



# Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender History

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### Committee on LGBT History

**Co-chairs:** Amanda Littauer and Nick Syrett

**Book Review Editor:** Dan Royles

**Newsletter Editor:** April Haynes

### CO-CHAIRS' COLUMN Fall 2017

As we write this column it seems hard to believe that our three-year term as your co-chairs is about to be over. We have enjoyed our time working on behalf of the Committee on LGBT History and are excited to be leaving the leadership of the organization in such very capable hands.

We would like to use this space to thank a number of people and summarize our three-year term's accomplishments. We have continued to expand the offerings of queer history at the annual meeting of the American Historical

Association and to enlarge the geographic scope of the work being presented at the meeting. Thanks to the participation of new and veteran members we have increased the number of sessions and this year in Washington, D.C. there will be multiple queer history sessions at most times; all time slots have at least one panel. This is truly a queer history conference within the larger AHA meeting. We are particularly proud of the sessions we have organized in years past on matters of professional development (publishing and the job market) and on teaching queer history, this year focusing on African history and World history surveys and on incorporating digital humanities. A full program of the CLGBTH at this year's AHA is included on page 3 and on our [website](#). We especially encourage you to join us for the members' meeting on Friday, January 5 from 12:30 to 1:30 in the Harding Room on the Mezzanine Level of the Marriott.

As we announced earlier this year, we are delighted that beginning in 2019 the CLGBTH will be awarding the Don Romesburg Prize for K12 curriculum in queer history. Honoring former co-chair Don Romesburg and his work on behalf of the FAIR Act in California, this award will join the ranks of the prizes that the CLGBTH names every two years. We are also very enthusiastic about the queer history conference that we have begun planning with CLGBTH board member Amy Sueyoshi. The conference, tentatively titled QHC 19, will be scheduled for June of 2019 and take place at San Francisco State University. Look for a call for papers in 2018. And we remain excited about the potential

of the mentoring program, which pairs senior scholars with junior scholar mentees. That program, first developed by board members Alex Warner and Cookie Woolner in 2015, and maintained by Cookie over her tenure on the board, will continue at this year's AHA meeting. If you are interested in participating, please email Cookie at [cwoolner@memphis.edu](mailto:cwoolner@memphis.edu).

We could not have done any of the work we have done over the past three years without a dedicated crew of volunteers. Thanks to former and current board members for all of their work, to April Haynes for editing the newsletter, Dan Royles for managing its book reviews, and Andrew Ross for handling the website. Thanks to Phil Tiemeyer, who served as Secretary Treasurer in 2015, and Rebecca Davis who ably took over for the remaining two years of our term. Thanks to all who have served on prize committees over the past three years. We look forward to announcing the winners of the Lorde, Sprague, and Bérubé Prizes at the LGBTQ Historians Reception at the AHA in Washington, D.C. this year (please join us on Friday, January 5 at 7:30 in Delaware Suite A in the Marriott Wardman Park's Lobby Level).

At that reception we will also celebrate the smooth transition of power to a capable and enthusiastic new pair of co-chairs and five new board members. Julio Capó, Jr. and Emily Hobson will assume the leadership of the organization beginning at the AHA and Katie Batza, Chelsea Del Rio, Will Kuby, Víctor Macías González, and Dan Royles will join the governing board. Please join us as we raise a glass!

Finally, working together has been a real joy. We knew one another only a little bit when we agreed to chair this organization together and over the past few years have developed such fondness and respect for one another, which we are confident we will take with us into the future. We have the Committee on LGBT History to thank for that!

In solidarity,  
*Amanda and Nick*

## Announcements

Pagan Press announces two new books:

*The Shelley-Byron Men: Lost angels of a ruined paradise* (Pagan Press, May 2017). John Lauritsen examines the lives and works of two great poets and their friends, uncovering ample evidence that male love was an important part of their lives and works. Homoeroticism in their works was usually coded for the "initiated", but was sometimes amazingly candid. John Lauritsen de-codes homoerotic references, reinterprets major works of English Romanticism, and places all in historical context. He states: "For too long, biographers have falsified the love lives of the Shelley-Byron men. The time has come to bring them into the light of day."

Lord Byron (allonym), *Don Leon & Leon to Annabella*, edited by John Lauritsen, (June 2017). Written in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, *Don Leon* is a literary masterpiece, which has been vilified and rigorously suppressed. The last book edition of *Don Leon* (Fortune Press 1934) was immediately confiscated by the London police, who burned all the copies they could find. *Don Leon* is a powerful outcry against injustice, a moving and erudite defense of male love, and an account of Byron's sexuality, which on the whole has proven to be true. *Don Leon* forcefully demands the repeal of Britain's sodomy (or "buggery") statute, under which men and even adolescent boys were being hanged for having sex with each other. In preparing this edition, editor John Lauritsen spent days in New York City's Morgan Library, which has the unique surviving first edition copy of *Leon to Annabella* and the oldest surviving edition of *Don Leon* (Dugdale 1866). Both poems, and especially the very extensive notes, contain many passages in foreign languages. This is the first edition to translate them into English. Supplementary material includes gay historian Louis Crompton's long article, "*Don Leon*, Byron, and Homosexual Law Reform."

AHA 2018  
CLGBTH sessions

**THURSDAY, January 4**

**1:30 PM-3:00 PM:** [Outing the Early American Past: Case Studies from Academic and Public History](#)

Washington Room 2 (Marriott Wardman Park, Exhibition Level)

**Chair:** Richard Godbeer, Virginia Commonwealth University

**Papers:**

Siamese Twins: The Intimate World of James Buchanan and William Rufus King  
Thomas J. Balcerski, Eastern Connecticut State University

“Something Came into Our Love”: Harriet Hosmer, Ellen Tucker Emerson, and Female Subjects’ Sexuality in Their Own Words  
Kate Culkin, Bronx Community College, City University of New York

Doing It in Public: Presenting Historical Sources on LGBT History in a Public Exhibition  
Cornelia King, Library Company of Philadelphia

**Comment:** James T. Downs, Connecticut College

**3:30-5:00 PM:** [Teaching Queer Themes and Experiences in World History](#)

Washington Room 2 (Marriott Wardman Park, Exhibition Level)

**Chair:** Averill E. Earls, Mercyhurst University

**Papers:**

Juggling Breadth and Depth: Teaching Queer History in World History Surveys  
Averill E. Earls, Mercyhurst University

Gender and Sexuality in Our Understanding of the Holocaust

W. Jake Newsome, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

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Minding the Standard: Global Studies, Queer History, and the New York State Regents Exams  
Rachel Eshenour, West Seneca West Senior High School

Teaching Global Intimacies

Howard Chiang, University of California, Davis

**Comment:** The Audience

**FRIDAY, JANUARY 5**

**8:30-10:00 AM:** [Queer Contortions: New Directions in the History of Race, Sexuality, and the Body](#)

Washington Room 2 (Marriott Wardman Park, Exhibition Level)

**Chair:** Nicholas L. Syrett, University of Kansas

**Papers:**

Discriminating Sex: White Leisure and the Making of the American “Oriental”  
Amy H. Sueyoshi, San Francisco State University

“A Shiftless, Undesirable Class”: The Sexual Policing of Miami’s Bahamian Migrant Communities in the Early 20th Century  
Julio Capó Jr., University of Massachusetts Amherst

“I Just Had a Fight with My Girlfriend”: Silent-Era Screen Star Ramón Novarro’s Performance of the Closet

Ernesto Chávez, University of Texas at El Paso

**10:30 AM – 12:00 PM:** [The National Park Service’s LGBTQ America Theme Study: A Roundtable](#)

Washington Room 2 (Marriott Wardman Park, Exhibition Level)

Co-sponsored by the National Council on Public History

**Chair:** Nicholas L. Syrett, University of Kansas

**Panel:**

John Jeffery Auer, Nevada LGBT Archives  
Katie Batza, University of Kansas

Susan Ferentinos, public history consultant  
Jeffrey A. "Free" Harris, Historic Preservation  
Consultant

**12:30-1:30 PM:** [CLGBTH Members' Meeting](#)

Harding Room (Marriott Wardman Park,  
Mezzanine Level)

All welcome!!

**1:30-3:00 PM:** [Words That Shape the World:  
Historians, Teachers, and Partnerships for LGBT  
History](#)

Washington Room 2 (Marriott Wardman Park,  
Exhibition Level)

**Chair:** Don Romesburg, Sonoma State University

**Panel:**

Stacie Brensilver Berman, New York University  
David Duffield, University of Colorado Denver  
Daniel Hurewitz, Hunter College, City University  
of New York

Rachel Reinhard, University of California,  
Berkeley

Wendy Rouse, San José State University

**1:30-3:00 PM:** [Surveillance, Identity, and  
Homosexualities in the 20<sup>th</sup>-Century United  
States](#)

Thurgood Marshall East (Marriott Wardman  
Park, Mezzanine Level East)

**Chair:** Emily K. Hobson, University of Nevada at  
Reno

**Papers:**

The Thin Red Line between Privacy and Secrecy:  
Criminal Sodomy, Homosexuality, and the Cold  
War in El Paso, Texas

Jecoa Ross, University of Texas at El Paso

From the Kinsey Scale to Homosexualities:  
Studies of Same Sex Desiring Persons at the  
Institute for Sex Research, 1955–81  
Hallimeda E. Allinson, Indiana University

Sexual Health Surveillance: Homosexuality  
Investigations and HIV/AIDS in the US Military,  
1981-93

Natalie Shibley, University of Pennsylvania

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**Comment:** Emily K. Hobson, University of  
Nevada at Reno

**3:30-5:00 PM:** [Queer in Public: Urban Space and  
Same-Sex Cultures in Europe, 1850-1930](#)

Washington Room 2 (Marriott Wardman Park,  
Exhibition Level)

**Chair:** Andrew Israel Ross, University of  
Southern Mississippi

**Papers:**

A City of "Familiar Strangers": Spaces of  
Legibility, Surveillance, and Queer Pleasure in  
Late Imperial St. Petersburg

Olga Petri, University of Cambridge

Embodying Indecency: Policing Acts and  
Identities in 19th-Century Paris

Andrew Israel Ross, University of Southern  
Mississippi

*Knabenliebe*: Youth Protection and the  
Decriminalization of Male Homosexuality in  
Weimar Germany

Javier Samper Vendrell, Grinnell College

**Comment:** Charles J. Upchurch, Florida State  
University

**3:30-5:00 pm:** [Committee on LGBTQ Status in  
the Profession Open Forum](#)

Delaware Suite B (Marriott Wardman Park,  
Lobby Level)

Members of the committee will lead a  
conversation about professional challenges  
facing LGBTQ historians. Conversation will focus  
on priorities for the committee, which is charged  
with addressing fair treatment and  
nondiscrimination. We will also have a broader  
discussion on the role we, as historians, can play  
in broad public conversations about LGBTQ  
rights and history.

**7:30-8:30:** [LGBTQ Historians Reception](#)

Delaware Suite A (Marriott Wardman Park,  
Lobby Level)

Sponsored by Gale

## SATURDAY, JANUARY 6

### **8:30-10:00 AM:** [Queering the Museum: New Directions in Curating LGBTQ History and Art Exhibitions](#)

Thurgood Marshall West (Marriott Wardman Park, Mezzanine Level)

**Chair:** Tara Burk, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

#### **Panel:**

Gonzalo Casals, Leslie-Lohman Museum for Gay and Lesbian Art

Don Romesburg, Sonoma State University

Jeanne Vaccaro, University of California, Davis

Stephen Vider, Bryn Mawr College

**Comment:** Tara Burk, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

### **10:00 AM – 12:00 PM:** [Film Screening: \*Brother Outsider: The Life of Bayard Rustin\*](#)

Congressional Room A (Omni Shoreham, West Lobby)

Filmmaker Bennett Singer and Kevin Mumford, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, will introduce the film and lead a discussion afterward.

### **10:30 AM-12:30 PM:** [Historicizing the Queerly Feminine in Canadian and US LGBTQ Communities](#)

Thurgood Marshall West (Marriott Wardman Park, Mezzanine Level)

**Chair:** Amanda H. Littauer, Northern Illinois University

#### **Papers:**

Forgotten Histories: Recuperating Queer Femme Identities through Life Writing

Laura Brightwell, York University

Have an Erotic Day: Producing Sex-Positive Feminism at the Lusty Lady Theater  
Jayne Swift, University of Minnesota

Transnational Effeminacies: Femmephobia, Gay Effeminacies, and the Biopolitics of Gay Imperialism

Adam Davies, University of Toronto

**Comment:** The Audience

### **10:30 AM-12:30 PM:** [Visibility and Viability: Queer Communities of Color in 20<sup>th</sup>-Century American History](#)

Thurgood Marshall East (Marriott Wardman Park, Mezzanine Level East)

**Chair:** Kevin J. Mumford, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

#### **Papers:**

Legacy and Legitimacy: Race, Sexuality, and the Cowboy in 20th-Century American History

Rebecca Scofield, University of Idaho

“Don’t Look at Me!” Reframing the Lens of Black Queer Life and Sociality

Terrance Wooten, Washington University in St. Louis

We’ve Had Anuff: Black Gay and Lesbian

Antipoverty Activism during the HIV/AIDS Crisis in Atlanta, 1985–96

Andrew Pope, Harvard University

**Comment:** Kevin J. Mumford, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

### **1:30-3:00 PM –** [New Directions in Trans History: A Roundtable](#)

Thurgood Marshall West (Marriott Wardman Park, Mezzanine Level)

**Chair:** Howard Chiang, University of California, Davis

#### **Panel:**

Jesse Bayker, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

Emily E. Skidmore, Texas Tech University

C. Riley Snorton, Cornell University

Elias Vitulli, Mount Holyoke College



**1:30-3:00 PM:** [From Hidden History to Public History: Challenges in Representing Same-Sex Desire in Film, Theater, and Literature](#)  
Thurgood Marshall East (Marriott Wardman Park, Mezzanine Level East)

**Chair:** Catherine Clinton, University of Texas at San Antonio

**Panel:**

Gary Ferguson, University of Virginia  
Leigh Fondakowski, Naropa University, New Orleans Center for Creative Arts, and Tectonic Theater Project  
Gilles Herrada, independent scholar  
Bennett Singer, Question Why Films

**Comment:** The Audience

**3:30-5:00 PM:** [Teaching LGBT History with Digital Humanities](#)  
Thurgood Marshall East (Marriott Wardman Park, Mezzanine Level East)

**Chair:** Stephen Vider, Bryn Mawr College

**Panel:**

Monica Mercado, Colgate University  
Lauren Gutterman, University of Texas at Austin  
Amanda H. Littauer, Northern Illinois University  
Elizabeth Reis, Macaulay Honors College, City University of New York

**SUNDAY, JANUARY 7**

**9:00-10:30 AM:** [Teaching and Archiving Lesbian Histories and Subjects](#)  
Washington Room 2 (Marriott Wardman Park, Exhibition Level)

**Chair:** Leisa D. Meyer, College of William and Mary

**Papers:**

Oral History and Lesbian Subjects

Kelly Anderson, Smith College  
What's Her/Story? History and Living Herstory  
Amy Washburn, Kingsborough Community College, City University of New York

Teaching and Archiving Lesbian Histories and Subjects  
Bonnie Morris, University of California, Berkeley

**Comment:** The Audience

**11:00 AM-12:30 PM:** [Incorporating Queer History into African History Survey Courses: A Roundtable](#)

Thurgood Marshall West (Marriott Wardman Park, Mezzanine Level)

**Chair:** Sarah E. Watkins, Ohio State University

**Panel:**

Elliot James, University of Minnesota, Morris  
Stephan F. Miescher, University of California, Santa Barbara  
Sarah E. Watkins, Ohio State University

**BOOK REVIEWS**

Book review editor: Dan Royles

**Emily K. Hobson, *Lavender and Red: Liberation and Solidarity in the Gay and Lesbian Left* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016).**

In the introduction to *Lavender and Red: Liberation and Solidarity in the Gay and Lesbian Left*, Emily K. Hobson notes, simply but insightfully, “Quite a lot happened after Stonewall” (4). Here she refers to radical gay and lesbian politics, which saw sexual liberation as intertwined with the struggles against U.S. imperialism, state repression, and racism. The standard narrative of LGBT history revolves around what Hobson calls “Stonewall exceptionalism,” which frames radical gay liberation as a spontaneous and brief uprising spurred by the Stonewall Riots of 1969. According to this conventional narrative, the radicalism of the gay liberation movement gave way by the mid-1970s to a liberal gay rights movement focused on gaining inclusion within the state. Hobson’s central argument in this illuminating book is that gay and lesbian radicalism did not subside after the early 1970s. Instead, many gay and lesbian radicals continued

to draw from and contribute to the international left well into the 1980s, linking colonialism and capitalism with restrictions on their own gender and sexuality. In addition, they sought alliances with other radical movements, from black liberation to activism against U.S. intervention in Central America. For these gay and lesbian radical activists, social revolution could only be accomplished through a multi-issue coalition linking race, anti-imperialism, and gender and sexual liberation.

Utilizing both archival sources and oral history, Hobson identifies the Bay Area as the center of radical U.S. gay and lesbian politics, which flourished there from the 1960s through the 1980s. The first section of the book describes the emergence of gay liberation and lesbian feminism within the context of black liberation and activism against the Vietnam War in the late 1960s. Gay liberationists in the Bay Area's "gay ghetto" analyzed their own oppression through the lens of "internal colonialism," drawing connections with the struggle for black liberation. They pursued solidarity with the Black Panther Party and analyzed the Vietnam War as an oppressive force in terms of sexuality and gender. For example, in their 1969 street performance "No Vietnamese Ever Called Me Queer" the Gay Liberation Theater group argued that sexual expression was linked with opposition to the war and that it was "queer, unnatural and perverse" to send men to war while "we torment, rape, jail and murder men for loving their brothers here" (18). Meanwhile, lesbian feminists in Gay Women's Liberation and the lesbian of color group Gente used community and "collective defense," a concept drawn from the Black Panther Party, to build interracial solidarity against the U.S. state, and aligned themselves with the radical underground (43).

The second section traces gay and lesbian radicalism into the late 1970s and early 1980s, when activists sought to construct multi-issue alliances against both the emerging New Right and U.S. intervention in Chile and Nicaragua. By the late 1970s, organizations such as Gay People for the Nicaraguan Revolution and Lesbians and Gays Against Intervention increasingly tied gay

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liberation to the success of "Third World" solidarity against U.S. imperialism. Gay and lesbian leftists connected the New Right's social conservatism to Reagan's anti-communist foreign policy, and viewed Central Americans as fellow victims of the U.S. state.

The third section expands on this Central American solidarity effort by focusing on women of color groups such as Somos Hermana and the Victoria Mercado Brigade, which attempted to connect Nicaraguan solidarity with antiracist lesbian feminism. Finally, Hobson describes how gay and lesbian radicals built an AIDS direct action movement out of previous Central American solidarity, anti-militarism, and anti-nuclear efforts. This extends the history of AIDS activism well beyond the emergence of ACT UP in the late 1980s.

Hobson identifies the end of the Cold War as the point at which gay and lesbian radicalism declined, both because the historical memory of 1970s radicalism subsided and because of the "defeat" of socialism and the left on the international stage. The carnage of the AIDS crisis also played a role in this transformation of gay and lesbian politics. The rise of neoliberalism in the 1990s displaced anti-imperialism and anti-militarism in gay and lesbian politics, and queer activism in the Clinton era focused to a larger extent on gay inclusion in the military, which had divided Bay Area Gay Liberation years earlier. Privatization and the "law and order" rhetoric went largely unchallenged by gay and lesbian activism, and inclusion within the state, as opposed to resistance against it, became the dominant strain of queer politics.

*Lavender and Red* contributes to LGBT and broader social movement historiographies in a number of significant ways. First, Hobson dismantles the "Stonewall exceptionalism" that has long dominated conventional LGBT history by showing that gay and lesbian radicalism emerged before Stonewall and continued long after the early 1970s. Hobson also recasts the early 1980s, which are commonly thought to be a kind of "dark age" for gay and lesbian activism, as a period of vibrant radical politics in

resistance against the New Right and U.S. militarism. Second, Hobson challenges a dominant historical narrative that often isolates and whitewashes gay and lesbian activism as a single-issue movement. *Lavender and Red* illuminates the varied ways in which gay and lesbian radicals sought to build intersectional coalitions with activists of color and other left organizations. They often succeeded in achieving solidarity and multi-issue coalitions, but Hobson also notes moments of failure—for example, the failure in 1978 to broadly organize against Proposition 7, the California death penalty referendum. Finally, Hobson complicates a narrative of LGBT history that often focuses largely on domestic civil rights efforts by showing the international, anti-imperialist context to which many gay and lesbian radicals felt deeply connected. Hobson convincingly makes the case for the strength and perseverance of the gay and lesbian left in the Bay Area in the 1970s and 1980s. The Bay Area, she notes, offered a unique environment in which this kind of radical, internationalist organizing could flourish. However, the reader is left wondering about the extent to which radical gay and lesbian activism existed in this period outside of the Bay Area. Perhaps future studies will shine more light on this subject and even further complicate our conceptions of LGBT activism.

*Lavender and Red* is also a timely book as we enter a new era in American politics in which multi-issue coalitions across racial, class, gender, and sexual lines will be quite important. In her epilogue, Hobson sees hope for a reemergence of intersectional radicalism through queer involvement in Black Lives Matter, prison reform, immigrant organizing, and Palestinian solidarity. In 2015, in the aftermath of unrest in Ferguson, Missouri, the editor of *The Advocate* called on LGBT activists to consider the question: “Will our advocacy be real and encompass all people who face marginalization and oppression, or will it be bullshit?”<sup>1</sup> *Lavender and Red* illuminates both the strength and difficulty of

intersectional organizing at a time when multiple communities find themselves in the crosshairs of the state.

**Christopher Haight,  
University of Houston**

**Amanda H. Littauer, *Bad Girls: Young Women, Sex, and Rebellion before the Sixties* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).**

In *Bad Girls*, Amanda Littauer offers a nuanced examination of the American sexual landscape, highlighting the sexual experiences of American women and girls from the beginning of World War II to the 1960s. Here she joins other historians in expanding the periodization of the sexual revolution by offering evidence of change over a longer period. Littauer asserts that the roots of the seemingly rapid change in sexual norms during the 1960s lay in the preceding decades. Drawing on personal correspondence, widely circulated publications, oral histories, and studies conducted by government agencies and social organizations, Littauer describes the behavior of several groups of “bad girls.” While these bad girls were not organized in their departure from sexual norms, they individually challenged the dominant culture of sexuality in the decades prior to the sexual revolution. Their search for sexual pleasure, Littauer argues, “encouraged the following generation’s open assault on traditional sexual morality” (17).

According to Littauer, the bad girl could be a teenager, a young woman, black, white, heterosexual, lesbian, married, single, middle class, or working class. No matter their age or background, bad girls made the pursuit of sexual fulfillment and pleasure “a driving force in their lives” (2). They initiated sexual encounters with soldiers; exchanged sexual favors for a night out; worked in bars; wrote to Alfred Kinsey about their sexual dilemmas; went steady with boys from school; engaged in necking, petting, and premarital sex; and navigated the social stigma

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<sup>1</sup> Matthew Breen, “To Be Intersectional or Illegitimate,” *The Advocate*, January 1, 2015.  
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surrounding their queer desires. Littauer examines each of these behaviors in five thematic and chronological chapters, which tell the individual stories of young women and girls while creating a broader narrative about their sexual desires and experiences.

Littauer argues that later challenges to American sexual culture were made possible by the social change that accompanied World War II. Accordingly, the first chapters examine the sexual exploits of “Victory Girls” and “B-Girls” during the war years. Both groups of bad girls took advantage of the sexual opportunities made available by the country’s mobilization for war. Victory Girls were often adolescent girls seeking independence and agency. They acted on their sexual desires by following the movement of soldiers and taking advantage of the sexual license made available by wartime society. B-girls sought sexual pleasure by soliciting both drinks and sexual favors from patrons of drinking establishments in exchange for a cut of the profits. Carefully navigating the line between casual and commercial sex, B-girls took advantage of the shifting understanding of women’s sexual availability during wartime and in the early years of the Cold War. The sexual experiences of both Victory Girls and B-girls served to expand “the gap between sexual conduct and standards” (51).

*Bad Girls* moves into the postwar years by examining women’s responses to the Kinsey reports through letters to both the editors of various publications and to “Dr. Kinsey” himself. In these letters, women detailed their sexual partners, behaviors, and frustrations, and often asked Kinsey for advice. Here Littauer illustrates the gap between America’s mid-century sexual standards and actual sexual behavior. She also analyzes the importance of teenage girls’ sexual endeavors within the youth sexual culture of the 1950s. Littauer argues that the act of “going steady” with one partner provided the context in which adolescent girls from various racial and class groups could engage in heterosexual sex within the boundaries of peer approval. This socially acceptable method of asserting sexual agency contributed to the broader changes that

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were occurring in the sexual culture of the 1950s.

In the final chapter, Littauer uses oral history, lesbian literature, and social science surveys and publications to show that queer women and girls also searched for their own sexual agency prior to the sexual revolution. In an era that defined homosexuality as immature and deviant, they asserted their sexual identity and its legitimacy before the organized movements took up the issue of lesbian acceptability. By detailing the ways that these bad girls challenged the compulsory heterosexuality of the postwar years, Littauer challenges future historians to further develop our understanding of female same-sex desire and experience in the years prior to the 1960s. Furthermore, she points to a revised periodization of both gay liberation and the sexual revolution.

Littauer contributes to a broader understanding of mid-century female sexuality by emphasizing the role of adolescent bad girls. In grouping the experiences of girls with those of adult women, Littauer brings a sense of younger girls’ sexual agency to her analysis. But while *Bad Girls* extends a voice to those females too old to be children and too young to be women, it also fails to fully acknowledge the sexual vulnerability of adolescent girls. Discussions of rape, uninformed sexual encounters, sexually transmitted diseases, and unwanted pregnancies are minimal, and the girls who endured these traumatic sexual experiences in an era of shifting sexual character deserve more attention. Littauer creates a historical narrative in which the sexual experiences of those previously marginalized by age become relevant and meaningful to our understanding of the past, but at the expense of deemphasizing possible sexual victimization. Perhaps other historians will build on Littauer’s work by contributing new scholarship that addresses these concerns.

*Bad Girls* represents a significant contribution to the fields of LGBT history and the history of sexuality. Littauer’s concise and readable prose makes this volume accessible to both undergraduates and the general public. At the

same time, *Bad Girls* contributes a new understanding of the mid-century female sexual experience and alters the periodization of twentieth-century sexual history, making it a necessary read for historians of sexuality and feminist scholars.

**Lacey M. Guest,  
University of Oregon**

**Kevin Mumford, *Not Straight, Not White: Black Gay Men from the March on Washington to the AIDS Crisis* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016).**

Kevin Mumford has produced a sophisticated book that explores how intersections of race and sexuality shaped the experiences of black gay men from the 1960s to the 1980s. Advancing chronologically around key historical events and personalities, *Not Straight, Not White* emphasizes how the politics of respectability, the objectification of black gay bodies, and ideologies of black masculinity made it difficult for black gay men to gain recognition and construct a collective black gay identity in the postwar decades. Mumford takes readers through a complex history of identity formation in marginalized communities, and in doing so recasts black gay history as a long and ongoing struggle against multiple prejudices.

Mumford begins by examining the politics of respectability in the black civil rights movement. Homophobia in the movement undermined the leadership capacity of several well-known black gay activists, including Bayard Rustin and James Baldwin. Rustin was sidelined not only at the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, but also more routine events, such as a training program on police brutality for law enforcement in Maryland. Both black and white reviewers criticized Baldwin's use of homosexual themes in *Giovanni's Room* (1956) and *Another Country* (1962). Lawrence Neal, a prominent black nationalist, claimed that they were inauthentic representations of black culture because of Baldwin's preoccupation with the fluidity of racial and sexual identities. According to Mumford, these critiques made it difficult for

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black gay men to reconcile their multiple identities even as they found recognizable figures in Baldwin's literary world.

In chapter two, Mumford excavates how print media in the 1950 and 1960s portrayed black gay men as deviant or pathological. Even as black magazines like *Jet* and *Ebony* published reports that extolled the pleasures of healthy black sexuality, they ran sensationalized stories of female impersonation that exposed readers to "the queerness of the black underworld" (44). These portrayals reinforced arguments made by social scientists that homosexuality represented the failure of black manhood and resulted from dysfunctional black families.

In his most original chapter, "Payne and Pulp," Mumford examines the objectification of black gay men in film and gay pornography. One telling example is the 1967 independent documentary *Portrait of Jason*, produced by white avant-garde filmmaker Shirley Clark. The film presented the life of Jason Holliday (born Aaron Payne), a black queer man who performed in Manhattan nightclubs during the 1960s. Rather than allowing Holliday to display his talents as a legitimate performer, Clark edited her footage to show Holliday as a hustler, drug addict, cross-dresser, and mental patient—all stereotypes of the deviant black homosexual. Mumford also shows how gay pornography and pulp novels of the 1970s relied on racial stereotypes, such as that of the animalistic black man, to stimulate sexual arousal for consumers. While the term "white" almost never appeared, gay black bodies were often described with racialized terms like "black stud," "beautiful black ass," and "cantaloupe-like buns of black beauty" (76).

A recurring theme throughout this book is the interplay between masculinity, race, and sexuality. Chapter four shows that black gay radicals had to confront an unequivocally straight definition of black masculinity inside the Black Power movement. Historians have long traced homophobia in the movement, but Mumford balances those narratives with the inspiration black gay men gleaned from black liberation. A black gay prisoner articulated this

tension in a letter to the radical gay newspaper, *Fag Rag*. He wrote that while he was inspired by Black Power's liberation ideology and wanted to relate to the movement on the basis of his black identity, it was difficult because the movement claimed that black men were being screwed over by the "white faggot" (95). Black gay radicals drew on the movement's liberationist discourse to proudly proclaim their identities as "black faggots" (96).

In the next three chapters, Mumford provides biographical portraits of three lesser-known black gay activists—Brother Grant-Michael Fitzgerald, Joseph Beam, and James Tinney—who attempted to construct a new black gay identity politics through the church, cultural networks, and academia during the 1970s and 80s. Chapter five explores the social activism of Brother Grant-Michael Fitzgerald, who attempted to build a unified front in pursuit of black liberation, gay rights, and religious reform. His efforts were largely unsuccessful due to homophobia among black religious leaders and racism on the part of white gay activists.

Mumford claims that the construction of black manhood was one reason black gay men failed to gain recognition or construct a successful identity politics. For example, the black cultural critic Joseph Beam, who is the subject of chapter six, worked to build a black brotherhood across different sexual orientations. However, Beam confronted ideologies of black manhood that demanded strength and invulnerability, which left little room for black men to reach across the "gay-straight divide" and love each other (138). Beam channeled his efforts into *In the Life* (1986), an anthology of writing by black gay men, which demonstrated the intelligence and talent that racism and homophobia denied.

In his closing chapter, Mumford briefly traces the racial discrimination black gay men encountered in HIV/AIDS organizations and gay businesses during the 1980s. While Mumford does not offer a comprehensive history, he shows that black gay men were especially vulnerable to the epidemic because of neglect, misunderstanding, and institutional racism. However, patterns of

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exclusion from both gay and black community organizations motivated black gay men to engage in new sustained activism. For instance, notwithstanding internal conflict, Black and White Men Together challenged stigmatized portrayals of black gay men in pornography and the discrimination that black gay men encountered in gay bars. Mumford suggests in the epilogue that the new visibility of black gay men and transgender women of color in the twenty-first century, especially in sports and pop culture, offers scholars key opportunities to recover black sexual histories.

Mumford joins a growing number of scholars who are tracing the history of LGBTQ people of color in the postwar decades. Mumford's most important historiographical contribution is his analysis of the stigmatized representations of black gay men in literature and film. These sources offers scholars important insight into the stigmatized representations marginalized groups confronted as they attempted to build collective movements for recognition and change. *Not Straight, Not White* is useful for scholars who specialize in LGBTQ or African-American history, but requires a degree of familiarity with complex histories of race, gay liberation, religion, and postwar social movements. Mumford paves the way for exciting new scholarship on how black gay men have turned these stigmatized representations into modes of empowerment from the 1980s to the present.

**Kenneth Surles,  
University of Oregon**

**Dale Peck, *Visions and Revisions: Coming of Age in the Age of AIDS* (New York: SoHo Press, 2015).**

In *Visions and Revisions: Coming of Age in the Age of AIDS*, Dale Peck offers an intimate glimpse into the tumultuous era of the AIDS crisis in the United States. Told through more than a dozen different personal essays written over the span of twenty-five years, Peck provides a detailed account of the trauma and collective struggle that defined the HIV epidemic from the advent of

ACT UP in 1987 to the introduction of protease inhibitors and combination therapies in 1996. A moving, stark account of the loss and hope that permeated the AIDS crisis, *Visions and Revisions* centers the voices of Peck's fellow activists, friends, and lovers to remind us of the ways HIV/AIDS forever changed the trajectory of gay culture and politics in the United States.

Serving at once as cultural analysis, reportage, and personal reflection, Peck's memoir defies easy categorization. Peck's prismatic writing artfully weaves across periods and subjects. He opens his collection of short essays by underscoring the generative benefit of linking theory and praxis in collective struggle. To illustrate this point, Peck prominently features ACT UP and other forms of AIDS social activism. In the face of the state's "genocidal negligence," Peck argues, ACT UP materialized as a political strategy that successfully weaved epistemology and epidemiology together to fashion "spectacles of political theater" that seamlessly fit the media age (12-13). Here Peck lauds the actions of "a handful of activists" for helping save the lives of millions, most notably playwright Larry Kramer, to whom he dedicates the book, and the men of the Treatment Action Group (TAG), an offshoot of ACT UP (12).

Interspersed with his remembrance of ACT UP, Peck addresses a series of murders of gay men in New York City, Milwaukee, and London in the early 1990s. According to Peck, the discrimination, fear, and ignorance exhibited by police investigators towards gay men and the sensationalistic reporting of news media that devalued gay life made it possible for the likes of Jeffrey Dahmer to commit mass murder. Between 1978 and 1991, Dahmer murdered seventeen men and boys, most of them African-American, Latino, Asian, or American Indian. Peck likens the incompetence of police investigators in Dahmer's case to the government's criminal passivity towards HIV/AIDS. He argues that "the intersecting vectors of racism and homophobia... practically called for someone to take advantage of the situation" (22). And as with the HIV/AIDS epidemic, Peck concludes that the murders

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against gay men could have been prevented with greater police and state intervention.

Peck then segues to a discussion of the debates pertaining to commercial sex establishments and their role in the spread of HIV. When it became apparent that sexual intercourse could spread HIV, politicians—with public health experts in tow—demanded the closure of commercial sex establishments. By the mid-1990s, although HIV rates had dropped thanks to safer sex practices, concerns over commercial sex establishments reemerged in New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's campaign to "revitalize" Times Square as a Disneyfied tourist attraction. Peck notes that proponents of Giuliani's punitive zoning practices recruited the support of the Gay and Lesbian HIV Prevention Activists (GLHPA), a collective of gay and lesbian writers and journalists who endorsed shutting down these X-rated establishments as a mode of HIV prevention. Peck rightfully criticizes GLHPA and the bombastic language of its members, including the co-founder's shocking reference to commercial sex establishments as "AIDS killing fields" (45).

As Peck's criticism of GLHPA attests, a significant theme running throughout *Visions and Revisions* is the tension between resistance and assimilation—both on a grand scale and at the individual level. Central to conveying his unease about the current state of HIV/AIDS in gay culture and politics, Peck engages Andrew Sullivan's infamous 1996 claim in the *New York Times Magazine* that AIDS was "over." Admittedly, with the introduction of new life-sustaining medications and therapies, the disease went from being a pressing public health crisis to a chronic health condition. Peck acknowledges that despite the 34 million HIV-positive people in the world, and nearly three million new infections each year, "we beat the epidemic here... at least in my circle of friends, [people] stopped dropping dead." Peck appropriately recognizes that those who continued and continue to die are "victims of extenuating circumstances," including addiction, a broken health care system, and a stratified educational system. "But still," he continues, "We

won. The AIDS wards are empty, the streets aren't lined with walking corpses" (60). Although Peck celebrates the victories of collective struggle, there is a tinge of uncertainty in his writing over this apparent success. He concedes, "The normalizing of AIDS...didn't make AIDS more visible but, rather, rendered it invisible by incorporating it into the realm of things we expected to encounter on a daily basis, and thus need not give our full attention" (50). For Peck, recoding AIDS from a pressing public health crisis to a chronic health condition entailed a radical shift in the gay political agenda—one with victories, to be certain, but contradictory in nature nonetheless.

The tension between resistance and assimilation is also present in Peck's critique of *Homos*, Leo Bersani's 1996 exploration of gay culture, and his critique of queer theory more broadly. In this reading, Bersani longs for a revolutionary community that rejects the bureaucracies Peck deems necessary in the fight against AIDS. The community Bersani seeks is one that Peck imagines to be either a gay sex club or, worse yet, Dahmer's Milwaukee apartment. Peck insists that "Bersani had offered a novel and in many ways appealing strategy for a revolution to dismantle the oppressive systems of patriarchy and capital. All we had to do was fuck our lives away" (122). Even though he uses a non-linear narrative structure, by the end of the book Peck embraces a trajectory of gay community development that associates promiscuity with immaturity, and domesticity with progress. In this way, Peck inadvertently exposes the seductions of homonormativity and the contradictions of AIDS activist history.

Although Peck engages race and class, especially in his critique of Sullivan, his engagement with gender is less pronounced. Lesbians are largely absent from *Visions and Revisions*, giving the impression that women were not at the forefront of AIDS social activism. Peck's writing is most effective in moments of nostalgic tenderness, less so in his criticism of queer theory. Complicated prose in the latter might be inaccessible to some undergraduates, making this book more suitable for upper-level and

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graduate courses. *Visions and Revisions* may also be of interest to those interested in the history of the U.S. HIV/AIDS epidemic, gay hate crimes activism, and gay urban politics. Despite its silences on gender, Peck's account is a powerful testament to the power of collective struggle against state indifference from someone who lived and loved—despite the risks in doing so—during a public health crisis that forever changed the trajectory of gay culture and politics in the United States.

**René Esparza,  
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**Kathleen T. Talvacchia, Michael F. Pettinger,  
and Mark Larrimore, eds., *Queer  
Christianities: Lived Religion in Transgressive  
Forms* (New York: New York University Press,  
2015).**

*Queer Christianities* is an energetic conversation between Christian theology, queer theory, and lived LGBTQ+ experience. This interdisciplinary collection of essays explores how religious commitments have intersected with gender and sexual identities over thousands of years. The book's title points to multiplicity and tension, offering radical hospitality to a wide variety of perspectives. It also reminds us of the complex lives of queer religious people, and surprises us with the bold claim that Christianity has "from the start been a site of radical queerness" (2).

Whether Christianity is *inherently* queer is a major question, to which different authors offer radically different answers. Undoubtedly, queer people have been living within Christianity since its inception. Some understand their spiritual practice as itself queer, as inseparable from their identity, or as a reflection of the transformation and transgression that both queerness and Christianity can offer to seekers of truth. The variety of uses of the word "queer" throughout the book allow for all of the word's promiscuous and surprising articulations without imposing hierarchy or seeking false closure. Throughout, the editors take seriously the different relationships that people build around their queerness and faith. In this way the collection is

deeply invested in the idea that queerness and Christianity are both “committed to living in unsettled and unsettling ways” (4).

The book is arranged in a Trinitarian structure, with sections titled “Celibacies,” “Matrimonies,” and “Promiscuities,” along with two “Church Interludes” and an additional section titled “Forward!” that presents promising opportunities for further inquiry. The three main sections playfully appropriate the names of two traditional Christian “states of life” (celibacy and matrimony), adding the third to emphasize the delicious diversions and transgressions that queer Christian life often contains. While some essays in the collection are more traditionally scholarly, others are meditative, biographical, or experimental.

The section on “Celibacies” illuminates how traditional and orthodox paradigms are often queerest in their practice. Like queerness, the meanings of chastity are itself often unstable, and indeed it is the “only form of sexual life many churches permit their queer members” (11). Lynne Gerber’s chapter on ex-gays in evangelical movements highlights the “queerish” ways that ex-gays in heterosexual unions experience celibacy. She suggests that “queerish ex-gay celibacies” result in “queerish Christian marriages” (34), in which partners replace queer sexual desire with powerfully intimate desire for union with God’s will. On the other hand, David G. Hunter argues that celibates in early Christianity were unapologetically queer, as they transgressed normative male-female relations and invented communities that offered alternative modes of life. Anthony M. Petro challenges the political stakes of queer Christian celibacy, questioning whether celibacy can in fact be called “queer,” but insists that a dialogue between the two categories will enrich their ethical and political possibilities.

In terms of “Matrimonies,” in one chapter William E. Smith argues that the desires of Heloise and Christina of Markyate, two medieval brides of Christ, “complicate any easy divide between celibacy and marital sexuality” (67). Smith finds that their prior marriages reveal the

ways in which Christian marriage was complicated by the bride-of-Christ model, as both women found themselves in polygamous marriages with human/divine spouses. These marriages thus disrupt assumed connections between the history of Christian marriage and heterosexuality. Heather R. White brings us into the twentieth century, investigating linkages between the history of same-sex marriage and Christianity. She contends that recovering the religious roots of gay liberation is deeply important to contemporary considerations of faith and sexuality. Teresa Delgado and Jennifer Harvey also both offer powerful arguments for the joys and struggles of queer partnerships within Christian contexts. As these essays reveal, the lived realities of queer Christian “matrimonies” are filled with both “paradox and promise” (5).

“Promiscuities” introduces new loves to the traditionally recognized “Celibacies” and “Matrimonies.” This section of the anthology “recognizes loves that historically could not speak their names” (125), affirming the Christian potentials of promiscuity, and the promiscuous potentials of Christianity. In his chapter “Calvary and the Dungeon: Theologizing BDSM,” Nicholas Laccetti finds queer Christian love in the practices of BDSM and the traditional doctrine of God’s impassibility. He argues that the power dynamics of BDSM can help us understand Christ’s sacrifice as a scene that liberates us from suffering and oppression, breaking out of the “circuits of sin and fallenness” that define worldly experience (153). Michael F. Pettinger’s reflects on coming out as a gay Augustinian to explore more personally the ways that queer desire and Christian desire can themselves form circuits that “[transform] the impulses of my own desire into the stuff of the kingdom of heaven” (135). Elijah C. Nealy’s passionate reclamation of promiscuity as a trans Christian describes how “all [of us] on the margins ... are forced to snatch our identities out of the fire of injustice and oppression” (168). But Nealy also quotes Luke 12:48: “To whom much is given, much will be required.” Embracing the promiscuous, powerful, painful essence of



queerness can, he argues, create a more just and radiant world.

The challenges faced by real-world queer people, including queer Christians, are very real, and this volume is as relevant as ever in the current political climate. This volume demonstrates that religious community need not be at odds with queer community. Rather the two can, and often do, find provocative ways of sustaining one another. The multiplicity of perspectives in the collection drives home the point that these relationships need not be prescriptive, formulaic, or identical. Studying the theological perspectives of Christianity, as well as the everyday experiences of queer people both in and out of the church, offers new understandings of the relationship between faith and queer identity.

This book will be of interest to LGBTQ+ historians, theorists, and students alike. It is a promising resource for the classroom, and its interdisciplinary approach speaks to the diversity of queer Christian voices. *Queer Christianities* engages readers who would like to know more about the dialogues between sexuality and religious articulations of the self. As Kathleen Talvacchia writes, reorienting one's life around love is both a queer and Christian way of life (192). This collection shows the precarious, fluid, and often beautiful relationships with faith that queer Christians have creatively, and at times painfully, formed for themselves.

**Elizabeth Light,  
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***Memories of a Penitent Heart*, directed by  
Cecilia Aldarondo, aired July 31, 2017.**

[Note: This review is based on the version of the film that aired on the PBS series POV, which is slightly shorter than the version in theatrical release. The POV cut of the film can be viewed online at [www.pbs.org/video/memories-of-a-penitent-heart-kiseje](http://www.pbs.org/video/memories-of-a-penitent-heart-kiseje).]

*Memories of a Penitent Heart*, which recently aired on PBS's acclaimed POV series, is a powerful documentary that places one family's secretive past at center stage. The film tells the story of Miguel Dieppa, a young Puerto Rican man who died of AIDS-related illness in 1987 at the young age of 31, and of his biological and queer kin. Director Cecilia Aldarondo begins her film by recalling her one memory of Dieppa, her uncle, who came to visit her family in Florida when she was young. He died a few months after that visit. The film is a culmination of Aldarondo's efforts to reclaim and resurrect her uncle's life. In her quest for truth and reconciliation, Aldarondo unearthed a multilayered, intergenerational story about belonging, family, shame, and faith.

The theme of erasure runs through the film. Robert Aquin, a Franciscan monk and Dieppa's partner of twelve years, was erased from the family's memory. Aldarondo's sleuthing tracked him down. Dieppa's sister couldn't even remember his surname. Sometimes fabrications filled the vacuums left by these erasures. Dieppa's family told stories of how Miguel died of cancer, and his death certificate attested that he succumbed to "natural causes." At one point, an old photo of Dieppa surfaced with his sister cropped out. Someone, perhaps Dieppa, had sought to curate memories of their kinship. Aldarondo's uncle certainly rewrote aspects of his life while he was alive. In one scene, Aquin shows the filmmaker his deceased partner's personal belongings, revealing that, during their relationship, Dieppa changed his identity. Credit cards and other forms of identification found in his wallet revealed that Dieppa no longer went by "Miguel." Aquin and Dieppa's surviving friends corroborated they only knew him as the Anglicized version of his name, "Michael."

There's a much bigger story, however, that lingers in the background. The audience is treated to an excerpt of a play Dieppa wrote titled "Island Fever," a seemingly semi-autobiographical piece about his relationship to Puerto Rico and his experience as a gay man who worried about what would happen to him if he stayed there "too long." All the while, New York

City called to him as a refuge beyond his homeland. The film hints that, for Dieppa, this meant at least temporary detachment from his conservative family, Catholic faith and upbringing, Latino culture and traditions, and the provinciality associated with life in Puerto Rico and Florida. Viewers are left feeling that his gay pilgrimage to New York was motivated by his desire to escape all this and build alternate realities. The film suggests that this is how Miguel became Michael.

In a few instances, the film seems hesitant or unable to grapple with some of the larger epistemological questions at the core of this story. Dieppa's relationship to his Puerto Rican identity remain largely unexplored, despite persistent signs that he struggled with fraught identities as a queer man of color, a lover, a son, and a Catholic. The narrated excerpt of his play is just one example where the film muddles Dieppa's voice. In addition, excerpted letters, friends' recollections, and the material sources Dieppa left behind reveal he had much to say and that he wanted to be heard. Similarly, the film seems timid in exploring—or celebrating— aspects of his life that were perhaps deemed less respectable, including his fetish for leather culture and his late-night sexual rendezvous. As the title of the documentary suggests, the film is often more invested in assigning blame, particularly to Dieppa's devout mother who encouraged, if not coerced, her son to repent to God for his homosexual desires on his deathbed in a ceremony that was described as more closely resembling an exorcism than sacramental penance. The film concludes with Aldarondo speaking with her mother about what this revelation might mean to them all moving forward; they both seem to convey a sense of emptiness and uncertainty. We are indeed reminded of the painful truth that the memories of penitence to which the film's title refers belong to Dieppa *and* those still among the living.

Some of the film's sharpest interventions and insight seem to happen by accident, largely a product of the documentary's organic and largely freeform style. A narrative "twist" reveals the likelihood that Dieppa's father—who, it  
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appears, never came to his son's defense— similarly struggled with his own sexual desires for men. Aldarondo interviewed an older family friend about this possibility. This woman produced one of the film's more poignant and intellectually satisfying points. If this information proved to be true, she asked, who are we to dig up and reclaim a tortured past that the dead never sought to share with the world? Scholars of queer Latina/o/x experiences, Horacio N. Roque Ramírez and Carlos U. Decena among them, have long grappled with this heavy task. They have deconstructed the very meanings of these archives and our uses of them. It certainly raises the question: to what extent do these intimate histories belong to us all?

*Memories of a Penitent Heart* is an important and provocative film, and Aldarondo should be commended for showing us the depth of what we all have lost—and continue to lose—to AIDS and its attendant tragedies. Here the film recalls aspects of Sarah Schulman's argument in *The Gentrification of the Mind*: that the epidemic has taken claim to physical, intellectual, and spiritual losses. The film's stirring qualities will no doubt inspire important discussions about how we memorialize and account for these losses, and motivate others to similarly recover voices like Dieppa's. His story had been kept shrouded in mystery and pain, occluded by his family's fabricated recollection of the aspiring actor whose life was cut tragically short by natural causes. That story could only stand for as long as the remedy of nuance remained locked away inside a box kept at his ex-lover's apartment. So many others no longer among the living await their chance to be heard. *Memories of a Penitent Heart* shows that, for those who survive, acts of repentance can perhaps help heal wounds and build much-needed bridges that propel us all forward.

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