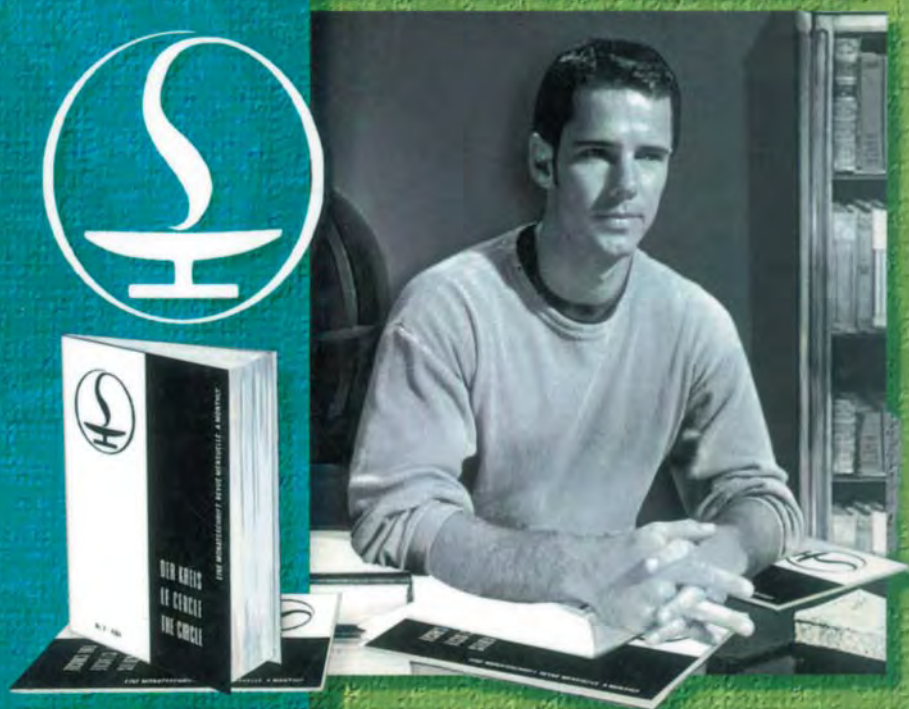


# The Ideal Gay Man

# THE STORY

of

# DER KREIS



Hubert Kennedy, PhD

**The Ideal Gay Man:  
The Story of *Der Kreis***



## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

**Hubert Kennedy, PhD**, is a Research Associate at the Center for Research and Education in Sexuality at San Francisco State University. He has over 200 publications in several languages, from an analysis of the mathematical manuscripts of Karl Marx and a revelation of Marx's homophobia, to theoretical genetics and a proof of the impossibility of an organism that requires more than two sexes in order to reproduce. In addition, Dr. Kennedy has written biographies of the Italian mathematician Giuseppe Peano and the German homosexual emancipationist/theorist Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, as well as translations of the boy-love novels of the German anarchist writer John Henry Mackay. His investigations of the writings of Mackay have helped establish Mackay's place in the gay canon. Dr. Kennedy also translated selections from *Der Eigene* for the volume *Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany*, co-edited with Harry Oosterhuis, before turning his attention to *Der Kreis*, the long-running, trilingual Swiss gay journal.



# The Ideal Gay Man: The Story of *Der Kreis*

Hubert Kennedy, PhD

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The publisher has gone to great lengths to ensure the quality of this reprint but points out that some imperfections in the original may be apparent.



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# Introduction

The international Swiss gay journal *Der Kreis* appeared—when one includes its immediate predecessors *Freundschafts-Banner* (1932), *Schweizerisches Freundschafts-Banner* (1933-1936), and *Menschenrecht* (1937-1942)—in the years 1932-1967. For many of those years it was the world's most important journal promoting the legal and social rights of gay men. During much of its existence it was the *only* such journal. It remains the only gay journal to have consistently included contributions in three international languages: German, French, and English; no other gay journal has even attempted to do this.<sup>1</sup> Although the number of subscribers never exceeded 2,000, its effect on individual lives must have been enormous, especially since it promoted not only the legal and social rights of gay men, but also their social and ethical duties. As a product of its time it naturally reflected various currents in gay thought; but it also helped to form a gay conscience for its readers. Under the leadership of its longtime editor Karl “Rolf” Meier it held up for its readers a vision of “the ideal gay man.”<sup>2</sup> This ideal was not accepted by everyone then—or today—but it is historically important; it can also serve as a backdrop against which current developments in gay ethics, politics, and literature may be viewed. The younger generation may find the concern over “seduction to homosexuality” in the 1950s exaggerated, for example; but those of us who came “of age” in that period can recall the “ethical imperative” *not* to introduce anyone to homosexuality who could otherwise, perhaps, lead a “normal” life. How times have changed! And yet, many of the arguments pro and con can be heard today—if in changed form.

Thomas Waugh (who mistakenly believed that *Der Kreis* editor Rolf had been an assistant to Adolf Brand, editor of the Berlin journal *Der Eigene*, and then fled to Switzerland) wrote of *Der Kreis*:

The legendary Swiss magazine is a permanent symbol of gay exile and survival, and for me will always conjure up an image of medieval monks toiling away at their illuminations in order to preserve an ancient

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cultural legacy through the Dark Ages of the pink triangles. Its importance to North American gays, especially those cosmopolitans and intellectuals who were attracted to its high-culture sensibility and could afford to smuggle it back home, was immeasurable. *Der Kreis* would last until 1967 under the editorship of [Karl] Meier, known around the world by his nickname “Rolf.” Published trilingually in French, German, and English after 1950, *Der Kreis* attracted a subscription and support from Dr. Kinsey and contributions from such American artists as (Don) Whitman [of the Western Photography Guild], [George Platt] Lynes, [Paul] Cadmus, and [Samuel] Steward. No other magazine in the paranoid forties and fifties offered the same blend of ideas, art, and politics—and skin.<sup>3</sup>

With “Dark Ages of the pink triangles” Waugh is thinking of the twelve years of the “Thousand-Year Reich,” when the many gay periodicals in pre-Nazi Germany were silenced. He is, of course, being facetious when conjuring up an image of “medieval monks toiling away at their illuminations in order to preserve an ancient cultural legacy,” for *Der Kreis* did much more than preserve: it actively advanced and added to that legacy. *Der Kreis* was indeed happy to recall for its readers important figures and writers from the past, the Swiss Heinrich Hössli (1784-1864) being the prime example—Hössli was the first to publish a defense of homosexuality in the German language;<sup>4</sup> but *Der Kreis* mostly published original material and was for some authors—Samuel Steward, for example—the beginning of successful literary careers. And, to stay with Waugh’s examples, *Der Kreis* was a prime outlet for the homoerotic photographs of George Platt Lynes.

Although *Der Kreis* gave Steward his literary start and he continued his collaboration for many years, he soon felt restricted by the Verbot *Der Kreis* placed on descriptions of explicit sex, so that when more liberal Scandinavian publications became available to him, he began there his long career as “Phil Andros.” In his autobiography he gave the following view of *Der Kreis* (The Circle):

Since I was going to Europe every Christmas to visit the ailing Alice Toklas, I managed to be present at quite a few of the Circle’s New Year’s Eve parties. Men danced together (horrors!) and held hands and kissed and drank champagne. The orgy backroom had not yet been invented—but everyone seemed happy and content with the dancing.

All in all, however, it was rather a grim group that made up the leadership of the Circle. Most of the men were far along in years. Their attitudes were not keeping pace with the times, and those in control never found out or even wanted to find out how to bring young people into responsible positions. The Club and the magazine had lavishly

supported a half-dozen old men although the contributors never received a penny. When *Der Kreis* died in 1967, the reasons were given that as a movement it no longer had any purpose, the whole picture having been altered until there was no need for further reform. The truth was threefold: the leaders could not keep up with the very changes they had helped to bring about, there was a lack of money and subscribers, and Rolf went completely senile.<sup>5</sup>

Two out of three ain't bad, as they say; I hope to show that Rolf did not go "completely senile." Nor did *Der Kreis* support a "half-dozen old men." There were only two paid positions: Rolf, the director and editor of the German section, and Rudolf, the editor of the English section and proofreader of the German section. And I think it fair to say that they were not "lavishly" supported. But Steward is surely correct in his assessment that their attitude "was not keeping pace with the times" and that they were never able "to bring young people into responsible positions."

When Samuel Steward died in 1993 he left bound volumes of *Der Kreis* for the years 1946-1967 to the Center for Research and Education in Sexuality (CERES), San Francisco State University. They have been the basic material for my research. Earlier volumes were not available to me, so that the present study is principally of these later years. Perhaps "The Post-War Years" should have been added to the title of this volume—but that would have made it too long.

Chapter 1 traces the origin of *Der Kreis* from its first lesbian-edited, hectographed pages in 1932 to its transformation into a male-oriented monthly under the editorship of the actor Karl Meier. Chapter 2 then gives a biographical and character sketch of this extraordinary man, who, under the pseudonym "Rolf," molded *Der Kreis* into an international journal of world importance. The overview of the years 1946-1967 of *Der Kreis* in chapter 3 presents a statistical analysis of its contents based on a database created from reading these 22 volumes.

The short story was a mainstay of *Der Kreis* in all three of its languages. Chapters 4 through 6 attempt to identify and describe some of the authors in the English, French, and German sections respectively. The coverage here is, alas, uneven. Identifying the contributors to *Der Kreis* is difficult, especially since so many—beginning with the editors of all three language sections!—used pseudonyms. Here I have been most successful in identifying the American authors, though in only one case (Fitzroy Davis) can I claim to be the first to do so.

The heart of this volume is chapter 7, the longest, which traces in chronological form some of the events and personalities of the "gay movement" as noted in *Der Kreis*. Like some anthropologists, *Der Kreis* was definitely a participant-observer. And like those anthropologists, its views were often

colored by cultural bias. In this chapter extensive quotations will give not only the content, but also some of the flavor of *Der Kreis*. If chapter 7 is the “heart” of this volume, then chapter 8 is its “soul.” Here the ethical imperative of *Der Kreis* is revealed in its picture of “the ideal gay man.”

The current obsession in the general public—and much of the gay movement—with the suppression of man-boy love has reached hysterical proportions. The topic was not ignored in *Der Kreis* and I think it important to present in chapter 9 the views expressed in *Der Kreis*, in part as a counterbalance to the current one-sided debate. No topic today is more in need of a historical perspective. Chapter 10 gives a limited overview of the illustrative material included in *Der Kreis*. It is deserving of much more attention than I can give it—as indeed I hope that *Der Kreis* will altogether receive more attention. “In Retrospect” completes this survey of *Der Kreis* with a brief personal reflection on some topics noted in reading through more than 9,000 pages of this remarkable journal.

Most quotations from *Der Kreis* have been translated from German. I have tried to indicate in the text where I have translated from French or quoted a passage that was already in English.

All references in the notes are to the list of Works Cited and are given in the usual author-date format. For the frequent references to *Der Kreis* in the text and notes, I use an abbreviated form, giving volume, issue, and page, preceded by the letter K. Thus “K 25.04:02-05” is a reference to *Der Kreis*, vol. 25, no. 4 (April 1957), pp. 2-5. Except for volume 1, which included 1932 and 1933, all volumes of *Der Kreis* cover a calendar year, one issue each month. The following correlation of the volumes and years included in this study may be useful:

Volume no.	Year
14	1946
15	1947
16	1948
17	1949
18	1950
19	1951
20	1952
21	1953
22	1954
23	1955
24	1956
25	1957
26	1958
27	1959
28	1960

Volume no.	Year
29	1961
30	1962
31	1963
32	1964
33	1965
34	1966
35	1967

## NOTES

1. Currently the Dutch journal *Koinos*, which is dedicated to “features on boys,” is bilingual–English and German–but the same material appears in both languages. The material in *Der Kreis* was unique to each language section.

2. This phrase, in this context, is taken from the excellent article “Der ‘Kreis’ und sein idealer Schwuler” (*Der Kreis* and Its Ideal Gay Man) by Thomas Löw (1988).

3. Waugh 1996, 404-405.

4. His writings are again available; see Hösli 1996. See also my review of this Great Hösli Edition in the *Journal of Homosexuality* 35(2): 85-101.

5. Steward 1981, 110-111.



# Chapter 1. Beginnings

Although *Der Kreis* was a “gay male”-identified publication during most of its life—certainly during 1946-1967, the years of most concern here—its beginning was lesbian inspired.

In early 1931 Laura Thoma (called “Fredy”) of Zurich visited Berlin, where she was impressed by the lesbian clubs there and wished to have one in Zurich. In August there appeared in the Berlin lesbian periodical *Garçonne* a letter from her complaining about the “hard lot” of lesbians in Switzerland: “No one tells me where I belong, no periodical brings light and enlightenment into my darkness and groping, no association of those with like feelings shows me the way.” She asked whether it was “absolutely necessary that such seeking women stray . . . until they finally meet by chance someone who brings light to their darkness? Yet who will create our freedom, if we do not bring it about ourselves through a close association, through a helpful reaching out of hands on the part of city dwellers?”<sup>1</sup>

To further this goal, Thoma published an appeal in *Garçonne* in November 1931 with the heading “Comrades in Passion of Switzerland, Unite!”

Sisters of Lesbos, you too have a full right to love and its freedom. . . . Through a strong association we wish to assert our right to existence and with it our claim to love and happiness. Don’t stand back cowardly, but show your colors! We are not the refuse of humanity: we do not belong under moral supervision!<sup>2</sup>

She gave a contact address for those interested in joining with her. Two months later *Garçonne* reported the founding of the women’s club “Amicitia” in Zurich.

In addition to the appeal in *Garçonne*, an ad had been placed in the *Tagblatt der Stadt Zürich*, announcing: “Ladies’ club ‘Amitia’ [sic] offers to

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all lonely women of every class and age, who are longing for an intimate social life, the opportunity for a cozy gathering with games, music, and singing. New members and guests are cordially welcome. The next general meeting is on Thursday, 6 August, at 8:00 p.m. in the clubroom in the restaurant Golden Lion, Löwenstraße 66, 1st floor (separate entrance).”<sup>3</sup>

Seventeen women attended the first meeting, three of them with a copy of *Garçonne* in hand to show their interest. But the mixture of lesbians and nonlesbians (the ad was too discreet!) pleased no one.<sup>4</sup> The lesbians then heard that there was a club of homosexual men—but the Zurich chapter of the German Bund für Menschenrecht (the largest German homosexual association) had already dissolved. In October 1931 a new men’s group, the “Eccentric-Club Zürich” (E.C.Z.) was formed, which accepted the offer to collaborate with the women of Amicitia. The two groups had common meetings for about a year, and it was during this time that the first issue of the *Freundschafts-Banner*, the forerunner of *Der Kreis*, appeared on 1 January 1932.<sup>5</sup> It was an 8-page hectographed paper, prepared by Laura Thoma of Amicitia and August Bambula of E.C.Z. The front page, which gave the editor and publisher as “Fredy-Torrero,” had the two mottoes “Through light to freedom” and “Through struggle to victory” and the article:

In the middle of winter a brave ray of sunshine kissed a little hidden plant. And look—the little plant stretched itself and became a small, modest violet. A tender violet in ice and snow—whose heart was not gladdened by it? Was it to be spring already? Yes, it should and must be spring among the comrades of our kind. Joy and sunshine should be drawn into all the quiet suffering hearts near and far. We know how very painful it is to walk the path through this difficult life alone and misunderstood, often plagued by the worst anguish of soul. We call to all those lonely and oppressed people: “Be undaunted, you are not alone, with you feel and hope thousands and hundreds of thousands.” Yet without struggle there is no victory! Precisely we comrades-in-kind must join together, for only a united strength can accomplish all.

We will not make a secret of the fact that the work that lies before us is difficult, if we wish to carry out all our plans, yet joy and love for the higher cause will guide us on the right path.

To everyone, however, goes the pressing appeal: “Help us in building up our small and still very modest periodical.” With your support its development will proceed quickly.<sup>6</sup>

There were 19 issues in 1932, the last in November. The E.C.Z. dissolved by the end of 1932 and yet another attempt by the men in Zurich to organize (as “Freundschaftsbund”) failed in February 1933. Anna Vock (1884-1962, known as “Mamma”) then took the initiative and founded on 4 April 1933,

from Amicitia and the former members of the men's clubs, the "Schweizerischer Freundschafts-Verband" (S.F.V.).<sup>7</sup> She continued the earlier periodical—now titled *Schweizerisches Freundschafts-Banner* (S.F.B.)—with numbers 20-34, from mid-April, and the paper was now printed. From 1934 there was a new volume numbering for each year; the issues of 1932 and 1933 were counted as one volume.<sup>8</sup> For many years this courageous lesbian was the president of the S.F.V. and the editor/publisher of the *Schweizerisches Freundschafts-Banner*. Her name appeared on the masthead of the paper already in April 1933.

Kuno Trüeb commented on the S.F.B. under Vock's leadership:

The style of the *Freundschafts-Banner* is, above all in comparison with its successors *Menschenrecht* and *Kreis*, still refreshingly colorful and contradictory. At times moralizing and often warning to be decent, a fighting, uncompromising tone nevertheless predominated—an expression less of strength than of the consciousness that everything was at stake. In contrast to *Menschenrecht* and *Kreis*, the individual authors, male and female, signed their real names.<sup>9</sup> The risks they ran are illustrated by the "open letter" of Anna Vock to A. Schlumpf, the editor of various tabloids: "I do not fear your pen, since I have nothing more to lose. You have already deprived me of job and bread and I can now risk everything." Schlumpf had repeatedly published her address in big print.<sup>10</sup>

Schlumpf was the editor of the tabloids *Scheinwerfer* and *Guggu*. *Scheinwerfer* (Floodlight) used homosexuals as a target of moral outrage and butt of jokes, with their motto:

What is rotten and decayed around and about,  
To this we apply a grater.  
The light of truth is beneficial.  
If it bites many people—we never ask.<sup>11</sup>

Anna Vock's letter (mentioned above) appeared in 1936, but she was early on a target of *Scheinwerfer* and several times lost jobs as a result of their exposure. Karl Meier, a Swiss actor who had returned from an extended tour of the German provinces (more on Meier, who was to be the editor of *Der Kreis*, in chapter 2), mentioned *Scheinwerfer*'s attacks, along with his comments on events in Germany, in his first article in S.F.B. in May 1934:

### Appeal to Everyone

For the present we still live in a democratic Switzerland. We still have the right to discuss, to ask the free word of the free man. These

slim pages are witness that a minority may still stand up for its existence in a clean and decent form.

Is this so self-evident? For Switzerland, yes. Hopefully for the next two thousand years yet! For so long as the rights of a third party are not harmed, so long also as our love is shown in a truly Christian sense, so that the merging of one's own ego in a greater thou remains the content that fills our life with bliss, thus long, we hope, will our homeland give us the right to fight against the social proscription of our kind, to clear out the centuries old prejudices of cramped life views, and to lead all the discouraged people of our kind to a happy belief in life and a joyful affirmation of their existence!

But one thing is important for every person, particularly for every homoerotic: *Only the one who fights with his spirit shapes his own life!* Whoever does not fight does not have the least right to complain later, if all his values of life and love are taken away. And how quickly the apparently self-evident can be wiped away with the stroke of a pen has been experienced by the homoerotics of Germany. No periodical and no clubhouse exist any longer; for coupled friends, whom no proscription and no law are able to separate, this is certainly not tragic, but for the many single persons, for whom a poem or short story that tells of our love was often the only ray of light in their poor life, this prohibition means the loneliness of lightless days. In vain the decades-long research work of renowned scholars and a petition with three hundred names of world fame from art and science, in vain the indication that this love has been known for centuries and will flame up again and again among people in spite of ignominy and prison!

It is no presumptuous arrogance and no cheap phrase: without this love humanity would be the poorer of many an immortal work of art. It led the chisel of many Greek sculptors, it lives in Michelangelo's Adam, it glows in the sonnets of Stefan George, and André Gide, one of the greatest living epic poets, acknowledges it in many of his works (*Corydon, The Counterfeiters*) with unreserved frankness. Our love is born into huts and palaces, it burns in the breast of the coal worker and the heart of the great thinker. It is as eternal as the sun and the earth, it is bliss and loving torment, it is not scum or aberration, but rather a gift from a greater hand, which we want to gratefully accept and preserve from the mud and venom of malicious misunderstanding.

The Schweizerischer Freundschafts-Verband intends to defend our love in a clear and unequivocal way against the irrational reproaches of the *Scheinwerfer*. Until today I was not a member of this organization, but this monstrous slander immediately pointed out my place beside the fighters. I address to all the homoerotics of Switzerland this urgent

appeal to support the fight with all means. It is more than a local matter; it is a question of the proof that we have pure hands, that a refined sexuality is not what binds us, but rather Eros, the eternally young god whose will is to join body and spirit into a divine unity.

Is this feeling that spans life and the world not worth the fight? Is it not worth it to purify loving people from the suspicion of animality? I believe it is. And let us never forget:

When we cease to fight, we cease to exist. "Who e'er aspiring, struggles on, for him there is salvation," sing the angels in Goethe's poem of humanity. It also holds for us—for you!<sup>12</sup>

Meier used here the pseudonym Rudolf Rheiner—a special pseudonym, since it was his birth name (see chapter 2). He also used this name when he became a member of the Schweizerischer Freundschafts-Verband on 27 May 1934.<sup>13</sup> He continued his commentary in the next issue of *S.F.B.* two weeks later, this time with the pseudonym Gaston Dubois:

### The False Picture

The internal events of the last weeks make a statement necessary. Again and again, even with educated persons, one comes up against a completely distorted picture of our kind. It would be amusing, if it did not have a tragic effect for us, what all falls under the concept of homosexuality. Equated with all the sick pictures of sexual pathology, the pure picture of a life-feeling becomes not only distorted and deformed, but also, scientifically or unscientifically, falsified.

The common designation "homosexuality" lays the tone in a fateful way on only corporal things. It is the curse of our time that it separates sex from Eros, that it no longer knows complete devotion. The generation before us did not dare to give the body its natural right; statues and poems prove this sufficiently. But today's man is also in error when he believes he is able to dispense with the soul. A humanly worthy life is only there, where a being strives in the blessed totality of his earthly existence. And on whom of us would the love force of a true marriage of man and woman not beam back! Who of us would not admire and bless it without envy! To whom would it occur, speaking of heterosexuality, to apply a medical statement to a splendidly formed life! It is love.

It is love—also with us. It remains Eros—there and here. Does it occur to anyone to want to know the many acts that testify to love in a happy marriage, which Van der Velde still allows from a legal and church standpoint, which have always been present with man and woman?<sup>14</sup> Only a falsely conceived religiosity or bodily inferiority would be capa-

ble of this. What two human beings do happily and fit for life can never be against nature or ugly; the great feeling of complete devotion enables it.

This moral evaluation, in accordance with logical thinking, is granted to every adult citizen of the state. It is only for the homoerotic that until today this is not granted by the general public. On what grounds?

Childlessness? Even in a fruitless marriage the erotic has an essential meaning. Devotion is indeed not merely a physical occurrence, but rather just as much the intimate exchange of psychic forces. Wherever two human beings are joined in the complete affirmation of their existence, this great mystery repeats itself. Whoever is not capable of this feeling will always remain fixed in animality and never understand the loving man.

The "abnormal"? It would go beyond the bounds of this article, if one treated this accusation if only by indication. Just this much: What is born of an inner compulsion and, without harming the least right of others, gives the strength to daily master life cannot be "abnormal," at most a variety of the norm. The variations of the homoerotic are naturally just as multiple as those of man-wife ties and only the extreme examples are also externally noticeable in the masculine woman, in the feminine man. By far the greatest part, however, is never recognized by the general public; who, however, again and again set the homoerotic equal to the scandalous affairs that become known now and then. They completely forget that it would be just as ridiculous to equate an un-touchable marriage with the rape of a girl or a rape-slaying.

The inertia of thinking always cuts the homoerotic off from the path to an understanding of his kind, of his being. That minors must be protected, misuse of dependency or even force must be punished, is self-evident for every civilized homoerotic. He wants no special law, no exceptional position in public life. It lies far from him to carry on any kind of propaganda. He only rejects being a pariah and will only, again and again, stand up with all determination for the purity of his feeling of life, the cleanness of his disposition.

He is also a citizen of a state and in the majority of cases an outstanding citizen. Precisely the typical attributes of his being: to open up to people of the same sex, to be able to throw his own person always completely independently into the scales for a good cause, predestine him to be a selfless coworker, a responsible leader. It is tragic enough when malicious misunderstanding and narrow-mindedness deprive him from one day to the next of all his years-long untiring and recognized capabilities, as soon as his life-feelings become known. Still a curious

logic! One forgives a young man his syphilitic whore, a double and triple adultery, but not a homoerotic friend. He can be the most trustworthy official, the most brilliant teacher, the most fascinating artist: thoughtless mediocrity has the right to dirty him daily.

Whoever has experienced this for a decade with open understanding and again and again, he knows the necessity of this quiet struggle against the mountain of hollow misunderstanding. But he will never cease to tear down the false picture and to raise the beloved picture of him and many thousands over all roofs, so that all eyes will see more clearly and all hearts judge more correctly.<sup>15</sup>

In July 1934 Meier (this time as “Karl Pfenninger”) again commented on the situation in Germany, or rather on the reporting in the German exile press of the murder of Ernst Röhm on 30 June. He criticized the “low journalism” that “again for the thousand-and-so time” equates homosexuality “with depravity, bestiality, scum of humanity.” Meier stressed, in contrast, that “the latest events in Germany . . . [have] as much to do with the genuine *essence of homosexuality* as a bordello with a happy marriage.”<sup>16</sup> According to Alexander Zinn:

If Pfenninger contradicted with this the essential connection between homosexuality and National Socialism, which had been asserted by the majority of the exile press, then he had to lead such a belief to an absurdity . . . by stressing that “the *defamation* of homoeroticism” in Germany “began immediately with the assumption of power by Hitler,” i.e., not for the first time with the murder of Röhm. Furthermore—thus Pfenninger contradicts a broader paradigm of the exile discourse—Röhm had no effect in favor of homosexuals, but rather, quite the contrary, allowed the “death blow to the whole movement of enlightenment.”<sup>17</sup>

Pfenninger also called attention to the alliance between the exile periodicals and National Socialism regarding the condemnation of homosexuality: “If one picks up the various papers, the journalists of the most extreme political directions are still united in one thing: in making homoerotic inclinations contemptible.”<sup>18</sup> Two months later the *Schweizerisches Freundschafts-Banner* continued to criticize the exile press for their use of homosexuality in political discussions. Zinn notes: “The arguments that were brought forth were not only new within the frame of the exile discourse; they indicated that the anonymous author was at least in contact with many German emigrants, if not even himself an emigrant.”<sup>19</sup> The “anonymous author” (probably Meier again) wrote:

An end should finally be put to this kind of fighting, especially if one were to become aware, in this Czech-German, presumably emigrant