routledge, 1996), xix. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.4324/9781315811529>.
- Gorman-Murray, Andrew, Catherine J Nash. “Mobile Sexualities: Section Introduction.” In *The Routledge Research Companion to Geographies of Sex and Sexualities*, Kath Browne, and Gavin Brown, eds. 195–200. Abingdon: Routledge, 2016. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.4324/9781315613000>.
- Hamer, Emily. *Britannia’s Glory: A History of Twentieth-Century Lesbians*. London: Cassel, 1996.
- Harris, Bertha. “The More Profound Nationality of their Lesbianism: Lesbian Society in Paris in the 1920s.” In Phyllis Birkby et al., eds., *Amazon Expedition: A Lesbian Feminist Anthology*. 77–88. Albion: Times Change Press, 1973.
- Helt, Brenda. “Passionate Debates on ‘Odious Subjects’: Bisexuality and Woolf’s Opposition to Theories of Androgyny and Sexual Identity.” *Twentieth Century Literature* 56, no. 2 (2010): 131–67. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41062468>.
- Jennings, Rebecca. *A Lesbian History of Britain*. Oxford: Greenwood, 2007.
- King, Lynda J. “The Image of Fame: Vicki Baum in Weimar Germany.” *The German Quarterly* 58, no. 3 (Summer, 1985): 375–393.  
<https://ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/image-fame-vicki-baum-weimar-germany/docview/1290415674/se-2>.
- Linge, Ina. “Sexology, Popular Science and Queer History in Anders Als Die Andern (Different from the Others).” *Gender & History* 30, no. 3 (2018): 595–610. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1111/1468-0424.12381>.
- Lybeck, Marti. “Emancipation and Desire in Weimar Berlin’s Female Homosexual Public Sphere,” in *Desiring Emancipation: New Women and Homosexuality in Germany, 1890–1933*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. 151–188.  
[https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/1ohem39/cdi\\_proquest\\_ebookcentralchapters\\_3408906\\_37\\_162](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/1ohem39/cdi_proquest_ebookcentralchapters_3408906_37_162).

- Magnus-Hirschfeld-Gesellschaft e.V. "Institute for Sexual Science 1919-1933: Online-Exhibition by the Magnus-Hirschfeld Society." [magnus-hirschfeld.de](http://magnus-hirschfeld.de). Last modified November 8, 2001. <https://www.magnus-hirschfeld.de/institute-for-sexual-science-1919-1933/>.
- Marhoefer, Laurie. "Lesbianism, Reading and the Law." In *Sex and the Weimar Republic: German Homosexual Emancipation and the Rise of the Nazis*, 52-79. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015.  
[https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/12198k2/alma9957769836107291](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/12198k2/alma9957769836107291).
- Marhoefer, Laurie. *Racism and the Making of Gay Rights: A Sexologist, His Student, and the Empire of Queer Love*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022.
- Marhoefer, Laurie. "'The Book Was a Revelation, I Recognized Myself in It': Lesbian Sexuality, Censorship, and the Queer Press in Weimar-Era Germany." *Journal of Women's History* 27, no. 2 (2015): 62-86. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2015.0016>.
- McCleery, Alistair. "Banned Books and Publishers' Ploys: *The Well of Loneliness* as Exemplar." *Journal of Modern Literature* 43, no. 1 (2019): 34-52.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2979/jmodelite.43.1.03>.
- Parkes, Adam. "Lesbianism, History, and Censorship: The Well of Loneliness and the Suppressed Randiness of Virginia Woolf's Orlando." *Twentieth Century Literature* 40, no. 4 (1994): 434-60.  
[https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/1ohem39/cdi\\_proquest\\_journals\\_21595516](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/1ohem39/cdi_proquest_journals_21595516).
- Ramsey, Glenn. "The Rites of Artgenossen: Contesting Homosexual Political Culture in Weimar Germany." *Journal of the history of sexuality* 17, no. 1 (2008): 85-109.  
[https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/1ohem39/cdi\\_proquest\\_miscellaneous\\_66696654](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/1ohem39/cdi_proquest_miscellaneous_66696654).
- Smith, Camilla. "Challenging *Baedeker* through the Art of Sexual Science: An Exploration of Homosexuality in Curt Moreck's *Guide to 'Depraved' Berlin* (1931)." *Oxford Art Journal* 36, no. 2 (2013): 231-256. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43826014>.
- Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1985.
- Souhami, Diana. *The Trials of Radclyffe Hall*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998.
- Sutton, Katie. *The Masculine Woman in Weimar Germany*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2011.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qd9q4.10>.
- Taylor, Michael Thomas. "Magnus Hirschfeld's Institute for Sexual Science as Archive, Museum, and Exhibition." In *Not Straight from Germany: Sexual Publics and Sexual*

*Citizenship since Magnus Hirschfeld*, Michael Thomas Taylor, Annette F. Timm, and Rainer Herrn, eds. 12–36. University of Michigan Press, 2017. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.3998/mpub.9238370>.

Traub, Valerie. “The Present Future of Lesbian Historiography.” In *A Companion to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Studies*, eds. George E. Haggerty, and Molly McGarry. Newark: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2007. <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/lib/uvic/detail.action?docID=350877>.

Vicinus, Martha. “The History of Lesbian History.” *Feminist Studies* 38, no. 3 (2012): 566–96. [https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC\\_INST/1ohem39/cdi\\_proquest\\_miscellaneous\\_1667353606](https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/1ohem39/cdi_proquest_miscellaneous_1667353606).

Wilper, James Patrick. *Reconsidering the Emergence of the Gay Novel in English and German*. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2016. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1wf4dth>.