

12 * Beefcake to Hardcore: Gay Pornography and the Sexual Revolution

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The cultural constraints under which we operate include not only visible political structures but also the fantasmatic processes by which we eroticize the real. . . . The economy of our sexual desires is a cultural achievement.

LEO BERSANI, *Homos*, 64.

Hardcore pornography emerged as a significant current of popular culture in the 1970s. The first porn movie ever reviewed by *Variety* was Wakefield Poole's *Boys in the Sand* (1971), a sexually explicit gay film shot on Fire Island with a budget of \$4,000. Moviegoers, celebrities, and critics—gay and straight—flocked to see *Boys in the Sand* when it opened in mainstream movie theaters in New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Within a year, *Deep Throat*, a heterosexual hardcore feature, also opened to rave reviews and a huge box office—exceeding that of many mainstream Hollywood features. It was quickly followed by *The Devil in Miss Jones* and *Behind the Green Door*. *Variety* reported that between June 1972 and June 1973, these three movies earned more—on a per-screen basis and in terms of gross revenues—than all but a handful of mainstream Hollywood releases. Thus was launched the era of “porn chic.”¹

Pornography was an integral part of the discourse that emerged during the sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s. Porn, however, played a more significant role in the life of gay men than among heterosexual men, not only because homosexuality has been a stigmatized form of behavior but because historically there were so few homoerotic representations of any kind. Gay men become sexually active adults without any socialization in the social and sexual codes of the gay male subculture. Pornography contributes to the education of desire.² “For gay male culture,” observes Thomas Yingling, “porn has historically served as a means to self-ratification through self-gratification.”³ This tendency was especially true during the late 1960s and early 1970s. But for young gay men of the last few generations, porn has provided knowledge of the body and of sexual narratives, and examples of gay sexuality and of sexu-

ality within a masculine framework. Of course, it also has provided an extremely “thin” discourse, premised on an almost utopian lack of obstacles, encumbrances, and inhibitions. Moreover, in spite of its liberatory promise, it has conveyed stereotypes and other kinds of social misinformation. Porn emerged as part of a heterogeneous social framework that encompassed “many institutional structures, economics, modes of address and audiences”⁴—including magazines, mail-order businesses and postal inspectors, movie theaters, public sex, vice squads, and the closet. During the sexual revolution and since that time, porn has played a vital function in gay male life.

The transition from softcore pornography to hardcore represented a dramatic break in the production of pornographic films—both in how sex was portrayed on film and in the way the production of porn was organized, who performed in it, and what other kinds of activities were associated with it. It required new filmmaking conventions and new rhetorical devices.⁵ As a rule, in softcore pornography the performers are actors, the sex is simulated, and production is more akin to traditional movie production; in hardcore porn the performers are sex workers and the production of hardcore scenes focuses on embodied sexual functions—on genitalia, erections, and orgasms. To be credible the sexual encounters represented in hardcore require *real* erections and *real* orgasms—and those *reality effects* anchor the fantasy world that porn offers to its audience. Porn films serve as passports to worlds of sexual fantasy—enacted by real people with real bodies and, in the case of men, real erections and orgasms. The everyday obstacles to untrammelled sex are removed.⁶ Fantasies are made more real because they are caught in motion and on film.⁷

For gay men, the Supreme Court’s dismantling of the regulatory discourse set up and maintained since 1873 by the Comstock Act allowed for sexually explicit representations of homosexuality to move from *private spaces* inside the homes of gay men into *public spaces* on the screens and inside movie theaters. The transition from “beefcake,” or softcore images, to sexually explicit hardcore porn films in the late 1960s was a change not only from one medium to another—from primarily still photography and drawings to a cinematic medium, from a *static image* to an *action image*—but a shift that entailed a modification in the representation of homosexual desire from a focus on men as the *objects of desire* to men as the *active agents of homosexual desire*.

Obscenity and Democracy

The sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s would never have taken place were it not for the battles fought over obscenity and pornography during the late 1950s by pornographers, stand-up comics, literary writers, and publishers.⁸ Even though Samuel Roth, the plaintiff in the Supreme Court's *Roth v. United States* decision (1957), lost the case, Justice William Brennan's opinion altered the legal landscape. Over the next ten years, the Court decided several major obscenity cases, generally finding for greater freedoms of sexually oriented material.⁹ Two of the cases reviewed by the Court dealt with issues that directly affected homosexuals. At the time, homosexual conduct was illegal in every state of the union, and no doubt many Americans considered the topic of homosexuality itself to be "obscene" or "pornographic." In 1954 the Los Angeles postmaster seized copies of *ONE*, a homophile civil rights publication, and banned it from the mail on the grounds that it was "obscene, lewd, lascivious and filthy." Lower courts upheld the postmaster's ban, but in 1958 the Supreme Court, citing *Roth*, reversed the lower courts' findings without issuing a written opinion.¹⁰ The second case actually involved pornography. The U.S. Postal Service seized *MANual*, *Trim*, and *Grecian Guild Pictorial*, three "beefcake" magazines that carried photographs and illustrations of men scantily dressed in posing straps and bathing suits, all published by *MANual Enterprises*. The postmaster believed the magazines explicitly appealed to the prurient interests of homosexuals. *MANual Enterprises* sued the Postal Service. By 1962 the case had made its way to the Supreme Court, where the justices once again reversed the lower courts. The *MANual* decision contributed a new wrinkle—"patently offensive"—to the *Roth* test for obscenity:

These magazines cannot be deemed so offensive on their faces to affront current community standards of decency—a quality that we shall hereafter refer to as "patently offensive" or "indecent." Lacking that quality, the magazines cannot be deemed legally "obscene" and we need not consider the question of the proper "audience" by which their "prurient interest" appeal should be judged.¹¹

Although homosexual readers might find the pictures arousing, the Court concluded that as "dismally unpleasant, uncouth, and tawdry" as the images were, they "lacked patent offensiveness" and were thus not obscene.¹² In the wake of *Roth* and these other decisions, publishers and booksellers had increased reason to believe they could win their pleas against local censorship convictions; they were proven right.

At the end of this process, there was virtually no constraint on print publications. However, the issue was less clear cut with regard to sexually explicit films. By the early 1970s, controversies no longer tended to focus on erotic nudity, four-letter words, or frank dialogue so much as on explicit content that often involved actual sex acts, often perverse ones. The ultimate irony of the *Roth* decision, and the later *Miller v. California* (1973) in which the Supreme Court sought to establish a stricter test for obscenity, is that if some so-called prurient work (like the hardcore film *The Devil in Miss Jones*) could be shown to have some socially redeeming value (as the Supreme Court found in the prurient novel *Fanny Hill*) or some “serious literary, artistic, political or scientific value” (as Justice Burger stipulated in *Miller*) then that prurient work would have some constitutional protection. Thus many hardcore theatrical releases in the 1970s adopted some sort of high concept, psychological angle, or plot as an alibi against prosecution for obscenity. Eventually even the need for that stratagem evaporated.¹³

Beefcake

In September 1960, only a few years after the *Roth* decision, Newton Arvin—an eminent professor of literature at Smith College, a political activist, and a literary scholar who’d written a National Book Award-winning book on Herman Melville and another on Nathaniel Hawthorne—was arrested in his home in Northampton, Massachusetts, for possessing a collection of “beefcake” magazines illustrated with semi-nude pictures of men. Among the magazines seized were *Grecian Guild Pictorial* (figure 12.1), *Gym*, and *Physique Artistry*. Arvin’s name had surfaced as the result of a recent postal investigation, and federal authorities had notified the local vice squad. Ned Spofford and Joel Dorius, two colleagues of Arvin, were arrested at the same time. Local newspapers referred to the men as a “sex ring,” and the *Boston Herald* published a story under the headline “Suspect’s Diary Studied for Clues to Smut Traffic.” The careers of all three men were destroyed in one way or another by the arrests. Arvin, who was forced into retirement and spent a year hospitalized for depression after a suicide attempt, died in 1963. Spofford and Dorius, both untenured faculty members at Smith, were fired.¹⁴ Their convictions were overturned in 1963 after the Supreme Court ruled in *MANual Enterprises, Inc. v. Day, Postmaster General* (370 U.S. 478 [1962]) that beefcake magazines could not be considered obscene.¹⁵

Gay life in the years before the Stonewall riots of 1969 was centered among small groups of friends and in bars; casual sex often occurred in

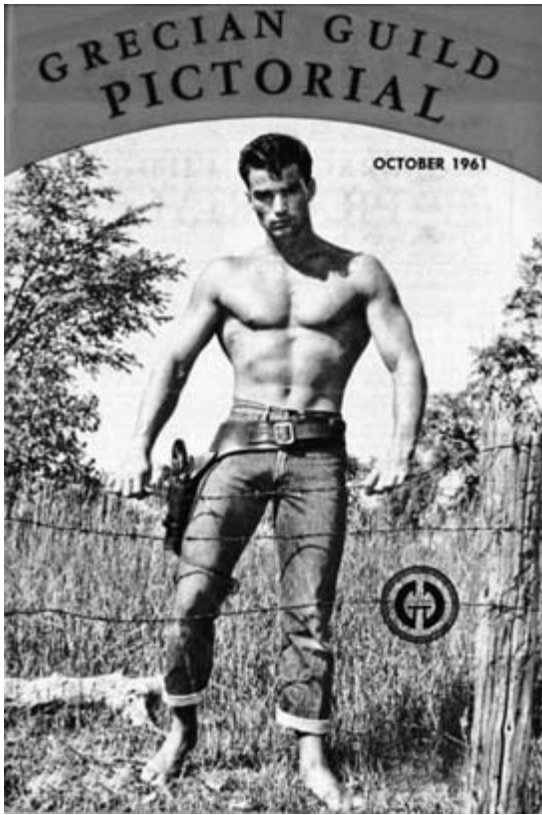


Fig. 12.1 Physique magazines featuring “beefcake” photos of male models, such as *Trim* or the *Grecian Guild Pictorial* seen here, were one of the few expressions of a gay male community prior to the Stonewall riots and the beginnings of gay liberation.

public rest rooms, parks, and piers. Homosexuality was still considered a loathsome perversion by a majority of the population. Psychiatrists categorized it as a mental illness; every state in the union criminalized sex between men, and most states criminalized sex between women.¹⁶ Pornographic materials—whether written or visual—were difficult to obtain, expensive, and even dangerous to possess. Homoerotic images—that is, photographs of nude men or drawings of erotic scenes—were available only through private networks or to “select mail-order customers.” Such material was considered obscene and could not be sent through the mail, though in fact pornography has been distributed via the postal system since the Civil War.¹⁷ In such a context, gay male erotic culture emerged very slowly into the public light.¹⁸

Starting out as an underground phenomenon during the 1950s, small magazines with photographs of almost nude men were sold on newsstands in larger cities: New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and so on. These “physique magazines” and the mail-order businesses based upon

them became central to development of the gay erotic imagination.¹⁹ Photographs of nearly nude men were frequently published in health and bodybuilding magazines to serve as models of physical health and bodily development, not as objects of desire. The homosexually oriented physique magazines, however, aimed deliberately at an audience with a sexual interest. These magazines were not merely one aspect of a wider gay male culture, but as Valentine Hooven argues in his history of beefcake magazines, “they virtually *were* gay [male] culture.”²⁰

In 1948, the United States Postal Service launched one of its periodic campaigns to clean up the mail-order advertisements in the men’s magazines—clamping down on sales of suggestive cartoons, recordings of risqué night club acts, and novelty items, as well as images of nude women and men. The Postal Service warned the magazine publishers that if they did not exclude such advertising, they would not be able to use the mail. Although the photographs were technically not illegal, many magazines quickly banned all physique ads.²¹ Bob Mizer, an amateur photographer living in Los Angeles, had frequently advertised in men’s magazines and suggested to other photographers that they pool their mailing lists and issue their catalogues jointly. In 1950, while Mizer was experimenting with grouping the catalogue pages together, it occurred to him to create a magazine; he called it *Physique Pictorial*. The publication featured photographs of young men wearing only posing straps, bathing suits, or loin cloths and almost no editorial content—except for long and deceptively chatty captions that frequently functioned as “editorials.”²²

By the mid-1950s there were more than a dozen small-scale (five by eight inch) beefcake magazines—including *Apollo*, *Physique Pictorial*, *Male Nudist Review*, *Fizeek Art Quarterly*, *Grecian Guild Pictorial*, *Art and Physique*, *Trim*, *Tomorrow’s Man*, *Male Pix*, *Vim*, *Adonis*, and *Young Adonis*—all publishing photographs and illustrations of attractive, almost nude young men, often posed in sexually suggestive situations. In their back pages, photographs of tanned and oiled bodybuilders were available by mail order.²³ Most publishers of beefcake were extremely cautious about identifying their readers as gay men, and by the 1960s nearly every major publisher or photographic studio had suffered legal persecution or harassment from the police—Bruce of Los Angeles and others had even gone to jail for periods of time, whereas *Playboy* had been publishing “cheesecake” images at least since the 1950s. If the Supreme Court’s decision in *MANual* in 1962 helped to alleviate some of the legal repression, it did not completely stop harassment of beefcake photographers; as late as the mid-1960s Mizer, who regularly referred the models repre-

sented by his studio (the Athletic Model Guild) to other photographers, was convicted of running a male prostitution business.

Despite the challenges, the beefcake magazines created a loose counterdiscourse to the homophobic discourses in American society at that time.²⁴ Christopher Nealon has argued that through their pictures, comments and stories, the magazines suggested some sort of gay male solidarity, “an imagined community” that countered the pathological model of gender “inversion” (“a woman’s soul in a male body”) and that appealed to classical “Greek bodily and political ideals.”²⁵ According to Thomas Waugh the total circulation of beefcake magazines during the late 1960s was over 750,000, probably the largest audience of gay male readers and consumers ever assembled up to that point in time.²⁶ That far exceeded the circulation of the more “political” homophile publications such as *One* or the *Mattachine Review*. “A minuscule magazine featuring a bunch of guys with their clothes off but not completely naked may not seem like much of a revolution in the history of sex,” Hooven has argued, “but to the men who bought them, they were something new and daring. It took courage to purchase one of those little magazines in 1955.”²⁷ That such was the case is illustrated by the experience of Arvin, Spofford, and Dorius. “The consumption of erotica was without question political,” Waugh writes, “however furtive, however unconscious, however masturbatory, using pictures was an act of belonging to a community,” and he notes that in the period before Stonewall, consuming erotic images was for gay men the “most important political activity of the postwar decades.”²⁸

Sex in the Cinema

A combination of industrial and social factors created a growing market for softcore sex films during the 1960s. The growth in the number of theaters showing sexploitation movies, with their predominately male audiences, also provided new opportunities for all-male sexual encounters.²⁹ Theaters showing porn had become a public space that facilitated sexual arousal because it provided its male audiences with an erotic mise-en-scène.³⁰ The male audience watched pornographic films in a state of arousal, and the movies elicited images and fantasies that not only involved women but—in contrast to most heterosexual men’s private sex lives—male performers who engaged in various sex acts with female performers with varying degrees of prowess, endowment, and sexual skill. Thus heterosexual male spectators found themselves in a state characterized by prolonged desire and an ambiguous relation to the objects

of desire and fantasized events on the screen.³¹ Although female prostitutes also worked in theaters showing softcore and hardcore heterosexual movies, such a charged context increased the likelihood that the men in the audience, whatever sort of film was being screened, might have sexual encounters with one another.³² It was part of a pattern found over and over again in public restrooms, jails, prisons, military facilities, and other same-sex environments.³³ In such a situation even a “straight” man in the audience may engage in mutual masturbation with another man or allow a man to suck his penis.³⁴ The porn theater, part of the cinematic apparatus itself, had become a complex form of sociosexual space, an erotic signifying system and a stage for fantasy scenarios.³⁵

The cinematic and architectural complex of the softcore porn theater had created a unique space in which various kinds of sexual exchanges could take place, cinematic representation of sex (softcore and later hardcore) on the screen and real sexual activity in the audience.³⁶ Brendan Gill described the space and the activities that went on in the theaters:

For the homosexual, it is the accepted thing that the theatre is there to be cruised in; this is one of the advantages he has purchased with his expensive ticket of admission. Far from sitting slumped motionless in one's chair, one moves about at will, sizing up the possibilities. Often there will be found standing at the back of the theatre two or three young men, any of whom, for a fee, will accompany one to seats well down front and there practice upon one the same arts that are being practiced upon others on the screen. One is thus enabled to enjoy two very different sorts of sexual pleasures simultaneously.³⁷

In the late 1960s, the live action in the audience often surpassed the erotic appeal of the relatively innocuous beefcake shorts and rather lugubrious softcore narrative features.

Starting in the late 1960s, the writer Samuel Delany went regularly to the porn theaters in the Times Square area. He cruised in them and frequently had sex with the men who attended them, despite the fact that the vast majority of the theaters showed straight porn and that most of the men there were also straight. Nevertheless, patrons, in large part because of the sexual activity that went on in the theaters, also developed a sense of community. In *Times Square Red, Times Square Blue*, Delany suggests that the encounters that took place in porn theaters encouraged the development of social relationships crossing lines of class, race, and sexual orientation and conveyed a sense of community.³⁸ The independent feature *Porn Theatre* (2003) by French director Jacques Nolot

offered homage to the porn theater and the sexual diversity and solidarity that often emerged among its patrons from the 1960s through the early 1980s.

Only a few exploitation movies and nudie-cuties dealt with male homosexuality or gender deviance.³⁹ In fact, most porn filmmakers refused to make gay films, and the older generation of gay physique photographers—especially some of those who had made short 8 or 16 mm movies for their mail-order customers, such as Mizer, Dick Fontaine, and Pat Rocco—were initially cautious about showing their work theatrically. Instead, homosexual themes were most commonly explored in avant-garde or experimental films by filmmakers such as Kenneth Anger, Jack Smith, and Andy Warhol, and these films were more likely to have theatrical showings in “art” venues.⁴⁰ Anger’s short film *Fireworks* (1947) was one of the earliest films to touch on a homosexual topic. Inspired by the Zoot Suit riots in Los Angeles in 1943, it portrayed a young man who, awaking from an erotic dream, goes out into the night in search of sexual adventure. The film is permeated with surrealistic sexual symbolism—statues under sheets representing erections and a Roman candle spewing white sparks from a sailor’s crotch. Pervaded by homoeroticism, erotic images of male physiques, and violence, Anger’s *Scorpio Rising* (1963) paid homage to the macho rites of a motorcycle gang, juxtaposing and intercutting images of fascism and delinquency, of community and rebellion, of motorcycle gangs and a Nazi rally, and of ritual and violence, bringing together the sacred and the profane. The references to Nazism seem to point to the famed brutality of the Los Angeles Police Department—which terrorized Latinos and African Americans, as well as lesbians and gay men for so many years.⁴¹

Made for a mere \$300, Jack Smith’s *Flaming Creatures* (1963) was another experimental film that touched on homosexual subject matter. The film is an abstract montage of the human body and its parts: penises (limp and erect), nipples, feet, and lips, a campy and bizarre tale of orgies, vampires, and transvestites. It created a sensation when it played in New York in 1963 and 1964. Intentionally shocking as were so many of the experimental films of the era, it was considered the most offensive of them all, generating a huge public outcry. When it was showed at the Gramercy Arts Theatre the following March, along with *Un chant d’amour* (1950), Jean Genet’s portrayal of homoeroticism in prison, the police raided the theater, confiscated the print, and arrested the program’s director for obscenity. Proclaiming the film as a milestone in the sexual revolution, critic and avant-garde film advocate Jonas Mekas wrote: “*Flaming Creatures* [was] . . . a manifesto of the New Sexual Freedom



Fig. 12.2 Experimental and avant-garde films—such as Andy Warhol's *My Hustler* (1965), featuring Paul America (foreground)—dealt with homosexual desire, though most did so in a largely nonexplicit fashion. (Frame enlargement.)

riders.” In later years, the film inspired directors as different as Federico Fellini and John Waters.⁴²

Warhol had directed or produced a number of the films that had touched on homosexual themes or subtexts, involved male nudity, or featured beefcake stars (Joe Dallesandro). Two of his early experimental films were included in the Park Theater film festival. Warhol shot *Blow Job* in the same year that Smith made *Flaming Creatures*. The title alone creates “pornographic” expectations. The entire course of the thirty-minute film focuses on the face of a handsome young man, a man who is getting his cock sucked. We never see who is giving the man the blow job. We don’t know whether it is a man or a woman, whether a homosexual or heterosexual blow job—we can’t even be sure that it is a “real” blow job, though it seems to be. It is a pure reaction shot. We see only the man’s face, but we see him gaze into space, look down, drift off into an erotic reverie. We see him wince—with pain or pleasure? we don’t know—then we see him relax; now and then he seems about to have an orgasm. Finally after a moment of apparent ecstasy, he lights a cigarette. We assume that he’s had an orgasm.⁴³

In 1966, after the success of his film *Chelsea Girls* in mainstream theaters, Warhol was contacted by the manager of the Hudson Theater on

West Forty-fourth Street, just off Times Square, for something that he would be able to show there. Warhol's collaborator, Paul Morrissey, suggested *My Hustler* (1965, figure 12.2). "They want to show something," Morrissey urged Warhol, "and the title will make them think it's a sex film like all the girl films being shown there." *My Hustler* opened there in July 1967 and grossed \$18,000 in its first week. The movie has a loose narrative, and unlike *Blow Job* it had sound. Set at Fire Island Pines, the film opens with a panoramic view of a beach. Far out toward the surf is someone, a speck on the sand until we move in closer, sitting in a beach chair. The camera zooms in on a handsome young man, a hustler named Paul America. On the sound track, we hear the voices of a man (Ed Hood) and two other people, another man and a woman arguing about the hustler whom they are both attracted to and whom they want to take for their own use. It is a movie about "sex" or at least as much about sex as movies of that period allowed—that is, no explicit sex—and more definitely about homosexual desire between men. The gossip magazine *Confidential* reported:

My Hustler has touched off the trend toward full homosexual realism in the movies. The reason according to the film critics, is that it is the first full length film to take a look at the lavender side of life without pointing a finger in disgust or disdain, but concentrating instead on the way life really is in the limp-wristed world.⁴⁴

Considering that it has no sexually explicit scenes, *My Hustler* had done surprisingly well in the Times Square arena.

The first theatrical screening of a complete program of gay softcore "erotic" films took place at the Park Theater (e.g., figure 12.3) in Los Angeles in June 1968, predating the Stonewall riots that sparked the gay liberation movement by a year—and was not explicitly labeled as "gay."⁴⁵ Billed as "A Most Unusual Film Festival," it drew upon both experimental filmmakers and the local physique photographers and filmmakers such as Bob Mizer and Pat Rocco, for the first time showing their 8 mm short films theatrically. The program listed in the *Los Angeles Free Press* announced *Flaming Creatures*, *My Hustler*, and an Anger trilogy—all experimental films that alluded to sexual or homosexual themes in symbolic or coded ways. Other films billed for the series included gay softcore titles such as Rocco's *Love Is Blue*, *Nudist Boy Surfers*, *Boys Out to Ball*, and "Warhol's B-J (call theatre for title!)." ⁴⁶ The narrative structure for gay softcore films had not yet evolved into a strict formula. The short films of Mizer and Rocco were quite different in that regard. Many of Mizer's films involved disrobing, wrestling, or fights; Rocco's tended to be love



Fig. 12.3 The Park Theater in Los Angeles began showing programs of softcore gay films in 1968. The back of a four-page flier from November/December 1968 promoted films made by Pat Rocco.

stories—with disrobing, kissing, and walking nude. None showed erections or penetration. Within the year, audiences in Los Angeles and other cities had grown tired of the sentimental and softcore short films made by the beefcake photographers.⁴⁷

The first gay softcore feature film produced after the Park's film festival was Tom DeSimone's *The Collection*, released in 1970. Eschewing the sentimental style of Rocco's movies or the boisterous boyishness of Mizer's wrestling films, it told the story of a gay man who kidnaps young men and keeps them locked in cages for his sexual pleasure. Although there was nudity and simulated sex, there were no erections. However, the Los Angeles theater that showed it was raided by the police because of its S/M-styled subject matter.⁴⁸ The most ambitious gay softcore feature produced in this period was *Song of the Loon*, a romance between a white man and Indian set in the wilderness of the American West. Made for \$70,000 it was released in 1970, just as hardcore movies started playing in San Francisco.

Gay softcore films had barely moved beyond frontal nudity and kiss-

ing. Very rapidly, by late 1970, interest in softcore movies had begun to wane. Theater managers and exhibitors were clamoring for more explicit sexual action on the screens. None of the experimental art films had explicitly adopted homo-*erotic* narratives, and the softcore features of DeSimone and other directors had merely sought to apply Hollywood formulas—especially sentimental or melodramatic ones—to homosexual content.

Going Hardcore, Representing Sex

By the middle of 1969 producers wanted “heavy, hard stuff.”⁴⁹ The defining characteristic of hardcore porn is “insertion”—oral, vaginal, or anal—and penetration was the last frontier, signaling the shift from exploitation into hardcore.⁵⁰ Once the transition to hardcore action took place, the production of sexually explicit pornographic films underwent a dramatic change. Whereas in the production of softcore cinema, many standard cinematic conventions of genre, performance, and narrative held sway, virtually everything changed in hardcore production. Feature-length sexploitation resembled Hollywood films to some extent, with some female nudity thrown in. The move to hardcore required the development of new moviemaking techniques, but ones that had not yet developed or established the narrative conventions, iconographic formulas, or rhetorical strategies of a full-fledged genre.⁵¹

Hardcore emerged very quickly as a commercial imperative. Distributors and exhibitors clamored for movies showing explicit sexual acts to bring audiences back into their theaters. San Francisco was the first city where hardcore films were extensively played—by 1969 the city had twenty-five theaters offering hardcore movies.⁵² New York soon followed, and estimates at the time placed the number of theaters nationally showing sex films between one and four hundred in cities from Indianapolis to Dallas, Houston, and New York.⁵³

In 1969, when the owner of a company that made softcore movies told his staff about the decision to move into hardcore porn, he asked anyone uncomfortable with his decision to leave immediately. For those who chose to remain, he explained that he would stand by them and get them the best lawyers, but that if asked he would deny any knowledge of their activities. “And of course,” one director noted, “we all knew that we’d have to go even further underground, because everything was getting busted.”⁵⁴ At the time, hardcore producers not only operated outside the law; many conducted fly-by-night operations. “Stories are written on matchbook covers, and dialogue is made up by performers

more noted for looks than talent,” said an interviewee.⁵⁵ Having to perform “real” sex also changed who was willing to be cast in pornographic movies. Said one director of softcore films, “When you get into hardcore you are dealing with a different class of people. You can’t get actors or actresses anymore, but pimps and whores.”⁵⁶ In California it was illegal to pay performers to have sex. “You cannot make a hardcore film without violating the prostitution laws,” Captain Jack Wilson of the LAPD told Kenneth Turan and Stephen Zito. “When you pay actors to engage in sex or oral copulation, you’ve violated the laws.”⁵⁷ Sex films were no longer merely products made on the margins of the Hollywood film industry; they were both outside the law and outside the film industry.

The shift to hardcore necessitated creating a new production framework and conventions of performance that facilitated the enactment of real sexual activity, that is, with erections and orgasms. The director’s role changed from directing actors in simulated sex scenes, with dialogue and some degree of character development,⁵⁸ to directing and choreographing the performers through a series of sex acts that required encouraging and monitoring erections as well as eliciting and photographing successful “cum shots.” Producers had to establish the social and physical conditions for sexual performances: a bounded space where sexual performances will be filmed, a supply of sexual partners (via casting) who expect to perform sexual acts before a camera with other performers, and some sort of production crew—at the very least, a director and a cinematographer had to articulate the *mise-en-scène*. And certain aspects of sexual performance—including erections, orgasms, or ejaculations—became central to the production process. The “cum shot,” known also as “the money shot,” emerged as the sign of the sex scene’s narrative conclusion. Ultimately, it was up to the producer/director to establish the overarching visual and fantasy vocabulary of the movie—the erotic gestalt (the *mise-en-scène*) of the hardcore movie. In real-life sexual activities, personal “scripts” are usually improvised, to some degree, from the participants’ personal fantasies, social roles, cultural codes, and symbols, in addition to the socially available interactional strategies and are used to orchestrate a sexual encounter.⁵⁹ That *mise-en-scène* in hardcore organized the sexual performances and set the stage in order to create a credible *fantasy world* on film. Despite the many challenges, the switch from simple nudity to hardcore action took place almost seamlessly.⁶⁰

For gay men, the transition from softcore beefcake to hardcore was extremely important. The primary focus of beefcake publications had been on men as objects of desire, not as agents of desire. Although there

was an extensive underground business in sexually explicit drawings of men having sex with one another, the beefcake magazines were never able to publically show men having sex.⁶¹ Over time, the magazines eventually began to show men interacting with one another—though not sexually. In images that were often coy and suggestive, the illustrations that were published in the magazines did imply (especially in the drawings and illustrations) that the men portrayed might have some potentially “erotic” interest in one another. In place of the “worship” of ideal bodies sponsored by beefcake publications, hardcore films offered images, roles, and “scripts” that could serve as models and legitimate active sex. Only with the advent of gay hardcore movies showing in public theaters were gay audiences able to see gay men as active agents of homosexual desire.

In 1969 and 1970, the challenge of making gay porn movies was, as it was for straight films, discovering the most effective way to represent sexual action. Straight hardcore sex fit easily into the existing narrative formulas; dealing with erections and getting cum shots were the new challenges. But gay hardcore sex posed unique obstacles to filmmakers: erections, anal penetration, and ejaculations (whose?) were seen as essential. Yet no standard sequence of sexual action had emerged. Who sucked or fucked whom, in what order, remained an open question. Initially the approach was purely quantitative: “Generally, I keep my actors to about six people,” one director explained, “and that gives me three sex scenes and six cum-shots.”⁶²

Thus, determining the narrative significance of different sexual acts and recognizing the importance of shooting penetration shots, erections, and orgasms was of primary importance. For instance, fucking “doggie style” was impersonal; in some narrative contexts, face-to-face anal intercourse missionary position was considered more intimate. Riding a man’s cock “cowboy style” was sometimes physically easier for maintaining an erection. Most of the conventions that we’ve come to expect in gay pornographic films—such as the sequence of sex acts from kissing to fellatio to anal sex, the close-up of penetration shots, and of performers’ cum shots—were not yet in place. On top of everything else, production values were quite crude; locations, hair, clothing, the dialogue, and sound track resembled more closely a home movie than a professional theatrical feature.

One early gay hardcore film, *Desires of the Devil*, aptly illustrates the transitional phase of the new film genre.⁶³ Probably made sometime during 1971, it was directed by Sebastian Figg, a former actor who had ap-

peared in softcore films (*Escape to Passion*, 1970) and who directed *The Specimen*, a straight hardcore feature, released a year later.⁶⁴ The movie has five scenes, but there is only one cum shot in the entire film. For example, in the first sex scene Jim Cassidy, the film's star, meets a man at a theater and is invited home for a drink. Eventually they go into the bedroom and undress. They embrace naked on the bed and the man sucks Cassidy's penis, but the camera does not focus on the fellatio. They shift position and the man lies on his back as Cassidy inserts his penis, but we never see the penis penetrating the man's ass. They fuck for a few minutes, separate, embrace, and fall asleep. The fucking looks faked; neither man has an orgasm. Cassidy wakes up and sneaks out after taking some cash from the man's wallet.

After Cassidy leaves the first man's apartment, he meets another man on the street and goes back to that man's apartment. They undress and quickly move from the man sucking Cassidy's cock, to "sixty-nine," to Cassidy fucking the man. There is no penetration in this scene either, but it is more convincing and it looks as though there was real fucking. The man comes while he's being fucked, though again Cassidy doesn't himself reach an orgasm. The last three scenes have very little sexual action—only oral sex—no anal penetration and no orgasms. It's not clear why neither penetration nor the money shot were portrayed. Virtually none of the formulas used in later porn were in evidence. It is possible that the film was originally conceived as a softcore feature film and incorporated some explicit sex while in production during the period's hasty transition to hardcore. Perhaps the film's director and producer assumed that the story, the nudity, and the quasi-hardcore and simulated sex put it satisfactorily into the hardcore category. It may also reflect the fact that the conventions surrounding penetration, erections, and the cum shots were not yet firmly established.

Once the transition to hardcore had taken place, theater managers set out to find hardcore material for their gay audiences, and a number started to produce hardcore films to show in their own theaters. Amateur filmmakers produced many of the early gay pornographic movies, and to some degree many of the films made in this period represented an expression of the filmmaker's own newly "liberated" homosexuality; this was especially true for many of the performers. Eventually after the gay movement gained momentum, numerous small companies were formed to explicitly produce gay male pornographic films and the gay porn "industry" began to take shape in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York.

Pornographic Realism and Sexual Emancipation

On a hot June night in 1969, police raided a bar in Greenwich Village. For once, instead of meekly lining up to file into a paddy wagon, the bar's patrons and the crowd that gathered outside fought the police, setting off five days of rioting. Drag queens, street hustlers, lesbians, and gay men—many politicized by the movement against the war in Vietnam—rioted and taunted the police, throwing bottles and rocks at them. The riots crystallized a broad grassroots mobilization across the country. The raided bar, known as the Stonewall Inn, became the central symbol of a gay and lesbian political movement that dramatically changed the public image of homosexuals. Ironically, in the same month, theaters in San Francisco screened the first hardcore pornographic films.⁶⁵

A year later Broadway director and choreographer Wakefield Poole, his boyfriend, and two other friends decided to go the Park-Miller Theatre to see an all-male porn film. It turned out to be a disappointing evening and for Poole a somewhat jarring experience, not only because they had all begun to feel a new sense of self-respect and appreciation after the Stonewall riots but unlike the theaters that screened straight porn, the lights at the Park-Miller, which showed gay porn, were bright enough that the theater's customers could actually read. Indeed one patron, Poole reported, was reading the *New York Times*. There was no sex going on anywhere in the audience, which routinely took place in the theaters showing straight porn, in part because at the Park-Miller the police repeatedly walked in and looked over the audience. A film called *Highway Hustler* was the main feature. It portrayed a young hitchhiker who is picked up and taken to motel where he was fucked while being held at knifepoint. Poole's companions reacted to the dreary unerotic plot by laughing or falling asleep. He and his friends had failed to find the film either arousing or romantic. Afterward, they wondered aloud whether it was possible to make a sexy porn film that wasn't degrading.

After his experience at the Park-Miller, Poole decided to make a "quality" porn movie. During a summer stay on Fire Island, he shot three sexually explicit scenes. Poole called his movie *Boys in the Sand*. The title evokes both the idyllic sexual playground that Fire Island had become and implicitly repudiates Mart Crowley's vision of campy and guilt-ridden gay men in his play *Boys in the Band*. It thus rejected gay male effeminacy as an erotically legitimate expression of gay male sexuality.

In *Boys in the Sand* each scene evokes some mythical or magical element: in the first scene, a beautiful man rises from the sea like Botticelli's Venus (figure 12.4). It is a scene deeply indebted to Poole's dance ex-



Fig. 12.4 Casey Donovan rises out of the sea in the first segment of Wakefield Poole's *Boys in the Sand* (1971), one of the first gay hardcore features and one that had crossover appeal with straight audiences. (Digital frame enlargement.)

perience with the Ballets Russes; its Debussy soundtrack evokes Vaslav Nijinsky's famous ballet *Afternoon of a Faun*. (The ballet itself provoked a huge furor at the premier in 1912, when the faun—danced by Nijinsky himself—relieved his sexual frustration by lying on a nymph's scarf and rubbing against it seemingly to the point of orgasm.) In the second scene, a man responds to an ad in a gay newspaper for a magic pill to create a beautiful man. He tosses the pill into the pool and, like a genie from a magic lantern, a beautiful man emerges for a passionate sexual encounter. And in the third, a torrid sexual encounter is created in the imagination of two gay men as they openly cruise one another—one black, the other white—like the mythical homoerotic male couple of American literature: Melville's Ishmael and Queequeg in *Moby Dick*, or Mark Twain's Huck Finn and Jim.⁶⁶ In one fell swoop, Poole invoked the cultural archetypes underlying the American homoerotic imagination of the 1960s.

Boys in the Sand offered a new erotic template for the gay male erotic imagination. The tortured sublimated violence in the films of Kenneth Anger; the passive exhibitionism of Bob Mizer's physique photography; the flamboyant ode to androgyny in Jack Smith's *Flaming Creatures*; the blank eroticism of Andy Warhol's *Blow Job*, or *My Hustler*; or the primitive homoerotic idolatry of Joe Dallesandro in Paul Morrissey's *Flesh*

(1968) and *Trash* (1972)—all these were suddenly surpassed in Poole's three scenes.

By the end of 1972, four other feature-length gay hardcore movies were released in theaters in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and New York. Most of these films also played in New York at the Fifty-fifth Street Playhouse, where many of Warhol's sexually themed movies had played. Poole's *Boys in the Sand* opened there in December 1971 and was an immediate critical and financial success. It was followed by J. Brian's *Seven in a Barn* (1971), which was made in the Bay Area. In the following year, Fred Halsted's gritty sadomasochistic feature, *LA Plays Itself* (1972), opened; then Jack Deveau's *Left-Handed* (1972), an urban tale of hustlers and betrayal set in New York City; and finally Jerry Douglas's *The Back Row* (1973), an almost documentarylike portrait of New York's raunchy post-gay-liberation sexual scene. Casey Donovan, who starred in two of these movies—*Boys in the Sand* and *The Back Row*—went on to become the first nationally recognized gay porn star. These five films launched the new wave of postliberation, gay, hardcore pornographic cinema.⁶⁷

Two of the hardcore movies were made in New York during 1971–1972: *Left-Handed* (1972) and *The Back Row* (1973). Jack Deveau and his lover Robert Alvarez began making *Left-Handed* even before Poole's film had premiered. Encouraged by the actor Sal Mineo, Deveau and Alvarez were actively involved in both the city's avant-garde cultural scene and in the new gay sexual scene that had emerged in the 1960s. Deveau was an industrial designer, and Alvarez had worked for a number of years as a film editor on documentaries for National Educational Television (NET) as well as a few “underground” films.⁶⁸ *Left-Handed* showed a cross-section of gay male life in Manhattan in the early seventies. The film told the story of an antique dealer, his hustler boyfriend, and their pot dealer—a typical story of the 1960s and early seventies. In the story it recounts a gay man (the hustler) seducing a straight man (the pot dealer), the gay man eventually topping the straight man. The straight man becomes emotionally involved and begins to explore homosexuality, even participating in a gay orgy. At that point, the gay man loses interest in the sexually curious “straight” man.

In February 1972, within months of the premier of *Boys in the Sand*, Jerry Douglas, a young playwright and off-Broadway director known for directing nude plays (a somewhat unique theatrical specialty of the 1960s), was approached by a producer of TV commercials to make a gay hardcore film. The producer asked Douglas to hire *Boy's* star, Casey Donovan, who was another old friend and had appeared in an off-Broadway play that Douglas had directed.⁶⁹ *The Back Row*, the movie that

Douglas wrote and made, was a sexually explicit takeoff of *Midnight Cowboy*, the X-rated movie that recently won an Academy Award for Best Picture. Like *Midnight Cowboy*, *The Back Row*'s hero was a naive young cowboy just off the bus from the West who takes a walk on the wild side of New York's gay sexual subculture. Following in the footsteps of *Boys in the Sand*, it too packed theaters.

The two films made in California, one in San Francisco and one in Los Angeles, defined two major strands of gay pornographic filmmaking. One was J. Brian's *Seven in a Barn*, made in 1971. It is shot almost entirely in a single setting, a straw-filled barn in which seven suntanned All-American young men, many of them blond, sit in circle playing strip poker. The sexual action—ranging from a circle jerk, a round of oral and anal sex, a series of three-ways, some light bondage, and a dildo—established many of the conventions that gay pornography has continued to follow. "Brian's films," wrote Ted Underwood several years later, were "characterized, first and foremost, by the breathtaking golden boys. . . . All seem to be fresh, young, healthy, versatile, creatively kinky and apparently insatiable."⁷⁰ Brian originated a style of gay porn and a type of casting that eventually dominated the gay porn industry in the late 1970s and 1980s—the All-American young man in search of sexual fulfillment, suntanned and often blond. The films were often set outdoors, in idyllic surroundings that were increasingly exemplified as California. Throughout the 1970s numerous small companies—Jaguar, Brentwood, Colt, Falcon, and Catalina—set up shop in Los Angeles and San Francisco to make short films as well as feature length movies set within the California fantasy.⁷¹

If J. Brian initiated the mythical California of golden boys and muscular outdoorsmen, in *LA Plays Itself* (1972), Fred Halsted propelled gay porn into a darker, noir-like Los Angeles. Clearly influenced by the films of Kenneth Anger, Halsted had no connection to either the physique photographers or the early local porn production companies. Nevertheless, Halsted established elements of a homoerotic film genre and style that later gay adult filmmakers drew upon. *LA Plays Itself* opens with the camera moving quickly in the countryside outside Los Angeles. Zooming to wildflowers, rocks and insects, it comes to rest on an idyllic sexual encounter in the Malibu Mountains: two young men kiss, suck each others' cocks, and casually fuck. The second scene opens on a gritty street in a rundown neighborhood of Los Angeles. Fred Halsted himself drives through seedy side streets in Hollywood—lined with young men hustling, porn theaters, and shabby storefronts. On the sound track, a young man with a Texas drawl is reading a porno story. As we cruise the

streets of Los Angeles, we overhear a conversation between two young men, one just arrived, the other coyly offering to show him around and warning the newcomer to avoid certain kinds of men. In the third scene, we look down at a young man standing at the foot of a long stairway. Halsted stands at the top, pale, shirtless, wearing only jeans and boots. For a moment, we are suddenly prowling with Halsted again among half-naked men standing in the shadows in Griffith Park. Then just as suddenly, we are back on the stairway again; Halsted pushes the young man into a bedroom and throws him on the bed. He ties up the young man, whips him, and finally puts his fist up the young man's ass.

Halsted had started working on the script for *LA Plays Itself* in 1969 and finished it shortly before its premiere in the spring of 1972. It was essentially the first installment of a trilogy of films summarizing what he called his "philosophy of sex." The second work of the trilogy, *The Sex Garage*, was shot over the course of six hours in December 1971. Then, after prolonged work on the script, he started shooting *Sextool*, the third installment, during the summer of 1974. Shot in high-contrast black and white, *Sex Garage*—unlike *LA Plays Itself*, which was shot in color—opens with a young woman giving a blow job to a garage mechanic, then a macho biker replaces her, but he seems more interested in fucking his motorcycle. He literally fucks the motorcycle's exhaust pipe. *Sex Garage* was confiscated by the NYPD purportedly for the latter scene.⁷²

Halsted's films were booked as porn, but local critics reviewed them as contributions to experimental art film genres. There is also no clear sense of homosexual identity in Halsted's films. "I consider myself a pervert first and a homosexual second," he said.⁷³ Nor did he acknowledge the purely recreational aspect of sex. According to Halsted, sex violates the male characters' sense of self-possession in order to create an encounter with the sacred: "Coming is not the point. The point is revelation—the why."⁷⁴ Halsted's philosophy shared much with that of pornographer and philosopher Georges Bataille. Like the philosopher, Halsted believed that the erotic is transgressive and sacramental, that it is inherently violent, and that it involves acts of violation. Human beings, according to Bataille, are closed off from one another and cannot communicate because the bodies of others are closed off to them. In the erotic encounter those physical barriers are breached, if only briefly, through the other's bodily orifices. Although Halsted made only a handful of films, director Joe Gage—in *Kansas City Trucking Company* (1976), *El Paso Wrecking Company* (1977), and *L.A. Tool & Die* (1979)—developed more thoroughly the ultramasculine style that Halsted initiated.

After *Boys in the Sand*, Fred Halsted's *LA Plays Itself* was the most

successful gay porn movie of the time. Similarly, it was one of the first *porn* movies, not just gay porn movies, reviewed in mainstream newspapers. Both movies helped to define “porn chic” as a significant cultural moment in the early 1970s, and each was an example of an artistically serious hardcore film. Moreover, both films preceded *Deep Throat* as a pornographic film that played to general moviegoing audiences, though neither one was the first gay hardcore film playing in theaters. These films created the public perception that gay pornographic films represented a new more serious kind of commercial pornography compared to the softcore shorts or the Hollywood-style potboilers showing in theaters.

Pornography, Perversity, and History

Hardcore pornographic films are historical documents of sex and of the scripts, fantasies, bodies, and styles of sex.⁷⁵ They succeed in the market because they articulate or propose wish-fulfilling fantasies that resonate with their audience. Commercial success, however, also fed the perverse dynamic—the constant push to identify new varieties of polymorphous sexual possibilities—and at the same time generated strategies of symbolic containment. Thus the transition from softcore porn to hardcore was also in part a shift from more euphemistic, somewhat idealized, versions of sexual desire and conduct to ones that were more realistic and perhaps more perverse, though not, of course, without the compensating idealizations of breasts, penises, and body types.

Gay porn films reinforced its gay viewers’ identity as gay men. That identification was enunciated through the pornography’s dominant semantic and syntactical conventions: the “standard” narrative sequence (kissing, undressing, oral sex, rimming, anal intercourse) of sexual acts, a convincingly energetic performance, and, most important, the erections and visible orgasms that authenticate (and narratively end the erotic scene) the embodied forms of homosexual desire. Operating within the *realism* of porn and its “reality effects,” the real erections and the real orgasms putatively “prove” to a gay male spectator that these “sexually desirable, masculine, and energetic performers” are really gay—thus affirming the gay male identity. Even when an individual movie deviated from these generic expectations, either through failure to provide a credible performance or by offering new or creative sexual variations, the film affirmed gay identity.

Ironically, the generic conventions that consolidated and reinforced

the identity effects coexisted with representations of “straight” men engaging in homosexual acts. In this way gay porn reinforces the incongruity between male homosexual desire—traditionally stigmatized and abject—and the heterosexual dominance of the masculine regime of desire. It serves to situate homosexual *desire* within masculine territory irrespective of heterosexual or gay identities.⁷⁶ Thus, the widespread employment of straight performers in gay pornography intensifies the contradiction between *gay male identity* and *homosexual desire without identity*, which conferred legitimacy on homosexual *behavior* independent of gay identity.⁷⁷

Gay hardcore pornography also helped to legitimate a reconfiguration of gay masculinity.⁷⁸ As gay men rejected the traditional idea that male homosexual desire implied the desire to be female, they turned to a traditionally masculine or working-class style of acting out sexually. Camp as an effeminized gay sensibility was out. The new style of gay men was macho and sexually provocative, and that style included denim pants, black combat boots, a tight T-shirt (if it was warm), covered by a plaid flannel shirt (if it was cooler). The rugged look of the Marlboro man was the iconic masculine model for the 1970s.⁷⁹

Anal intercourse became the central act of gay male pornography. Rather than a strict dichotomy between the “trade”/masculine role and “queer”/effeminate role, or top and bottom (terms and a distinction not in use during the early 1970s), versatility represented the politically fashionable style of fucking. It promulgated a fantasy of sexual surrender to the intense pleasure of discharged sexual tension, and ultimately to the psychic shattering of the self through anal intercourse.⁸⁰ Pornographic film relies upon the real erections and the real orgasms (the reality effects of porn production) of sexual performers and is at the same time a fictional representation of sexual fantasies. The realism is central, if not always absolutely necessary, to the rhetorical effectiveness of porn cinema. “Ultimately, what viewers want to see is guys *having* sex, not actors *pretending* to have sex,” one reviewer wrote.⁸¹

Freud classified all forms of nonreproductive sexual behavior—kissing, oral sex, homosexuality, and various fetishes—as perverse sexual desires. Moreover, he argued that perverse desires were incompatible with a stable social order; instead, he believed that perverse sexual desires must be transformed, through repression and sublimation, into forms of energy more compatible with “civilized society.”⁸²

Pornography normalizes perversity. The men who regularly went out to the adult theaters saw thousands of hours of porn films and videos.

In his memoir about his experience in New York's porn theaters, Samuel Delany has described the audience's changing response to the sex portrayed in hardcore movies. The movies, he suggested, "improved our vision of sex . . . making it friendlier, more relaxed, and more playful."

For the first year or two the theaters operated, the entire working-class audience would break out laughing at everything save male-superior fucking. (I mean, that's *what* sex is, isn't it?) At the fellatio, at the cunnilingus even more, and at the final kiss, among the groans and chuckles you'd always hear a couple of "Yuccchs" and "Uhgggs." By the seventies' end, though, only a few chuckles sounded out now—at the cunnilingus passages. And in the first year or two of the eighties, even those had stopped. . . . Indeed, I think, under pressure of those films, many guys simply found themselves changing what turned them on. And if one part or another didn't happen to be your thing, you still saw it enough times to realize that maybe *you* were the strange one.⁸³

Starting in the 1970s, the proliferation of pornography opened up social space for the emergence of the "perverse dynamic."⁸⁴ Under the banner of sexual intercourse outside of the heteronormative marriage, pornography harnessed voyeurism and exhibitionism to portray sex with multiple partners, group sex, fellatio and cunnilingus, anal intercourse, lesbianism, male homosexuality, all kinds of sexual fetichisms, sex toys, BDSM, and other sexual practices. Porn and its reality effects both harness those perverse desires and generates them. The production of pornography operates along the "continuum of perversions which underlies human sexuality," contributing to the historical dynamic of a polymorphic sexual economy that allows for selection of many different kinds of objects of desire.⁸⁵

The shift to hardcore triggered the drive to seek out ever more unusual sexual fantasy content material, which would later become the central dynamic of the porn industry. And the sexual fantasies supplied, whether viewed as cultural expressions or commercial products, grow out of a complex dynamic between the familiar and the new, the normal and the taboo, the ordinary and the perverse. In this pursuit, the industry has turned to fantasies that represent ever more "perverse" sexual combinations in order to sustain erotic excitement among its jaded fans. Thus the sexual revolution and its discourses of sexual liberation both emancipated those who were stigmatized for their sexuality, and facilitated the social discipline of the newly emancipated identities.⁸⁶ Pornography played, and continues to play, an ambiguous role in this process.

Notes

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56. Siebenand, “The Beginnings of Gay Cinema in Los Angeles,” 85.
57. Turan and Zito, *Sinema*, 128.
58. Whereas some sexploitation films included synch-sound dialogue, others featured awkwardly post-dubbed “dialogue”; still others were essentially silent with narration.
59. Escoffier, “Scripting the Sex.”
60. Siebenand, “The Beginnings of Gay Cinema in Los Angeles,” 27.
61. See Thomas Waugh, ed., *Out/Lines: Underground Gay Graphics from before Stonewall* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2002).
62. Siebenand, “The Beginnings of Gay Cinema in Los Angeles,” 92.
63. Schatz, *Hollywood Genres*, 37–38.
64. Sebastian Figg, accessed March 27, 2008, www.imdb.com/name/nm0276544/.
65. David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots that Sparked the Gay Revolution*, new ed. (New York: St. Martin’s Griffin, 2010).
66. *Boys in the Sand* (2002). See also Wakefield Poole, *Dirty Poole: The Autobiography of a Gay Porn Pioneer* (Los Angeles: Alyson Books, 2000), 145–164.
67. Escoffier, *Bigger than Life*, 47–116.
68. Jerry Douglas, “The Legacy of Jack Deveau,” *Stallion*, April 1983, 22–25, 46–47.
69. Douglas was the author of *Rondelay* (1969), a musical version of Arthur Schnitzler’s *La Ronde*; *Score* (1970), and under the pseudonym, A. J. Kronengold, *Tubstrip* (1973), which was set in a gay bathhouse.
70. Ted Underwood “Raw Country,” *Stallion’s HOT 50: All-Time Best Male Films and Videos 1970–1985*, special issue no. 4 (1985): 46.
71. Escoffier, *Bigger than Life*.
72. Siebenand, *The Beginnings of Gay Cinema in Los Angeles*, 231. For accounts of Fred Halsted’s life and work, see chap. 6 in Patrick Moore’s *Beyond Shame: Reclaiming the Abandoned History of Radical Gay Sexuality* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004); and William E. Jones, *Halsted Plays Himself* (Los Angeles: Semiotext[e] Books, 2011).
73. Siebenand, *The Beginnings of Gay Cinema in Los Angeles*, 222.
74. Siebenand, *The Beginnings of Gay Cinema in Los Angeles*, 211.
75. For example, the documentary film by director Joseph Lovett, *Gay Sex in the Seventies* (2006) uses clips from porn films by Jack Deveau and Peter Romeo to illustrate the gay sexual mores of the 1970s. See also Jeffrey Escoffier, “Video Pornography as an Archive of the History of Sexuality,” forthcoming.

76. Brian Pronger, *The Arena of Masculinity: Sports, Homosexuality, and the Meaning of Sex* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990).
77. Henning Bech, *When Men Meet: Homosexuality and Modernity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Jeffrey Escoffier, "Gay-for-Pay: Straight Men and the Making of Gay Pornography," *Qualitative Sociology* 26, no. 4 (winter 2003): 531–555.
78. See Michael Bronski, *Culture Clash: The Making of Gay Sensibility* (Boston: Alyson Books, 1984), 166–174; Dyer, *Only Entertainment*, 121–134; Jackson, *Strategies of Deviance*, 126–172; Waugh, *Hard to Imagine*, 402–416; and Pronger, *The Arena of Masculinity: Sports, Homosexuality, and the Meaning of Sex* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 125–150.
79. Edmund White, *States of Desire: Travels in Gay America* (New York: Plume, 1980), 45–46.
80. See Leo Bersani's *Baudelaire and Freud* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977) and *The Freudian Body: Psychoanalysis and Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).
81. A. Foxxe, "Home Bodies," *Unzipped*, August 31, 1999, 40.
82. Sigmund Freud, "'Civilized' Sexual Morality and Modern Nervousness," in Jeffrey Escoffier, ed. *Sexual Revolution* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2003), 557–577.
83. Delany, *Times Square Red, Times Square Blue*, 78.
84. Jonathan Dollimore, *Sexual Dissidence: Augustine to Wilde, Freud to Foucault* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 219–230; Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1: *An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1980), 36–50; Williams, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure and the "Frenzy of the Visible,"* exp. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 272–273.
85. Williams, *Hard Core*, 272–273; Escoffier, "Pornography, Perversity and Sexual Revolution." See for example, Escoffier "Imagining the She/Male: Pornography and the Transsexualization of the Heterosexual Male," *Studies in Gender and Sexuality* 12, no. 4 (2011): 268–281."
86. Michel Foucault, "'Omnes et Singulatim': Toward a Critique of Political Reason," in *Power, Essential Works of Foucault, 1954–1984*, vol. 3, ed. James D. Faubion (New York: New Press, 2000), 298–325.

