HARD TO IMAGINE

Gay Male Eroticism in Photography and Film from Their Beginnings to Stonewall

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Kinsey, Hirschfeld's successor, another prowler and collector, to whom we must now turn, has not been so lucky in his posthumous institutional heirs.

Kinsey

> Of course we did anything for the advancement of science, as it were . . .
> —Sam Steward, Kinsey Institute collaborator[28]

Hirschfeld was one thing that Alfred Kinsey was not, a publicly out gay man. In fact, Kinsey was reputedly "offended" by Hirschfeld's open homosexuality, since his special pleading allegedly invalidated his objectivity as a scientist.[29] Nonetheless, Kinsey's last statement would praise his German precursor.[30]

Yet despite Kinsey's heterosexuality, the photo and film collection of the archives of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction (called the Institute for Sex Research during its heyday under the leadership of Alfred Kinsey and his successor Paul Gebhard, 1956–1982) became the most important extant collection of male

5.20 Everyday Urnings across cultures. Arabian and European lovers. In Hirschfeld, *Geschlechtskunde* 4 (1930), plates 940–41. (Bert Hansen collection)

homoerotic imagery in the world. Though not publicly disseminated like Hirschfeld's collection, the Kinsey collection would, in its own way and in its own era, participate no less momentously in the discourses of power and desire around sexuality, homosexuality, and sexual representation. I am interested above all in how, in those critical postwar years when civil rights and the politics of identity reemerged on the agenda of lesbians and gay men throughout the West, Kinsey's accumulation, classification, and understanding of homo images reflected, intervened in, and shaped that process.

First of all, a short history and description of the Kinsey collection, which I have had the privilege of exploring several times over the last ten years, are in order. It all started in 1939, as is well known, when Alfred Kinsey, the Indiana University biology professor, laid aside his gall wasp collection in order to work on his marital counseling and teaching role on campus. Beginning to collect sexual histories as part of this role, he stumbled on the sexual practices of men who had had sex with men, who were having sex with men, or who wanted to have sex with men, consciously or unconsciously. Less than ten years later the Bloomington entomologist would announce to the world what many of our elders and ancestors already knew, that we were here, queer, and everywhere, and that 37 percent of all red-blooded white American adult males were having some homosexual experience to the point of orgasm.

In that fateful spring of 1939, Kinsey wrote an excited letter to his friend Ralph Voris, a fellow biologist and former student with whom he felt a unique bond of male intimacy. In four pages prudently marked "Personal," not to be shown to Mrs. Voris, Kinsey described a field trip to the Chicago gay underworld, expressed his exhilaration at his first glimpse of the potential of his new sexological research, and referred to the "dynamite" he had uncovered in this endeavor to "tap the true study of human sexual behavior." The letter effuses with other uncharacteristic words like "amazing," "marvellous" and "impossible" (though never the full H word that Kinsey would fastidiously avoid in all correspondence):

> Have been to Hallowe'en parties, taverns, clubs, etc., which would be unbelievable if realized by the rest of the world. Always they have been most considerate and cooperative, decent, understanding, and cordial in their reception. Why has no one cracked this before? There are at least 300,000 involved in Chicago alone.
>
> What I would have done without your earlier help, I do not know. For instance, I have had to do more drinking in single weekends than I thought I would ever do in a lifetime, and I still think it bitter. I have diaries from long years—I have whole albums of photographs of their friends, or from commercial sources—fine art to putrid. Some of the art model material is gorgeous. I want you to see it.[31]

Before proceeding, a digressive comment on this wonderful text, whose citation must nevertheless *not* be construed as an attempt at "outing" the happily married scientist who himself, in a manner of speaking, outed millions. Speculation about Kinsey's sexual orientation already appeared in print long before "outing" became a fashionable ideological strategy,[32] but such speculation would not be particularly relevant here even

if hard evidence about America's most professional secret-keeper existed. Suffice it to say that Kinsey's gay contemporaries who contributed to and collaborated with his research, at least the several I've interviewed and read, knew a fellow "pervert" when they ran into one even if they did avoid both the reductiveness of labels and the violation of privacy, avoidances that the gay culture of the period required. Sam Steward, one of perhaps the four or five gay male collaborators closest to Kinsey—and there were hundreds—would tell people that Kinsey was queer all right, "but not in the same way we are. He is a voyeur and auditor. He likes to look and listen."[33]

Kinsey's gay collection had begun in Chicago, and the impulse of a collector, perhaps erotic, to share his acquisitions with a kindred soul was registered in that first letter to Voris. For the next decade, Kinsey accumulated the photos, scrapbooks, diaries, films, and emphemera that gay men joyously proffered wherever he went; he amassed them eagerly, indiscriminately, with the principal agenda of documenting scientifically through them the "dynamite" he had unbared. He discovered immediately that the phenomenon was not only biological but also social and deeply cultural, with its own systems of visual communication and communal function. The piles grew, both putrid and gorgeous, as the man his collaborator Wardell Pomeroy called "the most unusual [collector] this nation of collectors has ever seen" (*Dr. Kinsey and the Institute for Sex Research*, 16) now applied the obsessive zeal previously devoted to wasps to dirty pictures.

By the time of the letter to Voris, Kinsey had already amassed 120 homosexual histories, but according to Pomeroy a year and a half later the number had mounted to 450 (p. 75). By the time of the 1948 publication of the legendary "Kinsey Report," *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, the Kinsey team had done more than two thousand.[34] The collection of visual artifacts was now gigantic and amorphous, but the pattern of collecting was to change in several ways after 1948. With the commercial success of the first book in that year, and with the lavish funding of the Rockefeller Foundation still in place for another six years, the Institute now embarked on a systematic collecting policy. They continued of course to treasure everything that came their way, but also began a deliberate policy of acquisitions as an end in itself, filling gaps through purchases in underrepresented areas. They did so thanks largely to a proliferating network of collaborators and talent scouts throughout North America and Europe, many of them gay, soliciting personal donations and sales from a fraternity of gay photographers, filmmakers, artists, hobbyists, and collectors. This was not enough: in some cases, Kinsey's encouragement of amateur gay artists and scholars was so strong that the materials they would contribute to the collection in the form of diaries, scholarship, photos, films, and other visual materials, all scrupulously and generously reimbursed, must be viewed as commissioned documents by participant observers. One Greenwich Village collaborator, Gebhard remembers, whenever his typewriter was ripped off by a trick, would routinely get a replacement from Kinsey. Here we have in a very literal sense an instance of Foucault's science rebounding on the sphere of everyday life, of "the solidification of the sexual mosaic and the construction of devices capable not only of isolating it but of *stimulating* and *provoking* it, of forming it into focuses of attention, discourse, and *pleasure*."[35]

At the same time, the Institute made unprecedented arrangements for law enforcement agencies in major American cities to routinely hand over confiscated pornographic materials, saving a cultural heritage from destruction and in effect memorializing both victims and victimizations. Furthermore, with new confidence and new revenue, the Institute hired Bill Dellenback as staff photographer/cinematographer, acquired 16mm film equipment, and started making its own film and photographic documentation of sexual activity (which we shall return to shortly).

The homoerotic areas of the collection of images as it had evolved by the mid-fifties included as its major categories (1) commercial beefcake photography and film; (2) illicit photographs and films from both commercial and personal sources; (3) "fine arts" acquisitions: photos by such friends of the Institute as George Platt Lynes and such cult favorites as the then unknown von Gloeden, avant-garde films by artists from Genet to Jack Smith compiled in part by Institute collaborator Kenneth Anger; (4) scrapbooks and other ephemera, bursting with the eclectic visual documentation of private lusts and forgotten social worlds; and (5) "scientific" materials, including law enforcement and documentary images as well as the Institute's own output of films and photos.

All in all, it would be hard to deny that the homoerotic segments of the collection were demographically disproportionate even in terms of the stunning statistics that Kinsey himself had claimed in his book. The distinctive gay emphasis reflected the special sympathy that Kinsey had for gay culture. But also shaping the collection, most importantly, were the passion and commitment that the Institute's gay collaborators devoted to the task of preserving for science and posterity a record of their lives and loves. It was not only, as Kinsey had already noted in his letter, that gay people were extremely "co-operative." As Pomeroy would explain, "Those who were bubbling over to tell us everything they could were usually homosexuals, particularly when they discovered by our use of homosexual argot that we knew all about the kind of lives they led. They would almost visibly expand with relief and eagerness to talk."[36]

Gay people were also excellent and reliable informants, for individual private collecting and documentation, not to mention a wealth of sexual experience, had long had an intrinsic and privileged role within this disenfranchised underground culture without recorded collective history and visibility: "These people usually poured out their lives to us with a minimum of cover-up, and because society had made them feel like such special cases, they often took a greater interest in remembering or recording their experiences" (Pomeroy, p. 139).

No doubt a frequent and simple motivation from gay image contributors, like Otis Wade, was to get rid of but preserve incriminating evidence. One collaborator deposited with the Institute several photographs of each one of literally thousands of tricks, amply annotated, over the course of several decades.[37] In effect, Kinsey had tapped into an international underground of gay men who took on an unofficial role as investigators and archivists of gay culture. Kinsey and the Institute's staffers would henceforth rely on them not only for visual and literary materials, information, and contacts but also, in many cases, for close personal and professional friendships.

The gay network included ordinary gay men, living quietly outside artistic or bohemian circles, such as Otis Wade and his lover Tommy, whom Kinsey corresponded

with and visited regularly in Los Angeles for the last six years of his (Kinsey's) life.[38] Typical correspondence from the Doctor to these LA gay friends was affectionate and effusive (figure 5.21). Or take the obsessive photo trophy collector from New York, also mentioned above, an eccentric self-taught scholar, who would perhaps now be called a community-based historian, who saw his unpublished two-volume work on hustlers cited in the first Kinsey Report and whose contribution Pomeroy would describe as "probably the most complete record of a human sexual life ever compiled, and much of it written with grace and style as well as factual accuracy" (p. 169).

Another member of the club who functioned virtually as Kinsey's surrogate researcher abroad was Sixte Rapff, a German businessman living in Palermo, who impressed the Kinseyites with his "high output" as well as his prodigious contribution

5.21 "Complete cooperation." Alfred Kinsey, letter to Otis Wade, July 10, 1950. (Courtesy Otis Wade; reproduced by permission of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, Inc.)

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

INSTITUTE FOR SEX RESEARCH, Inc.
ALFRED C. KINSEY
WARDELL B. POMEROY
CLYDE E. MARTIN
PAUL H. GEBHARD
Research Associates and Trustees

July 10, 1950

Mr. Otis Wade
1806 Redesdale Avenue
Los Angeles 26, California

My dear Otis and Tommie:

Just a word to assure you again that it was a most profitable time that I had with you. You were excellent to have given me the time and to have offered such complete cooperation. I assure you again that you have a quantity of material that is of prime importance scientifically to us. I am very glad to have brought as much with us as we did. We will copy it and get it back to you as soon as possible.

I shall, of course, look forward to receiving the additional material from you, from time to time. We will return it to you just as fast as we can.

I look forward to the chance to visit with you again some day. Meanwhile, the best of everything to both of you.

Alfred C. Kinsey

ACK:erg

Alfred C. Kinsey
Professor of Zoology

Thanks for the note of July 6. I am very glad to see the magazine, and will send for it, on subscription, immediately.

of erotic materials and sociocultural data on Mediterranean (homo)sexual mores.[39] Also enlisted in the cause were a group of beefcake entrepreneurs from the growing commercial ghetto circuits of major American cities—for example, Bob Mizer of Hollywood's Athletic Model Guild, who told me that Kinsey had utterly changed his life, and Charles Renslow, his even more entrepreneurial Chicago contemporary, who would stage an S/M film for the Institute's collection.[40]

In one sense, however, the most important gay collaborators belonged to the dynamic and increasingly visible gay intelligentsia of the period. Artists from Anger to Cadmus, writers including Wescott, Isherwood, Tennessee Williams, Gore Vidal, and Thornton Wilder, performing arts notables such as Ted Shawn and Ned Rorem—all provided scholarly and theoretical exchange and encouragement in addition to the inevitable personal histories, artifacts, and contacts. Herbert Huncke, friend of the Beats and sometime writer himself, describes himself in his autobiography as having had a role as Kinsey's special guide on the sleazy side of Times Square.[41] Gay collaborators in the social and natural sciences were rarer—was this because of Kinsey's initial insistence that his scientific staff be composed of happily married WASPs?.[42]

The one salient exception to the Institute's unwitting sexual division of labor between gay and lesbian cultural authorities and heterosexual scientists was Clarence A. Tripp. Tripp's first contacts with the Institute were around his strikingly sharp and compelling homoerotic photography, and he soon assumed a research liaison role on the Greenwich Village scene (where Tripp lived on the already legendary gay mecca Sheridan Square). At first Kinsey was struck by Tripp's photography: one stunning set depicted anal intercourse and "rimming" between a famous male model and a Broadway singer and particularly impressed Kinsey with its contrast of sexual outlawry and social respectability (figure 5.22).

5.22 Sexual outlawry and respectability. Photograph by C. A. Tripp prior to his career at the Institute for Sex Research, c. 1945. (Collection of the artist)

As Tripp's stake as a research affiliate grew in importance, Kinsey encouraged him to enter the field of psychology. He eventually set up a practice as a psychotherapist and went on to write the epochal *Homosexual Matrix* in the 1970s.[43] As the only openly gay scientist officially connected with the Institute for many years, Tripp's impact on the Institute's scientific findings may have been greater than it is possible to determine. In any case, it is an irony of sexual history that the straight-identified Kinsey was more successful than the homophile political organizations of the period, including the secretive Mattachine Society, in creating strategic alliances with gay intelligentsia and gay individuals across a demographic spectrum.

As was the case with the fledgling gay political organizations and media of the period, the most serious attack on Kinsey's modus operandi came, predictably enough, from the State—namely, the U.S. Customs and, to a lesser extent, the U.S. Post Office. For years the Institute had been discreetly importing archival visual materials from around the world. For example, Gebhard remembers that François Reichenbach brought the Institute a copy of Genet's *Chant d'Amour* wrapped around his body under his clothes, while Glenway Wescott and Monroe Wheeler helpfully brought Tchelitchew's risqué works into the country. In 1953, the year Kinsey's *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* was published, the U.S. Customs in New York seized thirty-one photographs and an assortment of other objects, notified the Institute of their impending destruction, and rejected all appeals.[44]

For Kinsey and his contemporaries, the issue was not only the validity of sexological research but the scientific freedom to use and import any materials for scholarly and research purposes (i.e., not only "obscene" materials but also politically unpopular works such as those scholars of Communism were also having trouble importing during the McCarthy period). The actual content of the threatened images was secondary to these theoretical issues: they are not described in the court proceedings, and no one remembers their exact nature[45] (and when it came to the Institute's final victory, no one could really remember where they were; embarrassed Customs bureaucrats had to root around in their private home collections to find them). The Institute's legal strategy was to fully concede the pictures' "obscene" character and to insist on the Institute's right to import obscene materials for study by qualified scientists under restricted conditions. Decades earlier, Hirschfeld, when faced with a similar restriction on *Anders als die Anderen*, had at least put up a lively fight against definitions of obscenity.

The case brought enormous stress and expense to the Institute, and at one point toward the end of his life, an exhausted Kinsey confided to the editors of the homophile *One* magazine that he was ready to close down the Institute and devote himself entirely to the legal battle.[46] It was settled, on appeal in federal district court, only in 1957, after Kinsey's death, ironically at a time when the floodgates of the Sexual Revolution were about to burst, when obscenity law was in total flux with new precedents appearing almost annually, and when the recognition by U.S. obscenity jurisprudence of the right to consume such materials was less than a decade away.

In retrospect it may be hard to believe that the ideology of scientific objectivity seemed so axiomatic less than forty years ago, yet this issue remains as critical as the issue of scientific freedom. Though the judge was interested in an affidavit submitted

by the then director of the Bureau of Prisons stating that the "understanding of pathological sexuality and sexual offenders has been enhanced by the study of the erotic productions of these deviated persons," he declined to arbitrate the larger constitutional issues of scientific freedom raised by the Institute and Indiana University. For the court, the key factor was the customs regulation allowing the importation of "classics or books of recognized and established literary or scientific merit." Invoking the 1957 Roth definition of obscenity (*Roth v. United States*), namely that "to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appeals to prurient interest," the judge did not question the assumption of both parties that the materials fell within this definition. Instead, he emphasized that since the materials were not being imported for general circulation, and since "there was no reasonable probability that material would appeal to prurient interests of persons who would have access to it . . . its closely regulated use by an unimpugned institution of learning and research removes it from the ban of the statute."

The doctrine of scholarly detachment—the incompatibility of prurient interest and scholarly objectivity—was one of the most often invoked philosophical keystones of the Kinsey project. It allowed the researchers to disavow both the prurience of the wanker and, perhaps more importantly, the prurience of the Comstock. This ground-breaking refusal to pass moral judgment was obviously a factor in the Institute's gay collaborators' unstinting support as well as the reason for their ultimate loss of foundation funding during the McCarthy hysteria. This strategic neutrality in the hostile context of the 1950s was in effect the most ardent of partisanships.

From another point of view, it was a time when science was the favorite alibi of taboo sexual discourses, and many of the commodities of the imminent Sexual Revolution had a distinct pseudoscientific flavor. It was a time when *Playboy* aspired to sexological authority, when physique magazines claimed to be engaged in kinesiology and "anthropometry,"[47] when important obscenity precedents were set around films on childbirth, venereal disease, the naturist movement, and Third World nudity,[48] and when pseudojournalistic exposés of perversion, decorated with pictures and dubious Ph.D.'s, were standard fare in men's entertainment media. A recent study led by Bill Nichols of the analogies and continuities between the sister disciplines of pornography and visual anthropology simply confirms what was a pop understanding of 1950s gay culture[49] (the claim to be "doing research" is still a familiar occasion for dramatic eye-rolling within gay culture, and the joke no doubt dates from the empiricist fifties). The presence side-by-side on the Kinsey shelves of ethnographic nudes and cheese-/beefcake, occasionally indistinguishable, provides a similar confirmation. Kinsey himself recommended that sexological libraries stock pseudo-anthropological and pseudopsychological literature.[50]

Meanwhile, as the discourses of heterosexual popular culture around the two Kinsey Reports inevitably lathered up considerable prurient interest in their turn, the researchers stepped up their disavowals of desire. For example, Pomeroy's frequently stated invocations of scientific attitude focus in this case on the highly sensitive filming of sexual activities in Kinsey's Bloomington attic: "Speaking for myself, I cannot recall

a single instance of sexual arousal on my part when I was observing sex behavior, and I am certain this was equally true of Kinsey and the other staff members" (p. 176).

Such excessive protests of disinterest belied more than popular culture and everyday gay folk wisdom. In fact, they also belied the Kinseyites' own somewhat contradictory theory of visual representation and symbolic communication even as they were constructing it piecemeal. At times, the Kinsey research use of imagery seemed naively positivist, limited to its provision of empirical physiological data and social evidence. Images were collected not in their own right, or so the Institute argued to the court, but for the scientific evidence they offered. An exquisite chiaroscuro male nude, one of the "gorgeous" ones no doubt, is inscribed with shorthand data about the model's age, education, and sexual proclivities, as if such data could thwart its aesthetic dynamics, suppress its erotic power.[51] Tripp's exquisite photo of extremities (figure 5.23) fascinated Kinsey, the photographer remembers, because of the uncurly pubic hair it revealed.[52] And what is one to make of another blind spot, Pomeroy's memory that the dozens of acquired stag films did not even interest Kinsey because they were "faked" (p. 181)?

On the other hand, the compilers of the world's largest collection of penis images also advanced the claims, emerging most systematically in the 1953 report *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*,[53] that (and I offer these crudely reductive paraphrases from *Female* in the interests of brevity) (1) watching one's own penis during masturbation was frequently a sign of homosexuality (p. 667), (2) male heterosexual culture itself is based to no small extent on penis watching (pp. 651ff., esp. 656, 674–76), (3) images enter concretely into sexual arousal for large demographic sectors of men, especially "better educated groups" (p. 667), (4) unconscious motivations enter into sexual looking and arousal (p. 674), and (5) artistic creativity is intrinsically erotic (pp.

5.23 Straight fascination. This model's uncurly pubic hair struck Dr. Kinsey. (Photograph by C. A. Tripp; collection of the artist)

651–56). (Indeed, a major unfinished project was to have been an investigation of the role of sexuality in artistic creation, and several of the gay artistic collaborators were recruited for this scheme.) This is not to mention the theory, having what would now be called an essentialist taint but then based empirically on the Kinsey interviews, that males are far more responsive to psychological/visual stimuli than females, who are bound by physical and sensory stimuli. Or, as E. M. Forster paraphrased it after dining with the Doctor, "[All men] love smut."[54] In short, the protests that science was the *only* motivation of this coterie of male smut collectors are at the very least undermined by their very ideas about the important role of images in the construction of sexual response.

As innovative as the Kinseyites' ideas about images and fantasies were for their time, their ideology of sexual representation was far from fully worked out or consistent, and all too often compromised by naive faith in the transparency of the image that rivals that of their forebear Hirschfeld.[55] Finally—and this may be the most important contradiction in the Institute's credo of scientific objectivity—the gay collaborators who filmed, photographed, performed, collected, provided, and interpreted the images for the Institute were often self-conscious and proudly partisan, as I have repeatedly intimated. In other words, it defies belief that the activity of collecting and research based on such unabashedly subjective input could support any claims to scientific neutrality. Kinsey's 1950s critics who harped on his disproportionate input from homosexuals were closer to the truth than the Kinseyites admitted or perhaps even realized.

I would be the last person to question Kinsey's intellectual integrity as a scientist committed to empirical research. Yet as a scholar who shares my generation's skepticism about the possibility of objectivity in the social and biological sciences, I would go even further than snorting at the positivist, empiricist principle of sexual research swallowed so innocently by 1950s jurisprudence. Instead I propose outright that the stance of prurience is one of the fundamental principles of gay cultural and sexual research, then as now, a science legitimized, energized, and prioritized by desire.

Moving Pictures

> I was resolved . . . to put on a good show for posterity and the archives, and to present the comparatively newly revived sport of sado-masochism in a light good enough to make it acceptable and politically correct for coming generations into the next century. A sense of history was on us both. Our romantic horizontal dance was to be filmed.
>
> —Sam Steward (1991, remembering his 1949 "performance")[56]

Many of these issues tend to crystallize around Kinsey's actual filming of sexual behavior that took place starting around 1945 and continued after his death, well disguised in the Institute's financial requisitions and in the second Kinsey Report as filming of "Mammalian behavior." Clarence Tripp inaugurated the series in his Greenwich Village residence well before the official Institute filming began in Kinsey's renovated Bloomington attic. If the first film featured a heterosexual New Yorker whose claim to fame was a full no-hands control over his ejaculation, the second film was perhaps closer to Tripp's heart: two Puerto Rican hustlers performing their real-life love affair for the camera. The sentimental Kinsey's own favorite film of the series, Tripp remembers,

presented a particularly affectionate performance involving another Puerto Rican man, this time with a hustler of German origin (figure 5.24). Ever the quantifier, Kinsey decided he wanted two thousand male orgasms on screen, so Tripp gave the German model two dollars for each potential subject he recruited and remembers a lineup of New York hustlers going all around the block. Not all performers were professionals: Tripp himself ended up starring in six or so of the Institute's films, and writers Wescott and Allen Ginsberg would also record their lovemaking for posterity.[57] Tripp was proficient in both 16mm and the emerging home technology of 8mm, as well as still photography, but soon the series was taken over by his (heterosexual) partner Bill Dellenback, who joined the migration to Bloomington and became an Institute stalwart for forty years.

In short, as with the Institute's collection as a whole, the Kinsey films were disproportionately homoerotic in content, with gay men predictably rushing to volunteer to perform for posterity and nonprostitute women and heterosexual men usually demurring. Performance modes were not easily banished from the scientific record: Steward remembers one performer, a New York sadist, as "a great ham. Whenever he heard Bill's camera start to whirr, he'd whoop it up all the more." Based on textual evidence, even the series of films on male masturbation was performed largely by gay male subjects, undermining at the very least its demographic representativity. As for the films' structure, for all their one-take uninflected documentary aspirations, they come across now as miniature narratives, organized unquestioningly, like stag films of the period and indeed like the Kinsey Reports themselves, around the principle of the orgasm as goal

5.24 Affectionate performance. Photographic record of Kinsey's favorite movie couple, a German hustler and his Puerto Rican partner. (Photograph by C. A. Tripp; collection of the artist)

and climax of sexuality. The aura of willing and eager performance permeates the films, and postcoital behaviors especially give the sense of pride in a job well done: one performer executes a neat headstand; in an S/M film, the top checks to see if the bottom has come and gives him a self-consciously affectionate pat; Ginsberg toasts the camera and flashes a peace sign.

In another context Parker Tyler noticed a similar will-to-please dynamic with another erotic filmmaker whose minimalist aesthetic in fact is strikingly similar to Kinsey and Tripp's, Andy Warhol:

> [The 1963 film] *Kiss*, which lasts fifty minutes and holds numerous pairs of kissers, does not fail to show signs of tiring its subjects and forcing them to fresh prodigies of osculative style to justify, it seems, the camera time being spent on them. Here already was a flagrant "impurity." The human subjects involuntarily betrayed that a sort of theater was present, a "show" which felt obliged to sustain the "interest."[58]

Kinsey's own role in the filming is fascinating: one might well add to his alleged special proclivities as voyeur and auditor the term *metteur-en-scène*. The Doctor set up his scenarios with utmost care, introducing, for example, the New York sadist to a Chicago masochist for an intense two-day shoot, or facilitating hot threesomes, piss scenes, and voyeur choreographies in front of Mrs. Kinsey's patterned curtains and on her oft-changed sheets. Or he would enlist his gay collaborators' good services on the lookout for new talent who would live up to his expectations. "He will work for you in that way like a charm," wrote Wescott, one of the gay network, in a long detailed letter setting up his boyfriend of the moment for a screen test, "[and] . . . I think you may want him more than once with a change of partners" (*Continual Lessons*, 335).

Tripp has little sympathy for the portrait of Kinsey as voyeur: for him his mentor was simply insistent on observing the "physiological minutiae" of sexual behavior, the curling of a toe or the retraction of the testicles at the moment of orgasm, the gush or dribble of the ejaculate. Yet the films confirm in a broader sense how the Kinsey research participated intrinsically in the structural dynamics of voyeurism. How can the pleasure of men fucking for the camera—eager to live up to the Doctor's expectations, to come before the film ran out, to record their ecstasy for science—how can the pleasure of scientists watching them, hoping they will respond to each other, seizing the visual evidence of the orgasm they had facilitated, how can these pleasures be mistaken for evidence of unmediated physiological fact rather than input into a collaborative dynamic of science and desire? How can the pleasure of scientific looking be separated from the pleasure of erotic looking? How can this visualization of homosexuality be separated from the cognitive and perceptual organization of the senses in the modern age, the optical organization of the world, the regime of what Gertrude Koch calls *Schaulust*,[59] the drive for visual pleasure, what Foucault calls the "interplay of knowledge and pleasure"?

The Kinsey archival policy continued intermittently right up until it began to sputter out in the early 1980s after the departure of the last Kinsey collaborator from the

Institute. Meanwhile several stages and milestones can be seen to have determined the shape and evolution of the collection. After Kinsey's death in 1956, cataloguing and assimilating replaced collecting as the principal energy of the archive. The present system of classifying most images by behavior was instituted by Kinsey's anthropologist successor, Paul Gebhard. His taxonomical system grouped together all photographs depicting, say, masturbation, and dispersed groups of images collected by a single donor according to the physical behaviors depicted. Aside from flouting the basic archival principle of respecting provenance, this system ordains that classification becomes the determining erotic discourse—not only the decision as to whether an erection is partial or a pose is leaning or upright becomes an erotic challenge but also the process of looking, comparing, assimilating, defining, the process of matching, on the basis of behavioral criteria, the imaginary world of one image with another in a narrative coherence.

In the late sixties and early seventies, the explosion of hard- (and soft)core erotic commodities throughout the West swamped the Institute and doomed the policy of indiscriminate collecting as space almost immediately became filled to bursting. More importantly, the Archives' special relationship with gay America quietly changed. Its role as steward, compiler, and executor of a priceless underground culture shifted to that of monitor of mainstream commerce, a role that was unevenly maintained and unevenly productive. Resting on dusty laurels, much of the Institute's archival vocation became outmoded by the advances in public tolerance for sexual discourses that it itself had done so much to inaugurate. The original structural control by the scientific establishment of gay men's voluntary offerings of their lives and images evolved into a post-gay-liberation dynamic in which gay men saw our past and our imaginary rationed and withheld.

In conclusion, Kinsey's legacy, celebrated by his lesbian and gay contemporaries but benignly ignored and suppressed ever since, needs to be reopened as a subject for further research and debate. On the one hand, it is clear that Kinsey's historic revelation of invisible sexual practices and identities, his collecting and classification of taboo images, and his quantitative methodologies had their logical analogues in the same postwar period in the hegemony of empirical methodologies in the social sciences and public policy. Though Kinsey himself spoke out clearly against all of their more sinister ramifications, there are striking analogies between his empiricist sexology and, say, the classificatory systems of the military and the FBI, antiobscenity vigilantism by state agencies, the sex hysteria of the media, and the further entrenchment of the psychiatrization of perversion and other means of repression.

Yet in visualizing the heretofore invisible, what was inscribed and what is legible in the Kinsey project, as with Hirschfeld's, is not only the scientific knowing, codification, controlling, and repression of the homosexual body and its desires; there is also its preservation, its affirmation, its enactment, and even its celebration—in short, its resistance to power. The contradictions and tensions within Kinsey's practice and vision provided a structure and language of emancipation, and acted as the catalyst, arbiter, and executor of the homoerotic imaginary in the postwar, pre-Stonewall era.

Erotic Images and the Gay Movement

> *One* advocates no illegal acts, condones none in the past, incites none in the future. This magazine is not intended as an erotic publication.
>
> —*One: The Homosexual Magazine* (editorial statement, 1956)

No matter how culturally sensitive and community-based Dr. Hirschfeld and Dr. Kinsey were in their research, their images of gay sexuality could never fully cross over from their isolation as scientists into the everyday cultures and lives of their lay constituencies. I have included fragmentary evidence of the match between the sexologists' visual construction of the homoerotic and the self-images of *individuals* who contributed by their examples or their image-making to the scientific research. But to what extent did the Hirschfeld and Kinsey images correspond to and intersect with *collective* self-images, with the political conscience and leadership of the gay *collectivities* that were the object of their work? As part of their explicit political role, "nonerotic" magazines serving as the mouthpieces of community information and mobilization in each period frequently published sexual images that can begin to answer that question.

For over seventy years, between the 1896 founding of *Der Eigene* and the 1969 eruption of Stonewall, gay community magazines in Europe and North America presented their readers with particular representations of the male body, of gay desire, and of gay erotic relationships. These images, sporadic or obsessive, timid or brazen, stayed afloat throughout those decades in the undulations of relative censorship and freedom, relative community empowerment and dispersion. I conclude this chapter and this book by skimming over seventy years of those magazines and savoring how their erotic image-making practice dialogued with the sexological pioneers who presided over their eras. Though such a skimming can only point toward future comprehensive research, these glimpses of how self-defined gay political discourses imagined gay sexuality will help us tie together a few final threads in the politics of sexual representation, as well as hopefully unravel a few new ones.

That Hirschfeld and the WHK's medico-humanist vision were but one side of a fierce debate in gay circles on the nature and origins of homosexuality has recently become better known.[60] On the other side were the members of the more conservative Gemeinschaft der Eigenen (Community of the self-owned), founded in 1902 by Wilhelm Jansen (1866-1943), Benedict Friedländer (1866–1908), and Adolf Brand (1874–1945), who had been the editor of the pioneering gay magazine *Der Eigene: Ein Blatt für Männliche Kultur* (The Self-Owned: A paper for male culture) since 1896.[61] Though not a unitary voice, the Gemeinschaft's politics were closely aligned to what Steakley has called an "anti-modernist backlash."[62] They pushed traditional models of masculinity and gender politics (if not male supremacy), homosocial institutions and Socratic mentorship, *Lieblingminne* (chivalric love) and *Freundesliebe* (love of friends), all the while disdaining Hirschfeld's preoccupation with genitals and orgasm. Their sexual discourses were instinctive, mystical, and cultural rather than scientific and medical.

At first the split between the two camps was not as entrenched as it would later become. For example, the pre-World War I *Eigene* seemed to show a visual interest in

Hirschfeld's theories and exemplified them in the garlanded androgynes of von Gloeden and his imitators (figure 5.25). Still, the Gemeinschaft sensibility, what Dyer calls the "male identification" model (*Now You See It*, pp. 22ff.), was to prevail. As we have already seen, this was consistent with the strongman image of turn-of-the-century Physical Culture and the already emerging iconography of virile male athleticism of Frei Körper Kultur (FKK) in the twenties.

Before World War I, *Der Eigene*'s regularity paralleled the fortunes of its editor, who, in addition to his obscenity convictions, had been the only person jailed as a result of the Eulenberg scandal (criminal libel). In 1924 the magazine rebounded from subscription-based discretion to public newsstand visibility, where it remained for the rest of the decade. Brand himself signed most of its plentiful FKK-oriented photo nudes, which were actively marketed by mail order and spread through subsidiary magazines like the weekly *Eros*. The Brand product was the characteristic gay beefcake of the era and it is not surprising that our old friend Piet was a customer (see figure 3.10).

Though the adolescents at the center of Brand's fantasy world sometimes visually echoed the smooth androgynes of yore, their association with the Wandervögel and Socratic ideals of the Gemeinschaft was all but explicit. And the emergence of the idealized soldier among Brand's iconography, a mature exception to his usual taste, has been seized on quite rightly as a dark omen[63] (as well might the title of another of Brand's magazines, *Deutsche Rasse* [German Race]). Frontal nudity was common, but Brand's photos seem curiously oblique and repressed: his narrative groupings of languid youths on riverbank or field were luminously pantheistic but seldom involved exchanges of looks or touches.[64] No doubt scarred by his earlier run-ins with the law, Brand's rare twosomes were just that, never couples (figure 5.26). In short, like much of his generation, Brand seemed unable to match Hirschfeld's clarity and forthrightness in conceiving visually of gay sexuality and the gay subject—only its luscious, smiling objects.

Der Eigene was not the only game in town. As many as twenty-five gay and lesbian magazines crowded the German market, with titles ranging from *Die Freundschaft* (Friendship, 1919–1932), to *Der Hellasbote* (Herald of Greece, 1923–24); there were even a satirical magazine, an S/M specialty mag, and several lesbian ones. So visible were the gay magazines that a public health officer, one Dr. Strassmann, railed publicly against their corrupting effect on youth, who would be lured by nude coverboys at street kiosks, and then by the personal ads, into the enslavement of cocaine and prostitution.[65] Censorship increased as a result of such outcries, and Hirschfeld was among those joining in the community riposte when the gay magazine *Die Freundschaft* was threatened.[66] *Der Eigene* kept its nudes inside and was known for its persistent political and intellectual tone (e.g., in 1925, an excerpt from a Klaus Mann novel in progress, and an essay called "Male Heroes and Comrade-Love in War"). By the end of the decade it perhaps began to seem old-fashioned. Newer magazines such as the independent *Die Insel* (The island, 1926–1932) easily eclipsed Brand's products, reportedly reaching a circulation of 130,000 in 1930.[67] For *Der Eigene*'s intellectualism and ephebophilia, *Die Insel* substituted stepped-up ghetto advertising, pulp fiction, and a more athletic, more

5.25 *Der Eigene*, 1906: a butch Gemeinschaft cover and von Gloedenesque androgyne inside. The photographer was "A. Wilhelmj," San Francisco. (Schwules Museum collection, Berlin; courtesy Andreas Sternweiler)

mature, and more populist type of erotic idol (figure 5.27). For this they relied on the photography of Gerhard Riebicke, but varied the calisthenic look occasionally, as with a glimpse of Townsend's Sansone in 1931.

Die Insel began inviting nude photo submissions from readers in the summer of 1932, but the response is not known. Five stormtroopers would soon be at *Der Eigene*'s door, and all gay magazines were subsequently banned. Brand, a married Gentile with no leftist taint (despite a belated denunciation of the Nazis after the Röhm affair provoked a surge of public homophobia on both right and left in 1931),[68] survived the Holocaust in discreet anonymity. However, his young assistant, Karl Meier (1897–1974), fled to Zurich in 1932, took over a Swiss newsletter called *Freundschaftsbanner* (Friendship flag) and changed its name in 1937 to *Der Kreis* (The circle).

The legendary Swiss magazine is a permanent symbol of gay exile and survival, and for me will always conjure up an image of medieval monks toiling away at their illuminations in order to preserve an ancient cultural legacy through the Dark Ages of the pink triangles. Its importance to North American gays, especially those cosmopolitans and

intellectuals who were attracted to its high-culture sensibility and could afford to smuggle it back home, was immeasurable. *Der Kreis* would last until 1967 under the editorship of Meier, known around the world by his nickname "Rolf." Published trilingually in French, German, and English after 1950, *Der Kreis* attracted a subscription and support from Dr. Kinsey and contributions from such American artists as (Don) Whitman, Lynes, Cadmus, and Steward. No other magazine in the paranoid forties and fifties offered the same blend of ideas, art, and politics—and skin.

The systematic publication of erotic photos began around 1943 and a distinctive sensibility soon crystallized. Often *Der Kreis*'s international literary vocation was integrated with the visual content, as in a moving 1946 layout of Walt Whitman's "Democratic Vistas" alongside a documentary twosome of cuddling, fully clothed GI's, smiling as if they had just liberated Europe. Or this sweaty skier matched a melancholy poem by Berlin gay poet Stefan George (a Gemeinschaft fellow traveler who had likewise become a refugee in Switzerland before his 1933 death) (figure 5.28). *Der Kreis*'s photographic taste was always more documentary-inspired than Brand's had been.

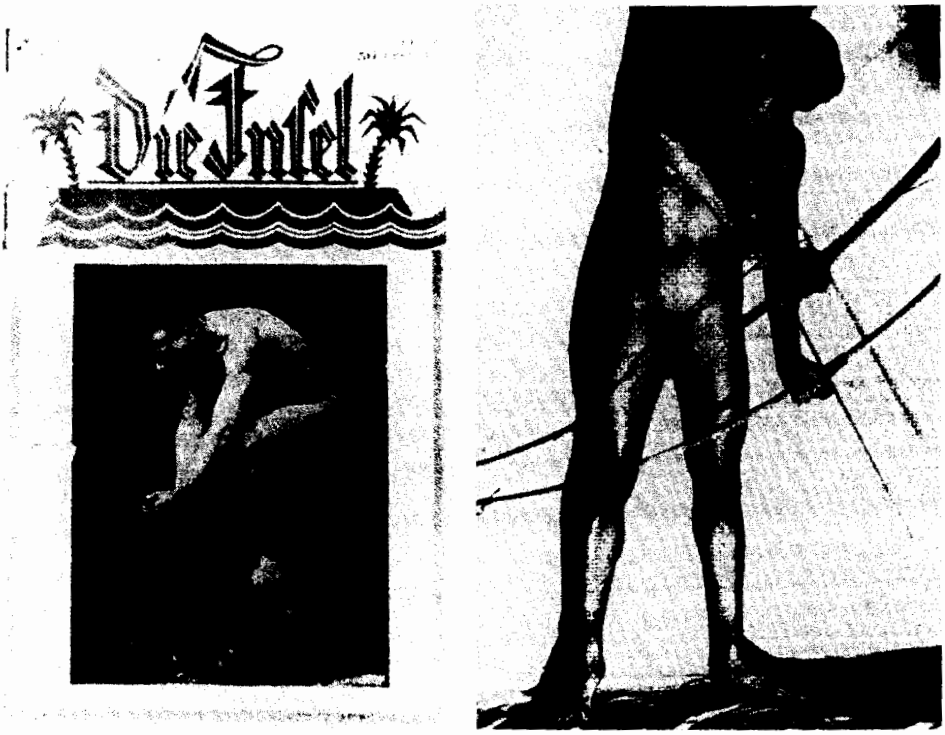
Furthermore, as with several other postwar European magazines, *Der Kreis* was distinctively class conscious, eroticizing manual labor and laborers in a way that evokes more socialist camaraderie than proletarian fetishism. As figure 5.29 suggests, part of the magazine's populist spirit came also from the inclusion of amateur photos from all over Europe and North America. From this came a diversity of gay types, ranging from this femmish beret-wearing intellectual from Düsseldorf to a range of non-Europeans, who, like the worker subjects, had their status as "Other" softened by a kind of UNESCO sensibility (one of the magazine's regular contributors was a Chinese photographer working out of Amsterdam, Tan Hin Kong).

This is not to deny that the magazine's more classical nudes were enormously popu-

5.26 *Der Eigene*, 1924–25. Wandervögel and languid twosomes, not couples.
(Courtesy Andreas Sternweiler)

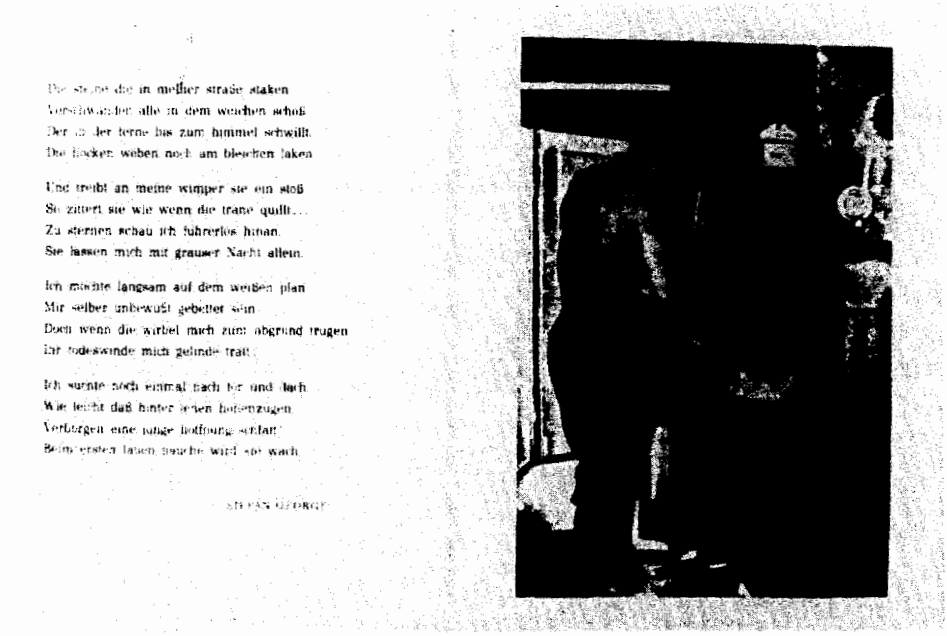
lar (as a 1958 reader survey not surprisingly confirmed): indeed *Der Kreis* inaugurated the frontal nude photo insert, apparently as a way of rewarding subscribers and complying with different postal and legal jurisdictions. The "insert" spread to other postwar European magazines such as the Parisian *Arcadie* (founded in 1954) and would even be tried in America—unsuccessfully—in the sixties. Although the Brand-style diet of recycled teen romps was steady, the diversity of styles, activities, groupings, and cultural sources—not to mention types, from canoeists to smokers to a masseur and his client, even to a few men over thirty now and again!—established a gay mosaic that was a creditable self-image for its constituency. A strong sense of gay subjectivity emerged from this visual and demographic multiplicity that had been missing from *Der Eigene*.

Penises notwithstanding, *Der Kreis* was always respectable. The magazine had an international profile to maintain, and a role as the "most important forum for the homosexual freedom struggle"[69] of the fifties. It participated in the "International Committee for Sexual Equality," a Hirschfeld-style network that held congresses in Amsterdam, Paris, and Frankfurt in the postwar years (at the side of such luminous patrons as Cocteau and Kinsey). Accordingly, *Der Kreis* usually framed its imagery with an artistic gloss: Rolf's presentation of Lynes to his readers in July 1950 talked more about lines than lust, and his special volumes on the male in photography and the male in art were pricey, hardbound collectors' items. Even as censorship began its decline in the sixties, Rolf maintained the magazine's conservative aura. *Der Kreis*'s pages had frequently



5.27 *Die Insel*, 1931. Athletic alternatives. (Courtesy Andreas Sternweiler)

5.28 Literary taste: a melancholy poem and a sweaty skier. *Der Kreis*, 1946. (Schwules Museum collection, Berlin)

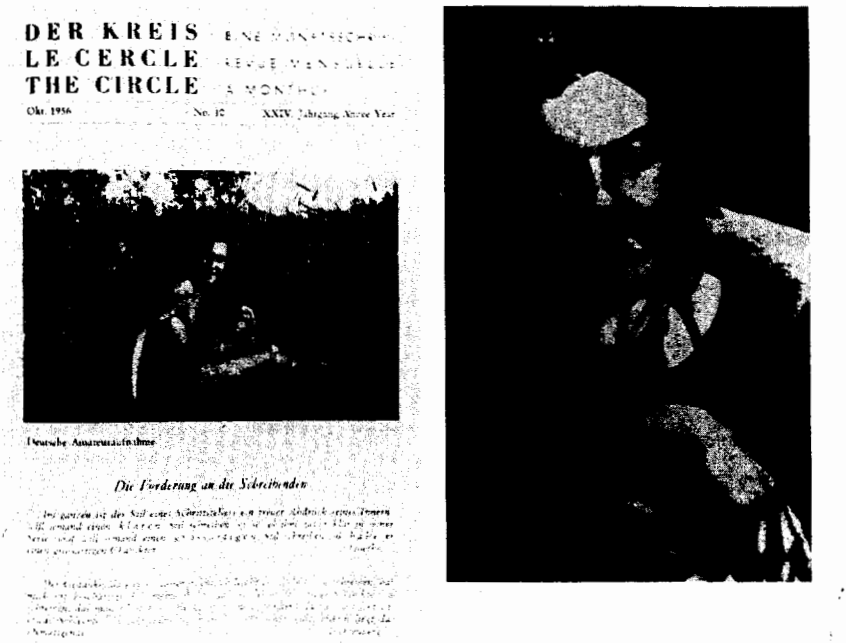

Die steine die in meiner straße staken
Verschwanden alle in dem weichen schoß
Der sich der ferne bis zum himmel schwillt.
Die lacken weben noch am bleichen laken

Und treibt an meine wimper sie ein stoß
Sie zittert sie wie wenn die träne quillt...
Zu sternen schau ich führerlos hinan.
Sie lassen mich mit grauser Nacht allein.

Ich möchte langsam auf dem weißen plan
Mir selber unbewußt gebettet sein
Doch wenn die wirbel mich zum abgrund trugen
Ihr todeswunde mich gelinde traft

Ich wandte noch einmal nach ihr und hoch
Wie leicht daß hinter jenen hofenzügen
Verborgen eine junge hoffnung schlaft
Beim ersten laien streiche wird sie wach.

STEFAN GEORGE



5.29 Grass roots: an amateur nude and a documentary portrait of an intellectual smoker. *Der Kreis*, 1950, 1956. (Schwules Museum collection, Berlin)

been graced by Steward's writing, but the American was itching to go further with his erotic fiction, further than Rolf would let him: "You had to be very delicate with Zurich—sighs and sidelong glances, hand-holdings, discreet little embraces, a peck on the cheek for friendship, and all that kind of twaddle. Nothing more. No explicit sex."[70]

"Phil Andros," as Steward's literary pseudonym went, eventually gave up and went to Denmark where bolder magazines were catching the imagination of a younger generation of gay men and change was in the air. Steward's choices, two other multilingual forums, *Amigo* and *Eos*, edited by Kim Kent, were part of a flourishing product-line of magazines aimed at international readers in the wake of Denmark's rapid liberalization of its vice laws (figure 5.30).[71]

Chiefly known for its nudist magazines in the early sixties, Copenhagen was already becoming in the fifties both a gay Mecca and the purveyor of erotica to the rest of the world. In existence since 1948, Danish magazines were notable for a matter-of-fact mix of sex and politics as well as a commitment to photographic erotica (figure 5.31). Other garrisons of gay desire and politics were located above all in the Netherlands, in France, and in West Germany. In fact, the first Dutch gay lib magazine had already been functioning before the Occupation and was revived immediately after Liberation as *Maandbericht* (Monthly news). House organ of Amsterdam's pioneering lesbian and gay organization the COC (Cultuur-en Ontspannings Centrum [Cultural Recreation Center]), the magazine finally found its form as *Vriendschap* (Friendship) in 1949 (figure 5.32). With this strong community and political base, *Vriendschap* was similar to its Swiss counterpart in its serious intellectual and cultural aspirations, and its international political affiliations. Its pictorial content was modest; its selection stuck within an

5.30 Danish pioneers, the 1960s: *Vennen*, national pride and the 1965 photo contest winners. (Homodoc collection, Amsterdam)

unadventurous repertory of youthful and exotic types, but was otherwise steady and elegant (the first European gay publishers of List and Lynes) until the magazine started fading away in the late fifties.

If the Danes were envisioning utopia and the Dutch and the Swiss were beaconing tolerance, moderation, and international mobilizations, the French were cultivating their characteristic high literary approach to homosexual politics in *Arcadie* (complete with arty photo inserts that inevitably found their way into Piet's hands, figure 5.33),[72] and the British were compensating for the gay political wasteland of the Wolfenden era with a lively physique scene. It was above all the West Germans, busily constructing the Economic Miracle and rebounding after a generation of obliteration, who showed a rambunctious magazine trade and a diverse erotic imaginary throughout the fifties. Male same-sex relations were still criminalized, and the occupying armies may have been an inhibiting factor alongside the terrifying atmosphere of witchhunts and special

5.31 Danish pioneers, the 1950s: *Vennen*, 1954. Respectable covers outside but frontal nudes for sale inside hint of future role as porn purveyor to the world? (Homodoc collection, Amsterdam)

5.32 Community-based moderation. Amsterdam: *Maandbericht*, 1948, and *Vriendschap*, 1949. (Homodoc collection, Amsterdam)

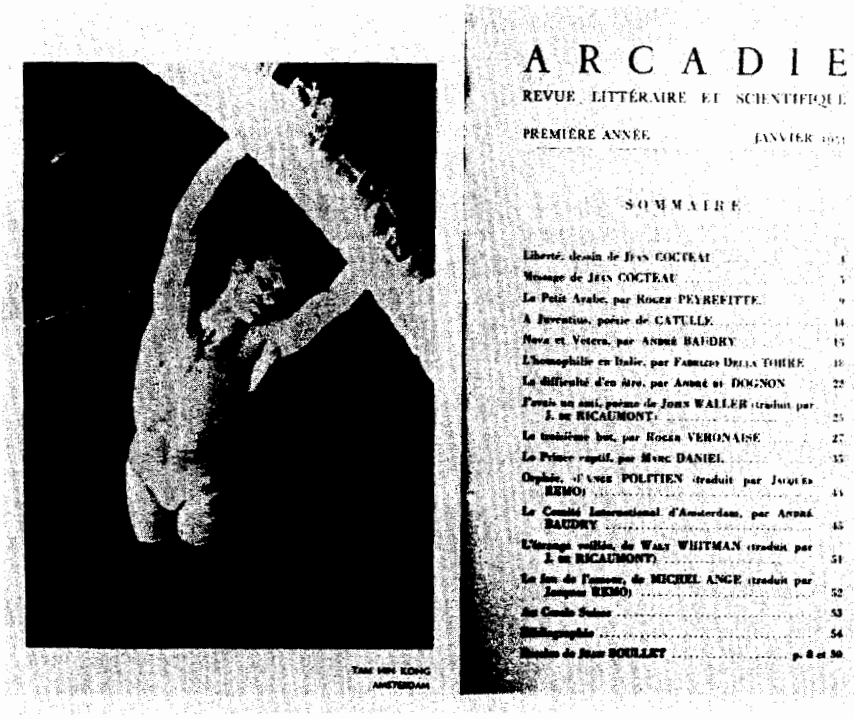
courts (as many as 3,530 convictions under the lingering Paragraph 175 in 1959).[73] Nevertheless, the climate was intermittently conducive to a bustling cultural and social scene that, according to some feelings described by Manfred Herzer, even surpassed the Golden Twenties (figure 5.34). (If we return to the visible penis as a political bellwether, *Die Freunde* [Friends] had a frontal nude on its cover as early as 1951!)

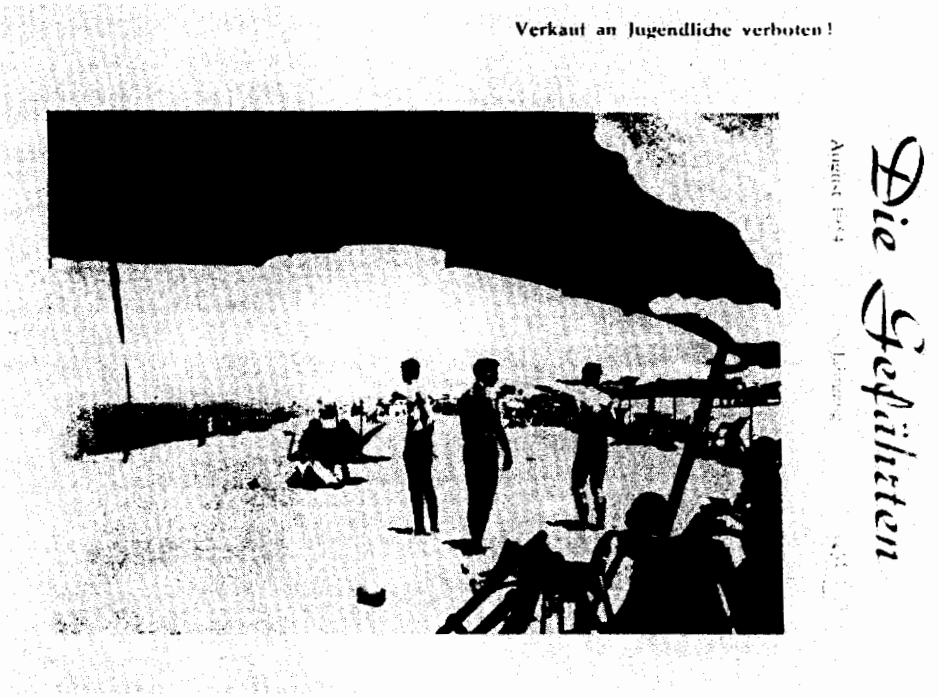
Unlike the other centralized European outposts, the German magazine scene had a strong regional basis (anchored principally in Hamburg, Frankfurt, and West Berlin)

that, along with the perennial German theme of anti-175 advocacy, allowed much more grass-roots sensibility and ghetto advertising than the other magazines. This atmosphere was reflected in the genre of everyday streetscapes, which was in fact characteristic of several European magazines, and bespoke a proprietary attitude to public space that the privacy-obsessed transatlantic brothers couldn't dream of. There was also the same European relish for the manual laborer that we have already seen in *Der Kreis*, plus ineradicable vestiges of the Wandervögel heritage (as *Der Weg*'s image of its readers as teenagers in hiking shorts testified), all within a commercial framework. In general, one notices the cultivation of ambiguity between homosocial bonding and homosexual sex—visible mostly in the magazines' fondness for group scenes rather than couples. But this is not surprising in the criminalized atmosphere that prevailed.

Eventually, from across the Atlantic came incursions into the documentary and internationalist sensibility of the European magazines. Editors and readers developed a growing taste for the studio-based glamour of American physique mags. The Americans' demigods with their presumptions of private space and classless homogeneous society had been shaped by the alibis of a censored imaginary that was foreign to the European climate, but perhaps the GI's were leaving *Physique Pictorial* around autobahn toilets. *Der Weg zu Freundschaft und Toleranz* (The way to friendship and tolerance), based in Frankfurt and affiliated with the first gay bookstore in that city (1956), was the most prosperous and durable German magazine throughout the 1950s. Originally most distinc-

5.33 This *Arcadie* photo insert, typical in its combination of tony aesthetics and youthful flesh, was one of many in Piet's collection. (Private collection, The Hague; Bruce Russell collection)



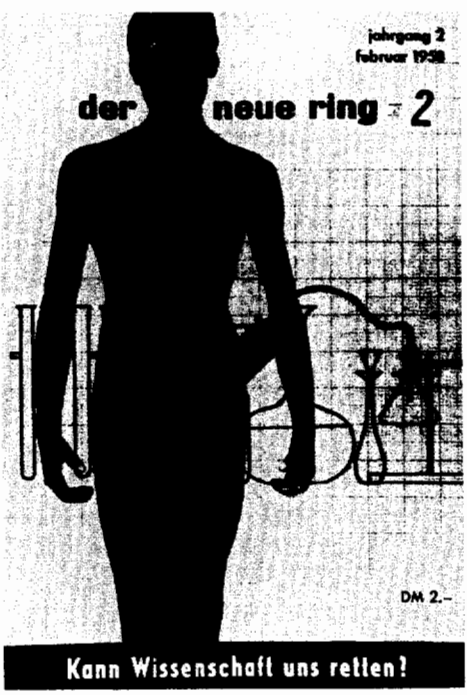


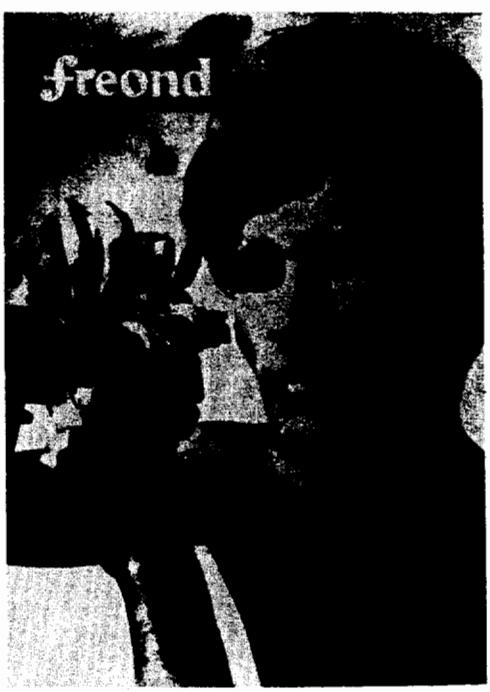
5.34 Short-lived German magazines of the 1950s: *Die Gefährten* (Frankfurt, 1952–1954); *Der neue Ring* (Hamburg/Amsterdam, 1957–58); *Hellas* (Hamburg, 1953–54); *Freond* (Hamburg, 1951–52): regional bases and an indigenous iconography of groups as much as couples, public space rather than the studio, and a lively commercial scene. (Schwules Museum collection, Berlin)

tive in its European flavor (figure 5.35), it soon became the most evident American beachhead. Covers by Quaintance and AMG became common, and groups of skinny guitarists began to be edged out by oiled-up hulks. The same pattern was evident in Amsterdam and Zurich as well, with *Vriendschap* even offering a story on Elvis Presley in 1957. The Americanization of the European gay scene which would become a feature of post-Stonewall Europe was already discernible.

If the European community's magazines played two roles, integrating explicit political conscience with erotic fantasy, the Americans, perhaps through their internalization of the harshest censorship anywhere in the West, sharply separated the roles. They read about politics and news in the timid unvisual pages of *One* (Los Angeles, 1953–1969) and *Mattachine Review* (San Francisco, from 1955), but got their rocks off with the physique magazines. In chapter 3, I explored the determining effects of official and cultural homophobia on the evolution of physique culture in the 1950s and 1960s: its imposition of alibis, subtexts, and the fetishization of the forbidden, its channeling of erotic iconography into the surrogates of sadomasochism and violence, its enforcement of self-hatred and self-repudiation across the board. Nevertheless, the physique magazines for all their hangups were a necessary political complement to the movement periodicals, expressing their politics through desire rather than through timid First Amendment claims.

In terms of explicit political discourse, the physique magazines ranged across an ideological spectrum. Some magazines protested too much, adopting even the Cold War rhetoric of the day in their determination to not rock the boat. *Grecian Guild Pictorial*, which managed to be one of the most conservative ideologically of the magazines and, after Herman Womack took it over at the start of the 1960s, one of the most licentious, offered sermonizing by a bona fide Guild chaplain. *Fizeek*, another MANual Enterprises publication, offered the sheerest of posing straps along with the sheerest of anti-Communist bombast: in 1959 a Hungarian immigrant model declared it "a fine thing to be living in a country where no secret police knock on the door in the night."[74] This appeasement of the state apparatus that was busy monitoring physique magazine

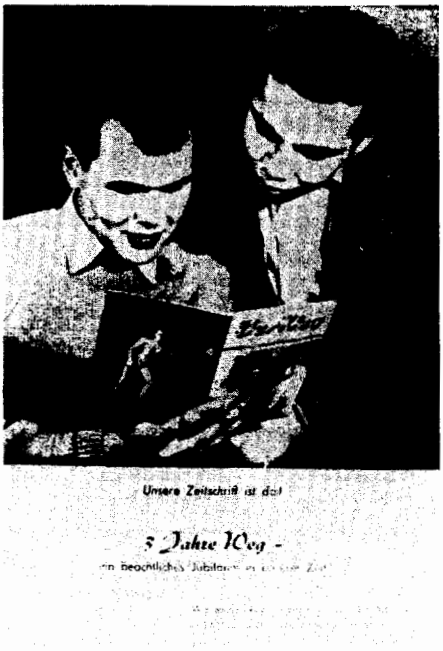




subscribers (including the Kinsey Institute)[75] and purging gays and lesbians from the military and from the civil service, did not prevent the feds from soon knocking on the doors of *Fizeek* itself.

Somewhat further to the left of the ideological spectrum, *Physique Pictorial* was certainly the leader in the guts department, at least prior to the 1962 Supreme Court breakthrough. Though a few other physique magazines adapted the (hetero-) Sexual Revolution's discourse of right-to-privacy, Mizer's magazine was distinctive in its guiltless and eccentric blend of documentary data, unapologetic ghetto iconography, and scrappy innuendo. Regular information was offered about postal censorship and legal problems, as well as up-to-date referrals to the Mattachine Society, the American Civil Liberties Union, and even the Dutch gay rights organization COC, which handled *PP* in the Netherlands. Editorials regularly pronounced upon "pseudo-moral taboos," Big Brother, capital punishment, civilian police review, and the tobacco and drug trade. The sporadic but lively letters column joined in the fray, a forum for readers of like mind inveighing against censorship, hypocrisy, puritanism (and even against the magazine's presumption to editorialize outside the sphere of physiques). In 1956, in response to a queer-baiting editorial in *Iron Man*, one of the straighter bodybuilding magazines,[76] *PP* went further than at any other time toward explicitly coming out, declaiming a wham-bang editorial on diversity, privacy, and tolerance, and throwing around the H-word and a graphic whose flow of looks and desire couldn't be any less subtextual. In short, *Physique Pictorial* was the most progressive magazine voice and iconography of the fifties, a lusty champion of emancipation both sexual and social, and a worthy echo of Kinsey's more scientific affirmation of the right to fuck.

Needless to say, the homosexual rights movement, respectable and "out," and the commercial gay cultural network, raunchy and in the closet, treated each other with frosty disdain. The Mattachine Society of Washington even went so far as to ban physique photography from their publications.[77] But as the landmarks of the sixties went by, the separation of the erotic and the political became more and more untenable. If



5.35 *Der Weg zu Freundschaft und Toleranz*, Frankfurt, 1954: the most important German magazine first offered Wandervögel and workers, but eventually became a Yankee beachhead. (Schwules Museum collection, Berlin)

the Europeans had always recognized the intrinsic politics of the erotic image, it was only in the sixties that the U.S. Post Office would even allow this option. As this selection of four gay political/community magazines from the United States from 1961 to 1966 suggests (figure 5.36), the magazine trade was finally secure and prosperous enough in the easing climate of the sixties to be able to address readers confidently with sexy covers. Even then, *One* remained conservative, as this cautious rear view of a presumably monogamous, anonymous couple attests. Philadelphia's *Drum*, an outgrowth of that city's Mattachine network, provided the lustiest and sharpest political voice of the half-decade leading up to Stonewall, and was in many ways unique.

Yet who can begrudge respect for the dogged editors of *One* despite their rather limited visual literacy?[78] In 1954 this monthly, representing a parallel tendency to the civil rights–oriented Mattachine Society, was attacked by the Post Office and condemned for an off-color satirical poem and a story about two lesbians. A 1956 appeal was lost, but perseverance paid off in 1958 when the Supreme Court unanimously overturned the conviction without opinion.[79] In this dread Cold War atmosphere—continued criminalization, legal harassment and persecution, police terrorism—it was admittedly hard for *One* and the American gay movement in general to imagine the politics and pleasures of the erotic. Yet this failure of nerve and of imagination was perhaps symptomatic of more than the mere tactics of political survival: at issue, in addition to an Anglo-Saxon prudishness, was an inability to recognize the politics of culture in general, a gulf between political leaders and the popular pulse that *Physique Pictorial* had tapped. With a few exceptions, as Stonewall approached, the self-conceived political leaders of this generation failed to recognize the centrality of the erotic image and practice, failed to integrate community, identification, and desire in a way that both Kinsey and

5.36 American political magazines of the 1960s: getting sexy. *Mattachine Review* (San Francisco, June 1961); *One: The Homosexual Viewpoint* (Los Angeles, August, 1964); *Tangents* (a subsidiary of *One*, LA, October 1966); *Drum* (Philadelphia, December 1966). Significantly, the uncharacteristically bold image on the cover of *Mattachine Review* is (a) a drawing, (b) Danish. Only *Drum* condescended to draw on the richness of physique culture. (Private collection)

Hirschfeld—and arguably even the cops—had a genius for doing. Have traces of the pattern survived to this day? Does *The Advocate*'s separation of its news and feature magazine from its volume of personal classifieds, penis and asshole photos—and even sex advice—hark back to the conditioning of the pre-Stonewall era?

Endings

> If you want to see beauty pick up a book of George Platt Lynes photos from the forties. Nearly every aspect of gay art is prefigured in it, including much of Hockney's work. All the models he used have such clear, strong good looks. *Physique Pictorial* is another example—the models from the forties look alert and intelligent. In the sixties a marked change comes about. Is it all in the eye of the beholder? Is it because the photos are taken in natural light rather than studio light? Or have the models themselves changed, doped out on acid and television? Anyway they have an air of neglect.
>
> —Derek Jarman (1984)[80]

> We no longer need to hide. We are free.
>
> —Jean Cocteau, *Orpheus* (1949)

Stonewall thus came and went with gay political leaders timidly following the brick-throwers into the fray and the erotic imagemakers into the arena of gay popular imagination. Four times thus we have ended up at that symbolic watershed of Stonewall, facing both the contradictory politics of the sexual image and the force of its cultural momentum. In each of the four visual regimes that we have explored, we have culminated in 1969 with a sense of monumental historical shifts—in artistic practice, in the commercial scene, in the illicit underground, and in the instrumental domain of politics and science. I am speaking of shifts beyond alibis to affirmation, beyond survival to empowerment, beyond the private to the public, beyond fragmented pockets of resistance to crystallizing political identities and alliances, beyond unitary images of sexual objectification to the polyglot mosaics of subject-object reconciliation and diversity envisioned in the post-Stonewall years.

As we have seen, movements in this direction were anything but teleological and linear; instead they were staggered and unevenly developed through the four regimes in different historical periods, with different degrees of intensity, clarity, and social cost. Only in the Weimar Republic did we experience anything like a convergence of intense discursive activity within all four regimes at once, and its instantaneous and effortless smothering by the Nazi state in 1932 is a sobering lesson to our post-Stonewall complacency. At Stonewall, the regime of the illicit in the United States and other more or less uncensored jurisdictions seemed sentenced to disappear, except for certain specialized and still stigmatized sexual affinities. This disappearance is as disquieting in retrospect as the pervasive triumph of the commercial, its eventual intrusion into every corner of imaginative and erotic life. One might well be discouraged by the concomitant stymying of the surges of amateur and grass-roots erotic imagining that had been nurtured in every regime throughout our histories—were there not in every generation new pockets of grass-roots eroticisms, from Boyd McDonald and Rick X[81]

to the fanzine movement to community-authored safer-sex videos to keep up our hopes (and cocks).

As I grapple with this synthesis and this last chapter, I am thus thinking less of Stonewall and whether it meant Liberation or liberation, for all our twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations, than of present and future politics of the erotic, both personal and epochal. This book began with the personal—a little boy and a swimming instructor, and the ghost of a cobwebbed Victorian pornophile—and should end equally well with the personal.

I prepare to testify as an "expert witness" at the trial of the Vancouver lesbian and gay bookstore, Little Sisters. The bookstore has had the spunk to sue Customs Canada for its perennial campaign of harassing our (three) Canadian lesbian and gay bookstores. This lawsuit is over the importation of banned erotic texts, from the books of Pat Califia to those of Andrea Dworkin, from Baudelaire to Marguerite Duras—even my beloved Boyd and video compilations of Athletic Model Guild movies from the fifties get stopped at the border.

But much more is at stake. Readers elsewhere know all too well that our battles with the predations of Canada Customs and Project P (the Toronto vice consortium that has successfully prosecuted the lesbian magazine *Bad Attitude*) and with the newly tightened Canadian criminal code are not just Ruritarian tempests. Canadian gays and lesbians, like other "provincials" and "colonials," have always been net importers, in fact both eager smugglers and involuntary consumers, not only of high-cultural capital from New York, Paris, and London but also of images from the sexual undersides of those hegemonic metropoles. Lecturing in Winnipeg and Vancouver on the history of gay male eroticism, I have been scolded by fellow dual nationals (Canadian and queer) for being a lackey of American imperialism, for pushing California fantasies in the frozen North. I never thought that our imported imaginary was necessarily un-Canadian nor that our links with Bruce of Los Angeles were the same as reading *Sports Illustrated* or cross-border shopping in Buffalo. In fact our fight to import images of desire echo global struggles around arts funding, multicultural education, public access, safer-sex education, and condom availability—in short, all the issues of cultural and political enfranchisement. I know instinctively that there is a continuity between this writing and my testimony for Little Sisters, between our collective and individual histories of the sexual image and the political present. Recycling these artifacts from our past has vital political implications, essential to our survival and growth as communities, here as elsewhere, our struggle against control, conformity, and economic hegemony, our struggle over the body as inviolable vessel of identity, over desire as the last site of resistance.

I steel myself to face the trial, the opposing lawyers' inevitable attempts to denigrate my credentials and break through the factual, objective, and dispassionate professional aura I am told I must cultivate. As I rehearse this authority, I have doubts. This book is anything but objective and dispassionate: have I compromised its scientific and political instrumentality through idealizing our past? Have I sentimentalized individuals who are as crazed and contradictory as I, who find it easier to look at a picture than the

eyes of a partner, friend, neighbor, or sibling? I know I have constructed imaginary mentors out of the charming elders whom I have had the honor of encountering, like Sam Steward, who died six months after sending me this note (figure 5.37). But what of the forebears like Cecil Beaton, whom I wouldn't cross the street to cocktail with, and the essentialist presumptions that bond me to them? Have I *really* dealt with the way power enters into the imaginary relationship of the self and the Other in their lives and our own? Have I fully thought about the way sexual commoditization rigidifies the imagination of the hard: what does emancipation have to do with the right to import twenty glossy shaved assholes in each issue of *Numbers*?

And have I bypassed the politics of gender I was so politically correct about ten years

5.37 Sam Steward (1909–1993), letter to the author, June 1993.

2016-x 9th st/bzk/ca
94710-2116
24-VI-XCIII

Dear Tom,

It's amazing that such a presumably dignified ole press as Columbia should take your book, but it is probably an indication of your extraordinary powers of blandishment and perseverance that they succumbed—for which many congratulations. We look forward to seeing it when it hoves (hives?) on the inky horizon.

Hope you don't mind my small addition to the permission—an indication of my excessive modesty and shy sweetness. I hope that the book will somehow overcome all the hurdles, and may turn out to be the fundamental cause of the final and fatal cardiac arrest of Senator Helms, et perhaps al.

Yrs., w best,

Sam

5.38 Getting us together and off. Unidentified commercial photo, American, c. 1960. (Private collection, Paris)

ago in *Jump Cut*? I know that gender hovers over even—especially?—the history of the male same-sex imaginary. Aside from the roster of indispensable feminist voices, diametrically different, whom I have invoked in this work, aside from the "diva syndrome" that has funneled so much of our cultural longing, is women's absence in this historical universe a symptomatic absence? In thinking about one theme of this history, the growing claim to public visibility of gay desire, have I forgotten that women's sexuality is still by and large excluded from patriarchal public space—despite the consumer industry that is now addressed in that direction—and that somehow their absence from this book, our claim to societal space, is complicit in that exclusion? The *Advocate Men* rack is always right beside the *Hustler* rack. We must factor in this complicity if we are to be able to fully understand our history as men who love other men and who look at pictures and imagine . . . if we are able to fully engage in all the future Stonewalls from a starting point of where we are now.

We ended this book by looking at the instrumentality of the gay male erotic photograph and film in the legal arena, sexology, and community politics. The instrumentality of this book is another question. Though erotic images, both still and moving, often kept us apart, I have primarily shown how they have been instrumental in getting us together as well as off (figure 5.38). Despite my lingering questions, I will not be disappointed if this book has its own instrumentality, ever so slight, in extending this mission of getting us off and together, in our present urgent imperative to think globally, act locally, fuck (safely) everywhere, imagine hard.

73 Laurence Senelick, "Private Parts in Public Places," in William R. Taylor, ed., *Inventing Times Square: Commerce and Culture at the Crossroads of the World*, 341.

74 Copies of *Les jeux d'amour*, *Our Gang*, *Sailor and Marine*, and *The Browning Version* are extant in both the Martin Michel collection and the archives of the Kinsey Institute, and assumptions about their relative wide circulation can thus be made. *David 44* and *Gay Judo* are in the Martin Michel collection, while *Dee (B)* and *Odd Man In II* are in the Kinsey collection.

75 Paul Gebhard, interviews by author, February and October 1991; and C. A. Tripp, interview by author, June 1992. Wardell B. Pomeroy discusses Kinsey's collaboration with law enforcement groups in Chicago and New York in *Dr. Kinsey and the Institute for Sex Research*, 209. Cornelia V. Christenson also mentions prison officials as the source of confiscated pornography in *Kinsey: A Biography*, 152.

76 See chapter 5.

77 For example, two "serious" European photo books, Sollers, *Photos licencieuses de la belle époque*, and Nazarieff, *Early Erotic Photography*.

5. *Law, Science, and Politics*

1 Most notably John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: On Photographies and Histories*; see also Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," *October* 39 (Winter 1986): 3–64.

2 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* 1:107.

3 Transcript of police interview, identification and location withheld, USA, 1961. Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, Photography Archive. The victim was a professional photographer.

4 For a discussion of the role of *pissoirs* in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Berlin gay life, see Andreas Sternweiler and Wolfgang Theis, "Alltag im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik," in Michael Bollé and Rolf Bothe, eds., *Eldorado: Homosexuelle Frauen und Männer in Berlin, 1850–1950: Geschichte, Alltag und Kultur*: Hirschfeld's friend Numa Praetorius was engaged in the transcription of *pissoir* graffiti (Charlotte Wolff, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology*, p. 104), but it is unlikely that even he was the first researcher so engaged; decades later a key Kinsey court case would be based on the alleged obscenity of photographs of European toilet graffiti (see main text at note 45). The now classic scholarly work on the subject is of course Laud Humphreys, *Tearoom Trade: Impersonal Sex in Public Places*.

5 Steven Maynard, "Through a Hole in the Lavatory Wall: Homosexual Subcultures, Police Surveillance, and the Dialectics of Discovery, Toronto 1890–1930," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 5, no. 2 (October 1994): 207–42.

6 Chief Clare W. Kyler, "Camera Surveillance of Sex Deviates," *Law and Order: An Independent Magazine for the Police Profession* 11, no. 11 (November 1963): 16–18, 20; William F. McKee, "Camera Surveillance of Sex Deviates—Evidentiary Problems," *Law and Order* 12, no. 8 (August 1964): 72–74.

7 The linking of sex crimes with homosexuality was a cyclically recurring feature of American culture between the 1930s and the 1960s, as has been discussed by Estelle Freedman, "'Uncontrolled Desires': The Response to the Sexual Psychopath, 1920–1960," in Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons, eds., *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History*, 199–225, and by Chauncey, "The Postwar Sex Crimes Panic," in Graebner, ed., *True Stories*.

8 I am paraphrasing from the film's narration.

9 *One* 4, no. 6 (August-September 1956): 21–22.

10 Some information taken from UPI report (June 29, 1993, distributed on GLB News Internet) on the 1993 opening of Johns Committee files. Also, John D'Emilio provides the basic outline of the history of this committee (*Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, p. 48). The twin demonization of reds and pinks during this notorious period has been documented at length by D'Emilio, Jonathan Katz, and other gay historians, while Lee Edelman has pointed out further that surveillance techniques developed during the Cold War spy frenzy overlapped considerably with those in the war on deviates ("Tearooms and Sympathy, or, The Epistemology of the Water Closet," in Parker et al., eds, *Nationalisms and Sexualities*, 263–84).

This convergence of sexual and political paranoia was not limited to the United States. Ottawa was also the scene of ludicrous pursuits of queers by Cold Warriors, though the Canadians depended on the oral rather than the visual: the Mounties' developed a "fruit machine" to identify homos through their physiological responses to words thought to belong to the gay vernacular like "restaurant" and "fish"! Gary Kinsman, "Character Weaknesses and Fruit Machines: Heterosexual Hegemony and the Canadian Security Regime, 1959–1967" (paper presented at the Learned Societies of Canada, Carleton University, June 1993).

11 *Literarische Welt*, May 25, 1928. Cited and translated by Wolff in *Magnus Hirschfeld*, 27.

12 Steakley, *The Homosexual Emancipation Movement in Germany*, and *The Writings of Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld: A Bibliography*, compiled and Introduced by James D. Steakley. Hirschfeld has also been treated by filmmakers Guy Hocquenghem and Lionel Soukaz (*Race d'ep! Un siècle d'images de l'homosexualité*) and video artist Stuart Marshall (*Bright Eyes*, U.K., 1984, etc.).

13 Dyer, *Now You See It*, 17ff.

14 Andreas Sternweiler, "Kunst und schwuler Alltag," in Bollé and Bothe, eds., *Eldorado*, 74–92.

15 "'He sent me three boys and three girls [Voinquel said], between twenty and twenty-two years old, which he had chosen in Berlin. Beautiful bodies and faces.' He [Voinquel] took 300 photos—100 of the girls, 100 of the boys and 100 of them all together. 'When I saw the results I was astonished myself. . . . I lost the doubles which I had kept in the process of a move. I could have made a fortune.'" Joanna Drinkwater, *Ritz* (London), no. 134 (November 1989): 66.

16 A Nazi-sympathetic book by Dr. Michael Fry, *Hitler's Wonderland*, published in Britain in 1934, included the charges that the Institute had "a nudist photography department as well as one for 'vice', and another for sexual publications. The latter published obscene literature, encouraged old and young to indulge in lascivious enjoyments. It also showed lewd caricatures of Church ministers" (paraphrased by Wolff, *Magnus Hirschfeld*, 398). Notwithstanding Hirschfeld's and Wolff's outrage, the charges are not entirely fabricated.

17 Wolff lists the films "inspired" by Hirschfeld as *Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, Ufa (the major German commercial studio) and the Institute for Sexology, 1922; *Mann oder Weib* (Male or female), 1923; *Gesetze der Liebe* (The laws of love), Humboldt Film, 1924, reportedly a remake of *Anders*; *Das Recht auf Liebe* (The right to love), Hegewald Film, 1924; *Geheimnisse einer Seele* (Secrets of a soul), 1925, G. W. Pabst, Ufa/Hans Neumann-Film (with Institute collaborator Hans Casparius reportedly contributing to the research and cinematography). Pabst's last-named commercial fiction film may be the only extant film on this list and is of course the most famous intersection of the film industry and psychoanalytic theory in the Weimar period. James Steakley discusses the censorship problems faced by *Anders* and others of the films, as well as adding three other films to the list: *Es werde Licht* (1918), *Die Prostitution* (another collaboration with Oswald, 1919), and *Sex in Shackles* (1929). Steakley, "Cinema and Censorship in the Weimar Republic: The Case of *Anders als die Andern*," in John C. Fout, ed., *Homosexuality in Germany from the Kaiserreich to the Third Reich* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

18 From *Sexus* (1926), quoted by Wolff, *Magnus Hirschfeld*, 211.

19 In *The Burden of Representation*, John Tagg shows how Barnardo Homes for Destitute Lads developed a similar genre of paired portraits around 1870, a "before and after" presentation of transformed inmates, visualizing the Homes' success for fund-raising purposes (p. 85).

20 Rouillé and Marbot, *Le Corps et son image*, 51–83; Cooper, *Fully Exposed*, 37–53; and Foster, *Behold the Man*, 14–19.

21 Published in Cooper, *Fully Exposed*, 47.

22 Michel Foucault, ed., *Herculine Barbin, dite Alexina B.*, 132. According to Robert C. Allen, "freaks" and hermaphrodites from the sideshow and "dime museum" traditions of popular entertainment constituted one of the most popular genres of *carte-de-visite* photographs in the 1870s (*Horrible Prettiness: Burlesque and American Culture*, 233).

23 Jonathan Ned Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac*, 274–75, 320, 345, 393, 696.

24 *Sittengeschichte* was apparently published twice in abridged New York editions (Panurge, 1934;

Cadillac, 1941), both times as *Sexual History of the World War*. Panurge, founded in 1929, was a major U.S. mail-order marketer of sexually oriented scientific and cultural materials until the conviction of its owner Esar Levine on obscenity charges in 1935 (see Gertzman, "'Esoterica' and 'The Good of the Race': Mail-Order Distribution of Erotica in the 1930s," 295–340). While the American editions of Hirschfeld owed their popularity to the lasciviousness of the American pseudoscientific market, some prurient readers and particularly the gay readers might have been disappointed, since both editions were almost entirely without illustrations. The salaciousness of the English chapter headings may not betray the original, for Hirschfeld certainly celebrated the energy and winking creativity of "medico-libertine" sexual culture along with everything else sexual.

25 Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, vol. 1, *Women, Floods, Bodies, History*.

26 Martha Gever, "Pictures of Sickness: Stuart Marshall's *Bright Eyes*," *October* 43 (Winter 1987): 117, 123.

27 Hocquenghem and Soukaz, *Race d'ep!* 67 (my translation).

28 Sam Steward, interview by author, Berkeley, May 21, 1991.

29 Pomeroy, *Dr. Kinsey and the Institute for Sex Research*, 69.

30 Kinsey, "Last Statement," reprinted by Cornelia Christenson in *Kinsey: A Biography*, 220–26.

31 Pomeroy, *Dr. Kinsey and the Institute for Sex Research*, 63ff. Christenson, Kinsey's other biographer, offered evidence from Kinsey's own mouth that his interest in homosexuality had first been awakened in 1931 or earlier (*Kinsey: A Biography*, 97).

32 Paul Robinson, author of *The Modernization of Sex: Havelock Ellis, Alfred Kinsey, William Masters and Virginia Johnson* (New York, 1976), published speculation about Kinsey's sexual orientation in his review of two Kinsey biographies by Institute collaborators, Wardell Pomeroy and Cornelia Christenson, in *Atlantic Monthly* (May 1972), 99–102: "I suspect that Kinsey's great project originated in the discovery of his own sexual ambiguities. I also suspect that Pomeroy holds the same opinion, but that for ethical reasons he is unable to say so. Soon after he joined the project Pomeroy deciphered the code Kinsey used to disguise the identity of the histories. He was thus able to read Kinsey's own history, as well as those of his wife and children. Furthermore, during the period of their association Pomeroy and Kinsey took each other's history every two years in order to test the consistency of their recall. In composing his biography, therefore, Pomeroy had access to all the details of Kinsey's sexual development, but he was bound to silence by the ground rules of the project, which guaranteed confidentiality even in death."

Robinson also finds the Ralph Voris friendship as intriguing as Pomeroy and myself, and hints broadly about its pertinence to this issue. Reading the astonishingly intimate and tender correspondence between Kinsey and Voris quoted by Pomeroy at length is a tantalizing confrontation with the ambiguities of male friendship within American culture.

33 Sam Steward, *Chapters from an Autobiography*, 99 (elaborated in personal interview, May 21, 1991).

34 Cf. Hirschfeld's claim to have recorded histories of ten thousand individuals at the time of *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* (1914), reported in Wolff, *Magnus Hirschfeld*, 140.

35 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* 1:71 (my emphasis).

36 Pomeroy, *Dr. Kinsey and the Institute for Sex Research*, 129. As a humorous example of Kinsey's use of argot, Allen Ginsberg remembers not knowing what Kinsey meant when he asked the nineteen-year-old poet if he'd ever "browned" anyone. Barry Miles, *Ginsberg: A Biography*, 73.

37 This and other uncredited anecdotal evidence alluded to in this section come from anonymous annotations in the photography files of the Institute.

38 Otis Wade, interview by author, June 1991.

39 C. A. Tripp, interview by author, June 1991; Pomeroy refers to Kapff as "RJ," *Dr. Kinsey and the Institute for Sex Research*, pp. 404ff., 424, 429.

40 Author interviews with Bob Mizer, Hollywood, June 1991, and with Charles Renslow, Chicago, February 16, 1991.

41 Herbert Huncke, *Guilty of Everything: The Autobiography of Herbert Huncke*, 77–82.

42 Pomeroy discusses the demographics of hiring interviewers (*Dr. Kinsey and the Institute for Sex*

Research, 101–3). The small but select group of women collaborators also tended to concentrate in cultural fields: one was a lesbian scholar in the humanities, and Kinsey's longtime assistant and future biographer Cornelia Christenson would coauthor works on both erotic art and sex offenders.

43 C. A. Tripp, *The Homosexual Matrix* (New York, 1975; 2d ed., 1987).

44 Albert B. Gerber discusses the case in *Sex, Pornography, and Justice* 192–94. Citations are taken from this summary as well as from the appeal transcript: 156 F. Supp. 350 (S.D.N.Y. 1957).

45 Tripp is "90 percent certain" that the offending photographs were of European toilet graffiti supplied by another surrogate researcher, a European count. Tripp, interview, June 1991.

46 Lyn Pedersen (pseudonym for Jim Kepner), "A Tribute to Dr. Kinsey," *One* (Los Angeles) 4, no. 6 (August-September 1956): 7–12. This memorial issue is a very interesting reflection of Dr. Kinsey's revered stature within the U.S. homophile movement at the time of his death (see figure 5.2).

47 Such as the British beefcake photographer John S. Barrington's *Anthropometry for Artists* (London, 1952).

48 For the evolution of obscenity jurisprudence and exhibition convention on (pseudo)scientific films with such titles as *Bali, Damaged Lives, Mom and Dad*, and *Garden of Eden*, see Turan and Zito, *Sinema: American Pornographic Films and the People Who Make Them*, 3–18, as well as Gerber, *Sex, Pornography, and Justice*, 142–53, 226–41.

49 Christian Hansen, Catherine Needham, and Bill Nichols, "Skin Flicks: Pornography, Ethnography, and the Discourses of Power," *Discourse* 2, no. 2 (Spring-Summer 1989): 65–79.

50 Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, 23.

51 For example, a 1948 physique photo is annotated "[model's name], 23 y Sm H mostly Ht w older. Also companion to oldr notoriously H." (i.e.: 23 years, some homosexual behavior but mostly heterosexual with older women. Also companion to an older man who is notoriously homosexual).

52 Tripp, interview, June 1991.

53 Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, 667.

54 Reported in Wescott, *Continual Lessons: The Journals of Glenway Wescott*, ed. Phelps with Rosco, 245. Forster was "rather comforted" to hear that even effeminates were indeed real men insofar as they responded to visual and imaginary stimuli.

55 Kinsey's personal response to movies may complicate the issue further: whether or not his cinematic tastes are validated by his sentimental attachment to *Quartet*, the 1948 British melodrama adaptation of Somerset Maugham stories starring Dirk Bogarde as a pianist who is told he will never be a virtuoso, his sensitivity to gay culture is once again confirmed nonetheless. Pomeroy, *Dr. Kinsey and the Institute for Sex Research*, 189.

56 Sam Steward, "Dr. Kinsey Takes a Peek at S/M: A Reminiscence." in Mark Thompson, ed., *Leatherfolk: Radical Sex, People, Politics, and Practice*, 87.

57 Mr. Ginsberg has kindly authorized this reference. For his visit to the Institute, see Miles, *Ginsberg*, 386. Wescott's two sex-film performances for Kinsey are discussed in *Continual Lessons*, esp. 334–35.

58 Parker Tyler in Michael O'Pray, ed., *Andy Warhol Film Factory* (London: British Film Institute, 1989), 101.

59 Koch, "The Body's Shadow Realm," 17–29, esp. 21ff.

60 Oosterhuis and Kennedy, eds., *Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany*.

61 *Der Eigene* has been translated as the "special one" or the "particular one," and most recently by Oosterhuis as the "self-owned."

62 James Steakley, "Iconography of a Scandal; Political Cartoons and the Eulenburg Affair in Wilhelmine Germany," in Duberman, Vicinus, and Chauncey, Jr., eds., *Hidden from History*, 233–63.

63 James Steakley, slide show, "Sex and the State" conference, Toronto, June 1985.

64 As Don Mader has observed in "Historical Male Nude Photography: Adolf Brand (1874–1945)," *Euros* (Berlin), no. 16 (July-August 1992): 54–55.

65 Professor Strassmann, "Besonders gefährlich erscheinen die in den Zeitschriften massenhaft vorhande-

nen Annoncen" (Berlin, 1928), unidentified reprint, in Freunde eines Schwulen Museums, holdings catalogue, 90 *Jahre Homopresse* (1986).

66 Wolff, *Magnus Hirschfeld*, 262

67 Joachim S. Hohmann, "Homosexuelle Zeitschriften in Deutschland," in Hohmann, ed., *Der Kreis: Erzählungen und Fotos*, 223–26.

68 Adolf Brand, "Political Criminals: A Word About the Röhm Case," in Oosterhuis and Kennedy, eds., *Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany*, 235–41. Hitler's gay SA chief, Ernst Röhm, baited and debated in the German media even before the Nazi's came to power, was to be liquidated in the Night of the Long Knives in 1934.

69 Joachim Hohmann, "'Rolf' Karl Meier und seine 'Zeit-Schrift'," in Hohmann, ed., *Der Kreis*, 227.

70 Steward, *Understanding the Male Hustler*, 83. Steward also published fine graphics of bikers and other ghetto fixtures in *Der Kreis* under the pseudonym of "Philip of Chicago."

71 In Denmark homosexuality had been decriminalized since 1930; all restrictions were removed on literary pornography for adults in 1967 and on pictorial pornography in 1969.

72 See Dyer (*Now You See It*, 74–77) for a discussion of the *Arcadie* milieu and its relation to Genet, Cocteau, and the French gay politico-cultural scene.

73 Manfred Herzer, "Widernatürliche Unzucht im Wirtschaftswunder," in Volker Janssen, ed., *Der Weg zu Freundschaft und Toleranz: Männliche Homosexualität in den 50er Jahren*, 4.

74 *Fizeek Art Quarterly*, no. 4 (December 1959): 4–8.

75 Paul Gebhard, interview, February/October 1991.

76 *Iron Man* clearly had a problem since, as we saw in chapter 3, more queer-baiting appeared in 1958.

77 The banning was reported in an editorial, "Physique Photography," *Eastern Mattachine Magazine* (New York and Washington) 10, nos. 10–11 (November-December 1965): 19–20 (Washington section).

78 Politicos were not *entirely* uninterested in visual erotica: Harry Hay recalls that one Mattachine group "degenerated into a San Francisco blue-movie club called 'Cinemattachine.'" Stuart Timmons, *The Trouble with Harry Hay: Founder of the Modern Gay Movement*, 179.

79 D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 115.

80 Derek Jarman, *Dancing Ledge*, ed. Shaun Allen, 237.

81 Rick X is the legendary "folk porn"-caster of Manhattan Cable TV's public-access channels of the 1980s and 1990s, auteur of "How to Seduce a Preppie" and other late-night politico-erotic scenarios.