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Shaping Western Views of Homosexuality in 20th Century Europe Through Community

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Shaping Western Views of Homosexuality in Early 20th Century Europe Through Community

A thesis presented in Candidacy for Departmental Honors in

History

from

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

By

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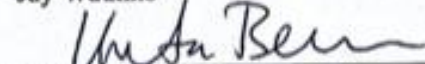
Accepted for Honors



Amy Limoncelli



Jay Watkins



~~Loisa Moyer~~ Tuská Benes

Table of Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	3
<i>Introduction</i>	4
<i>Chapter One: 1890-1918</i>	18
<i>Chapter 2: 1918-1928</i>	46
<i>Chapter 3: 1928-1940</i>	65
<i>Epilogue</i>	89
<i>Conclusion</i>	93
<i>Appendix</i>	96
<i>Bibliography</i>	97

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Introduction

In the summer of 1892, a reformer and queer activist, John Addington Symonds, would ask an acquaintance to write a book with him about homosexuality or “Sexual Inversion”. Although Symonds didn’t know it, the person Symonds wrote to, Havelock Ellis, was already beginning to write a book on the topic, looking at it from a psychological, rather than social or historical approach.¹ Once the two realized that they were both passionate about developing an area of sexual research many wouldn’t touch for its taboo nature, they were quick to share all of their knowledge and interpretations of what homosexuality meant in society. Their collaboration and understanding of homosexuality through working on this book would start a transnational discussion about homosexuality over the next forty years. Those who worked on *Sexual Inversion*, were well acquainted with the writers, or had read and done their own studies became part of a community that began advocating for the rights of homosexual individuals.

This thesis will discuss this community of transnational sexual reformers and their influence on public and private views of homosexuality between the 1890s to the 1930s. Sexual reformers believed in changing laws and social beliefs around restricting or regulating sex. This community of sexual reformers had ties to the World League for Sexual Reform (WLSR), an international organization that operated from 1928 to 1935. The WLSR discussed birth control, sexual education, prostitution, venereal disease, and, of course, homosexuality in terms of the law and society. By analyzing the few leading figures who studied homosexuality and sexology at the beginning of the 20th century, I have found that the correspondence and discussion of homosexuality or ‘sexual inversion’ created a transnational network between Britain and the rest of Europe. Without this transnational community, discussions of homosexuality would never

¹ Havelock Ellis to JA Symonds, June 18, 1892, in *John Addington Symonds and Homosexuality: A Critical Edition of Sources*, edited by Sean Brady (2012), 218.

have had as much influence or impact on nations' perceptions of queer individuals. Specifically, the dialogue amongst individuals from different nations helped promote social change for a transnational homosexual community and brought a desire for social change into the public and international eye.² This dialogue also made information about homosexuality more accessible to queer individuals. These impacts on the public were similar in the United States, Germany, and Britain, where more of the public and social movements became involved in discussions and fights for equality, even if the government and courts ignored attempts for change. These were less common in Spain, where sexual reformers focused on shifting the views of homosexuality from the morality of the Catholic Church to that of eugenics in both social setting and the law. What sprung from these conversations between the public and private community were the basis for many definitions of homosexuality the West still uses today including its relationship to identity, gender, and social recognition.

The individuals I chose to focus on include a variety of members from the World League for Sexual Reform. Not all of them were members, but those that weren't, still corresponded with those in the organization. These include Dora Russell, a British sexual education reformer and feminist; Emma Goldman, an American anarchist and social reformer; and Havelock Ellis, a British psychologist who was one of the leading writers and sexologists on homosexuality in Europe. I primarily chose these individuals because of their diverse correspondence and diverse backgrounds. These individuals communicated with Magnus Hirschfeld, a German physician,

² The World League for Sexual Reform believed they were international, but the organization only included Western and European voices, often excluding countries in Africa and Asia, unless they were under Imperial rule. Most British colonies had the same laws on homosexuality as Britain, and many retained or made similar laws after independence. The League also included Bolshevik Russian social reformers, but many only participated on a small scale.

reformer, sexologist, and founder of the first medical school that specialized in studying sex.³ Hirschfeld and Ellis studied sex from a scientific point of view, using medical data collection, psychological theories, eugenics under the discipline known as sexology. Social reformers in the early 20th century used science to give justification and legitimacy to their arguments for reforms and change. Many sexual reformers were also sexologists, but not all were using science and medicine in their arguments. For example, all of these individuals also conversed with Edward Carpenter, gay activist, poet, socialist, and British reformer, who never associated himself with science.⁴ Most importantly I chose, all three of these individuals because they communicated outside of Britain with publishers and reformers from the US, Canada, Russia, and Western Europe.

I am using a transnational perspective for this thesis to situate this study within the interwar internationalist movement. Many causes during this time turned towards transnationalism to gain support including peace movements, suffrage, labor, religion, and social reforms. Sexual Reforms were no exception when it came to social movements trying to gain transnational support to insight change. The World League for Sexual Reform, by current standards can be described as internationalism because individuals in the organization were representing their national government and their countries views on sexual reform. Founded in 1928, the League had approximately 110,000 members, with members primarily from the United Kingdom and Germany.⁵ They prided themselves on using science to emphasize their reform, and the League gained several notable figures including Margaret Sanger and Sigmund Freud.

³ Ralf Dose and Edward H. Willis, *Magnus Hirschfeld: The Origins of the Gay Liberation Movement* (NYU Press, 2014).

⁴ Sheila Rowbotham, *Edward Carpenter: A Life of Liberty and Love* (London: Verso, 2008).

⁵ Ralf Dose and Pamela Eve Selwyn, "The World League for Sexual Reform: Some Possible Approaches" *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12, (Texas University Press, 2003), 2.

The Third Congress of the League was the first to gain global attention as the event circulated through the press in Europe and the United States. Nations represented were primarily from Europe but also included a handful of other countries such as Japan, Argentina, Egypt, and Russia. Unlike the World League for Sexual Reform, the sexual reform community I am focusing on did not represent themselves by or associate specifically with their national governments when discussing ideas of homosexual reform. Emphasizing that this group was transnational rather than international also addresses the argument that using the term internationalism “may reproduce a Western bias and dominance within theoretical models of gender and sexual identity.”⁶ While my essay discusses internationalism with the Western lens in mind, I want to make clear that it is not stating that the Western view of sexuality should be considered the dominate theoretical modal for sexuality. Quite a few of these ideas by sexologists and sexual reformers were filled with bias, racism, classism, and sexism. Rather, this essay should show how queer individuals were able to use the systems of their time and place (such as transnationalism) to find a more understanding community to raise support for the sexual equality they could not find in their respective nations.

In terms of the scope of transnationalism, I will be focusing predominately on Great Britain and Germany. The interwar still held tensions between Germany and Great Britain from WWI, but sexual reformers in this transnational community did not hold the same tension in their relationship because of their shared commitment to their cause. Both nations had the most individuals involved in the World League for Sexual Reform and the Sexual Reform movement, however, prior to WWII, much of the German work was destroyed by Nazis. In this essay, I will be primarily using British sexologists and writings because it is what survives from this

⁶ Jon Binnie, *The Globalization of Sexuality* (Sage Publications, 2004), 147.

transnational community. Through British sexologists, the work done across many nations still survives and although it might be biased, it still holds truths that would otherwise have been lost.

Previous historians have written about individuals in this group or about homosexual laws and underground queer societies in Europe. Many have come to the conclusion that the “nineteenth century ‘created’ the homosexual, formulating a person with particular, identifiable characteristics.”⁷ However, no historian discussed the impacts that Havelock Ellis, Edward Carpenter, Dora Russell, Emma Goldman, and Magnus Hirschfeld had on one another in a larger network or as a community.⁸ I will argue that there was a community filled with social reformers, political activists, psychologists, and many who overlapped in these fields. Because of their close community, they also influenced one another’s ideas. Several would give their books and papers to each other to read and edit. It seems that in their business, academics, and personal lives, this community also shared and influenced perspectives of homosexuality for themselves as well as for those outside the community. I want to focus on this transnational community and its connections, building on the previous narratives that were either too narrow or too broad in their scope. I plan to provide a new narrative that places transnational dialogues of homosexuality at the forefront of shaping homosexual identity in the early twentieth century.

In the case of terminology, I will primarily be using homosexuality when referring to ideas and theories made by the community of sexologists during the time. When not referring to their ideas, their works, or the labels these individuals gave themselves, I will use the term queer

⁷ Neil Miller, “Introduction,” *Out of the Past: Gay and Lesbian History from 1869 to the Present* (New York: Alyson Books, 2006), xvi.

⁸ For Individual Biographies: Ralf Dose and Edward H. Willis, *Magnus Hirschfeld: The Origins of the Gay Liberation Movement* (NYU Press, 2014). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qg6t2>; John Johnson, *Havelock Ellis and his 'Studies in the psychology of sex,'* Cambridge University Press 2018 (Br J Psychiatry: 1979 May) 522-7; Martha Solomon, *Emma Goldman* (Boston, 1987).; Sheila Rowbotham, *Edward Carpenter: a Life of Liberty and Love* (London; Verso, 2008).

because the labels that were used during the time do not always reflect the same labels used today. This term will account for the differences between present day and early 20th century labels.

For my analysis, I used these sexologists' and social reformers' papers and correspondences to explore this community during the early 20th century. I will also be analyzing documentation and speeches that these individuals created in meetings versus individual speeches on tours around the world. Other primary source documentation includes newspapers from events where these individuals were together, biographies of people's life experiences spreading their ideas, and personal reflections of this community.

My project will be split into three chapters. The first will cover the time frames 1890-1918, the second will cover 1919-1928, and the third will cover 1928-1940. I choose these time frames because 1890 is the start of the decade where the Oscar Wilde trials occurred, prominent works about homosexuality were published, and *Psychology of Sex* was being written.⁹ 1918 is the end of WWI and the end of Emma Goldman's tour across the United States. This section marks the beginning of transnational communication about homosexuality, the importance of a growing community, and the formation of the goals it strived to achieve. Although reform groups for homosexuality already existed in the German-speaking world, my second section will explore the profound shifts transnational movements took to expand knowledge around the issue of homosexuality. It also marks the rise in acceptance of queer individuals in Central Europe, while ending with the end of the Roaring Twenties into a worldwide depression. The twenties also reflected how the community grew in influence, leading to a creation of new members. The last

⁹ *Psychology of Sex* was published in 1900 and written by Havelock Ellis, JA Symonds, and Edward Carpenter. It was one of the most influential books of its time when it came to its European influence on views of homosexuality. The first of its kind to be written for all of Europe as a response to the ideas of homosexuality being presented in Germany in the 1860s to 80s.

section marks the year of the London Congress for the WLSR, the height of the organization on the international stage from 1928 to the beginning of WWII. Here the community reached its largest influence yet before its fall, working with diverse ideas to try and achieve its goal of helping homosexuals in society.

In each subsection of the chapters, I will be discussing the connections between individuals on a personal level to establish that there is a sense of community. For this essay, the definition of community is “a group of people who share the same interests, pursuits, or occupation, esp. when distinct from those of the society in which they live.”¹⁰ This group was interested in sexology, specifically homosexuality and how to define it in society. All of these individuals also pursued a way to share this knowledge about homosexuality in a way that would change public opinion and create social action. Most importantly, this group of individuals tried to come up with a “shared identity” for those who did not fit into society’s sexual expectations and were “distinct” from society for this reason.¹¹ This shared identity created familiarity, personal connections, relatability, and trust, which I also want to include in the definition of this community, as it was not only an academic setting but a personal one as well. The transnational community and shared identity are important to this group’s groups sense of belonging because the nations these individuals were living in excluded this non-heteronormative identity.

After establishing that there was a community during this time, I will talk about how individuals in the transnational community challenged and changed each other’s opinions of homosexuality, leading to more questioning and attempts at understanding and creating a “shared

¹⁰ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “community, n.”, September 2023.

¹¹ Neal Carnes uses this “shared identity” for their definition of a queer community, which is what this transnational community would eventually become. To learn more about modern definitions and debates about queer identity and community read Neal Carnes, *Queer Community: Identities, Intimacies, and Ideology* (Milton: Taylor & Francis Group, 2019), Accessed October 31, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central.

identity” and queer community. I am using the queer community in this essay as it is the 21st-century term closest to the community these men and women described in their works. Finally, the third subsection in each category will discuss the attempts made by this community of sexologists and queer individuals to change perspectives of homosexuality in European nations. Many historians have written about these influences from individuals before, but I want to re-examine this idea from the lens of community. How a community with transnational influences affected the way individuals engaged in ideas of homosexuality in their other social movements. The community and individuals’ efforts for removing prejudice towards homosexuals were ultimately unsuccessful in changing the public on a large scale, but they did give more information to queer individuals about other experiences, reducing isolation.

Historical Background

Social and legal perceptions of homosexuality in the early 1900s were different across Europe. In Britain and Germany, the awakening of homosexuality to the public eye came from legal trials and scandal splashed across newspapers and gossip magazines. The three trials that brought homosexuality to the forefront of upper-class sexual fears the 1890s was those of the famous writer Oscar Wilde. Oscar Wilde was known to cause quite the scandal. In his college days he threw grand parties, had extravagant costumes, wrote several elaborate love letters.¹² What truly brought Wilde into all his trouble was his affair with a young man Lord Alfred Douglas, the son of a very wealthy Marquess of Queensbury. The first trial was Wilde’s doing, he claimed that the Marquess was libeling him as a “sodomite.”¹³ Oscar did not win the trial and his luck would become worse as the next month Wilde would be on trial twice by the Queen for

¹² Salamensky, S. I, “Re-Presenting Oscar Wilde: Wilde’s Trials, ‘Gross Indecency,’ and Documentary Spectacle.” *Theatre Journal* 54, no. 4 (2002): 575–88.

¹³ Joseph Bristow, “The Blackmailer and the Sodomite: Oscar Wilde on Trial” *Feminist Theory* vol 17 iss 1 (Sage Publications, 2016), 41-61.

being a “sodomite.”¹⁴ Despite Wilde’s quick wit, clever puns, and ability to lie through flowery language, many of his staff and neighbors betrayed him.¹⁵ On the second trial, he was tried under the Criminal Law Act of 1885 or the Labouchere Amendment. The clause in the amendment stated that “gross indecency,” or all homosexual acts, were illegal even in the privacy of one’s own home.¹⁶ Oscar Wilde was sentenced to two years of hard labor in solitary confinement, the maximum sentence one could receive for this crime. He then died shortly after he was released because of the detrimental affects the trial and sentence had on his mental health.¹⁷ Many were shocked by the news of the trial because Oscar Wilde was a famous writer, but also because of his status in society amongst the upper-class. The publication of the trial made homosexuality appear as an ever-present threat for the upper and middle-class reading the papers, leading to more regulation and police raiding of potential homosexual hubs of activity in London.¹⁸ Even more concerning to the public was the scandal and trial in Germany where one officer in the Kaiser Wilhelm II’s circle was outed as gay, General Kuno von Moltke. This led to the public questioning if the Kaiser was also part of this queer circle. An investigation ensued, outing of hundreds of men that were working with or under the Kaiser. The same year in 1907 a trial took place claiming Moltke’s innocence, but the damaged reputation of the government and the men involved had already been done.¹⁹

¹⁴ Bristow, “The Blackmailer and the Sodomite,” 41-61.

¹⁵ S. I. Salamensky, “Re-Presenting Oscar Wilde: Wilde’s Trials, ‘Gross Indecency,’ and Documentary Spectacle,” *Theatre Journal* 54, no. 4 (2002): 575–88.

¹⁶ Robert William Burne, “Section 11.” *The Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1885* (London: 1885), 6.

¹⁷ Franz X. Eder, Lesley A. Hall., and Gert Hekma, *Sexual Cultures in Europe* (Manchester University Press, 1999). archive.org/details/sexualculturesin0000unse/page/n5/mode/2up. 86-88.

¹⁸ Florence Tamagne, *A History of Homosexuality in Europe: Berlin, London, Paris 1919-1939*. vol 1. (Algora Publishing, 2004), 68.

¹⁹ Colin Spencer, *Homosexuality: a History* (London: 1995), 313.

Many newspapers, letters, general gossip, and police reports revealed the hidden lives of gays and lesbians outside of the legal trials. Small to large groups of queer men and women would form in larger cities such as London, Berlin, Paris, and the United States. London queer culture was the most underground out of all these cities because of the continuous police raids and attempts on the government to crack down on social “issues.” Nevertheless, many homosexual upper-class men still had a culture and presentation through fashion and dramatics Oscar Wilde highlighted in his works. This created a stereotype surrounding upper-class homosexual men, which at first was used as code, but later became a persecution. Many would also go out to bars and coffee houses, claiming them unofficially as their spots of communication. Queer culture also existed in the lower and working classes in London, but many of these men would seek out places that had typically high crime rates including with prostitution, ports, and gambling for secretive affairs.²⁰ Homosexual lower-class men were often caught more than the upper classes because of their inability to find places of privacy and the bias police officers had on patrols.²¹

New York was also a place of underground homosexual activity. Many queer individuals of all classes would use public places as the best distraction for their secret meeting and sexual affairs. Unlike London, however, queer balls for the middle-class were popular with wide fashions that allowed or were reported by the public. A popular location was the Webster Hall, where many went to see drag shows, especially in the 1920s.²² New York was not alone in this fashionable display of sexuality. Balls from New York were inspired by those in Berlin and Paris where the queer experience was more open and accepted. The balls in these European cities were

²⁰ Colin Spencer, *Homosexuality: a History*, 324.

²¹ George Chauncey, *Gay New York, 1890-1940* (New York, Basic Books, 1994), 48.

²² George Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 237.

much grander, but so were bars and saloons which were advertised specifically for queer clientele.²³ At the end of the 1920s to early 30s this queer accepting culture was criticized, especially in Berlin with the rise of Nazi propaganda. But for a moment, Berlin and was the hub of this elaborate culture and with it came bursting new ideas of what it meant to love someone of the same sex.

On the other side of the social history of homosexuality was the scientific developments beginning in the 19th century. Debates about homosexuality from a scientific, rather than a moral standpoint came about in the 1800s in Germany. This is not surprising considering the earlier discussion of more freedom and acceptance of homosexuality in Berlin. There were arguments for and against homosexuality on the scientific front. Even from the beginning of defining homosexuality, the argument for its decriminalization was always under question. One of the first men to advocate for the decriminalization of homosexuality was Karl Ulrichs, a social scientist and political activist, as well as a gay man from the mid 19th century. Ulrichs would be the first to try and find a term for his sexual feelings calling it “uranism (‘the heart of a woman in the body of a man’).”²⁴ This term, invented by Ulrichs in the 1860s, attempted to combat the terms “pederast” and “sodomite” which previously were in a negative and criminal context. He, however, was not the one to come up with the term homosexuality. This would come from another German Hungarian, Karl Maria Kertbery in 1869 who fought for decriminalization of sex between men in Prussia.²⁵ Next would come Richard Krafft-Ebbing, who would make great strides in the homosexual scientific field but would erase much of Ulrich’s ideology. Most notably Kaftt-Ebing in his work *Pychopathia Sexualis* argued that homosexuality was a disease

²³ Florence Tamagne. *A History of Homosexuality in Europe*, 68.

²⁴ Florence Tamange *A History of Homosexuality in Europe*, 211.

²⁵ Neil Miller, *Out of the Past: Gay and Lesbian History from 1869 to the Present*: Neil Miller (New York: Alyson Books, 2006), 14.

or mental illness that an individual did not choose to act on. This turned homosexuality away from a moral problem into a medical problem. Krafft-Ebing also argued for the degeneracy of homosexuality, the idea that certain moral or internal diseases were making society or individuals weaker.²⁶ Homosexuality, he concluded, was making humanity less fit to survive and was a bad or unhealthy trait. These theories and the term “Homo-sexual” became incredibly popular amongst sexologists and the public after Ebing’s popularity rose in Germany. This was a negative theory of homosexuality, that placed previous arguments and arguments thereafter for homosexuality in the minority. Although it no longer painted homosexuals as criminals, the theory still made homosexuality a social problem that needed to be solved or fixed. This medicalization of homosexuality and its interpretation as a disease did not come back into the prominent minds of doctors and psychologists until the 1940s. Until that point, most homosexual men and women interviewed by psychologists agreed that they believed their homosexuality was ‘natural’ and abnormal was only a stigmatized label placed on them by society.²⁷

The studies on homosexuality continued into the late 19th century when more scientists and medical professionals, such as psychologists, moved past concepts of morality advocated by Christian denominations. Many leaned more towards scientific or psychological answers for social phenomena during the turn of the century. Instead of the degenerate theory, psychologists turned towards a more “humane approach” of seeing homosexuals as people who were “inverted,” “perverted,” or “deviants,” all terms meaning diverting from the norm. All these terms could describe anything from cross-dressing, transgender individuals, to homosexuals.

²⁶ Ralph M Leck, *Vita Sexualis: Karl Ulrichs and the Origins of Sexual Science* (University of Illinois Press, 2016).

²⁷ Rictor Norton also writes that some homosexuals thought they were superior to heterosexuals on account of their artistic abilities. Rictor Norton, *Myth of the Modern Homosexual: Queer History and the Search for Cultural Unity* (Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 1997), ProQuest Ebook Central.

This was different than seeing homosexuality as weak or degrading to humanity but did not take away the negative association that homosexuals were different from other people. Iwan Bloch and other sexologists in the early 1890s attempted to categorize two types of homosexuals to fight Kraft-Ebing's theory: those who were born gay and who should be left alone, and others whom they believed could be "cured."²⁸ The terminology used was "true homosexuals" for those that they believed were born gay and "pseudo-homosexuals" for those who had become that way from their environment or "psychological problems".²⁹ Magnus Hirschfeld, Havelock Ellis, and Dora Russell were part of this group of individuals. J.A. Symonds and Edward Carpenter struggled with the idea of "pseudo-homosexuals" or bisexuality, often struggling to see it as unnatural, but also still viewing it as a disease. All sexologists and social reformers debated differently how someone could become homosexual. One thing they all agreed on though was that being homosexual was not something someone could control or change easily. These ideas also changed over time, softening scientific terminology, or becoming more complex as the community began to change one another's perspectives.

Gender and sexuality were linked for most definitions and labels of identity. It was only at the beginning of the twentieth century that the term transvestite and transexual became a distinct category. The terms were coined by Magnus Hirschfeld in his case studies from 1910. In his *Die Transvestiten* where he distinguished transvestite, from homosexuals, masochists, fetishes, and typical heterosexuality.³⁰ Transvestite would go on to mean for Hirschfeld, one who

²⁸ Max Hoddan, *History of Modern Morals*. Translated by Stella Browne (London: William Heinman, 1937), 57.

²⁹ Originally coined by Iwan Bloch, "The Riddle of Homosexuality" *Sexual Life in Our Time*. (London: William Heinemann (Medical books) September 1908), 489. Also used in Havelock Ellis's *The Psychology of Sex*.

³⁰ Darryl B. Hill, "Sexuality and Gender in Hirschfeld's *Die Transvestiten*: A Case of the 'Elusive Evidence of the Ordinary,'" *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 14, 316.

changes their gendered clothing and gender expression, from transexual, one who desires medical surgery to change one's sex.³¹ These writings were to help a separate group of people, but also fell under the category of "sexual inverts." Homosexuality and Transgender identities have a linked history through studies, but they also are linked through altering and changing definitions. It is difficult to put present labels on individuals of the early 1900s who only identified by labels of the time. I will include transvestitism and transsexuality in this work to recognize the overlap between these terms and perceptions of homosexuality.

As mentioned earlier, eugenics was a major part of these sexologists' lives. This is especially true of the community that I focus on. This essay is in no way promoting the idea of eugenics. It is included to help acknowledge the flaws within the community, but also to be a reminder of the time and its perceptions. Eugenics will be included in a variety of chapters as a frame of reference, but also to understand the community's complex interpretation of homosexuality and sexual reform.

Most of the terminology and ideas presented by sexologists of the early 1900s are not present today. However, their legacy and inspiration to promote transnational decriminalization of homosexuality continues in fights for equality. The transnational community of sexologists, social reformers, and queer members proves that discussions of homosexuality were no longer isolated incidents in the coming of the 20th century. Through education, personal letters, publications, and speeches, what it meant to be a homosexual was opened to a broader audience outside of sin and criminality. Recognizing these small achievements towards sexual equality gives back agency to many queer individuals who fought for this cause, but had it stripped away

³¹ Susan Stryker, "Chapter 1. An Introduction to Transgender Concepts," *Transgender History*, 2009, 18.

after their death. It also provides clues to understanding how the understanding of homosexuality has grown in a scientific and social way.

Chapter One: 1890-1918

According to historian Florence Tamagne, “the years 1869-1919 were the [...] foundation upon which the homosexual “liberation” of the 1920s was built.”³² It was during these early years of the 20th century that a group of individuals began a deep discussion of what homosexuality meant to society at large. In the century prior, German Kraft-Ebling’s wrote about the importance of using science to understand homosexuality. However, by the end of the 1800s a series of scandals led many individuals wanting to counter the argument that homosexuals were morally corrupt. A contributing factor to these upper-class men’s fight to stand against moral cruelty was the fear of public exposure like the Oscar Wilde trial in 1895. Growing communications and travel across countries, made transnational communication and publication an appealing objective for many social reformers who could find others like them to support their causes. Reformers fighting for homosexual equality and understanding quickly picked up on this transnational tactic as well. Many individuals in this forming community came from a variety of backgrounds such as writers, psychologists, and social activists, but all wanted to understand sexuality either for themselves or the people in their lives. It was through this attempt to understand, that information about homosexuality began to spread. The most prominent figures to discuss, understand and fight for homosexual right were Edward Carpenter, John Addington Symonds, and Havelock Ellis.

Edward Carpenter and JA Symonds lived parallel lives at an early age, making it easy to see how their interests aligned. Both grew up as upper-class young men in Britain who hid their

³² Tamagne, *A History of Homosexuality in Europe*, 18.

homosexuality but understood it from a young age.³³ Both wrote to the poet Walt Whitman about their homosexuality and the two later were inspired to become poets. Carpenter and Symonds did not know each other in their youth, but they both tried to understand how their sexuality fit into a society that viewed homosexuality as a sin. As they got more into their respective studies, however, their social and intellectual experiences began to change their philosophies on homosexuality. Carpenter became a strong advocate for a labour movement in Britain and supported the lower working-class homosexual community. In his early adulthood, Carpenter joined the Socialist Party and tried to raise funds for projects to help with poor living conditions throughout England. Later he would go on to write lots of works revealing these poor living conditions.³⁴ Carpenter would also work in philosophy, anthropology, and literature. Next to his works on homosexuality, Edward Carpenter is most known for his book on his travels *From Adam's Peak to Elephanta*.³⁵ JA Symonds, although interacting sometimes with the lower class, did not support or try to extend his interest in homosexuality to lower-class men.³⁶ His published works included *A Problem in Greek Ethics* and *A Problem in Modern Ethics*.³⁷ However, these his works on homosexuality were privately published because of his fear of criticism and closeness to his own homosexual relations. Both works addressed homosexuality with Greek myths and from Symonds experiences. The main Greek myths and stories Symonds addresses

³³ This was at least according to their papers.

³⁴ Edward Carpenter, *England's Ideal and other Papers on Social Subjects* (London: S. Sonnenschein & co, 1887).

³⁵ Edward Carpenter, "Preface," *From Adam's Peak to Elephanta: Sketches in Ceylon and India* (London: S. Sonnenschein & co, 1892).

³⁶ Simon Joyce, "Toward an Intermediate Sex: Edward Carpenter's Queer Palimpsests," *LGBT Victorians: Sexuality and Gender in the Nineteenth Century Archives* (August 2022).

³⁷ John Addington Symonds, *A Problem in Greek Ethics* (London: 1908); John Addington Symonds, *A Problem in Modern Ethics* (London: 1896).

are of Achilles and Patroclus, but also the love of Herakles with his squire Iolaus and a lesser-known warrior Cleomachus.³⁸

When it came to perceptions of homosexuality, Edward Carpenter and John Addington Symonds had similar perspectives. Carpenter believed, just as Symonds did, in the idea that homosexuality was natural, not from sin or disease. Both also use the Greeks in their justification for homosexuality, as well as other notable figures like Michelangelo and Shakespeare, commonly known gay figures at the time. Michelangelo and Shakespeare became common gay figures because of the rise of interest in scholarly pursuits of literature and the arts in the mid 1800s. Upper-class homosexuals, men and women, were especially aware of historical and literary gay figures because it was used as a way to communicate homosexuality secretly. But Carpenter would do something that Symonds never did, and that was include gender into his definition of homosexuality. Carpenter emphasized that there could be masculine and feminine characteristics in homosexuals calling them a “third sex.” Later in life he argued against queer stereotypes, believing this sex was more internal than external.³⁹ Carpenter did believe that gender was more fluid because of this and many of his ideas reflect gender queerness found today.⁴⁰ Symonds, on the other hand, believed sexuality and gender did not mix and that his love towards men was masculine in nature. This may have been because of Symonds’ aversion to being seen as effeminate by society, but his point still helped to challenge stereotypes often associated at the time with gay men.⁴¹ While they agreed on most things, Symonds and

³⁸ John Addington Symonds, *A Problem in Greek Ethics*. (London: 1908).

³⁹ Simon Joyce, “Toward an Intermediate Sex: Edward Carpenter’s Queer Palimpsests,” *LGBT Victorians: Sexuality and Gender in the Nineteenth-Century Archives* (Oxford, 2022; online edn, Oxford Academic, 22 Sept. 2022).

⁴⁰ Gender Queerness is when someone does not fit into the expectations of a specific gender, for this time period those genders include man or woman.

⁴¹ Simon Joyce, 'John Addington Symonds and the Problems of Ethical Homosexuality.'

Carpenter still brought up disagreements on definitions of homosexuality many scholars would tackle hundreds of years later.

Despite this lack of information on his own sexuality, Havelock Ellis also had a lot of ideas and opinions about the psychology of sexuality in society. Ellis did not use as much Greek or historical precedent for his beliefs except in his works that cited Symonds. Ellis argued that homosexuality was not morally wrong or a crime. At the same time, he still argued whether homosexuality could be prevented or cured in younger children “if the perversion does not appear to be deeply rooted in the organism.”⁴² Symonds and Carpenter never went into much detail about this part of homosexuality, mostly believing it to be natural, even in youth.

Ellis began an interest in the topic, not at a young age, but in later years, after his interest in psychology spurred questions about sexuality amongst people he knew personally. His wife’s sexuality drove him to ask questions, send letters to Sigmund Freud, and eventually team up with JA Symonds on the book *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*.⁴³ The second volume of the book *Sexual Inversion* drove Carpenter, Ellis, and JA Symonds to form a community of understanding between them based on their interest in understanding homosexuality and decriminalizing it. It is here where they changed each other’s beliefs on homosexuality, allowing them to see it from other perspectives of observation and study. Havelock Ellis would go on to write several different versions of *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, creating seven volumes. Ellis was also involved in psychology, literary critics, and eugenics. Throughout Ellis’s life, he was a firm

⁴² Havelock Ellis, “Conclusions,” *Studies in the Psychology of Sex: Sexual Inversion*. vol II (London: Whitefriars Press Ltd, 1933).

⁴³ Vincent Brome Routledge, *Havelock Ellis Philosopher of Sex: A Biography* (London: Boston and Henley, 1979).

believer in eugenics and feminism. In many of his writings, his eugenic ideas would encourage homosexual activity so that it would not continue in any children.⁴⁴

Edith Ellis and Emma Goldman would also become a part of this correspondence taking their beliefs to speeches, rather than publications like their male correspondents. Most of Edith Ellis' life is only known from Havelock Ellis' autobiography, after which he burned Edith's letters and private papers.⁴⁵ Edith Ellis was also a part of social, political, and religious groups, which Havelock Ellis would not explore in his autobiography. She wrote her own literature including a story titled *Love-Acre* and had two major lecture tours across the United States.⁴⁶ Edith Ellis would die from diabetes in 1916, but Havelock would continue to publish works in her memory years later.⁴⁷ Goldman also had little writings left from her discussions on homosexuality. Despite this, she was part of a plethora of other social and political activities because of her role in the Anarchist movement. Goldman had a variety of tours across America that included discussions of homosexuality, but these eventually led to her banishment from the United States. Goldman was a robust woman with a strong personality that was not afraid to be blunt or tough. As a part of the feminist movement as well, Goldman was not afraid of her more masculine qualities and believed that women should be allowed to display themselves however they pleased in society.⁴⁸ Goldman was critiqued from all sides because of her views on homosexuality, anarchism, and the Bolshevik revolution. Goldman had lots of views on plays,

⁴⁴ Ivan Crozier, "Havelock Ellis, eugenicist," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, vol 39, iss 2, 2008. 187-194.

⁴⁵ Jo-Ann Wallace, "How Wonderful to Die for What You Love,"; Mrs. Havelock Ellis's 'Love-Acre' (1914 as Spiritual Autobiography. *Edmonton: Victorian Studies Association of Western Canada: 2010-11*), 137.

⁴⁶ Jo-Ann Wallace, "How Wonderful to Die for What You Love," 137.

⁴⁷ Havelock Ellis Papers Corres. Between Havelock Ellis and Edward Carpenter, 1922. ADD70536. British Library Archives.

⁴⁸ Terence Kissack, *Free Comrades: Anarchism and Homosexuality in the United States, 1895-1917*. (West Virginia, 2008), 150.

marriage, and prison reform. In the later years of her life, she would write about all these experiences and efforts in her work *Living My Life*.⁴⁹ Though their works are far less known, Edith Ellis and Emma Goldman were just as important to this community and the spreading of ideas about homosexuality. From their collaboration and efforts to go public with their findings, they would all begin to change the Western European perception of homosexuality for the rest of the early 20th century.

The Formation of a Sexual Reform Community

Before diving into how these men influenced the definitions of what a European homosexual identity meant, it is important to first establish that there was a community at the turn of the century. When a homosexual community in Europe came about it was under much historical debate. The most prominent voice arguing for a community is one from Florence Tamagne. She argues that among the elites of the early 20th century “the most persuasive sign that there was a homosexual community – at the European level -is that of shared references.”⁵⁰ I believe Tamagne’s point must be extended. Not only was the first half of the 20th century filled with shared references about theories of homosexuality, but there was also a sense of shared interests, social events, deep friendships, and personal debates.⁵¹ Carpenter, Symonds, and Ellis all follow this pattern of shared references, social engagement, and debates about their opinions on sexual identity. Although all of these men were from the United Kingdom, their ideas and travels would quickly extend these ideas of homosexual identity and community to European society.

⁴⁹ Goldman, Emma, *Living My Life*. vol 2 (New York: 1931).

⁵⁰ Florence Tamagne, *A History of Homosexuality in Europe*, 264.

⁵¹ Although they came up with the idea and identity of the homosexual, many of their other thoughts and discussions about their experiences on the topic of sexuality/ gender would be part of the all-encompassing term “queer” used in the 21st century.

Firstly, common goals and opinions are indications of a strong community. One of Symonds, Carpenter, and Ellis' opinions was that mental illness and disease had nothing to do with the discussion of homosexuality. This is primarily found in all their works, both privately and publicly published. John Addington Symonds was the first of the three to write about how homosexuals, "display no signs of insanity" in his essay "A Problem in Greek Ethics" in 1883 and then again in "A Problem in Modern Ethics" from 1891.⁵² Homosexuals were "precisely like persons of normal sexual proclivities" in Symonds opinion. Havelock Ellis a few years later followed this argument stating, "sexual inversion cannot be regarded as essentially an insane or psychopathic state" found in his volume *Sexual Inversion*.⁵³ The similar wording reflects Symonds and Ellis' similar views on the matter, their similar opinions, and their similar interests, which brought them together in the first place. Ellis takes a more direct approach using "cannot", rather than "display" but for the most part their opinion of homosexuality in regard to insanity is the same. However, it must be noted that Ellis's perspective on homosexuality was still one related to psychology and attempts at prevention. Carpenter also believes that homosexuality/sexual inversion is not related to mental illness but goes about his argument in a less direct manner. Carpenter admits, "sexual inversion is not uncommonly found in connection with the specially nervous temperament" but he tries to sway this point as the nervous temperament, or most likely anxiety, being "the results rather than the causes of the inversion."⁵⁴ Carpenter does not put a hard line on his opinion as Symonds and Ellis do, but the sentiment is still a common thread amongst all of them. All believed that homosexuality should not be put in the same

⁵² John Addington Symonds, "A Problem in Modern Ethics" *John Addington Symonds and Homosexuality: A Critical Edition of Sources*. Edited by Sean Brady (2012), 203.

⁵³ Havelock Ellis, "Homosexuality," *Psychology of Sex*. (London: Whitefriars Press Ltd, 1933).

⁵⁴ Edward Carpenter, *The Intermediate Sex: A Study of Some Transitional Types of Men and Women*. Project Gutenberg (London: 1908), paragraph 62.

category as mental illness, something that set them apart from most of the medical diagnoses of the time.

Similar goals and opinions are also found in communication and letters. In fact, one of their main opinions that brought them together was their frustration with the larger medical community about educating and discussing homosexuality. Ellis brought up his distaste early on in his correspondence with Symonds describing his “quarrel with psychiatrists” in Britain who “will not even discuss the question.”⁵⁵ The question was quite broad considering it could be anything from just the topic of sex all the way to the specifics of the reasons for homosexuality. The same can be said for Symonds response who also claimed, “I am angry with the English Medical Psychologists, who will not discuss the subject.”⁵⁶ Again, “the subject” is not specified, but based on the full context and their continuing discussions of homosexuality in society, it is safe to say that the topic that most frustrates them is a lack of discussion of sex outside the normal heterosexual realm. These opinions clearly point to the fact that Ellis and Symonds had a friendship and understanding since they knew what the other is talking about without naming specificities about queerness and homosexuality. When discussing the topic with Mr. Sayle, a colleague and fellow writer on homosexuality, Symonds, “regard[...] ‘L’Amour de l’Impossible” (Impossible Love)⁵⁷ with terror,” because, “to touch it in any way with a stranger is embarrassing.”⁵⁸ Not only do Symonds and Ellis not have to directly mention the term to

⁵⁵ Havelock Ellis to JA Symonds, 1 July 1892, *John Addington Symonds and Homosexuality*, 223.

⁵⁶ JA Symonds to Ellis, 7 July 1892, *John Addington Symonds and Homosexuality: A Critical Edition of Sources*, 224.

⁵⁷ This is a reference to literature that was used as a term between homosexuals to discuss homosexuality indirectly.

⁵⁸ Symonds, *Letters of John Addington Symonds*, vol III 1840-1893 (Detroit Wayne State University Press, 1967), 95.

understand each other, but they also were on a closer level because there was no fear or hesitation on Symonds' end when discussing his opinions about homosexuality to Ellis.

Symonds also made the relationship with Ellis more personal when he shared his anger towards those who ignored or looked down on homosexuality. For someone like Symonds it was only in private matters that he discussed his emotions. Symonds, for instance, only regarded the public as "unsympathetic" in his more public works. He made small remarks on this anger with other phrases such as "reason to the energy to sneer"⁵⁹ JA Symonds was not direct about his anger towards the public. Instead, he placed several words between his reasoning and a "sneer." In one sense Symonds is literally distancing his reasoning to his anger with a series of overly complex phrasing "to the energy to." On top of this convoluted rhetoric, Symonds then followed up his "sneer" with an apology stating, "excuse this freedom of remark." For Symonds even mentioning an action of anger like a "sneer" is a step too far on a professional level.⁶⁰ But this doesn't happen with writings to Ellis. Symonds went straight to the point "I am angry." Symonds put himself "I" in direct relation to his anger. There is no complex phrasing that distances the subject, Symonds, from his anger.

This is not the only instance that Symonds refers to his anger directly in a private setting. The other time Symonds was this direct about his anger was in a private letter to his good friend, Edmund Gosse. Symonds' again refers to his anger when he learns someone has sullied Gosse's name with the help of a friend, Mrs. J. E. Butler. In response to Edmund's distress, Symonds replies, "I should like to see his instigator Mrs. J. E. Butler in prison too."⁶¹ It is unclear what the rumors were about or how Mrs. J. E. Butler was able to instigate these lies. What is clear, is that

⁵⁹ Symonds, *Letters of John Addington Symonds*, vol. III, 322.

⁶⁰ Symonds, *Letters of John Addington Symonds*, vol. III, 322.

⁶¹ Symonds, *Letters of John Addington Symonds*, vol. III, 106.

Symonds felt safe enough with Gosse to express his anger without apologizing or needing to act professional. Although this is an extreme example, it proves that Symonds' anger towards critiques was one primarily reserved for only good friends. Because Ellis received a small portion of this direct anger from Symonds, it means Symonds tried to create a relationship with Ellis and saw him as a friend. This made their situation one of friendship, another key part of building community.

I have discussed the ways in which these three created a community through similar opinions. However, that is not the only important aspect of a sense of community. As Symonds, shows in his letter to Ellis, these men were not just forming a community through their ideas and goals, but also through understanding, trust, and connections. A key part of this trust and personal connection was their relationship with queer individuals. Havelock Ellis describes how “my wife – I must say in this connection – is most anxious I should collaborate in the book and can supply cases of inversion in women from among her own friends.”⁶² Although Ellis does not state how his wife has these connections from other records and knowledge it is known that Edith was queer herself and likely Ellis had met and was familiar with these “inverted” friends.⁶³ Ellis many times before also claimed that he primarily wanted to invest time into studying homosexuality because of his personal acquaintances. Ellis is more open about his connections because he never hints at being queer in his letters, writings, or papers. This makes it quite easy to recognize that he associated with the queer community.

⁶² Havelock Ellis to JA Symonds, 1 July 1892, *John Addington Symonds and Homosexuality: A Critical Edition of Sources*, 223.

⁶³ Inversion was the term used for specific types of homosexual individuals in the 19th to 20th century. It is among many terms that are outdated. Some other outdated terms include morbidity, perversion, urning, and intermediate sexes.

JA Symonds and Carpenter also create this sense of community and understanding through their common interests and identity. They associated with the queer community but were part of it as well. Symonds and Carpenter published about their sexuality, more openly than most people. It would only be years later that some of their friends would go on to comment about their sexuality as well.⁶⁴ Both men were also able to engage in a variety of homosexual communities through the upper-class appeal of slumming, which many upper-class homosexual men did for entertainment.⁶⁵ Through this experience they had larger perceptions of homosexual culture and identity, providing input such as finding “homosexuality fairly common among the English working class as you [Symonds] do at Venice, etc.”⁶⁶ This exploration and analysis, although sometimes biased, proved the already existing ties homosexual men had outside the boundaries of England. This common experience and understanding of a wider homosexual culture in Europe made Symonds and Carpenter develop similar conclusions about their own identities and place in society. Ellis would soon become a part of this transnational community as well and it is why knowing queer individuals was the foundation for their similar opinions, goals, and comradery that would spread in the next twenty years. It is not the same as knowing if others are queer, but the familiarity to the queer community was a connection to “pederasts”. With knowing anything about it came a needed trust to protect the lives of their friends and themselves.

Trust also came through personal, rather than published writings between the two. John Addington Symonds and Edward Carpenter also wrote letters that were not seen by secretaries, the public, or the post. On Dec 29, 1892, Symonds told Carpenter, “Now, dear friend, farewell. I

⁶⁴ Symonds, *Letters of John Addington Symonds*, vol. III, 322.

⁶⁵ Colin Spencer, *Homosexuality: a History*, 324.

⁶⁶ Ellis to Symonds, 18 Jan 1893, *John Addington Symonds and Homosexuality*, 242.

put “Private” on this letter, *qui habent sua fata epistolare*.”⁶⁷ Private is indicative of personal information, meaning that Carpenter was already well acquainted with Symonds, and they value each other’s trust. The contents of the letter discuss homosexuality and letters about homosexuality with Whitman. Symonds knew about this private letter, meaning they shared this private information and were willing to entrust it to one another, again a sign of strong familiarity.

Although these men can be seen as the center of the community through their letters and publications, Edith Ellis, Havelock’s wife, and Emma Goldman, social anarchist (and friend of Carpenter), also should be included in the foundations of this community. Edith influenced Ellis to take his psychology in the direction of homosexuality. She is the one who introduced him to upper-class queer women in England, which gave him insight that Carpenter and Symonds did not have from their own homosexual experiences that he would later include in his papers. Edith Ellis quickly became involved in the book that Ellis was working on, but she also became a place of trust and deep discussion with Carpenter in later years. Edith became so close with Edward Carpenter, she later made a speech about her “Personal Impressions of Edward Carpenter,” where she praises him and comments on her relationship with him, “talking out all things from sex to psychism”⁶⁸ Edith also went on to transcribe and edit JA Symonds “Untitled Essay” discussing his homosexuality in relation to the Ancient Greeks.⁶⁹ She also supported and understood Symonds and Carpenter’s arguments, which is why she stood up for them, like in her

⁶⁷ JA Symonds, *The Letters of John Addington Symonds* vol. II 1885-1893. edited by Herbert M. Schueller and Robert L Peters (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1969), 799.

⁶⁸ Edith Ellis. *Personal Impressions of Edward Carpenter*, (The Free Spirit Press, Berkely Heights: 1922), 15.

⁶⁹ Sean Brady, *John Addington Symonds and Homosexuality: A Critical Edition of Sources*, 209. This had originally been in German as it was meant to be a rebuttal to Kraft-Ebling and Ulrich’s works from previous years.

speech on Carpenter and shared them, like publishing Symonds essay. The one thing that is not known from Edith's published works is her opinions and goals about homosexuality. Despite this lack of intellectual discussion in her writings, she still had trust, understanding, and connections with Symonds, Ellis, and Carpenter. She felt she was part of "a minority of us more tolerant and understanding" than the rest of upper-class British society.⁷⁰ Thus, she felt she was part of this distinct community that valued tolerating and understanding homosexual identities, just as much as her husband.

Emma Goldman also can be considered a part of this early community, although she would never meet Symonds and only become close contacts with Ellis, and Carpenter until later years. Nevertheless, she also began to promote for understanding of homosexuality and for more discussions of it in public places through her speeches across the United States.⁷¹ Emma Goldman was an Anarchist who even amongst her own community was seen as more radical for her support of feminist movements and promotion of free love, which extended to homosexuality.⁷² From the beginning Goldman was an outsider amongst outsiders for her promotion of gendered social justice. It was through her similar opinions that she joined this community of intellectuals. Goldman can also be considered a part of this founding community because "she learned much of what she knew about homosexuality from her friends and acquaintances."⁷³ Her dedication to learning about homosexuality from her friends, proves the personal relationship that Goldman had with homosexuality and her attempts to understand it. She was not an outsider but invited into queer spaces for her accepting and understanding nature.

⁷⁰ Ellis, *Personal Impressions of Edward Carpenter*, 8.

⁷¹ Emma Goldman, *Living My Life* vol II (New York: 1931).

⁷² Terence Kissack, *Free Comrades: Anarchism and Homosexuality in the United States, 1895-1917*. (West Virginia: 2008), 139.

⁷³ Kissack, *Free Comrades: Anarchism and Homosexuality*, 139.

Emma Goldman did not have the psychology or medical background, like Ellis, to back up her claims, but Ellis mostly used friends and interviews for much of his early research as well.⁷⁴

Emma's interests in homosexuality and her relationship to it, reflect that of the other community members who used their personal lives as a way to understand and help those around them. Both Edith Ellis and Emma Goldman have defining characteristics that others have in the community through their relationships and places of trust, they are just not as strongly supported because of a lack of remaining records on the topic.

It is hard to differentiate if these individuals came together because of their shared ideas and opinions or if learning from one another and being in this community led them to similar conclusions. Regardless, there was a make-up of similar opinions, ideas, understanding, comradery that identifies this as the foundations for a community. This was especially true of a community attempting to place its ideas about sexuality into the larger world that is still centered around heterosexual and purity norms.

The Community Influencing Each Other's Perceptions of Homosexuality

Despite their similar goals and their relationships becoming one of understanding, sometimes these friends did not always agree on the specifics of the reason for homosexuality. As seen at the beginning, they did have their differences of opinion. However, these men and women began to influence each other's ideas through their sympathies and intellectual evidence, shaping the foundations of the social movements and humanization of homosexuality in the years to come. At first, Symonds, Carpenter, and both Ellis's did not all have similar beliefs when it came down to the intricacies of their arguments. Through conversations and letters

⁷⁴ Unfortunately, none of her speeches on homosexuality remain, so specific opinions about homosexuality are not known.

Havelock Ellis began to change his terminology because of influence from Symonds, and Edith Ellis began to change her perspectives on gender in the home.

Edward Carpenter and John Addington Symonds had similar perspectives, so they rarely influenced each other's perspectives on homosexuality. However, Carpenter would do something that Symonds never did, and that was include gender into his definition of homosexuality. Carpenter emphasized that there could be masculine and feminine characteristics in homosexuals calling them a "third sex." Later in life he would argue against queer stereotypes, believing this "third sex" was more internal than external.⁷⁵ Carpenter believed gender was fluid and many of his ideas reflect gender queerness found today. Symonds, on the other hand, believed sexuality and gender did not mix and that his love towards men was masculine in nature. This may have been because of Symonds' aversion to being seen as effeminate by society, but his point helped to challenge stereotypes often associated at the time with gay men.⁷⁶ While they agreed on most things, Symonds and Carpenter still brought up disagreements on definitions of homosexuality many scholars would tackle hundreds of years later.

Havelock Ellis was also part of the upper-class in Britain but did not have the same experiences or opinions as the other two. This often led to Carpenter and Symonds influencing Ellis's ideas on homosexuality. One of the things that changed the most for Havelock Ellis's argument was the use of the term "morbidly," a medical term at the time used to describe homosexuality. Through a series of correspondences between Havelock Ellis and JA Symonds about *Sexual Inversion*, the book they were collaborating on, Ellis began to accept Symonds

⁷⁵ Simon Joyce, 'Toward an Intermediate Sex: Edward Carpenter's Queer Palimpsests', *LGBT Victorians: Sexuality and Gender in the Nineteenth-Century Archives* (Oxford, 2022; online edn, Oxford Academic, 22 Sept. 2022).

⁷⁶ Simon Joyce, 'John Addington Symonds and the Problems of Ethical Homosexuality', *LGBT Victorians: Sexuality and Gender in the Nineteenth-Century Archives*.

point of view on morbidity. Symonds believed morbidity should not be used to refer to homosexuals because the act of homosexuality was not “morbid,” or by its definition, unpleasant and diseased. The theory of morbidity refers to an earlier argument by Krafft-Ebing and other sexologists in the Victorian period.⁷⁷ Morbidity is another word for mental defect or mental illness, which come from natural and biological reasons rather than the church or moral wrongs. Sean Brady, a historian of Symonds, makes the argument that Symonds had a larger impact on the study of sexology than historians previously understood because of his influence on Ellis’ opinions of this term and theory of “morbidity”. Below, I used Brady’s provided primary sources for a smaller study that draws similar conclusions.

Symonds was able to convince Ellis to change his opinions on morbidity through the similar goals of the community. Symonds’s letter to Ellis in the Spring of 1892 critiques modern psychiatrists’ theory that homosexuality in Greece was because of “morbid emotions”.⁷⁸ It is over these letters that he creates a persuasive argument for Ellis, one that is based in their similar interests and Ellis’s desire to understand. At first, Symonds blames psychiatrists for trying to understand “the leading emotion of the best and noblest men in Hellas,” when they have no experience in the literature of Ancient Greece.⁷⁹ Since Ellis was a literary critic well versed in Greek myth, this was Symonds pointing to a common similarity between the two of them to appeal to Ellis. JA Symonds also uses the humanity in these Greek figures to prove the humanity in himself. He as a homosexual he can understand these feelings the Greek heroes felt, not these psychiatrists who cannot even discuss it with their friends or “cousins.”⁸⁰ Symonds convinced

⁷⁷ Symonds goes on to list “Casper-Liman, Tardieu, Carlier, Taxil, Moreau, Tarnowsky [...and] Richard Burton” Symonds to Ellis. “Letter MS 1892,” 221.

⁷⁸ Often morbid emotion referred to homosexuality, but also pedophilia, bestiality, and masochism.

⁷⁹ Symonds to Ellis, “Letter MS 1892,” 221.

⁸⁰ Symonds to Ellis, “Letter MS 1892,” 221.

Ellis to stop looking at psychologists for information on homosexuality by discrediting them, and by appealing to the understanding relationship Ellis has with Symonds. Since there were previous attempts for understanding by Ellis to understand other homosexual individuals through their humanity and personal relationships, this was an easy way to sway Ellis to look at homosexuality from the humanization of his friend.

Symonds added another layer to his argument by bringing in his essays on homosexuality. Much of the evidence is the same as his letter, appealing to the understanding of the community and its desire to help homosexuals. Symonds maintained that he was unable to accept the term morbidity because it is so intrinsically tied to a moral bias that goes against the beliefs of helping homosexuals. Dr. Moreau, a leading theorist of morbidity, “seeks to save its victims from prison” but “his moral sentiments are so revolted that he does not even entertain the question whether their instincts are natural and healthy though abnormal.”⁸¹ Symonds again showed Ellis how Dr. Moreau takes away the humanity of homosexuality by making homosexuals “victims” rather than human beings with slightly different feelings than the rest of society. Dr Moreau made homosexuality a disease corrupting society without looking into if homosexuality was healthy. Moreau was not practicing what the community did, which was attempting to understand all angles of homosexuality from a personal, human connection. Ellis, a member of the community who believed homosexuality should be looked at from a personal and understanding outlook, would not want to associate with psychologists who take away homosexuals’ humanity. But did this appeal to the community’s goals and beliefs convince Ellis to change his outlook on morbidity?

⁸¹ Symonds, “A Problem in Modern Ethics,” *John Addington Symonds and Homosexuality*, 38.

Quite a bit of evidence suggests yes, Ellis no longer believed homosexuality was a disease after discussions with Symonds. After reading one of Symonds's essays Havelock Ellis stated, "When I first read your Modern Problem it seemed to me that the question of morbidity might be a serious difficulty. But on further considering the matter [...] I am now inclined to think that the difference in point of view is very slight."⁸² Ellis in his next letter to Symonds clearly had a change of opinion on morbidity as indicated by, "on further considering" and "now inclined" after reading Symonds essays. It first proves that Ellis' original view of morbidity was not the same as Symonds; it has now changed. And on the other hand, although it is not clear exactly what part of Symonds argument changed in his perspective, Ellis does agree here with Symonds that morbidity should no longer be used to describe homosexuality.

Ellis did change his opinion but found it hard to do so in his scientific community. Ellis's hesitancy was first made apparent in his next letter to Symonds where he wrote how he "would most certainly wish to avoid [...] question-begging epithets of the "morbid" class" but at the same time he did "not wish to put myself in opposition to the medical psychologists." Ellis did not wish to offend Symonds and the community of sexual reformers, but he also did not want to offend the psychologist community. This hesitancy can also be found in the first book *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* where Ellis described a specific bisexual man as "somewhat morbid" but also believed that some people who were attracted to men and women were "normal and good health, that in these it can scarcely be called morbid".⁸³ Ellis was dancing around this term in this section as he stated that in this one instance it was morbidity, but in the next it wasn't. This way he could be on both sides of the debate, while still supporting Symonds views.

⁸² Ellis to Symonds, "Letter December 21, 1892," *John Addington Symonds*, 234.

⁸³ Symonds to Ellis, "Letter December 29, 1892," *John Addington Symonds*, 237.

Later, Ellis' beliefs about morbidity would become stronger. This can be found in Max Hoddan's work on homosexuality from 1937. He wrote and encouraged people to change their terminology because of Ellis' argument against it. For if, "Havelock Ellis suggests "deviations" as a suitable term for the "morbid" manifestations" then the rest of the medical community should follow.⁸⁴ What the time frame was between this hesitancy in Ellis's first book, to then his strong opinion Hoddan used in years later is unknown, but the distinction is clear: Symonds changed Ellis' perspective on using the term "morbidity." Havelock eventually took on Symonds perspective, diverging from the psychological community to that of a social perspective from his research. It is surprising that one homosexual man's argument and beliefs would help drive an entire social movement of the 1920s. All of it because of this early collaboration and small influence, and opinion that he gave to another man.

But why is this slight change on Ellis's part from community influence, so important to the broader opinion of homosexuality in the western world? It is because the *Psychology of Sex* was one of the first of its kind in English that started discussions of sex and homosexuality across Europe. It was so radical for its time it could not be printed in Britain at first and was considered pornography by much of the public. Not only did it make a stir in the social sphere, but also amongst other sexologists. Hirschfeld, the main board member and influencer in Germany in helping homosexual and trans-individuals, claimed that the series of volumes from the *Psychology of Sex* inspired him so greatly that it thrust him into the social reform movement for homosexuals in Germany (later leading to the creation of the World League for Sexual Reform).⁸⁵ This book still influences modern medical studies and works today because of its

⁸⁴ Max Hoddan, *History of Modern Morals*. Translated by Stella Browne. (London: William Heinman, 1937), 126.

⁸⁵ Max Hoddan, *History of Modern Morals*, 38.

significance.⁸⁶ Because it was and is such an influential book, that one small mention of not using morbidity now became something most people in the sexology community knew about. That was why this small growing community's discussions, friendships, and similar goals, although small, had a ripple effect that would change the social movement of homosexuality for the next two decades.

Edith Ellis also changed her perspectives on homosexuality because of the surrounding community. Rather than reading John Addington Symonds letters and works, she was influenced by personal connections. These personal connections would come from her relationship with Edward Carpenter. She described what she learns from Carpenter through her times with him at his house and their conversations together. Unlike Ellis who changed opinions through terminology and literature, Edith found her new perspective of gender roles through interaction. It was through household chores and leisure activities that Edith stated what she learned most about marriage from Carpenter:

He has realized the truth that no occupation is a sex monopoly, but a chance for free choice, capability, and division of labour. So that when Carpenter takes his share in the washing-up, it seems quite as natural as when he lights a cigarette⁸⁷

Carpenter and his lifelong partner George Merrill did not fit into the stereotypes of Edwardian expectations for the upper and middle-class wife and the husband. They were already breaking these gender roles in the early 1900s.⁸⁸ Edith pointed out a very socialized structure that Carpenter was breaking down, something not found with terminology in Symonds and Havelock

⁸⁶ Although influential, *The Psychology of Sex* by contemporary standards is problematic. It makes false claims and perpetuates stereotypes about homosexuals, bisexuals, and trans individuals. To learn more about this problematic book read John Johnson, *Havelock Ellis and his 'Studies in the psychology of sex'*. (Br J Psychiatry, 1979 May) 134:522-7.

⁸⁷ Ellis, *Personal Impressions of Edward Carpenter*, 11-12.

⁸⁸ Sex and gender are used interchangeably in this context of "sex monopoly."

Ellis arguments. On the one hand this pointed out the ridiculousness of the gender expectations for men and women during this time the “washing” and “light[ing] a cigarette.” However, she was also defining what it meant to be homosexual through arguing that people in these queer relationships did not need follow the societal standards set for men and women and this was what gives them more “free choice, capability” and a better sharing of load amongst a partnership. It gave a positive and desirable quality to a homosexual relationship, which most of society was frowning at during this time.

Through evidence, example, and consideration for other points of view, these individuals were able to change definitions of homosexuality to be more inclusive. Without the friendship and community between Carpenter, Ellis, and Symonds, this change in perspective would have been lost. Soon they believed that they too could change the world’s perception of homosexuality, just as they had changed each other’s ideas of what it meant to be homosexual. To a certain extent this would become true, as those interested in the topic of homosexuality would soon join Carpenter and Ellis in their pursuit for social equality and understanding of queerness. Emma Goldman is a perfect example of an individual whose ideas would be shaped by the publications of Edward Carpenter and Havelock Ellis. However, they would not prove as lucky when it came to trying to influence a less understanding audience of press, judges, and politicians.

These individuals were able to share and communicate ideas with each other, but also tried to share their understanding of homosexuality with the rest of their nation and the world. Edward Carpenter and Havelock Ellis published works to show the public in Britain what they had learned about queer lives, both psychologically and socially. JA Symonds had a few works as well, but mostly not published until after his death. Emma Goldman and Edith Ellis used their

personal connections and speeches to also explore and promote queer identities in their respective countries and transnationally. Through these speeches or works, many social reformers tried to use transnational support and ideologies of homosexuality to influence their home countries. Although often unsuccessful in influencing the public and politics, these tactics did help queers and sexual social reformers in the Western world feel less alone in their understanding of themselves and others. This in turn, made the community of understanding and acceptance for homosexuals slightly larger on a transnational scale.

Attempts to Start Communicating the Understandings of Homosexuality with the World

In previous sections, I made the point that many of these individuals were trying to understand their sexuality or that of their friends and family. This happened through their attempts at community, and their collaboration to try and make something everyone could agree on. More remarkable, however, was their attempt to share what they had gained from each other with the larger world.

These individuals were able to share and communicate ideas with each other, but also tried to share their understanding of homosexuality with the rest of their nation and the world. Edward Carpenter and Havelock Ellis published works to show the public in Britain what they had learned about queer lives, both psychologically and socially. J.A. Symonds had a few works as well, but mostly not published until after his death. Emma Goldman and Edith Ellis used their personal connections and speeches to also explore and promote queer identities in their respective countries and transnationally. Through these speeches or works, many social reformers tried to use transnational support and ideologies of homosexuality to influence their home countries. Although often unsuccessful in influencing the public and politics, these tactics did help queers and sexual social reformers in the Western world feel less alone in their

understanding of themselves and others. This in turn, made the community of understanding and acceptance for homosexuals slightly larger on a transnational scale.

These works introduced other social reformers into the community of sexologists and sexual reformers. Ellis first published his *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* in Germany and then later Britain because it was easier to cater towards an international rather than English audience. Only after publishing in other areas of Europe did British companies even allow Ellis to publish through their company. Ellis's publishing farther away indicates he had a smaller audience, in England, so a need to spread the information farther to reach enough people. It also shows, however, that through transnational interest, Ellis was able to convince his own nation to take up some interest as well. Thus, sharing information about homosexuality in more countries spread the interest farther abroad and at home.

Another indicator for the growing interest in homosexuality on a national and transnational scale for social reformers is through written reviews of Ellis's work *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*. In 1916, Stella Browne, a newer British social reformer, wrote a review about Havelock Ellis' English version of *Psychology of Sex* in the *International Journal of Ethics*. On the national level of gaining more interest from sexologists is Stella Browne herself. She takes up an interest and joins the World League for Sexual Reform later on because of Ellis and Carpenter's published works. Not only is she reading and reviewing their works, but she also begins adding her own insight publicly about her perspectives of homosexuality. Browne adds her feminist approach to the topic when discussing female homosexuality, a topic covered only briefly by the main writers Ellis, Carpenter, and Symonds. She argues for more inclusion of "authenticated historical examples of feminine inversion" in the works on homosexuality and

disagrees about bisexual tendencies leaning more towards the same sex than the opposite.⁸⁹ Browne must be knowledgeable about the topic of female homosexuality, or she would not be able to critique that there are none represented in Ellis' work, proving that Browne is also a sexologist and has done some research in this field. Her research and critiques added to the discussions of homosexual identities, which means that Ellis' work did spread these conversations in Britain through his works (even if it was just to others interested in doing homosexual psychological studies).

In terms of the transnational aspect of Browne's review, it is clear Ellis was already getting into the transnational social and scientific spheres since *International Journals* are reading and publishing reviews about his works.⁹⁰ Publicity in any form of review indicates a wider range of people are reading his works to the point of multinational interest. This makes his work centered on those in his personal circle or community. Stella Browne's review also elaborates on the importance of transnational support in shaping homosexual views through her own language. Browne moves the review to a call to action for her home countries of Canada and Britain, asking "shall we follow the example of France, and Latin Europe generally, and abolish all legal penalties for homosexual acts except when they involve public indecency, violation, or the abuse of the immature?"⁹¹ As discussed in the introduction, laws for homosexuality in other countries of Europe did not have legal penalties for homosexuality unless it was public, while Britain did have laws for even private relationships. This is what led to the Oscar Wilde trial and certainly from the language, Browne is acknowledging this frustrating case that was still not addressed by

⁸⁹ F. W. Stella Browne, "Review of the Psychology of Sex," *International Journal of Ethics* 27, no. 1 (1916), 114.

⁹⁰ Note that this Journal was often printed in English and although "International" it often only reached English speaking or Western European countries.

⁹¹ F. W. Stella Browne, *International Journal of Ethics* 27, no. 1 (1916), 114.

1916. Surprisingly, Browne also labels both a country France and a region “Latin Europe” when comparing laws of Britain and the rest of Europe. The laws about homosexuality would be shifting drastically during this time in Latin regions of Europe. This was especially true of Spain and Italy, very Catholic countries, which almost indicates that Browne wanted to point out how conservative these countries were and yet that had more relaxed laws than Britain. It was through these appeals to religion, political perspectives, and an appeal to science that Browne and others tried to sway the British audience to consider their arguments about homosexuality should not be based in morality.

Sharing information on an international scale also created an understanding and acceptance for queer individuals who read or heard this information. One of the finest examples of this is from Emma Goldman’s speeches on homosexuality in the United States tours.⁹² Emma Goldman describes that after her speeches on homosexuality, some in her audience came to talk with her about their struggles of dealing with homosexuality privately. One woman told Goldman that before Goldman’s speech “[the woman] had never met anyone [...] who suffered from a similar affliction, nor had she ever read books dealing with the subject.”⁹³ This woman could not tell anyone she knew, even those who were close to her and “she hated herself” for not being able to love men sexually and romantically. This shows the isolation many queer people had in the 1900s, prior to the later globalization that would occur in the 1920s. It also shows the rarity of books on homosexuality in the early 1900s, and even more so, the rarity for queer women to have access to them. The fact that this woman, of unknown name or place, was still

⁹² Emma Goldman recalled most of this in her autobiography years later and could have misremembered or embellished to make herself appear a better kinder person in her works. Nevertheless, it is one of the only instances of discussions about homosexuality from audience members since Goldman’s speeches about these topics are no longer available.

⁹³ Goldman, *Living My Life*, vol. II, 556.

able to share her story with Goldman indicates the extent to which Goldman's speech helped her to stop hiding her suffering. The sharing of one's story, grows a sense of community of both allies and other queers, since people feel more open, accepted, and understood by more people after the speech. Goldman says also more directly remarks on her impact, "My lecture had set her free; I had given her back her self-respect."⁹⁴ Without knowing the content of the speech, it is hard to know what helped free this queer woman from her frustration at herself and her isolation. However, setting someone free from holding a deep secret, means that a friendship or understanding between people on a deeper personal level was created from these speeches. Goldman also uses this instance as her example, meaning that she most likely got permission from the woman, or that the woman left a lasting impact even all those years later. Again, meaning that Goldman must have developed a deeper relationship with this queer woman.

While this was quite important and influential for people interested in the topic of homosexuality or were trying to find understanding from their experiences, most of the English and American populations where these sexologists lived, remained purposefully ignorant and secretive about the taboo subject of homosexuality. This was primarily because sexologists could not get much of their works published as the "the courts and the press were largely uninterested in the arguments about inherent sexual identity," preventing research from becoming law and impressing upon a larger community.⁹⁵ This happened to Symonds with his "Untitled Essay" and of course, the first couple works of Ellis. Those who were discussing it in Britain were more hostile to the subject as Carpenter told Ellis, "Bloch's Sexual Life in our Times, (which contains some good chapters on homosexuality) has been condemned to be destroyed at Bow Street."⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Goldman, *Living My Life*, vol. II, 556.

⁹⁵ Matt Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality 1885-1914*, 59.

⁹⁶ Carpenter to Ellis, 17 Jan 09. *Havelock Ellis Papers Corres. Between Havelock Ellis, Edith, and Edward Carpenter*. The British Library.

Iwan Bloch, the author of whom Edward Carpenter is referring too was a German activist for homosexuality and was not liked by the English population for his discussion of homosexuality as a normal and natural experience. While Carpenter hoped that Ellis would not run into similar trouble once Ellis' *Psychology of Sex* was published in English, Ellis too met backlash. Some even remarked that his book was "pornographic".⁹⁷ This lack of support and even disgust from sexologists' topics, made getting any information and empathy for queer individuals rather difficult.

Emma Goldman too, ran into difficulties with getting other political activists interested in her advocacy for social reform. Many anarchists in Goldman's own sphere claimed it was a bad idea to discuss "such 'unnatural' themes as homosexuality."⁹⁸ Anarchists were quite separated already from the general population for their unique and sometimes extreme political stances leading many unable to publish their works. But to have even this small minority cast out those who supported homosexuality from this small political unit shows the difficulties and small nature of support that was being presented on the political sphere for homosexual reforms. Goldman herself even states that those homosexuals who came to her after her lectures were often of a "finer grain [very infrequent amount] than those who had cast them out."⁹⁹ Thus, the range of how many people were receiving the information, learning, and expanding on it, was less than many in the community hoped for when putting out their information.

Despite the lack of interest from politicians and the press, these individuals' efforts were not in vain. They were still able to share ideas with a broader queer community, who had never

⁹⁷ Vincent Brome Routledge, *Havelock Ellis Philosopher of Sex: A Biography* (London; Boston and Henley, 1979), 101.

⁹⁸ Goldman, *Living My Life*, vol. II, 555.

⁹⁹ Goldman, *Living My Life*, vol. II, 555.

heard about others like them. It eliminated an isolation so many felt because of their homosexuality and created a sense of shared identity around the world for those who felt lost.

Conclusion

Edward Carpenter, JA Symonds, Emma Goldman, Edith Ellis, and Havelock Ellis all began their pursuits in the study of homosexuality separately. However, through their collective understanding, friendship, and goals of social reform, they developed a community that would later become one of the largest transnational movements to fight for sexual social reforms in the Interwar Period. It is through their friendships and community acceptance that ideas about homosexuality could flourish and change without the stigma of outside perspectives. Shifting away from biased and problematic terminology was one piece of this, but also changing gender roles and societal expectations that come along with defining sexuality. After conversing and understanding how their ideas fit amongst their fellow sexologists, many went on to give speeches or write books to the public to share these findings that had been discussed for many years behind closed doors. It is through this that many found a place in society through a community that understood them such as Emma Goldman and her audience's case. And although much of their works were not received well by the general government or press, their education did reach those who were most interested or struggled the most with the topic of homosexuality. From these few beginning interests, the desire to understand and fight for equality grew, and soon took a step outside individual publications, speeches, and private conversations.

Chapter 2: 1918-1928

After a ten year long tour around the United States, Emma Goldman went back to New York City and worked for the Non-Conscription League during World War I.¹⁰⁰ The League did not have a good reputation with the United States government after America joined the war. By 1917, Goldman was arrested for trying to convince men not to enlist. Several people stated that Goldman had threatened violence and directly advised young men to not register for the draft. There was no strong evidence to support this claim, but appeals were denied by the judge. Goldman was found guilty and was sentenced two years in prison with large fines and then deportation.¹⁰¹ Despite arguing for citizenship, it was to no avail, and she was deported in 1919 to Russia.¹⁰² In Soviet Russia, Goldman did not give up her political views against war and her fight for Anarchism. After two years learning about the terrible treatment by the Bolsheviks government on the people of Russia, Goldman left, and went on a tour around Europe, where she could continue her political fight.¹⁰³ It was here where she began to join the community of sexual reformers and supporters of homosexuality, she had read so much about years prior.

Many sexologists and social reformers took a break from their fights for social justice during the war to fight for peace, just as Goldman did. But once the war was over, things quickly returned in full force to the cause of decriminalizing homosexuality and reducing discrimination. After the First World War, internationalism and transnational organizations skyrocketed. To prevent terrible war from occurring again social and political movements sprung up everywhere

¹⁰⁰ Emma Goldman, *Anarchism and other Essays*, HEIN Online (New York: Mother Earth Publishing, 1910).

¹⁰¹ *Trial and Speeches of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman In The United States District Court, in The City of New York, July, 1917*. (New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, n.d. *The Making of Modern Law: Trials, 1600–1926*, accessed April 5, 2024), 14.

¹⁰² *Trial and Speeches of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman*, 14.

¹⁰³ Emma Goldman, “The Socialist Republic Resorts to Deportation” *My Disillusionment in Russia*. Anarchy archives, (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1923).

as a mark of fighting for causes that nations had been unable to prevent on their own.

Transnational outreach by sexual social reformers to other nation's social reformers continued and expanded in the 1920s to match that of other movements. From this outreach, new members would join the community and its fight for homosexual acceptance. With new members came more points of view and opinion about homosexuality. It also led to more discussion and influence outside of the community. This chapter aims to explain how the community's shift from study and theory to action led to the growth of the community. However, at the same time, this draw of people from different countries would begin to involve varied opinions of homosexuality which challenged and complicated the original community goals.

Before diving into how the community was expanding and changing, I will first describe the new members of the community that joined during this decade. One of these new members was Magnus Hirschfeld. Hirschfeld was a Jewish, homosexual man who had been part of homosexual culture in the early 1890s in Berlin and was a physician. In Germany, Hirschfeld had already begun a Scientific Humanitarian Committee in 1897 to promote LGBTQ+ rights and prevent discrimination.¹⁰⁴ In the 1920s, he would take this a step further and begin his Institute for the Study of Sexual Sciences or Die Institut für Sexualwissenschaft in 1919. This Institute provided education about sex and sexuality for any who wanted advice. It studied homosexuality in a way that few medical professionals had done before and was the first to give gender reassignment surgery.¹⁰⁵ Hirschfeld believed that homosexuality was a global phenomenon and attempted to gain this knowledge from around the world through the institution. Other new

¹⁰⁴ Carpenter would go on to create a similar community in 1914 called the British Society for the Study of Sexual Psychology. A gay activist in America would follow suite with his own Society for Human Rights in 1924.

¹⁰⁵ Ralf Dose and Edward H, Willis, *Magnus Hirschfeld: The Origins of the Gay Liberation Movement* (NYU Press, 2014), 51.

members would include, Dora Russell, a British social reformer for sexual education, her husband Bertrand Russell, and Australian sexologist Norman Haire, who visited the Institute a few years later.

This chapter will not just focus on new members, but continuing members of the community as well. Emma Goldman will become a major part of the expansion of the community because her correspondence shows the transnational connections forming for queer social reformers and sexologists. Her connections to Hirschfeld, Ellis, and Carpenter, began to strengthen this community and explore how changing ideas of queer theory would continue and grow in the 1920s. Dora Russell, sexual educator and feminist will also make an appearance in this chapter as her biography and memory of the 1920s shows the growing interest many British reformers had in helping change perceptions of homosexuality. She also had several connections between all the sexologists through her own connections as treasurer of the World League for Sexual Reform.

Much of Emma Goldman's views on homosexuality through her social connections and speeches were mentioned in the last chapter. Nevertheless, it is best to reestablish her opinions of homosexuality and how they changed during the 1920s to understand her growing connections with the rest of the transnational sexual social reform community. Emma Goldman's works and speeches about homosexuality are lost. However, in a letter to Magnus Hirschfeld from 1923, Goldman constantly makes the case that she is a strong supporter of homosexuality by claiming, "I have no prejudice whatever, or the least antipathy, to homosexuals. Quite to the contrary. I have among my friends men and women either complete Urnings or Bi-Sexuals."¹⁰⁶ It is quite clear not only from her speeches on homosexuality, but from her own essays that she not only

¹⁰⁶ Emma Goldman to Magnus Hirschfeld, 1 Jan 1923, Emma Goldman correspondence with Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld, Emma Goldman Papers, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

supported homosexuality, but she needed everyone else to know this fact as well. Goldman's main concerns stressed that of going against stereotypes that people ascribe onto themselves and to genders. This applied to heterosexual men and women, but Goldman also applied it to homosexuals and their desire to "ascribe to them traits and characteristics inherent in themselves."¹⁰⁷ In many ways Emma Goldman reflected a similar nature to John Addington Symonds going against common traits associated with gender and sexuality. She seemed to only have read Ellis and Carpenter, but her ideas and understanding still found a similar conclusion to finding herself, a heterosexual woman, with the constructs of stereotypes about both gender and sexuality from others in the community.

Dora Russell, one of the newer members of the community, will also be an important part of this chapter. Like Emma Goldman, Russell was part of a variety of social reform movements outside of sexual reform. Unlike Goldman, Dora Russell believed in social reforms to decriminalize homosexuality, not because she wanted more people to feel free to do so, but because she believed it would make it less appealing. As a fighter for sexual education for children, part of her argument was that with "taboos forbid[ing] genuine sexual freedom, people will not be induced to think of marriage as a serious parental partnership. Gay and insistent sex will continue to overshadow its graver and lovelier companion."¹⁰⁸ In other words, sexual education and freedom will reduce the amount of people who are queer. It is important to include Dora Russell in the community of sexual social reformers because although all of them were fighting to help reduce social discrimination towards homosexuals, it was not always for the benefit of homosexual relationships to be accepted. Surprisingly, Bertrand Russell held a different view and supported queer relationships more so than his wife. Dora Russell had

¹⁰⁷ Emma Goldman to Magnus Hirschfeld, 1 Jan 1923, Emma Goldman Papers.

¹⁰⁸ Dora Russell, *The Right to Be Happy* (London and New York: Harper and Brothers, 1927), 187.

different perspectives from this community all around her pushing and challenging her perspective on homosexuality and its social implications. Russell explores the diversity of this community's fight and also the importance of debating perspectives that would influence homosexuality's social reforms for years to come.

Emma Goldman and Dora Russell explore the different perspectives of the old and new generation in the community. With their connections to Magnus Hirschfeld, Havelock Ellis, and each other, they created a complex network of new ideas from a variety of backgrounds. Their involvement in other social reform movements also helps elaborate how the community influenced other reform movements with their understanding of homosexuality. Finally, both explore the changing dynamic of the community that was now taking theory and putting into practice through the creation of social organizations.

The Community Becomes Transnational

As mentioned in the last chapter, this community was defined by its goals for understanding homosexuality in a personal and safe context. This was found in the emotional vulnerability John Addington Symonds showed to Havelock Ellis, and the understanding of homosexual struggles between Symonds and Carpenter. This trend of understanding and acceptance continues with Emma Goldman in her letters and visits with Edward Carpenter, Havelock Ellis, and Magnus Hirschfeld. Goldman also adds on to this sexual reform community by extending the community to a larger transnational network of social reform movements. Transnational interactions already existed because of Symonds and Ellis's discussions of homosexuality with other countries and the sexologists in Germany. However, Goldman took this a step further by expanding from theories of homosexuality into social change through her

involvement in transnational anarchism and feminism. This is not to say that the community was not involved in these other movements or their attempts for social change, but the community, prior to Goldman, often did not include homosexuality outside of theory. Goldman expanded and continued the trends of the community of sexual social reformers through her feeling of acceptance in the community, her ability to connect to other social movements and her connections between a variety of countries.

Before diving into how Emma Goldman represented and expanded the community, it is first important to establish how Emma Goldman became a part of this community. Emma Goldman already had a deep admiration for Edward Carpenter and Havelock Ellis before meeting them. She was influenced by their works and would use them in her own pieces, as mentioned in the previous chapter. But it was only after writing to Carpenter and Ellis, and then meeting them that she became part of the community. Once Goldman arrived in England, she was quick to try and meet the people whose works had struck her years before. Unfortunately, the meetings were not all that Goldman had hoped, since Carpenter was very old at the time of their meeting. Carpenter's meeting with Goldman was also very fleeting the first time and there was not much of a connection made between Carpenter and Emma Goldman. Carpenter would again invite her several times to his home with his partner George, but Goldman could never make it. This lack of being able to meet did not diminish Goldman's attempts to join Carpenter in their cause for decriminalizing homosexuality. She would continue to write letters to Carpenter until his death in 1929, in which she wrote about her beliefs, fears, and acceptance she felt from Carpenter. The letters were enough to form an everlasting connection between them, which Goldman would recall years later. In one letter she wrote about her love and appreciation for them both asking, "remember me kindly to George, I should love so much to see you both

again some day soon.”¹⁰⁹ Although Goldman would never meet them again, it is through this letter that she made it clear that she had a relationship and a friendship with Carpenter. Because Carpenter wrote to her and invited her to visit him to discuss homosexuality and labour movements, it can also be determined that Carpenter accepted Goldman into the sexual social movement. Therefore, he was also accepting her and saw her as part of the community.

One of the ways that Goldman characterizes the community's goals was through a hope for understanding, when she did not feel like she was a part of any society. JA Symonds, Carpenter, both Ellises express how their feelings are separate from society and it makes it harder for people to understand them outside of the community. The community was their place for a sense of belonging. Goldman also illustrated this desire to be a part of this community because she viewed things differently than other people in society, even amongst other Anarchists. Goldman would be cast out of several places in her life because of her political views on the Bolsheviks, but she never felt cast out in Britain because of her ties to the sexual reform community there. As Goldman would later write in her autobiography *Living my Life*, England was one of the only places, she felt accepted because of people like Carpenter and Ellis who created this sense of community and safety.¹¹⁰ Again, what defined this community was the acceptance of people who felt like outcasts. In the community, they could be amongst those outside of national borders who also understood their views and struggles. Goldman was part of this community, one because she was accepted and invited into these places graciously and warmly, but also because she felt understood and accepted. She felt a sense of belonging

¹⁰⁹ Emma Goldman to Edward Carpenter, 29 October 1925, Emma Goldmans correspondence with Edward Carpenter, Emma Goldman Papers, International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam.

¹¹⁰ Emma Goldman, *Living My Life*, vol. II, 979.

amongst Carpenter and his partner, again proving the importance these interactions had in creating a safe space for those who wanted to support queer social reforms.

This belonging and understanding also can be found in Emma Goldman's relationship to Havelock Ellis. One example of this understanding, feeling of acceptance, and vulnerability comes from Goldman opinion on a famous anarchist, Louise Michel. By comparing Goldman's letter to Ellis with her public biography, Goldman revealed the importance the community played in allowing Goldman to express herself without a fear of public scrutiny. Goldman was first staying at Hirschfeld's home when she came across a book about a Louise Michel. This book claimed that Michel was a homosexual, which upset Goldman very deeply. In the winter, after arriving in London, Goldman reached out not only to meet with Ellis, but also to discuss works she had found at their mutual friend's office, Magnus Hirschfeld:

I must say that I was shocked when I saw the photograph of that marvellous woman among the collection of homo-sexuals in Dr. Hirshfeld's house. I was shocked not because of any squeamishness on the subject, but because I knew Louise Michel to be far removed from the tendencies ascribed to her [...] I am so anxious that Louise Michel should be saved the unfounded charge of Homo-sexuality¹¹¹

In this instance, being able to discuss her opinions on homosexuality was not just a scholarly discussion, but also a personal discussion with Havelock Ellis. Here there is a question about her worries and concerns when it comes to those she praises. She is "anxious" and calls homosexuality an "unfounded charge" as if it is a crime committed. This is very different from

¹¹¹ Emma Goldman to Ellis, 27 December 1924, Emma Goldman Papers.

her public works. From *Living My Life*, Goldman never mentioned any wavering doubts in her support for homosexuality. She only painted herself in a most positive light on the subject calling attention to her sympathies. If she was trying to portray herself in this positive light to Ellis, as she does with her public audience of readers, she would surely not have mentioned her anxieties about Louise Michel being perceived as a homosexual. A more public audience who is unsympathetic to Goldman and her views would take this and question her support for homosexuality. The exposing and personal letter exemplified the deeper connection Goldman felt amongst other sexologists and social reformers. It was in this community that she could relay worries, knowing that those in the community would not doubt her support for homosexuality.

In another interpretation of the text, Goldman's letter could be about the fears of being wrongly perceived. Terrance Kissack, leading historian on anarchism and LGBTQ+ issues, argues that Goldman was not calling homosexuality problematic or a crime in this letter to Ellis. She instead was "quick to attack Levetzow [writer of the book in Hirschfeld's collection calling Louisa Michel queer] because she too faced hostile comments that focused on her sexuality and gender identity."¹¹² Goldman wanted heterosexual woman with more masculine traits to be validated, such as herself. As mentioned in Chapter One, she was a strong woman who was not afraid to stand up to anyone and had a broader build, which often could be stereotyped as masculine for the time.¹¹³ Male colleagues and critics of Goldman's claimed that Goldman herself was homosexual, thus implying that women with masculine traits were not women at all, since at the time homosexuality meant having a bit of the opposite sex inside of them to account

¹¹² Kissack, *Free Comrades*, 150.

¹¹³ Kissack, *Free Comrades*, 150.

for same-sex attraction or being a middle-sex between men and women. This would hinder the feminist movement since many would claim that Goldman could not fight for the feminist cause since she was not a woman. Her isolation, frustration, and anxiety about women being wrongly labeled for the sake of destroying their reputation. In this respect, Goldman is then personally telling Havelock Ellis about these fears of stereotyping gender and sexuality through a seemingly simple letter about her anarchist idol Louise Michel. Ellis later provides comfort and reassurance for Goldman by claiming that Louise Michel was not viewed as a homosexual outside of homosexual circles, so it was not represented in a negative light. Ellis was not taken aback by Goldman's commentary on homosexuality and was happy to read and reply to her personal discussions, an important part of the community which was to try and understand homosexuality without judgement. This display of vulnerability of Goldman's fears and frustrations about Louise Michel reflects that of the earlier conversation between Symonds and Ellis when Symonds discusses his fears and frustrations with the British scientific and psychological community for not understanding homosexuality. Goldman is doing the same thing here, entrusting Ellis with more private information about her fears, frustrations, and worries about gender representation.

Goldman's letter also adds to this sense of community by expanding on the transnational aspect of the community. This would include her crossing more national borders between different individuals and also engaging in several different types of social movements that were also transnational at the time. The above letter from Goldman to Ellis does not just represent safety and understanding, but also shows the connections between Germany, the United States, and England through these personal transnational relationships. Goldman was especially good at creating these connections because of her constant movement around the United States and later

Europe. This expansion into transnational personal connections is important because it helped change the course of action that the community would take. In the years prior, all discussions by the community were theoretical and hypothetical scenarios. A few members of the community had already created committees, law reform societies, and various publications to spread information about homosexuality. However, by the 1920s the entire community's discussions and actions began to shift in this direction. This all changes in the 1920s when Hirschfeld, Ellis, and Goldman begin to work together. Hirschfeld was active in his attempts for social change like Goldman and Goldman brought this to Ellis through her transnational social network. It would be years later that Hirschfeld would ask Ellis to take part in a larger social committee for the World League of Sexual reform. The foundations of action were being built here as Goldman connected actions Hirschfeld had taken, his Institute, with Ellis and Ellis' opinions of the homosexual community. Goldman sharing Hirschfeld's ideas through personal transnational connections represents forming on a transnational desire to enact change on a larger scale.

Another important part of this community was their ties to other transnational social communities, where they could spread their influence. Goldman had a connection to Carpenter's work because of their common interest in social reform movements and labour reform. It was through the overlap of interests and involvement in similar social movements that Goldman came to Carpenter's writings on homosexuality and free love.¹¹⁴ So, although this community was for those who were fighting for sexual reforms, it was also becoming more widespread and transnational through its overlap with other movements like labour reforms etc. Without the overlap between different social movements, the ideas about queer reforms would not have gone

¹¹⁴ Terence Kissack, *Free Comrades: Anarchism and Homosexuality in the United States, 1895-1917*. (West Virginia, 2008), 136.

as far as it did in its influence and spread across international lines. This argument will be expanded upon later in the next chapter.

Goldman represented how moving between borders and understanding different experiences was vital to the creation of the transnational community of sexual social reformers. Knowing people from Germany and England, allowed Goldman to feel supported and continue her efforts in fighting for homosexual rights. There was also a level of trust in this community, as seen in the last chapter, but it was taken to a transnational level through Goldman's writing from around the world. On the one hand, this allowed Goldman to feel supported even if she was not in her own country because there were others there that also believed in her cause. At the same time, she represents how homosexuality would move from national action and transnational theory to transnational action as well.

Communicating With the Rest of Europe Through Programs and Action

Interconnections and discussions about homosexuality within the transnational sexual reform community grew in the 1920s, but so did the number of people beginning to join the social movement. Transnational outreach and action were also on the rise with Germany leading the way. One of the ways this outreach program grew was through Magnus Hirschfeld's Institution, Institute fur Sexualwissenschaft from 1919 which was becoming a tourist attraction. New figures would emerge and join the transnational community through this exploration of public engagement. Although this brought in interest in homosexuality, it was also seen as an oddity or spectacle. Many in Britain took this as entertainment like a "freak show" rather than a time to educate and help those mentioned in their tours of the institution. Next would come his creation of a Congress for Sexual Reform in 1921, and then another Congress in 1926. By using

soon to be members of the community, Dora Russell, and Norman Haire, I will dissect the difficulties that would arise in the community from taking a broader, active approach. This active approach included trying to form policies, making museums/galleries, and having people interact with queer individuals do get a better understanding of their lives.

Dora Russell's writings perfectly elaborate how the use of the Institution lead to difficulties in perceptions of homosexuality that slightly strayed from the goal of the community which wanted to create understanding and acceptance. In her autobiography from the 1970s, she would recall her visit to Berlin with much excitement remembering how:

With Norman Haire and others, I had been at the International Sex Congress in Berlin in October 1926. Those of us on the left were not in agreement with the sponsors of this Congress: we had met Magnus Hirschfeld there and visited his remarkable Institute where the results and researches into various sex problems and perversions could be seen in records and photographs. We actually met two people whose sex had been changed by operation.¹¹⁵

This Sex Congress Russell discussed became the prototype for how Hirschfeld would form his World League for Sexual Reform. This conference's content was heavily connected to homosexuality on an international level. Her recollection of the Institute also shows how tours, results, and research were all going past theory to try and create active change for homosexual individuals. However, there is a problem with Russell's recollection. Her description of the events focuses on an entertainment aspect of the experience. "Remarkable" can be one of interest and high praise, but the term also means extraordinary or unusual, words that remain outside the

¹¹⁵ Dora Russell, *The Tamarisk Tree: My Quest for Liberty and Love*. (New York: GP Putnam's Sons, 1975), 206.

norm.¹¹⁶ Previous sexual reformers in the community were trying to show the importance of including homosexuals in society, but Russell's comment brings queer individuals back into a separate category outside of normal society. Again, to Russell, homosexuality was something to be observed without feeling empathy or humanity towards these individuals. Russell was not alone in her assessment of the Institution as something of a spectacle or entertainment as many other British tourists would go to the institute as a bizarre or circuslike thrill.¹¹⁷ This was not the same as Emma Goldman or Havelock Ellis who had friends who called themselves homosexuals. Dora Russell's line, "We actually met two people whose sex had been changed by operation," does not initially imply that Russell saw queer individuals as a form of entertainment. However, her lack of description about her discussions with these individuals in a meeting, makes them appear as entertainment or fascinating objects in her eyes rather than ordinary people.

Why is this outreach and action important to the community if there was so much misinterpretation of the communities' goals? Even though the Institute fascinated Dora Russell, at first, it also led her to get more involved with others in the community that did believe in humanizing homosexuality. This fascination could still be a driving force for helping people want to learn more about homosexuals and this would lead to some hope of relatability. Norman Haire and Dora Russell would become part of this group that turned fascination into a desire to help queer individuals. However, it must be noted that this original fascination would not completely go away, altering some of the community's interpretations and personal connections to homosexuality. Since Russell's interest in homosexuality came from a wonder that was entertaining, or external to her personal life, new members of the community made

¹¹⁶ Merriam-Webster's Dictionary Website, (2024), s.v. "community."

¹¹⁷ Ralf Dose, *Magnus Hirschfeld: The Origins of the Gay Liberation Movement* (translated in 2014 Monthly Review Press, 2005), 57.

homosexuality more a subject instead of a social group. There was no longer a desire to help queer people from a place of personal connection or acceptance, leading to a separation in this newer part of the community from that of the older generation.

Influencing New Community Members Perceptions of Homosexuality

It is not easy to state how much influence the community had on Dora Russell's perceptions of homosexuality. However, the same cannot be said of Russell's husband Bertrand Russell. This section will explore the importance community relationships had on influencing ideas about homosexuality in the 1920s. Influencing views of homosexuality still were tied to understanding in this new decade but influence also began to overlap because of the individuals' connections to other social movements. Emma Goldman would influence Bertrand Russell and Dora Russell because of their connection to the socialist movement.

Prior to meeting Emma Goldman, Bertrand Russell had more negative views of homosexuality. In 1915, Bertrand Russell wrote to a friend about his bisexuality claiming, "Lawrence has the same feeling against sodomy as I have; you had nearly made me believe there is no great harm in it, but I have reverted; all the examples I know confirm me in thinking it sterilizing."¹¹⁸ Despite the fact that Russell was in love with a man and wrote about this love in his diary, he still did not believe in acting on it because of his belief that it would ruin reproduction.

This would change after meeting Goldman on a tour to Soviet Russia in 1920. Russell went to Russia to learn about the revolution and was fascinated by Goldmans discussions of everything from anarchism, psychology, and sexual studies.¹¹⁹ It was because of this similar

¹¹⁸ Bertrand Russell to Ottoline Morrell, 1915, *The Selected Letters of Bertrand Russell: The Public Years, 1914-1970*, edited by Nicholas Griffin (London and New York: 2001).

¹¹⁹ Dora Russell, *Tamarisk Tree*, 97.

interest in social politics and transnational movements, that Russell began a long correspondence and friendship with Goldman. It is through this friendship that Goldman's influence about homosexuality began to influence Bertrand Russell. By 1929, Bertrand Russell's *Marriage and Morals*, discussed a different take on homosexuality arguing, "I think that all sex relations which do not involve children should be regarded as a purely private affair."¹²⁰ Russell never mentioned homosexuality in this quote, but he did not exclude it either. He strictly said, "all sex relations," which was quite the contrast to all his other arguments that referred to men, women, and their relationship to their children. Later historical accounts, such as Russell being a member of the Homosexual Law Reform Society in 1958, prove that even though Russell never argued about homosexuality directly it can be placed under this argument.¹²¹

But how does this argument about homosexuality relate to Goldman's influence? Much of Russell's argument in this section reflected Goldman's argument about sexual relationship and privacy found in her 1910 *Marriage and Love*. Not only is there a similar title, but they also argued that the government's involvement in sexual relationships was harmful and unnecessary. The only difference would be that Goldman's book discussed birth control, which was still illegal in 1910, but had been legalized in Britain by 1929 when Russell wrote his work.¹²² In her book, Goldman mocks the government's interference in sexual lives of individuals through marriage, stating that the Church and State believe, "the marriage institution is our only safety valve against the pernicious sex-awakening of woman."¹²³ In this quotation, Goldman went

¹²⁰ Bertrand Russell, "Trial Marriage," *Marriage and Morals*, Taylor, and Francis Group. (Routledge, 1996), 109.

¹²¹ Teri Chettiar, "Counselling for connection: making queer relationships during Britain's sexual revolution," *Medical Humanities* vol 49, iss 2.

¹²² M Simms, "Parliament and birth control in the 1920s" *National Library of Medicine (Coll Gen Pract*, 1978).

¹²³ Emma Goldman, "*Marriage and Love*," *Anarchism and Other Essays* (New York: Mother Earth Publishing, 1910), 234.

farther than Russell's approach arguing that marriage was harmful towards sexual relationships and love for women and their children. She followed this statement with how woman do not want to have the government in charge of when women have children, "Instead she desires fewer and better children, begotten and reared in love and through free choice; not by compulsion, as marriage imposes."¹²⁴ Goldman did not argue for women to not have children, she believed women should have a choice in the matter and not be influenced by the rest of society and the expectations placed on her through marriage. Russell did not go so far in his analysis of sexual relations in marriage, only arguing for privacy without children in a relationship. Regardless, the sentiment was the same for the both of them: the government should not interfere in the lives of adults and their sex lives.

Another indication that Russell was taking this directly from Goldman, was Russell's reference to "White Slave Traffic," also found in his work *Marriage and Morals*. This was a reference to an article written by Emma Goldman about prostitution in America.¹²⁵ This article was found a few pages prior to Russell's argument on sex and homosexuality. Since other arguments in this chapter relate to Goldman, it seems fair to also apply this to Russell's arguments on homosexuality.

Goldman would not just influence Bertrand Russell. Dora Russell would also be influenced by Goldman's ideas on sex, some of which could pertain to homosexuality. On Dora Black and Russell's trip to Moscow in 1920, Dora wrote how she, "admired [Goldman] as a pioneer among women, and I went to her hear speak at a lunch" years later.¹²⁶ This is not as

¹²⁴ Emma Goldman, "*Marriage and Love*," 234.

¹²⁵ Bertrand Russell, *Marriage and Morals* "The Place of Sex in Human Values," 184.

¹²⁶ Dora Russell, *Tamarisk Tree*, 97.

close a relationship as Goldman had to Russell, but there is still an admiration to Goldman and her beliefs, which Dora Russell might have wanted to emulate.

One way Goldman could have influenced both of the Russells' was through sexual education. When the Russells' created the Beacon Hill School experiment in 1927, they set out to teach sexual education to students and provide a healthy model of education for both girls and boys. This model would get rid of the moral fears of discussing sexuality in society and provide a safer way to communicate the dangers and benefits of sex.¹²⁷ Goldman in years prior also argued in her article *The Social Importance of the Modern School* for something very similar in education, trying to implement this in a school in New York. Goldman believed that "man is much more of a sex creature than a moral creature" and this is why "the best education of the child is to leave it alone and bring to it understanding and sympathy."¹²⁸ Goldman's article and experimental school were years before the Beacon School was created, but the ideas are the exact same in principle: giving children freedom to understand their sexuality in school in a healthy way. There is no direct textual link between Goldman's school and the Russell's other than similar style and practices. However, it is still important to note that the Russells were in contact with Goldman around this time and had read her works on a variety of topics before taking on this experiment. Therefore, the likelihood that Goldman influenced Dora Russell and Bertrand Russell is a strong possibility.

Both would also borrow from Goldman's ideas of marriage and jealousy, which she discussed on her tours in 1912. After meeting Goldman both Russells also wrote about the concept of jealousy in marriage and sex in their works. Dora Russell would write of it in *The*

¹²⁷ Carla Hustak, "Love, Sex, and Happiness in Education: The Russells, Beacon Hill School, and Teaching 'Sex Love' in England, 1927-1943" (University of Illinois, 2013), 416.

¹²⁸ Emma Goldman, "The Social Importance of the Modern School," *The Anarchist Library*, 7-8.

Right to Be Happy and Bertrand Russell would write about it in *Marriage and Morals* in the late 1920s using the exact terminology of the “green-eyed monster” that Goldman used on her tour in 1912 to describe jealousy in marriage.¹²⁹ Since there is a repetition of influence from Goldman on the Russell’s and other ideas of sexual reform, it is highly likely that her opinions about homosexuality would have influenced both of them, not just Bertrand Russell.

Emma Goldman influenced Bertrand Russell’s opinions on many sexual reforms and philosophies primarily through her writings, rather than personal correspondence as Symonds and Ellis did in the previous decade. However, Goldman’s close relationship to Russell from meeting in Russia in 1920 seemed to have a great impact on where Russell took his philosophy. Dora Russell too was influenced indirectly by Goldman’s ideas, either through her husband or through Goldman’s works. Goldman lost touch with the Russell’s after they distanced themselves from Goldman’s support for the Bolshevik revolution, in 1923. However, they were still using Goldman’s ideas from her works in their own, proving that their commonality of supporting homosexuality still thrived in years later. The interconnections between all of these individuals would never have crossed without the community around it, as Dora met with Hirschfeld and Ellis around the same time Goldman did, and Bertrand Russell met with Goldman. This created a deep web of sharing ideas transnationally and despite it being less personal in this case, the influence did occur because of these connections.

Conclusion

The 1920s marked an increase in interest and support for sexual reform. Emma Goldman was reaching out to those who inspired her to support homosexuality, leaving her feeling more

¹²⁹ Carla C. Hustak, “Saving Civilization from the ‘Green-Eyed’ Monster”: Emma Goldman and the Sex Reform Campaign against Jealousy, 1900–1930” (2012), 2, 11.

secure and understanding in her positions when moving across Europe from America. Magnus Hirschfeld was increasing the size of his correspondence and researchers on the topic, and with support from others in the community, he felt sure enough to start an international World League for Sexual Reform and set up an Institute in Germany, despite the backlash from right-wing party members. In doing so, more people who were only of vague interest in the topic of homosexuality from sexual reform began to migrate towards the cause and the fight for understanding. Haire and for Dora Russell would soon be part of this new group interested in homosexuality. Despite the initial interest as a fascination, it still brought many to learn and engage with materials that had been taboo years before. Interest would turn into influence, as Emma Goldman would continue to share and engage with people through anarchism, but also the feminist movement into the knowledge about homosexuality and its relation to society's view of marital and sexual relationships. The older generation would continue this trend through their interests and engagement, but the newer generation would try to separate themselves from backlash from the public, despite the support they were receiving from the community. This next chapter will explore this separation that began to occur in the community of homosexual social reformers.

Chapter 3: 1928-1940

The year before the World League for Sexual Reform's first Congress in Copenhagen, community members made official papers, sent invitations, and planned venues well in advance. The meeting was held in a large conference-like room, with a small attendance of around forty people. At this meeting, many things were voted on by the League. These would include voting for offices and goals of the organization. One of these goals would include the hope of, "setting up [] a code of sexual law, which does not interfere with the mutual sexual will of grown-up

persons.”¹³⁰ This “mutual sexual will included adultery, sex outside of marriage, and homosexuality.”¹³¹ There were the serious and important aspects of the league, but one of the many things also voted on was which language to use since there were so many people from a variety of different European backgrounds at the meeting. The choice was Esperanto.¹³² This did not last very long as by the third Congress in 1929, every speech and decision was just copied into several European languages for members and audiences to read.¹³³ Overall, the Congress voted on its goals and facilitated how to gain new membership, which led the ideas of the community further into policy and action.

The turn of the 1930s marked the largest amount of people joining and engaging in the transnational community of sexual reformers. It would be during this time that the community had the most outreach to other organizations, influential people, and psychologists across the world. 1928 marked the beginning of the World League for Sexual Reform (WLSR), which was the culmination of several years of communication from Hirschfeld, Havelock Ellis, Emma Goldman, and other sexual reformers across Europe. This League represented all the hard work of the community and their attempts to reach an upper-class white audience through the press. But the height of the community also would be the beginning of its decline, as the personal ties within the community of sexual reformers began to dwindle outside of the League. This was because individuals in the community were so engrossed in the League that they only had time to discuss sexual reform in preparation for League Congresses. Many in this community of

¹³⁰ Ralf Dose and Pamela Eve Selwyn, “The World League for Sexual Reform: Some Possible Approaches” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12 (Texas University Press, 2003), 2.

¹³¹ Dose and Selwyn, “Some Possible Approaches,” 7.

¹³² “3rd International Congress of the World League for Sexual Reform,” (September 8-14, 1929), SA/EUG/D.250, folder 1, Eugenics Society Collection, Wellcome Collection, London.

¹³³ “3rd International Congress of the World League for Sexual Reform,” (September 8-14, 1929).

transnational sexual reformers were part of the World League for Sexual Reform, however, some were not there for very long and others never joined. Those that began to join the community had other priorities besides trying to understand themselves and the people around them, becoming professional rather than personal. Political turmoil would also be a leading factor in attitudes towards homosexuality in the community. With the growing Nazi destruction, persecution, and violence towards those who supported homosexuality, the fear of speaking out in transnational setting led many new members to distance themselves from the ideas of promoting homosexuality directly in their works and letters. The economic depression in several Western countries also increased fear and conservative action towards anything that had been new from the decade prior leading to even more of a fear of persecution.

It is hard to know what happened at these Congresses. Not much was saved or recorded about the League and its proceedings, most the work done at the time would be written down in a pamphlet titled *Sexus*, which only had one issue. But this was the start of something bigger than just writings or correspondence for those in the community. Priding themselves on using science to emphasize their reform, the League gained several notable figures including Margaret Sanger and Sigmund Freud. The Third Congress of the League would go on to be the first to gain global attention as the event circulated throughout Europe and the United States. Each Congress had varying popular topics depending on the region. Popular discussions at the Third Congress related to eugenics. These discussions included reforms on sterilization and sexual education. Eugenics was a social pseudoscience to try and increase or decrease certain traits in a population to create the perfect set of people. This was not just popular among social reformers, but with general populations of white Western Europeans and Americans. Because of this focus on eugenics, the Congress prompted opinions from the London Times to small-town papers in

Norfolk, Virginia over the discussions of marriage, eugenics, homosexuality, and sexual education.

A newer member would begin to participate in this movement during the end of the 1930s, Hildegart Rodriguez Carballeria.¹³⁴ Rodriguez was already well known in Europe from before her birth because she was a eugenics experiment. Her mother was obsessed with eugenics and Hildegart was an attempt by her mother to create the perfect child. Through a selective process, her mother chose the perfect man who would give her a child that would grow up to be a prodigy of perfect breeding. In many ways her mother did, Hildegart could write by the age of two and was famous for writing a book at the age of fifteen.¹³⁵ Some her works included *Sex y Amor* and *La Revolution Sexaul and Educacion Sexual*.¹³⁶ Rodriguez eventually became a secretary for the Spanish section of the World League for Sexual Reform at the young age of seventeen. Her life had always been about eugenics, and this was her way of taking it forward with sexual reform. Rodriguez will make an appearance in this chapter, but she will not be the central focus.

The central focus of this chapter will be Dora Russell, her friend Norman Haire, and one of the founders of the League, Havelock Ellis. All participated in their own way, but it was Norman Haire and Dora Russell who took charge of the World League for Sexual Reform's Third Congress in London. Norman Haire played an important role because he too was a gay man who hid and tried to push away that part of his identity his entire life. This could be found in both his relationships, but also in his goals for sexual reform. Haire even pushed away discussions of homosexuality in the League in London. His goals would not align with much of

¹³⁴ Alison Sinclair, *Sex and Society in Early Twentieth Century Spain: Hildegart Rodriguez and the World League for Sexual Reform* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007).

¹³⁵ Sinclair, *Sex and Society*, 1.

¹³⁶ Sinclair, *Sex and Society*, 4.

the community, that was fighting so strongly for empathy towards queer individuals. Many in the community did not like him or approve of his ideas for the way he ran the Congress. Ellis would write to Margaret Sanger discussing how he saw Haire's management as selfish calling it an "all-Haire conference, which may be good for Haire, but perhaps not good for the cause."¹³⁷

Nevertheless, the community still accepted Haire into their group for his willingness to understand the sexual situation and for his outcasted nature after he left Australia. Dora Russell oversaw the finances of the League, and her letters show the intertwining relationship between the community, trying to understand themselves or their loved ones with that of the professional larger League, which was slowly fading out understanding homosexual identity.

Finally, Havelock Ellis represents an older generation in the community which included Ellis, Carpenter, and Goldman who felt it was time their time to no longer fight for homosexual rights and to pass it on to a younger generation. Many in the community had died, and those that were left began to recede from social life, including social movements, because of their health. These three individuals best capture the changing community under the World League for Sexual reform, its challenges, and its eventual disbandment.

In this final chapter, the community made a massive change in their perceptions of homosexuality because of their actions and acceptance of new members in the 1920s. By 1930, the divide and challenges presented in Chapter Two would grow leading to the newer generation in the community to address homosexuality with a less personal view than the older generation. With the increase in nationalism and political turmoil in Europe from the depression, ideas about public perceptions of social change were at the back of the newer generation's minds. This

¹³⁷Crozier had a very poor opinion of Haire, calling him an antagonist for the WLSR in his work. Ivan Crozier, "'All the World's a Stage': Dora Russell, Norman Haire, and the 1929 London World League for Sexual Reform Congress." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12 (University Texas Press, 2003), 11.

change in attitude did not lead to the destruction of the community at first, instead it led to a change in tactics by the newer generation to try and appeal to the larger public that was starting to show an interest in the movement.

The Community Changes because of New Members Perceptions of Homosexuality

In Chapter One, it was established how this group was a community through their similar goals, ideas, and sense of personal connection, however, with the growing numbers of people interested in sexual and social reform, it is important to clarify how the community characteristics changed when it merged with newer members of the community. Norman Haire and Dora Russell's correspondence reveals this differentiation between the older and newer community. Through their tonality and topics discussed between various individuals, Haire and Russell distance themselves from the community's belief in personal connections to the homosexual individuals they were trying to help.

Prior to discussing how the new members were different from the old community in their ways of thinking it important to know how these two individuals became a part of the community. Norman Haire and Dora Russell certainly had a complex relationship. Both were members of the WLSR since its founding, and both went to Hirschfeld's Berlin Sex Congress in 1924. They began working together in 1928 for the Third Congress in London, but still referred to each other formally by Mrs. and Dr. in their responses to one another. By the year 1933, Norman Haire and Dora Russell were writing to each other on a first name basis. They discuss their families, ills, and concerns alongside the work with the League. A friendship blossomed from their time together in the League. They were also good friends with Hirschfeld and Ellis because of their time at the Congress and the help in creating the League. However, even though

they were friends and contacted the community, did they represent the goals of the community to understand and help homosexual individuals?

This is a difficult question to answer. Despite the contact with Hirschfeld and Ellis through letters, the discussion of homosexuality was not a common topic in their correspondence. The lack of discussion could mean that the newer generation of reformers, Haire and Russell, were less willing to write about homosexuality, or homosexuality and understanding just began to fade out of the newer sexual reformers' interests. What can be found in the few correspondences from Haire and Russell that do discuss homosexuality is a shift towards reducing personal relationships with queer individuals. Despite this shift away from personal, and emotional connections to homosexuality, Russell and Haire in these letters do talk about their desire to help queer individuals. Since this was the core goal of the community, to decriminalize and reduce prejudice, this shift away from personal connections does not exclude Haire or Russell from the community. These new members are part of the community because they still wanted to help queer individuals and try to understand them, meaning they still shared the basic goals of the community.

Haire's letter to Ellis illustrates the continuation by newer community members to try and help queer individuals find their place in society. Haire especially took an interest in helping transvestites, which could refer to transgender individuals, queer individuals who cross dress, or any number of other non-heterosexual definitions of gender roles. One of his letters to Havelock Ellis mentioned a queer patient that Haire wanted to help. Haire was particularly concerned with the fact the patient that was, "both a transvestitist (heterosexual) and a devote of this new aberration."¹³⁸ There was no mention of how this individual related to Haire's opinions on

¹³⁸ Norman Haire to Havelock Ellis, 27 October 1932, The University of Sydney.

homosexuality, but it does prove that Haire knew people who were queer patients, and he wanted to learn more about their “condition.” This letter directly reflected the ideas of the community which as stated earlier were to try and understand homosexuality. Haire was doing this from a medical perspective, rather than a personal perspective since he did not personally know the patient. However, he still cared about treating the patient and helping them live a normal life by asking Ellis for advice.

Haire’s letters to Ellis and Hirschfeld explore his desire to help queer individuals, which is a core part of the community. But his letters also show this shift away from personal connections, which had characterized the older part of the community. One-way Haire reduced his personal connection with homosexuality was by omitting his own opinions about the theories of definition of the topic. From letters to Ellis, Haire was quite indifferent to helping homosexuals gain equality in society. He would instead separate himself from the discussion or make light of the topic. In a letter to Havelock Ellis from 1932, Haire mentioned Hirschfeld’s book *Die Homosexualitat* and how it would need revisions since the changes in Germany’s political climate. He even mentioned how he overheard that there was a “good deal of homosexuality high up in the Nazi movement, and jokes are everywhere.”¹³⁹ The comedy of the response illustrated how Haire did not take Hirschfeld’s book or the Nazi party very seriously. He could have made this comment because he wanted to critique the Nazi party through irony since the Nazi party was anti-homosexual. However, this still seems dark to tease at the idea of homosexuals in Nazi ranks when the Nazi’s had already destroyed Hirschfeld’s Institute by the time of this letter and put most homosexuals into hiding for fear of imprisonment. Another point

¹³⁹ It is difficult to know if the person was heterosexual since it is unknown how Dr. Haire identifies the gender of the “transvestitist” individual. Norman Haire to Havelock Ellis, 29 October 1933, Selected Correspondence between Norman Haire and Havelock Ellis, Norman Haire Collection, The University of Sydney.

about this comment from Haire is that it was not made by Haire himself, but from what others had heard. The lack of an opinion on homosexuality or the political climate points to Haire's desire to distance himself from these opinions in writing. Haire's only opinion in the letter is for Hirschfeld's book to have some revisions because of the time difference since it was last published. This does not lean one way or the other about where he stands.

Haire's distancing and impersonal nature to homosexuality continued in his correspondence to Hirschfeld. Haire was invited to meetings by Hirschfeld about homosexuality titled "Is Homosexuality in Men and Women Inborn or Acquired?" with the Indian Psychoanalytical Society, but Haire never mentions if he attended.¹⁴⁰ Haire also mentioned giving a talk to the British Medical Society on "Transvestitism," so he was not opposed to sharing information, but the writings are from Hirschfeld's paper, and not Haire's own beliefs. In this correspondence Haire created distance again from the subject of queer individuals by not putting in his own opinions. Haire never talked in this correspondence about his views of the patients or his personal discussions with the patients outside of understanding and helping them. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Institute's use of homosexuality created an interest that was established through entertainment. This could cause problems like viewing homosexuals as objects or subjects rather than people, which is what the community desired. This showed again with in this instance because Haire used transvestitism as a subject to be studied, not a basis for trying to create empathy or acceptance. Haire was not interested in understanding himself or finding his place in society through his homosexuality. It was from his fear that perhaps this

¹⁴⁰ "Invitation to Indian Psychoanalytical Society Meeting," September 28, 1931, Selected Letters from Norman Haire and Magnus Hirschfeld Correspondence, Norman Haire Collection, The University of Sydney.

distancing occurred so strongly, but in doing so, Haire also took away the personal aspect of the community that so many before him had tried so desperately to maintain.

Russell also portrayed the changing goals in the community towards one that distanced homosexuality from personal ties to homosexual individuals. Like Haire, Dora Russell's relationship with homosexuality was complex. She too took a distant approach to homosexuality, trying to understand it in a way that did not relate to friends, family, or self-discovery. As mentioned previously in her works, she addressed homosexuality as less than ideal compared to heterosexual relationships. However, she never dismissed homosexuality as being negative either. She never relayed any stance to Havelock Ellis, Magnus Hirschfeld, or Norman Haire in correspondence. Dora Russell's opinion on homosexuality can only be indirectly tied to her husband Bertrand Russell since many of his ideas influenced her works drastically. Bertrand did support homosexuality, as he had many queer friends and knew Emma Goldman well.¹⁴¹ Bertrand Russell had this personal understanding of homosexuality from his relationships with Ellis, Goldman, and Carpenter. He was also closer in age to the older community that valued personal connections to homosexual individuals. So, while it is proven that Bertrand Russell had the same goals and values as the community, it is harder to pinpoint if Dora did as well. Dora Russell then has experience with these discussions, but she did not engage in them. Thus, encouraging the idea that she took a distant approach to the topic similar to Haire.

There is one case that might argue the opposite, that Dora Russell was very involved in opinions about homosexuality and did not distance herself from homosexual individuals. There was a mention of homosexuality in one correspondence from Bertrand to Dora Russell where he

¹⁴¹ Emma Goldman, *Living my Life*, 971.

claimed, “Your article on love and friendship is admirable. So is your letter, but they won’t print anything about homosexuality.”¹⁴² The specific contents of the letter on homosexuality are lost, so Dora Russell’s opinion on homosexuality by 1932 is also lost. What is known was that Bertrand Russell thought it was admirable, and since he supported homosexuality, it was likely Dora Russell may have changed her opinion on the topic to reflect his. It is also known that the letter was published in the *Week-End Review*, so Dora Russell went ahead and published it despite the warning from her husband.¹⁴³ She must have supported the writings about homosexuality to the point of being willing to present them to the public. This is an important trait in the community to be able to share knowledge about homosexuality with the public in ways that help homosexuals. Without knowing the details of the article, however, it cannot be proven that Russell reflected the views of the other community members at the time.

The community of homosexual social reformers was not the same as it was during the beginning of the twentieth century. The older generation looked for a way to understand themselves and their friends to make themselves less lost in a society that would not accept them. Both Norman Haire and Dora Russell did not have this personal investment in fighting for the decriminalization of homosexuality or its equality in society despite their interest in the topic. The major change was that many were not looking to reduce isolation for queer people as it had been before. Regardless of this change in goals, continuity remained across the two generations. Besides their correspondence and mutual friendship, all still believed that homosexuality should be openly discussed and understood in a way that helped homosexual individuals.

¹⁴² Bertrand Russell to Dora Russell, January 30th, 1932, *The Selected Letters of Bertrand Russell: The Public Years, 1914-197*. edited by Nicholas Griffin (London and New York: 2001), 309.

¹⁴³ Nicholas Griffin, “Footnote,” *Selected Letters of Bertrand Russell*, 309.

That is not to say that these new methods of “helping” were not sometimes harmful by modern standards. Haire and Russell never address the concept of trying to change people’s perceptions about their own sexuality like modern “Conversion therapy” which became more popular in the mid-1950s.¹⁴⁴ However, Norman Haire and Dora Russell often took “helping” from a eugenic lens, as many sexual reforms did in Britain. These included helping homosexuals understand or suppress their feelings, preventing homosexuality from happening in young individuals, and reducing the number of homosexual individuals in the population by encouraging homosexuals not to reproduce. The last one especially replicates the eugenic concept that homosexuality was a negative trait that should not be carried into the next generation. By 21st century understandings of homosexuality, these ideas would be considered part of an anti-gay movement as it still made homosexuality appear as undesirable and problematic. But for sexual reformers and to many homosexuals themselves, preventing and reducing homosexuality reduced the amount of suffering and persecution from society. Not all homosexuals agreed with this concept and sexual reformers like Russell and Haire recognized that, adding that homosexuals should be allowed to be themselves if they chose. On the most basic level, sexual reformers in this community and homosexuals believed that by debating homosexuality as an inherent trait or not, there were helping more people understand themselves and their sexuality. This to them was helping homosexuals, just as decriminalization was helping them, and just as reducing stereotypes around homosexuality was helping them as well. As addressed in the introduction, trying to help homosexuals fit into society in an understanding and inclusive way was not the main concern by most national legal systems, and newspapers.

¹⁴⁴ Tom Waidzunus. “The Reorientation Regime: therapeutic Techniques in an Anti-Homosexual Era, 1948-1972.” *The Straight Line: How the Fringe Science of Ex-Gay Therapy Reoriented Sexuality*, (University of Minnesota Press, 2015), 35-66.

Compared to the persecution, attacks, and jail time, homosexuals were likely to think of these reformers in a positive light. That is why there was continuity in the community, not by modern standards, but by looking at it as the community would have seen themselves versus the rest of society at the time.

New and Old Members Influenced Others in the Community

With new goals of the community also came new influencers who swayed community members away from personal discussion of homosexuality. Norman Haire was a strong influence to changing the goals of the community. He especially became a strong influence on Dora Russell before the Third Congress of the World League for Sexual Reform that they were both hosting by convincing her to distance the Congress away from discussions of homosexuality. Perseverance of changing perceptions in the community, despite the change in stance on homosexuality, still proves how some in the community did become more tolerant the longer they interacted with queer individuals or those who were strong allies. Things could also happen in the opposite direction as the world became more wary of queer discussions during the depression. This influenced the newer community to silence on the topic when discussing sexual reforms for a growing conservative audience.

When deciding on topics to include for the World League in the beginning of the year before the Congress Norman Haire was already trying to convince Russell that homosexuality would be a bad thing to include. Haire noted:

Moll has been writing to friends of his in England abusing Hirschfeld, and apparently suggesting that the W.L.S.R is unduly interested in abnormalities. This, of course, is not true, and in any case, there are so many things of much wider general interest, we can find no place on the

programme of the next Congress for the discussion of homosexuality or other variations from the normal.¹⁴⁵

In some regard Haire was right that the WLSR did not fully focus on homosexuality, despite it being the main interest of many involved, including its main organizers Hirschfeld and Ellis. As I have mentioned before, the League and this community interested in homosexual and queer equality were not synonymous. Nevertheless, Haire was part of this community that promoted an interest in queer individuals, especially with transgender individuals. However, Haire in this changing political climate and perception of homosexuality in Europe, did not step up to the task of sharing this with the rest of the world because he was afraid of the backlash from other sexologists and reformers.

Considering that Norman Haire feared public slander for himself and his homosexuality, it was no surprise that he would do the same for the League that he oversaw. What is more interesting was how he convinced Dora Russell to agree with him and follow suite on the arrangement to distance themselves as they picked out speakers and members for the Congress. Russell's lack of response showed that she agreed with distancing the Congress from topics of homosexuality. She also was aware that Hirschfeld felt strongly on the issue knowing that his Institute and prior Congresses included homosexual discussions, but yet she resolved to agree with Haire instead of the older member of the community.

Agreeing with Haire's opinions was quite common for Russell. This did not just occur in this one interaction about homosexuality, proving that Haire had a lot of influence over Russell's opinions in general. Haire's influence over Russell can be found when he discussed his dislike for abortion advocate Stella Browne. For publicity Haire knew that Browne and other abortion

¹⁴⁵ Norman Haire to Dora Russell, 21 February 1929, The World League for Sexual Reform, Dora Russell Papers, the International Institute for Social History.

advocates had to speak at the Congress, but he stated, “We can limit their papers to twenty minutes each on account of the fullness of the programme, [...] and we can arrange their place on the programme in the most inconspicuous and unfavourable position.”¹⁴⁶ Haire made no indication that Dora has disagreed with him in the next letter, so despite not knowing what she wrote, it was quite clear that she did not disagree with him very strongly. This request and opinion from Haire carried into the program itself, with Miss Stella Browne’s piece being placed in the middle of the second session between three sterilization speeches before and after her contribution.¹⁴⁷ Sterilization was a popular topic in the organization and because it was placed at the beginning and end, this would be the thing most remembered by people at the Congress, not the abortion discussions in the middle. The fact that the program reflected this earlier opinion of Haire’s returns to the idea that Haire had a lot of power in this Congress, despite Dora being a partner. Either that, or Dora was easily influenced by him on all his points, despite the fact that she was at the other Congresses which discussed homosexuality and knew it was important to the WLSR.

Another indication that Haire was persuading and influencing Dora’s decisions has to do with a series of letters from Haire in 1926. Haire repeatedly wrote to Dora Russell encouraging her to write about birth control and begged her to join him. She resisted at first, claiming that she was busy and could not join him for any conferences on the topic. Nor would she write about it until Haire warned, “some resolution may be passed which will be made the ground in Germany of reactionary legislation, and this precedent may lead to something similar in England.”¹⁴⁸ This not only led to Russell writing about it in her works, but she would go on to support Haire and

¹⁴⁶ Norman Haire to Dora Russell, 15 Jan 1929, Dora Russell Papers.

¹⁴⁷ “Third Congress for the World League of Sexual Reform” Eugenics Society Collection, Welcome Collection, London.

¹⁴⁸ Norman Haire to Dora Russell, September 20, 1926, file 6, Dora Russell Papers.

Birth Control at the Berlin Congress later that year, despite her hesitancy in previous letters.¹⁴⁹ Haire persuaded Dora before by repeatedly telling her about changes and ideas on Birth Control, it is likely that this influence spread into other parts of their work in the future. The repetition of Haire's influence does lend to the idea that Dora was influenced by Haire's opinions on homosexuality as well. Russell was just one small member of this community that could have been influenced by Haire's desire to distance from homosexual ideas. However, her reactions elaborate just how this new generation of thinkers in the community were changing their perception of homosexuality because of other members fears.

On the other side were people like Havelock Ellis, who continued to promote more equality and understanding for queer individuals through the community. This is especially true of those newer members fascinated with homosexuality and willing to discuss it, but perhaps not as empathetic to the queer person's situation. Ellis had a way of turning that interest into consideration. This did not necessarily lead to action but did reduce ignorance in the community.

A good example of this was Ellis's two-year correspondence with Hildegart Rodriguez. She was just beginning to involve herself in sexual social reform during the early 1930s and became a member of the WLSR section in Spain. Over several correspondence Ellis changed Rodriguez's perspective slowly to one of empathy rather than entertainment. Alison Claire, a historical expert on Rodriguez, claimed that Ellis was the most significant relationship at the end of Hildegart's life.¹⁵⁰ At the young age of sixteen, with little knowledge on the topic but a deep desire to learn everything she could, Hildegart Rodriguez was easily persuaded and turned to empathy for Ellis's cause. At the beginning of their correspondence, Rodriguez was still

¹⁴⁹ Ivan Crozier, "'All the World's a Stage': Dora Russell, Norman Haire, and the 1929 London World League for Sexual Reform Congress." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12. (University Texas Press, 2003), 23.

¹⁵⁰ Alison Sinclair, *Sex and Society in Early Twentieth Century Spain: Hildegart Rodriguez*, 124.

concerned and interested in homosexuality with a fascination that was not necessarily sympathetic. In Rodriguez's letter to Ellis in 1932, she discussed her concern over homosexuals in her community. She asked Ellis, "Don't you think it's strange?" when referring to two lesbian women living together.¹⁵¹ Rodriguez in this letter also talked about personally knowing queer people in her life including Clara Campoamor, who Hildegart knew "since I was very little," showing her openness to learning more about them and how her intrigue begins with those around her in her personal life. This was an important step in continuing that empathy Ellis and the older community tried to portray in their correspondence.

Hildegart Rodriguez would go on to discuss the flaws of her past writings, noting how they may not have been as sensitive to certain topics like homosexuality since, "I did not know as I know now the true origin of "homosexuality" neither its true meaning, nor the idea or Carpenter's "homogenic love"¹⁵² She believed all of the readings Ellis had given her would now progress her scientific understanding and improve her writing immensely. All of these papers that Ellis sent to Rodriguez were those describing the importance of empathy for queer people, Carpenter's homogenic love especially pointed out that homosexuality was an inherent part of a queer person's life. The fact that she wanted to use these ideas in her future writings illuminated her willingness to change from the past. In the past, she saw homosexuality as "strange," but because she mentioned how these books changed her, it is likely that this perception of homosexuality changed as well. All of this was due to Havelock Ellis' correspondence and his embracement of Rodriguez's openness with him about her fears, interests, and questions. Ellis continued the trend of empathy and providing a safe space for many to talk about their sexual questions or feelings. As the rest of the community began turning their goals elsewhere, this

¹⁵¹ Sinclair, *Sex and Society in Early Twentieth Century Spain*, 179.

¹⁵² Sinclair, 180.

persistence moved new members like Hildegart to try and carry on this sense of empathy towards queer identities.

Hildegart Rodriguez, at the age of eighteen, was murdered by her mother in her bed in the middle of the night. This was a tragic loss because of the potential Rodriguez brought to the sexual reform community. After such a close connection to the young women, Ellis was traumatized and devastated by the loss for years. Not only would she have brought new ideas to the sexual reform field, but perhaps engaged more with Haire and Russell whom she was just starting to correspond with before her sudden death. Despite the tragic losses, the community would continue with its goals fighting for the study of homosexuality and its understanding. Soon, this would not only impact a growing community of sexologists and those interested in homosexuality, but other social groups and educators across the world.

The Continuation of The Community's Influence on Europe's other Organizations

Trying to change perceptions of homosexuality was not the main subject of the WLSR. It had a variety of other topics that people were pushing as social legislation. The same could be said of those in this community. Although an interest in homosexuality and how to understand it in a supportive way was its commonality, many were also part of programs in other social movements as well. Because of this diverse participation, individuals brought with them influence, ideas, and experiences from their conversations in this community into other sections of their work. This influence could sometimes be supportive and beneficial for changing perceptions of homosexuality, as Dora Russell will explore. However, influencing other social movements perceptions of homosexuality could also be detrimental, as will be discussed with Havelock Ellis.

Dora Russell, in her letters from readers of her feminist works, shared much of this information about homosexuality in an open dialogue that would benefit perceptions of homosexuality in eugenic and feminist spheres. That influence could sometimes sway more people into interest, or at the very least, made more people aware of homosexuality in terms of social reform. One such woman who gained interest in Russell's work was Nina Robertson MacDonald. She wrote to Russell to complain about Russell's most recent work *The Right to Be Happy*. Not much is known about MacDonald other than that she was an avid member of a Eugenics society in Australia who had very opinionated views. Dora's work briefly described homosexuality, but primarily discussed woman's need for freedom of sexual expression in marriage. MacDonald disagreed on many points, writing a raving review about how this expression could lead to venereal disease. MacDonald in this critique added homosexuality as a disease into this category calling them, "victims of an inverted genestic instinct."¹⁵³ Dora Russell was quick to refute Nina MacDonald's statements about sexuality. She called attention the problems with MacDonald's prejudice towards women who openly have sex and towards homosexuals. The shame and hiding of all sexual life, in her opinion, leads to such illnesses spreading.¹⁵⁴ Russell pointed out how all people should not have to hide their sexual feelings and desires. I would take this to include homosexuality, although it is never mentioned in the letter against MacDonald's statement. It said in response to a letter that included homosexuality, so it could be included as a factor in Dora Russell's response.

It is unfortunate that Russell did not directly mention homosexuality, but this perhaps was done on purpose to make her language inclusive, but not obvious to Robertson. This inclusivity

¹⁵³ Nina Robertson MacDonald to Dora Russell, 2 Sep 1929, Dora Russell Correspondence 1929-34, Dora Russell Papers.

¹⁵⁴ Dora Russell to Nina Robertson MacDonald, 21 Sep 1929, Dora Russell Papers.

was found later when she wrote that she was “not a medical woman,” supporting the theory that Russell does not have strong opinions about the medicalization of homosexuality, which were found in McDonald’s argument.¹⁵⁵ Russell went on to explain how this was a social issue for her and focused on doing “away with false shame and repression that exists about sex matters.”¹⁵⁶ Again, although not using the term homosexuality, sex matters is a relatively neutral term that I believe can reflect homosexuality as well as heterosexuality. This might not have been Russell’s intent, but considering the letter addressed to her mentioned it, it is likely that Russell was responding in a way that addresses this issue for the reader outside of the community. Russell’s approach was less direct than Ellis, who would use the term directly outside of the those who knew the term in a social setting. Russell was, however, not part of the psychological or medical community only the social. Her being able to address the topic in a social way, without being criticized for her use of medical terminology that was out of her field, could be a tactic that still gets her opinions on homosexuality across to her audience.

Havelock Ellis would also influence opinions about homosexuality in social groups outside that of the community of sexual reformers. His interpretations, no matter how beneficial they had seemed, would unfortunately be detrimental for perceptions of homosexuals. Ellis was a literature critic, and it was common to find his scientific or social opinions imbedded in his critiques. Not all his literary critiques using a sexual lens were beneficial for promoting authors.¹⁵⁷ However, when it came to perceptions of accepting homosexual interpretations of literary works, Ellis would continue to share community goals of reducing prejudice for queer

¹⁵⁵ Dora Russell to Nina Robertson MacDonald, 21 Sep 1929, Dora Russell Papers.

¹⁵⁶ Dora Russell to Nina Robertson MacDonald, 21 Sep 1929, Dora Russell Papers.

¹⁵⁷ Ellis would critique poet HD for her analysis on the psychology of pregnancy, leading to her never publishing many of her works. Needless to say, he wasn’t so great at helping promote equality for women fighting gender stereotypes around sex. Robin Pappas. *H.D. and Havelock Ellis: Popular Science and the Gendering of Thought and Vision* (Women's Studies: 2009) 38:2, 151-182.

individuals and fighting for decriminalization of homosexuality. Nicholas F Radel, literary scholar, argues that Ellis' literary analysis through a homosexual lens would influence that of future critiques studying dramatists in the Renaissance.¹⁵⁸ Although Ellis was trying to create a sense of understanding and empathy towards homosexuals by including the author Christopher Marlow alongside Shakespeare's works, he instead created a further divide between homosexuality and heterosexuality in Shakespearean literature. Ellis highlighted and reprinted many works of Christopher Marlowe, a queer man by most modern standards, alongside that of Shakespeare's own works. His first work was written on Marlowe and Shakespeare in 1887, but Ellis would continue to write about both in several other works including his own autobiography *My Life*.¹⁵⁹ Unfortunately, while Ellis believed he was helping to understand homosexuality in the literary world, he juxtaposed Shakespeare and heterosexuality with that of the rarer works of the homosexual Marlowe. By introducing this perception of homosexuality to literature, critiques would perceive heterosexuality as the norm and homosexuality as the abnormal outsider or exception.¹⁶⁰

It is important to note that Ellis mentioned homosexuality in the context of understanding and acceptance of queer writers in his works from 1887 to 1936. Regardless of the later separation from Marlowe and strong heteronormativity given to Shakespeare, Ellis used Marlowe's works, which had never been published before, to try and promote more acceptance of queer literary works from the Renaissance. He used Marlowe as an argument for how queerness was represented throughout time. Not only was this supposed to help homosexual writers from the renaissance, but it also represented Symonds ideas about homosexuality in

¹⁵⁸ Nicholas F Radel PhD, "Havelock Ellis's Literary Criticism, Canon Formation, and the Heterosexual Shakespeare," *Journal of Homosexuality* (Taylor and Francis Group: 2009), 1048.

¹⁵⁹ Havelock Ellis, *My Life*. Windmill Press 1940, (Internet Archive, 2017).

¹⁶⁰ Radel, "Havelock Ellis's Literary Criticism," 1064.

Greek philosophers as well. This was supposed to be a tribute to the sexual reform community, and their goals for understanding. The fact that Ellis repeatedly used these references in relation to Shakespeare over the course of the entire creation of community again reflects the influence that Symonds, Carpenter, and others had on Ellis' works. It especially shows how the community of sexual reforms' support and influence was key in spreading homosexual ideas of equality and acceptance to other areas of social movements.

No matter what Ellis's original intent was, by including ideas about homosexuality into Shakespearean literature, Ellis encouraged views of Shakespeare as a homosexual man to a heterosexual man for the next half of a century. Ellis was not the primary influencer that changed perceptions on Shakespeare, but his detailed analysis did provide perfect fuel for other literary critiques after him. In 1920, several critiques would allude to Ellis's works including C. H. Herford. In Herford's work, "The Normality of Shakespeare Illustrated in his Treatment of Love and Marriage," he juxtaposes "abnormal" parts of Shakespeare's works with the "norms" of love that prepares people for marriage.¹⁶¹ Herford would go on to argue that Shakespeare is the ideal for "healthy and moral love" again almost directly speaking to Ellis' point about the difference between Shakespeare, idolized as the norm and Marlowe, the abnormal.¹⁶² Herford is not the only one to use Ellis's comparisons of Marlowe and Shakespeare in a similar juxtaposition. This trend of putting Shakespeare and Marlowe in opposition continued into the 1950s and 60s with many other critics. One critic was Irving Ribner who juxtaposed the two in his work *Marlowe and Shakespeare*.¹⁶³ Again Ribner uses the concepts of "moral" versus "immoral" to describe

¹⁶¹ C.H. Herford, "The Normality of Shakespeare Illustrated in his Treatment of Love and Marriage," English Association Pamphlet 47: 1920. 4-6.

¹⁶² Herford, "The Normality of Shakespeare," 4.

¹⁶³ Robert Sawyer, "Shakespeare and Marlowe: Re-Writing the Relationship." *Critical Survey* 21, no. 3 (2009): 41-58. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41556327>.

this difference between the homosexual Marlowe and the heterosexual Shakespeare.¹⁶⁴ While Ellis did spread positive views of homosexuality into other social movements because of its large transnational connections, he did not have control over how others would use or manipulate his work. This led to corrupted opinions of the original ideas of the community. Thus, spreading ideas about homosexual individuals, their lifestyles, and writings brought some interest and understanding but also harm and demonization.

Public perceptions of homosexuality left Russell distancing herself from homosexual ideas all the while still using them in her works in other social movements. Russell was not as straight forward in her thinking as Ellis and his writings. Despite this, Russell still supported her points of understanding that the community had held, and which had been shared with Russell years prior from correspondence and interactions with Ellis and Hirschfeld. The continuation of spreading ideas into new social areas shows the importance that the transnational and wide networked community could have on sharing information to many areas leading to social change, both good and bad. Although it would fade with the start of WWII, the impact from this shared information and more accepting attitude would live on.

From the support and discussions in the community of sexual reformers, these ideas were able to spread to other transnational movements. From literary critiques of philosophical information to that of literature and older texts, the ideas of the community from the early 1900s continued to thrive into the 1930s. Transnationalism and discussion of homosexuality may have started between a few people in private correspondence, but it quickly turned into an open Western discussion of sex and psychology. The drastic rise of the communities' ideas spreading transnationality came from this influence, support, and desire to understand without prejudice.

¹⁶⁴ Sawyer, "Shakespeare and Marlowe: Re-Writing the Relationship," 50.

Those values are reflected in the individuals works and discussions outside of it such as Ellis and Russell, but the connections to the community are what made that outreach of discussion possible.

Conclusion

The sexual social reform community that focused homosexuality was changing in the 1930s. Newer members still wanted to contribute to the understanding of homosexuality for the benefits of queer individuals, but they lacked the personal touch of the older generation. These two competing forces, the older generation's interpretation, and the newer generation's interpretation, spread their influence towards other members joining or existing in the community and to those in other organizations. The newer generation found ways to implement their opinions in a subtler way. Russell promoted from a distance or without discussing her opinions about homosexuality directly, while Haire only discussing it in relation to other people. Still Ellis kept the attitudes of the 1890s from Carpenter and Symonds alive in his literary works and personal correspondence with those around the world like Rodriguez in Spain. In both methods, the ideas of sympathy and attempts to understand in a beneficial way towards homosexuals and queer individuals continued in the transnational community spreading through the vast network of transnational social and scientific movements arising during the interwar period.

Perhaps this gap may also have led to the downfall of the league as those who preferred to remain more private on the matter no longer had influence in later years once the older generation had died. It didn't help that there was very little future for international connections with the rise of nationalism and political turmoil in the west. Three years after Rodriguez's death, the Spanish Civil War started 1936. The Spanish left that had been so interested in social

movements with other countries, was now begging for support of their political causes during the war. There was no time to pick up what Rodriguez had left behind. Homosexuality and its transnational discussions were at a loss, fading into the background of an impending war. Finally, the political switch to nationalism in many countries, redirected any homosexual support from a transnational to a national issue. Thus, the newer generation in the community would soon become unable to discuss their opinions on a transnational level as they had done a few years prior. The community was gone, falling apart like the trinational movements around them. Nevertheless, homosexuality had become a social discussion across the western world because of the community's involvement, commitment, and influence transnationally.

Epilogue

Many things led to the end of the community. One was the political climate and turmoil at the time. Germany under the Nazis power began to destroy any positive perceptions of homosexuality that had been created in the Interwar period, instead instilling persecution, and punishment into laws society's views of homosexuality. The burning of the Institut für Sexualwissenschaft in 1933, was just the beginning, as persecution eventually led to hundreds of arrests. Many were charged under the revised Paragraph 175, a law which had criminalized homosexual acts. This law became harsher and broader, leading the arrests of many more men who may just have vaguely fit the description of gender and sexual nonconformity.¹⁶⁵ At the height of these issues from 1936 onward, the Nazi arrests led to years of imprisonment or worse. A few homosexual men, usually with multiple offenses, were forced into concentration camps. Even after 1945, this persecution continued, leaving many gay men still living in fear until the 1970s and 80s.¹⁶⁶ Lesbians and queer women in Germany did not have as strict regulation, nor

¹⁶⁵ United States Holocaust Museum, "Paragraph 175," 2021.

¹⁶⁶ United States Holocaust Museum, "Gay Men Under the Nazi Regime," 2021

was the act of sex between women a crime, but the fear and persecution from Nazi raids and attacks still reduced and shrunk the queer community for women as well.¹⁶⁷ Overall, the large communities and thriving lives of queers in the bars, parties, and politics in Berlin and Germany from the 1920s and 30s fell apart, leaving many scared of persecution or arrest.

The rise in nationalism also reduced transnational connections as most people began to focus inward on their own country's social problems and movements.

Another reason for the decline was the deaths in the community including Hirschfeld, Ellis, and Emma Goldman. With many of the older community members gone, the political polarization of the 1930s began to catch up to the newer members. Dora Russell and Norman Haire, the two strong remaining members of both the WLSR and the community were especially affected by the tumultuous political climate in Europe. Their involvement in other organizations and their political views became so polarized that it eventually led their relationship as friends and colleagues to fall apart. Haire was the first to initiate the idea that they were no longer friends. Sticking to his beliefs of distancing himself from opinions that would be considered controversial, he told Russell, “[I] prefer to hold myself aloof from political activities [...] You, on the other hand, are a political revolutionary, and your interest in sexual reform is definitely secondary.”¹⁶⁸ In this same letter Norman Haire went on to explain how he no longer wants to bicker with other members in the League who also want this “political revolution” and “it seems to me that it would be better for me to retire.”¹⁶⁹ Following this logic, he did retire, but took the League with him since no one else wanted to take over its organization. Thus, the WLSR closed in 1935, the same year of Hirschfeld's death. A friend group that had been so supportive and had

¹⁶⁷ United States Holocaust Museum, “Lesbians Under the Nazi Regime,” 2021.

¹⁶⁸ Norman Haire to Dora Russell, 5 December 1935. Dora Russell Papers. 10622 ARCH01 225.8.

¹⁶⁹ Norman Haire to Dora Russell, 5 December 1935. Dora Russell Papers. 10622 ARCH01 225.8.

reached great heights in their pursuits was gone, shattered by the collapse of transnational movements and political turmoil around them.

One American, Jan Gay, tried to revive the community by contacting Goldman and Hirschfeld at the beginning of 1934. Both supported her works and fight for helping queer individuals, as she was a lesbian herself. After Ellis's death in 1939 and Goldman's in 1940 Gay was forced to work with others outside the accepting community. The deaths and lost contacts that Gay had eventually would lead her to stop her work in 1941. A sexologist George W. Henry's whose work, *Sex Variants: A Study of Homosexual Patterns*, only gave her minor acknowledgement when most of the book was about her findings.¹⁷⁰ She was left devastated and heartbroken about the exploitation of her work, leaving her to stop her research. With so few people left, and with more restrictions on publication in Nazi Germany, the community, and its ideas of understanding for homosexuality faded away.

The social movements fighting for queer rights began to fade, but the acts of homosexuality and hidden communities did not fracture in the US or Britain as they did in Germany. World War II did not lead to acceptance of homosexuality but did allow many men from England and the United States to continue homosexual activities in the military. It was not seen as homosexuality, but rather a way to get sexual relief without women present.¹⁷¹ Many queer women would also join the military, as finding a way to determine sexuality was only based on stereotypes of the hyper-masculine woman.¹⁷² Despite the military's attempts to crack down on this behavior, WWII was filled with hidden communities that were part of the fight against the Axis powers.

¹⁷⁰ Kissack, 176.

¹⁷¹ Emma Vickers, "Introduction," *Queen and Country: Same-sex desire in the British Armed Forces, 1939-45*, (Manchesterhive, 2015).

¹⁷² Emma Vickers, "Introduction," 10.

The sexual reform community that came out of the early 1900s was lost and networks scattered, but it was not the end of its ideas, which still permeated after the war in other forms. A transnational community took the place of the Interwar period community with the Homophile Movement from the 1950s to 1960s. In 1951 came the arrival of the new International Committee for Sexual Equality (ICSE). Many organizations in Europe joined including Universal Declaration of Human Rights which had members from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.¹⁷³ Not part of this transnational organization would be Britain, who had many members, but no organization officially joined.¹⁷⁴ Eventually the United States was also allowed into the ICSE with through the Mattachine Society in 1953.¹⁷⁵ The International Committee for Sexual Equality did not have members from the World League for Sexual Reform join them. Many in the organization went on to do other things or created national smaller organizations to fight for equality instead of trying to work across borders during a war. Like the World League of Sexual Reform before it, it was primarily made of white upper-class men and did not last very long.¹⁷⁶ However, the ideas of a transnational identity for queer people outside of national borders did persist. Thus, the continuation of the fight for homosexual rights through transnationalism was not lost, rather, it became a part of a different community.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ Leila J Rupp, “The Persistence of Transnational Organizing: The Case of the Homophile Movement” (Oxford: University of Chicago Press: 2011), 6.

¹⁷⁴ Leila J Rupp, “The Persistence of Transnational Organizing,” 6.

¹⁷⁵ Mattachine Society was a very secret society founded by communists in the United States. To learn more about the society and its influence on the Homophile Movement in America read Molly S Jacobs “Hiding in Plain Sight: The Mattachine Society’s Use of Loose Coupling as a Strategy for Covert Political Action” vol. 44 Iss 4 (Durham: 2020).

¹⁷⁶ Rupp, 22.

¹⁷⁷ Rupp, 1.

Conclusion

This thesis established that there was a transnational community of sexual social reformers which prioritized helping homosexuals from a personal and empathetic perspective. I proved this was a community because it had similar goals of showing society that homosexuals were not mentally ill and that homosexuality should be decriminalized. It also was a community because it helped people who felt like they didn't belong to figure out their identity in a safe space. JA Symonds and Havelock Ellis portrayed this attempt for understanding by personally sharing their emotions in correspondence. JA Symonds and Edward Carpenter also showed the importance of identity and safety through their trust of keeping a private correspondence. In the next chapter, Emma Goldman also portrayed how she also was able to understand homosexuality in a safe space from the community. The ability to express herself in a safe space led her to feel included and supported when other countries had cast her out for her opinions on homosexuality. Thus, the support of a community allowed many to find their place or identity without scrutiny from the rest of their society.

As time moved on, the community began to bring in new members which changed some of the community from personal to a distant support for homosexuality and homosexual individuals. In the second chapter I argue that this arose because the people who joined were introduced and interested in homosexuality from an already distant and non-personal perspective. In chapter three I expanded on this argument showing how Norman Haire was able to convince Dora Russell to also support homosexuality from a distance in the third World League for Sexual Reform. The third chapter also shows how there were still those like Havelock Ellis who kept the personal part of the community alive through discussions with new members like Hidegart Rodriguez. These two approaches to helping homosexual individuals did not split or destroy the community, but made it more complex until its end in 1936.

Using transnationalism to help support the LGBTQ+ community is still common today. In his book *Transnational LGBT Activism* from 2014, Ryan Thoreson discusses the international and transnational non-governmental organizations that exist today and the reoccurring issues in these programs. Thoreson focused on the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission which changed its name to OutRight Action International in 2015.¹⁷⁸ He found that the organization allowed him to “interrogate or critique [others in the community’s] work without appearing to attack their motivations.”¹⁷⁹ Thoreson would also go on to explain how he began to understand the continuing pressures on the organization from many different angles and beliefs.¹⁸⁰ I believe this reflects my work well. On the one hand, the community was able to share, influence, and critique others’ ideas in a space without being rejected or attacked. This was because they all had a similar goal, just as Thoreson shared motivations with his coworkers. At the same time, there were pressures from their nation’s upper-class society to distance themselves from the ideas of homosexuality. These parallels confirm that continuing efforts are being made by social organizations today and are constantly changing opinions about definitions of homosexuality while fighting for its social equality. It is important to learn how transnationalism in this social movement came to be, its successes and the potential problems that can occur because of so many people from different backgrounds.

While the community did not continue after 1936, the spirit of helping homosexuals and the homosexual community did not die. The transnational networks provided a foundation for future organizations to learn from and grow. In turn, this created more structured

¹⁷⁸ Outright Action International, “Our Story.” outrightinternational.org.

¹⁷⁹ Ryan R Thoreson, “Introduction: ‘Studying Up’ and the Anthropology of Transnational LGBT Human Rights Advocacy,” In *Transnational LGBT Activism: Working for Sexual Rights Worldwide* (University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 22.

¹⁸⁰ Ryan R Thoreson, “Introduction,” 22.

and supportive communities like the non-profit OutRight Action organization that did not only support white upper-class homosexuals, but also broader perspectives from around the world. Nevertheless, the community and its members still reflect the complexity of trying help solve social issues in many nations at once, even on micro-level. This transnational community provides a distinct picture of the interconnections of personal life and activism from the early 20th century. Following activist and social histories by exploring efforts of the individuals and their relationships gives explanations for the effectiveness and direction of the movement. The community also shows how LGBTQ+ perspectives have never been stagnant, or monolith of a few opinions. Just as in the present, sexuality and identity have been questioned, tried to be understood, and put into political rights stances since the 1890s. This understanding will continue to change, grow, and cause conflicts in the future. Understanding how a community can accept ever-changing differences is important for creating an inclusive society.

Appendix

Hildegart Rodriguez Carballeira (1914-1933): *Spanish Social Activist*

Edward Carpenter (1844-1929): *British Author, Poet, and Philosopher*

Edith Ellis (1861-1916): *British Author and Women's Rights Activist*

Havelock Ellis (1859-1939): *French and British Physician, Eugenicist*

Emma Goldman (1869-1940): *Lithuanian, American Political Activist*

Norman Haire (1892-1952): *Australian Physician, Sexologist*

Magnus Hirschfeld (1868-1935): *German Physician, Sexologist*

Bertrand Russell (1872-1970): *British Philosopher*

Dora Russell (1894-1986): *British Author and Feminist*

JA Symonds (1840-1893): *British Author and Poet*

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