



Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender History

Spring 2018 • Vol. 32:1 • <http://www.clgbthistory.org>

IN THIS ISSUE

Co-Chairs' Column	1
In Memoriam: Vicki Eaklor	3
Book Announcements	5
CLGBTH 2018 Prize Winners	5
Call for Submissions: Don Romesburg Prize	6
Call for Submissions: John Boswell Prize	7
Call for Submissions: Joan Nestle Prize	8
Reviews	8

Reviews in this issue

Spector, <i>Violent Sensations</i>	8
Markowitz and Wares, <i>Political Animals</i>	10
Frank, <i>Law and the Gay Rights Story</i>	11

Committee on LGBT History

Co-chairs: Emily Hobson and Julio Capó, Jr.

Book Review Editor: April Haynes

Newsletter Editor: Dan Royles

CO-CHAIRS' COLUMN Spring 2018

In January 2018, we—Julio and Emily—stepped into CLGBTH leadership as the committee's new co-chairs. We are thrilled to have taken on these roles and are excited for the years ahead. Judging by the last few months, they promise to be full of energy and hard work, driven forward by exciting growth in the field.

We come to our roles with a shared vision. One of our goals is to expand the committee's geographical scope. Traditionally, the majority of members of the CLGBTH have concentrated their

research on the modern United States. We continue to strongly support this work but are also working to bring in members whose research addresses LGBTQ history in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Europe, as well as all those whose work attends to periods before the twentieth century. We hope that the upcoming American Historical Association conference in Chicago will be a fruitful site for this goal, not only through panels and papers, but also through the more informal forms of networking that can make conferences exciting venues for intellectual work.

The 2019 conference will kick off an important year for our organization. We will celebrate the CLGBTH's 40th anniversary and commemorate the 50th anniversary of the 1969 Stonewall rebellion and its many effects. An affiliate society of the AHA with whom we often collaborate, the Coordinating Council for Women in History, will also mark its 50th anniversary. In addition, the Modern Language Association (MLA) will hold its annual conferences in Chicago alongside the AHA (January 3-6), and the MLA's GL/Q caucus will mark its 30th year. This overlap offers exciting opportunities for interdisciplinary exchange; the MLA and AHA have welcomed linked panels, and each conference will welcome the other's registered attendees.

With the help of our incredible governing board, we solicited or approved sixteen complete panels for consideration in the 2019 AHA; the next newsletter will list all panels that will appear in the program. Responding to the

conference theme of “Loyalties,” we created a track titled “Queer Loyalties,” and also welcomed submissions beyond that theme. We anticipate a lively and engaging CLGBTH presence in Chicago, with formats ranging from traditional paper panels to roundtables to social and community-based events. In addition to highlighting research across geographic and temporal lines, we are thrilled to have submitted proposals with several other AHA-affiliated organizations, including some we have never collaborated with before. Our submissions included co-sponsored proposals with the Oral History Association, Central European History Society, Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, and the Conference on Latin American History.

Our other goals as co-chairs are grounded in support for LGBTQ public history and socially engaged scholarship. Whether through historic sites or K-12 curricula, LGBTQ history is crucial to understanding and critically interpreting the past. In this political climate it is also more crucial than ever to link queer scholarship to public life. The CLGBTH has a rich history within traditional higher education, and moving forward, we hope that this strength can facilitate deeper engagements with LGBTQ history in our communities and in K-12 schools.

We are thrilled to announce that next year we will inaugurate a new award from the CLGBTH: the Don Romesburg Prize for outstanding K-12 curriculum in LGBT history. A former co-chair of the CLGBTH, Don has dedicated great time and energy to bringing LGBTQ history to K-12 classrooms by advocating for the California FAIR Education Act and working on its curricular implementation. Please see and help distribute the formal announcement for the Don Romesburg Prize that is featured in this newsletter, as well as the announcements for the John Boswell and Joan Nestle Prizes. All three will be awarded at the 2019 AHA in Chicago.

Further, after the 2019 AHA, we eagerly anticipate a first for our organization: a conference fully dedicated to research and

activism in LGBTQ history. Amy Sueyoshi and Nick Syrett have worked tirelessly to make this idea a reality. The conference is planned for June 2019 at San Francisco State University; a call for papers will circulate soon.

Finally, congratulations to the winners of our prizes awarded at the 2018 AHA, who are highlighted elsewhere in this newsletter, alongside honorable mentions for each prize.

The CLGBTH is fueled by the dedication and deep commitment of so many people who volunteer their time and energy to strengthening our mission. We are deeply grateful for the fierce leadership that our outgoing co-chairs, Amanda Littauer and Nick Syrett, have demonstrated over the past three years. We also thank outgoing secretary-treasurer, Rebecca Davis, for her years of service and express our gratitude to Emily Skidmore, who graciously takes her place for a three-year term. We wish to highlight the incredible work April Haynes has done as our newsletter editor, and that of Dan Royles in his capacity as book review editor. They have generously agreed to continue offering the CLGBTH their strong editorial skills and have now swapped responsibilities, with Dan coming on as editor of the newsletter, and April heading up the book reviews. We also offer a heartfelt thank you to Andrew Ross, who has kindly agreed to continue his many talents as our web manager. Of course, we remain indebted to our continuing governing board members, Kirsten Leng, Amy Sueyoshi, and Stephen Vider, and warmly welcome newly elected members Katie Batza, Chelsea del Rio, Will Kuby, Víctor Macías-González, and Dan Royles. Finally, we thank several outgoing governing board members for their years of service: April Haynes, Aaron Lecklider, Andrew Ross, Cookie Woolner, and Emily Hobson, who resigned her post on the board to accept the co-chair position. Altogether, we recognize the countless hours all of our volunteers have contributed to making us a stronger organization and community.

We live in a moment when our many, overlapping communities live under increasing

attack. As lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender people, queers, feminists, women, people of color, immigrants, migrants, Muslims, Jews, scholars, and educators, among many others, we stand together for social justice and academic freedom. We hope that the CLGBTH can provide venues and resources for community building and public engagement, coupled with intellectual exchange about our textured queer pasts. As we move toward the AHA in Chicago, please be sure to make use of the CLGBTH listserv (clgbth-list@clgbthistory.org) to announce opportunities for funding, research, conferences, and publications, and engage with us on Twitter @CLGBTH. We look forward to working, collaborating, and learning with you.

Julio Capó, Jr. (University of Massachusetts Amherst)

Emily K. Hobson (University of Nevada, Reno)

In Memoriam: Vicki Eaklor

Queer historian and longtime CLGBTH member Vicki Eaklor passed away on March 8, 2018. Here Leisa Meyer remembers our friend and colleague.

Vicki Eaklor was one of the brightest lights of our profession and communities. She was a critical figure and presence in our struggle to be recognized as historians and professionals in the American Historical Association as well as to have our lives and past be visible and engaged by students taking middle school, high school, and college history classes, along with their instructors.

To help imagine this different world, she researched and published on people, periods, and places somewhat outside the fields in which she was trained. She was an American intellectual and cultural historian with a specialization in music history, which she remained passionately interested in throughout her career. She published on subjects as diverse as musical traditions during the nineteenth century anti-slavery movement and the lives of

lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people in twentieth and twenty-first century America. She was also a gifted composer, musician, and percussionist, and regularly taught introductory and advanced courses to student acclaim in music and history.

Vicki was the third chair of what was then the Committee on Lesbian and Gay History (CLGH), and under her five-year tenure the CLGH became an affiliate organization of the AHA, began to publish a newsletter and solicit reviews of new works in LGBTQ history/studies, expanded its membership base five-fold, and consistently drew attention to the need to infuse “regular” college and K-12 classes with our histories. Often this involved inviting high school teachers themselves to participate on AHA panels on pedagogy, and strategizing with them as to how the LGBTQ past might become part of K-12 and college history curricula.

I first met Vicki Eaklor when I was a member of the governing board of the CLGH. I was newly tenured and trying to find my way through a professional terrain that did not always support sexuality as a field of study and whose contours often excluded the types of activism on which I thrived. Vicki became my role model. She was a scholar who took on the challenges of carving space for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people in the historical profession and left a clear path for others to follow. As the chair of the CLGH she drew the AHA’s attention to the lack of panels engaging the proliferating work in LGBT history and the history of sexuality; the numerous sessions that now pepper the AHA program are a tribute to her work. She also never backed down from her insistence that pedagogy and scholarship must be understood as not just related but inextricably intertwined. Her presentations on numerous professional panels focused on integrating LGBTQ history into survey and topics courses, along with her articles in *Perspectives* on this subject, brought that message home.

From roundtables to workshops Vicki never stopped working to build evidence that the

AHA's Teaching Division would accept that there was in fact a desperate need for a teaching pamphlet on integrating LGBTQ peoples, cultures, and communities into the canonical mainstream narratives that continue to be offered in our profession. She worked tirelessly for over two decades toward this goal—facing continuous rebuffs and “not right nows” from the AHA. As one example of this work she published “How Queer-Friendly Are U.S. History Textbooks?” a continuation of a project she began in the late eighties and early nineties examining this same question. When I stepped down from the now-permanent AHA standing committee on LGBTQ historians and histories this teaching pamphlet remained an unfulfilled goal. In our conversations on the topic Vicki was alternately regretful and deeply pissed about the lack of action from the AHA on this issue, and if you knew Vicki you also know that she very rarely got angry.

Vicki taught one of the first LGBT-focused history courses in 1991 and always linked her scholarship to her teaching throughout her career. As one example, in her textbook, *Queer America*, she offered a chronologically organized narrative of the struggles, victories, and lives of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people through the early twenty-first century. In another of her publications Vicki edited Steven Endean's posthumous memoir, taking us on a journey through the complex life of the man who founded one of the most prominent LGBTQ rights organizations in the United States today, the Human Rights Campaign. In all her work Vicki always took special care to make sure the stories she told made American history come alive to students.

The bottom line is that Vicki Eaklor was a gem. She was an unsung and relatively unknown hero who was an exceptionally fierce and effective advocate for LGBTQ people. Even after multiple disappointments she still saw the world and this profession as rife with opportunities: to learn, to teach, and to grow. She energized her students and peers alike—including me—with the possibilities of her vision.

Vicki Eaklor was an extraordinarily generous colleague, teacher, and friend. At a moment when I was feeling a bit down about my scholarship and place in the profession she arranged for me to do a talk at Alfred University about my work. After I left she spent the next several weeks sending me positive comments from her colleagues and students who had attended my lecture. Then she doubled down and sent me links to reviews and other publications that mentioned my work or me in any positive way with the subject line “not just me” when she knew I was continuing to struggle. I wasn't the only one she bolstered during difficult times. Many others have been on the receiving end of such thoughtful, deeply kind gestures on Vicki's part. Doing so regularly, along with offering gratitude to colleagues and students in a profession where “thank you” is such an infrequent phrase, was simply who she was.

This might seem a lot of detail for a “remembrance,” but isn't that where the devil dwells? The story—or pieces of it—of a life well lived, of a woman for whom staying home with her cats and dogs and partner Pat was her preference. Of a woman who was also a musician, a composer, and a drummer—sorry, a “percussionist,” as she quietly corrected me the first time she spoke about this aspect of her life. Of a woman who never gave up on her dream of creating a sustainable and always evolving pedagogical model that would fully integrate and acknowledge the significance of LGBTQ lives in stories of the past. Of a woman who sat for hours with me in the AHA conference hotel bar watching NFL playoff games not because she loved football, but to humor my obsession with the pigskin, and because she loved me. I will miss you, my dear friend, for so many reasons, and watching NFL playoffs at a hotel bar during the AHA will just not be the same without you (though no doubt she would be hugely relieved that she won't have to do that again). Of a woman who, during one of her own challenging times, when she had a week to move her mother into assisted living, find a place for her mother's cat, and clean out and sell the family home where

she was born said simply of her coping mechanisms, “I read novels, binge-watch TV shows, and am still pretending classes aren’t starting in a couple of weeks.”

I very much hope you are still reading and binge-watching and procrastinating wherever you are, my friend.

I will miss you always,
Leisa

Book Announcements

University of North Carolina Press announces a new book:

Devotions and Desires: Histories of Sexuality and Religion in the Twentieth-Century United States (February 2018). At a moment when “freedom of religion” rhetoric fuels public debate, it is easy to assume that sex and religion have faced each other in pitched battle throughout modern U.S. history. Yet, by tracking the nation’s changing religious and sexual landscapes over the twentieth century, this book challenges that zero-sum account of sexuality locked in a struggle with religion. It shows that religion played a central role in the history of sexuality in the United States, shaping sexual politics, communities, and identities. At the same time, sexuality has left lipstick traces on American religious history. From polyamory to pornography, from birth control to the AIDS epidemic, this book follows religious faiths and practices across a range of sacred spaces: rabbinical seminaries, African American missions, Catholic schools, pagan communes, the YWCA, and much more. What emerges is the shared story of religion and sexuality and how both became wedded to American culture and politics.

The volume, framed by a provocative introduction by editors Gillian Frank, Bethany Moreton, and Heather R. White and a compelling afterword by John D’Emilio, features essays by

Rebecca T. Alpert and Jacob J. Staub, Rebecca L. Davis, Lynne Gerber, Andrea R. Jain, Kathy Kern, Rachel Kranson, James P. McCartin, Samira K. Mehta, Daniel Rivers, Whitney Strub, Aiko Takeuchi-Demirci, Judith Weisenfeld, and Neil J. Young.

Duke University Press also announces a new book:

The Rest of It: Hustlers, Cocaine, Depression, and Then Some, 1976–1988 (March 2018). This memoir is the untold and revealing story of how Martin Duberman—a major historian and a founding figure in the history of gay and lesbian studies—managed to survive and be productive during a difficult twelve-year period in which he was beset by drug addiction, health problems, and personal loss.

CLGBTH 2018 Prize Winners

Congratulations to all our recent prize winners!

The following prizes were awarded at the American Historical Association held in January 2018 in Washington, DC. All three awards are awarded in even-numbered years, covering the previous two years. Our thanks to the members of the prize committees: on the Allan Bérubé Committee, Jennifer Tyburczy (chair), Joshua Buford, and Katherine Ott, and on the Audre Lorde/Gregory Sprague Committee, Emily Skidmore (chair), Abraham J. Lewis, and Linda Velasco.

Allan Bérubé Prize

For outstanding work in public or community-based lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and/or queer history. The prize is underwritten by the GLBT Historical Society in San Francisco.

Winner: The New York City Trans Oral History Project

Prize Committee statement:

Through deeply thoughtful and ethical planning,

The New York City Trans Oral History Project worked closely with communities to create a sustainable oral history project. As an innovative model of community engagement, the project's materials, organization, and methods are beautifully exportable to other groups working to document under-represented histories. The project's commitment to capturing at risk stories, its work to center marginalized voices, and its desire to see the work replicated through transparency make it the stand out winner for the Bérubé Prize this year.

Honorable Mention: Southwest Virginia LGBTQ+ History Project

Audre Lorde Prize

For an outstanding article on lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, transsexual, and/or queer history published in English.

Winner: Julio Capó Jr., "Sexual Connections: Queers and Competing Tourist Markets in Miami and the Caribbean, 1920-1940," *Radical History Review*, 129 (2017): 9-33.

Prize Committee statement:

Julio Capó Jr.'s "Sexual Connections" is a beautifully written and impressively researched piece that discusses the interconnections between Miami, the Caribbean, queer cultures, and tourism in the Prohibition Era. Herein, Capó brings together race and migration to a local history of sexuality with remarkable dexterity. "Sexual Connections" pushes the field of queer history forward with its transnational lens, while simultaneously illustrating novel methodological practices, combining the tools of social, cultural and legal history to produce a narrative that is rich and compelling. A superb piece of scholarship.

Honorable Mention: Alix Genter, "Appearances Can Be Deceiving: Butch-Femme Fashion and Queer Legibility in New York City, 1945-1969," *Feminist Studies* 42, no. 3 (2016): 604-631.

Gregory Sprague Prize

For an outstanding published or unpublished paper, article, book chapter, or dissertation chapter on lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, transsexual, and/or queer history completed in English by a graduate student.

Winner: Patrick McKelvey, "Ron Whyte's 'Disemployment': Prosthetic Performance and Theatrical Labor," *Theatre Survey* 57, no. 3 (2016): 314-335.

Prize Committee statement:

Patrick McKelvey's "Ron Whyte's 'Disemployment'" is a wonderful crossing of queer studies, disability studies, cultural studies, and a historical case study. The article discusses Ron Whyte, a queer disabled playwright, who mobilized his cosmetic prosthesis to stage disemployment in the 1980s. McKelvey's article is nuanced in its analysis, and forward-thinking in how the author deploys new materialisms to bear upon queer history. A terrific piece of scholarship that has insights for a wide variety of audiences, from theatre studies to disability studies.

Honorable Mention: Rachel Corbman, "Remediating Disability Activism in the Lesbian Feminist Archive," *Continuum* (forthcoming).

Call for Submissions: Don Romesburg Prize

In 2019, the Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History will award the inaugural Don Romesburg Prize for outstanding K-12 curriculum in LGBT history.

Don Romesburg is a former co-chair of the CLGBTH and the lead author of the groundbreaking report, [Making the Framework FAIR: California's History-Social Science Framework Proposed LGBT Revisions Related to the FAIR Education Act](#), which he wrote about for [Perspectives](#) in 2016. We are thrilled to honor and to extend his work to bring intersectional and research-driven LGBT history content to K-

12 students. The inaugural prize will be awarded for work completed in 2018 (announced at AHA 2019), and thereafter will be awarded every other year. It will be open to K-12 educators in all content areas and educational institutions. We will share the winning curriculum on our website and through our networks with the hope of encouraging teachers around the nation to adapt the content to meet their own objectives, standards, and student needs.

The Don Romesburg Prize is designed to recognize educators who have demonstrated excellence in curriculum design that promotes students' understanding of LGBT history. Educators are encouraged to self-nominate by submitting evidence of their own original lesson plan on a topic relevant to LGBT history. The lesson plan should be aligned to appropriate state or national standards and include instructions, supporting material, and evidence of teaching effectiveness. Whenever possible, applicants should design lessons that seamlessly incorporate LGBT history into existing units. For example, a unit on the various groups that served in the military and defense industries during WWII might be adapted to include LGBT people. Similarly, a unit on the Red Scare might be adapted to include analysis of the Lavender Scare. We also encourage lessons that incorporate unique primary sources, employ innovative instructional strategies (i.e. the use of multimedia technologies, creative art projects, or dramatizations), or facilitate collaboration with local museums/historical societies. Educators are especially urged to submit evidence of curriculum that teaches cultural empathy and promotes classroom-wide or school-wide dialogue.

Eligibility: The Don Romesburg Prize is open to educators in all content areas and educational institutions.

Application Requirements: To be considered for this prize, please submit the following evidence:

- a. Description/overview/rationale for the lesson plan

- b. Alignment to relevant National and/or State K-12 Standards
- c. Detailed lesson plan including step by step instructions
- d. All supporting material including student handouts or lesson materials
- e. Evidence of teaching effectiveness (e.g. samples of student work, photographs or video of the lesson implementation, and/or assessment results)
- f. Evidence of an understanding of the larger body of scholarly research on the topic (e.g. a summary of the scholarly work on your topic and/or a list of scholarly sources consulted during the creation of the lesson)

Application Deadline: Emailed submissions must be sent by 11:59pm (Pacific time), 1 October 2018 to all members of the prize committee.

Prize Committee:

- Don Romesburg, Sonoma State University, romesbur@sonoma.edu
- David Duffield, University of Colorado, Denver, david.duffield@ucdenver.edu
- Wendy Rouse, San Jose State University, wendy.rouse@sjsu.edu

Winners will be announced at the Committee on LGBT History's annual reception at the 2019 American Historical Association conference in Chicago, Illinois.

Call for Submissions: John Boswell Prize

The CLGBTH will award the John Boswell Prize at the 2019 annual meeting of the AHA in Chicago. The John Boswell Prize honors an outstanding book on lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, transsexual, and/or queer history published in English in 2017 or 2018.

Application Deadline: Physical copies of books must be postmarked by 1 October 2018. Alternatively, books may be submitted in PDF

form by email; emailed submissions must be sent by 11:59pm (Pacific time), 1 October 2018 to all members of the prize committee.

Prize Committee:

- Rachel Hope Cleves, University of Victoria: Department of History, University of Victoria, P.O. Box 1700 STN CSC, Victoria, B.C. V8W 3P4, Canada; or rcleves@uvic.ca
- J.T. Roane, University of Cincinnati, [2815 Commons Way](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/315111111), French West, 3410, P.O. Box 210164, Cincinnati, OH 45221-0164; or roanejs@ucmail.uc.edu
- Caroline Radesky, University of Iowa, [1118 1/2 Prairie Du Chien Road, Iowa City, IA 52245](https://www.ia.uiowa.edu/~caroline-radesky/); or caroline-radesky@uiowa.edu

**Call for Submissions:
Joan Nestle Prize**

The CLGBTH will award the Joan Nestle Prize at the 2019 annual meeting of the AHA in Chicago. The Joan Nestle Prize honors an outstanding paper on lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, transsexual, and/or queer history completed in English by an undergraduate student in 2017 or 2018.

Application Deadline: Emailed submissions must be sent by 11:59pm (Pacific time), 1 October 2018 to all members of the prize committee.

Prize Committee:

- Rachel Hope Cleves, University of Victoria, rcleves@uvic.ca
- J.T. Roane, University of Cincinnati, roanejs@ucmail.uc.edu
- Caroline Radesky, University of Iowa, caroline-radesky@uiowa.edu

BOOK REVIEWS

Book review editor: April Haynes

Scott Spector, *Violent Sensations: Sex, Crime, and Utopia in Vienna and Berlin, 1860-1914* (University of Chicago Press, 2016).

The *fin de siècle* tends to evoke two clichés: glamorous excess and scientific triumph. In *Violent Sensations*, Scott Spector argues for the productivity of combining decadent and enlightened practices for an understanding of European modernity.

Spector, a Professor of History and Germanic Languages and Literature at the University of Michigan, begins by investigating anxieties about the degeneracy of urban spheres alongside concomitant belief in sexual and criminal progress. This confluence led to an explosion of texts and genres, which Spector interprets in a chapter titled “Dark City, Bright Future: Utopian and Dystopian Urban Genres around 1900.” Urban genres raised first and foremost the question of whether criminal propensities are inborn or socially acquired. Starting with Cesare Lombroso, the criminal became a medicalized—and exoticized—subject. Competing discourses of accountability, degeneration, and modes of inquiry organized around the fiercely contested subject of the criminal. One criminologist in particular, Hanns Gross, attempted to establish academic legitimacy by combining theoretical knowledge with practical experience. According to Spector, Gross argued that the criminalist “must place himself within the crime scene, he must think like the criminal and speak his language” (66). Yet Gross’ vast collections of damaged skulls, wounds and their corresponding weapons, preserved skin with strangulation marks, semen specimens, blood samples, or criminal language excerpts only rendered his endeavor prurient.

Spector’s second chapter, “Identical Origins: (Homo)sexual Subjects and Violent Fantasy in the 1860s,” explores the connection between medical and criminal discourses in the formation

of the homosexual. Some fabulous claims were made, such as small penises signifying *active pederasty* (they ostensibly facilitated comfortable anal intercourse and avoided the inevitable mockery by female partners). Spector is interested in identity formation—hence the pun in the chapter title—and the dynamic tension between the professional and the sensational. Johann Ludwig Casper illustrates the latter issue. While treating an aristocratic patient, Casper found something “completely new and unprecedented in the annals of psychology and criminal justice... the written diaries of a pederast, including daily accounts of his adventures, liaisons, sensations executed over many years” (83). However, writing down such unspeakable acts only aggravated the nobleman’s pathology: no person in their right mind would commit such things to paper, would they? The psychiatrist thus became complicit in the pederast’s secrecy. Spector turns to the question of identity by analyzing Carl Westphal’s article on “contrary sexual sensibility” of 1870, which Michel Foucault famously cited as modern homosexuality’s point of origin in *The History of Sexuality*. Yet Westphal, who must be credited with taking his patients at their word, also cited a wide network of predecessors. Spector helpfully focuses on neglected texts that viewed sexuality as inborn and showed signs of a gay subculture. However, he admits that few nineteenth-century medical professionals believed their patients to be healthy individuals or understood the momentous impact their diagnoses would have. Thanks in part to Robert Beachy’s seminal *Gay Berlin: Birthplace of a Modern Identity* (2014), it is no longer a heresy to question Foucault. Curiously, however, there is no engagement here with Beachy’s earlier corrective to Foucauldian narratives of identity formation.

Spector shifts focus from medical to media discourses in his third and fourth chapters. “Sensation and Sensibility: Experts, Scandals, Subjects” interprets letters to the editor published in one Viennese newspaper in response to several homosexual trials. A large number of self-confessed homosexuals wrote to

publicly insist upon the naturalness of their desire. Here Spector has assembled a wealth of detail to bolster his case that homosexual identity existed before the medicalization described by Foucault. However, these letters date to the early twentieth century and did not precede the writings of experts like Westphal. In this chapter, Spector asks the most interesting question of all: “How did the processes of producing the ‘homosexual subject’ actually occur?” (117). Unfortunately, he does not provide a clear answer. “Utopian Bodies: The Sensual Woman and the Lust Murderer” shows that most European cities had their own Jack-the-Ripper cases or *Lustmorde*. What did they signify? Similar to (homo)sexuality, interest shifted from the murder to the murderer and became defined by sexology in tandem with criminology. Otto Weininger’s misogynistic *Sex and Character* (1903) takes center stage here. A compendium of science, philosophy (Kant and Nietzsche, most prominently), and cultural criticism, *Sex and Character* interpreted changing gender mores as portending a crisis of civilization. Weininger committed suicide in the hallowed grounds of Beethoven’s death chamber shortly after the publication of his book, an act that perhaps illustrated his thesis. Whatever Weininger’s motives, Spector attributes the rise of lust murder stories to anxieties about “feminized masses flowing blood and making bleed, the dread of women’s bodies and sexuality, the panic before the prospect of being engulfed, swallowed up, annihilated” (195). He argues that such anxieties propelled the rise of fascism long before the ascent of the right-wing Free Corps of the Weimar Republic, which Klaus Theweleit amply documented in *Male Fantasies* of 1977-78.

Chapter five, “Blood Lies: The Truth about Modern Ritual Murder Accusations and Defenses,” analyzes the stereotyped figure of “the Jew” who was said to embody all the perverse excesses of modernity, such as money, psychology, and art. Spector interrogates the contradiction between such ultramodern representations and the persistence of an ancient accusation, as old as Biblical times, that

Jews sacrificed Christian children for ritual purposes. He takes us to Tiszaeszlár, a Hungarian village, where the disappearance of a 14-year old girl in 1882 led to a trial for blood libel, a case so charged with antisemitism that it has been termed the Hungarian Dreyfus affair. There seemed to be no place for the blood libel in Enlightened Europe—it was deemed primordial, barbaric, medieval—yet so was believing in a peasant legend and enacting a witch hunt. Even the state prosecutor, aware of the disastrous reputation a conviction would carry for a country on the cusp of modernity, distanced himself from that very charge, ensuring that the Jewish defendants would be acquitted.

The Tiszaeszlár case reprises some fundamental questions raised throughout *Violent Sensations*: What is expert knowledge, and how did it become crucial both to scientific inquiry and to courtroom procedure? What can one know about sexual identity, and what was its relationship to murderers who distributed dismembered corpses around the city, or the supposedly Talmudic slaughter of the innocent? With the growth of expert literature, questions arose over how expertise should be revealed, the dangers of sensationalizing expert knowledge through new mass media, and the tension between scientific/juridical discourses and self-knowledge. Amid all this drama, Spector returns to the individual. Imagine a happy homosexual, who as reader/observer is posited as perfectly normal but as subject is rendered volatile, animalistic, deviant. This is Spector's keenest moment. He might have quoted another representative German voice here: that of Rosa von Praunheim, who wrote, "It is not the homosexual who is perverse, but the society in which he lives."

Violent Sensations is heavily footnoted and makes for dense reading at times, but I appreciate the emphasis on cities other than Paris or London, the tripartite analysis of identity (professional, sensational, individual), and the vastness of sources (law, medicine, criminology, philosophy, literature, journalism, popular culture, archival materials, personal

writings, and more). Clearly, scholars should continue to explore how the creation of abject categories also facilitated a profoundly emancipatory program.

**Niko Endres,
Western Kentucky University**

**Jonah Markowitz and Tracy Wares, dirs.
Political Animals (San Francisco: Kanopy
Streaming, 2016).**

Political representation matters. It mattered to the rabble-rousing anti-tax colonists in the eighteenth century, and it mattered to gay and lesbian Californians two centuries later. Americans have come to expect their political representatives to not only look out for their best interests, but to actually be one of them. *Political Animals* is an informative look at California's first four openly gay or lesbian legislators. It chronicles their push to add LGBT issues to the agenda of in the legislature of nation's most populous state in the 1990s. That's right. Even in deep blue California, a state that has not voted for a Republican presidential nominee since 1988, no openly gay or lesbian candidate won statewide office until 1994. Directed by Jonah Markowitz and Tracy Wares, the film centers on Sheila Kuehl, Jackie Goldberg, Carole Migden, and Christine Kehoe and their tenures in the California state legislature. It mostly recounts their work on two legislative fights: protecting gay and lesbian students through an anti-bullying bill and expanding the state's definition of same-sex relationships. The film mixes the narrative of these campaigns with the fascinating personal life stories of each of the four women. Shelia Kuehl, for example, earned name recognition before becoming the first out California legislator in 1994 during her much earlier acting career. Most notably, she portrayed Zelda Gilroy on the early 1960s TV sitcom "The Many Loves of Dobie Gillis." She explains how voter familiarity and nostalgic fondness for her character allowed them to "balance against the lesbian thing. They already liked me from the character," Kuehl described. "Like many issues with coming out, [voters] had to balance that against 'Do I hate gay people

more than I like this particular one that I didn't know was actually gay?" Her constituents seemed to care more about her positions on education and taxes than the gender of her sexual partners. She won her race with over 55% of the vote in 1994, the same year Democrats lost their majority in the California statehouse.

Markowitz and Wares cut *Political Animals* into both a feature length version and an educational abridgment. It was a smart move, considering the California State Board of Education's vote last year to revamp history and social science curriculum standards to include "a study of the role of contributions" of LGBT Americans. The film's diverse use of interviews, historical footage, and graphics make it engaging for younger audiences.

More important for teachers is the film's potential as a civics lesson. *Political Animals* is no substitute for *Schoolhouse Rock's* "I'm Just a Bill" segment, but it nicely guides viewers through the complicated processes of bill writing, legislative committees, floor debates, and voting. The documentary follows high stakes bills, such as California's anti-bullying statute, through these processes. Viewers become engaged with the process of making laws. We hear from different factions from all sides of the issue, including those who seem absolutely bonkers (one group argues that protecting LGBT students will lead to legalized pedophilia.) Democracy is not always sexy. The legislative process is not necessarily entertaining. But the live vote counts in *Political Animals* will put viewers on the edge of their seats. Why? Because there's more at stake than what *Schoolhouse Rock* shows us. These bills matter.

A film focused on LGBT campaigns within a legislature is actually relatively unique among recent queer related documentaries. The Oscar-nominated *How to Survive a Plague* depicted grassroots activism to combat social and governmental indifference to the HIV/AIDS crisis. HBO's *The Case Against 8* chronicled the judicial challenge to California's constitutional ban against same-sex marriage. Few

documentaries, however, have investigated the push for LGBT representatives in local, state, and national legislatures and legislative work by openly gay officials. The modern LGBT movement achieved some of its most notable victories—the decriminalization of sodomy and protections for same-sex marriage—via the courts. *Political Animals* enriches our understanding of gay and lesbian rights by demonstrating the power of slow, diligent work in the legislative branch to bring about lasting change.

Oddly, the film's title *Political Animals* omits perhaps the documentary's most significant attribute: the film is about lesbians. If gay history is given little space in popular media, lesbian politics can at times seem nonexistent. *Political Animals* challenges narratives of a male-defined gay rights movement. Kuehl, Goldberg, Migden, and Kehoe explain how their prior experiences in feminist and student activism steered them toward queer politics. A comparison might be made here to the growth of women's liberation movements out of the 1960s black freedom struggle (see Sara Evan's *Personal Politics* and Kimberly Springer's *Living for the Revolution*). Academics and activists may wish the filmmakers engaged in an intersectional analysis of movement politics. Still, the film introduces general viewers to important connections between liberation movements of 1950s-60s and later social justice campaigns.

Political Animals' captivating story of relatively unknown lesbians makes up for its flaws. The documentary's title is lackluster and seems almost to "closet" the film by obscuring its LGBT subject matter. The opening scenes are just as mystifying. Viewers who did not happen to see a trailer or read a review in advance find themselves dropped into California's gay and lesbian rights movement with very little context. There is very little discussion of gay life before 1990s or previous citizens, such as Frank Kameny, who ran for public office as openly gay candidates in the 1970s). The filmmakers could also have explained why they chose to focus on California by making clear statements about the

state's immense population, racial and political diversity, and historic ties to the LGBT movement. They could have made a film about Massachusetts's Elaine Noble, who is considered the first openly gay candidate elected to a state legislature in 1975. But they didn't, and that choice warrants at least a brief explanation.

These are relatively minor problems in an otherwise exemplary, educational, and touching film. The film is straightforward and effective. It inspires viewers to understand that those who want to see change must demand a seat at the table. LGBT representation matters. These four lesbian women proved it.

Eric Gonzaba
George Mason University

Walter Frank, *Law and the Gay Rights Story: The Long Search for Equal Justice in a Divided Democracy* (Rutgers University Press, 2014).

Our political moment illustrates the old adage that "elections have consequences." As I write this, President Donald Trump has issued a Presidential Memorandum regarding military service by transgender individuals, questioning and potentially reversing a 2016 policy shift by the Obama administration that had enabled transgender service members to serve openly. In addition, the U.S. Department of Justice now contends that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 does not protect employees against discrimination based on sexual orientation. These policy shifts demonstrate the important—and contested—role that law and legal institutions have played in what Walter Frank calls the "long search of equal justice in a divided democracy."

Law and the Gay Rights Story narrates the changing meaning of "gay rights" between the 1940s and 2014. Since the book's publication, the U.S. Supreme Court has extended protection to same-sex marriage under the federal constitution. Frank seems not to have expected a decision such as *Obergefell v. Hodges* to be handed down as early as 2015, for he describes the issue as something "the Court will likely face

in the future." (194) Considering just how fast change in the law is happening—sometimes in multiple and conflicting directions—this book gives helpful context for the present moment by exploring a range of subjects: the workplace, family, education, health care, military service, domestic partnerships, and marriage equality. Scholars such as William Eskridge, Patricia Cain, Joyce Murdoch, Deb Price, Margot Canaday, and Marc Stein have attended to these subjects. Frank gives a succinct, well-written, and fairly comprehensive overview of this history.

Law and the Gay Rights Story could serve as an accessible introduction to legal history in LGBTQ studies courses, despite its rather narrow focus. In limiting the scope of his study to "gay rights," Frank prioritizes rights-based claims and struggles related to sexual orientation over gender expression. The book does not address "the rights of transgender persons as a group, not because this topic is unimportant," Frank writes, "but because it deserves a separate examination beyond the scope of the project." (4) If supplemented with materials about transgender rights, the book may be useful in the undergraduate classroom.

Frank divides the book into three parts. Part one, "The Freedom Struggle (1945-1992)," primarily focuses on social, political and legal struggles associated with an emerging lesbian and gay movement—including the Lavender scare of the 1950s, the emergence of homophile organizations, Stonewall, and the AIDS epidemic. Throughout the section's four short chapters, Frank focuses on the broad social and political changes of an emerging lesbian and gay movement as it intersected with the legal system. He describes the ways in which gay and lesbian communities were acted upon by legal institutions such as courts, constitutional law, law enforcement, and executive orders. Part one also recounts activists' efforts to reform these institutions and deploy them strategically for social change.

Part two, "The Struggle for Legal Equality (1993 to the Present)," surveys changes in gay rights from the various perspectives of activists,

opponents, and institutions. Early chapters address movement tactics that became nationally significant during the 1990s: engaging “one’s fellow citizens” to change “hearts and minds” about gay rights, participating in the political process, and seeking change through litigation. Later chapters chronicle debates over gay rights (including conservative Christian resistance), struggles to secure workplace legal protections for domestic partnership benefits and from employment discrimination, the ability to serve openly in the military, family law, and lesbian and gay students’ rights—from protections from bullying to legal status of gay straight alliances. Frank ends the section by attempting to unravel internal critiques of the gay rights project, which he loosely divides into those asserting “cultural critiques” and those who argue the movement has become “needlessly cut off from its roots in a broad social justice agenda” (169). While granting that “this progressive critique has considerable merit,” Frank argues that “virtually no one in the gay community actively opposes the quest for same-sex marriage, the ultimate prize in the relationship recognition category.” (172) Lesbian-feminist and queer critics of marriage fade to the background of this claim.

Part three, “The Right to Marry,” outlines the legal battles surrounding recognition of same-sex marriage in the states and the federal system—a chapter mostly focused on key U.S. Supreme Court decisions—including *United States v. Windsor* and *Perry v. Schwarzenegger*, the first Proposition 8 case to reach the Court. This section of the book helpfully summarizes how the legal climate had changed up to *Obergefell*, including struggles in state legislatures, at the ballot box, and especially in the courts.

The persistent focus on gay rights tends to marginalize certain perspectives. Frank could have paid more attention to lesbian perspectives on some of these issues (including child custody cases), legal struggles for recognition of lesbian and gay college student organizations in addition to K-12, the intersectional experiences of LGBTQ

communities of color with legal institutions, and local gay rights struggles. Some readers might also question his concentration on changes in the law. Yet as a legal history, *Law and the Gay Rights Story* provides a point of entry to most of these issues.

Frank closes the book with a useful summary of “where we are now” in light of this history. He not only tracks what has improved—hate crimes legislation, workplace improvements, and legal protection for gay straight alliances. “Gays are no on longer presumptive felons,” he writes, “their private sexual life now enjoys the same federal constitutional protection as that of heterosexuals.” presumably referring to the *Lawrence v. Texas* decision. (202) He considers the “constitutional structure” a necessary foundation for gay rights. At the same time, he admits that the rights-based model has also departed in significant ways from the gay liberation origin story. For example, the movement “talks about sex as little as possible,” a shift he suggests has led to a “neutering of the equality movement.” (206) Frank concludes that the gay rights story is as much about equality and justice before the law as it is about freedom—of expression, identity, and sexuality—on one’s own terms. Recent events have made clear that this progressive vision is not necessarily a given. *Law and the Gay Rights Story* shows the critical importance of ongoing struggles over meaning, both within the movement and in its encounters with the law. This historical overview can help clarify the work that remains to be done.

David A. Reichard
California State University Monterey Bay