

## AB/NORMAL LOOKING

# Voyeurism and surveillance in lesbian pulp novels and US Cold War culture

Yvonne Keller

LOOK AT HER ... and she cannot be distinguished from her more normal sisters ... I have seen them, and I am one of them; yet I have never been able to pick a lesbian out of the crowd ... For she is any woman. (Ann Aldrich [1955] 1962, front inside teaser page, capitalization as original)

[Popular culture is] the space of homogenization where stereotyping and the formulaic mercilessly process the material and experiences it draws into its web ... It is rooted in popular experience and available for expropriation at one and the same time ... [A]ll popular cultures ... [are] bound to be contradictory ... site[s] (pp. 469-70) of strategic contestation. (Stuart Hall 1996, )

"LOOK AT HER"—the injunction at the beginning of Aldrich's lesbian pulp *We Walk Alone* typifies the public lesbian image in US fifties popular culture. The command and ensuing text prioritize the visual, regulate the boundaries of the "normal," and set the reader up for immediate, apparent failure—despite the insistence on looking the lesbian "cannot be distinguished"; she paradoxically cannot be seen. This article analyzes the links between sight and ab/normality—i.e. sight and cultural power—in lesbian pulps. The sensationalistic mass-market paperbacks called lesbian pulps are not, as might be suspected from our present-day vantage point, close-to-pornographic cultural expatriates in the *ur*-heterosexual, *Father Knows Best*, suburban world of the fifties. Rather I will argue these pulps were bestsellers precisely because they embodied reassuringly prevalent and normative strategies of sight. In this US Cold War context, voyeurism and surveillance—arguably each simultaneously "abnormal" and "normal" ways of looking—were dominant modes by which power circulated. Pulps served as an eroticized and safe incarnation of a threatening Other, thereby promoting danger and reassurance in the same gesture. Yet especially when looked at for their visual structuring, pulps are also, in Stuart Hall's words, "contradictory ... spaces of strategic contestation." Using a feminist and queer literary and cultural studies approach, I analyze the visual workings of a prototypical lesbian pulp novel, concluding that, despite emphasizing a harshly pro-hegemonic voyeurism and surveillance, the text also demonstrates the mutability of, and so the potential for subversion of, these powerful visual structures.

Lesbian pulp novels are part of the mass-market paperbacks that flourished in US popular culture from 1941 onwards. At its peak between 1950 and 1965, the genre is a subset of what were called male adventures or masculine-interest paperbacks, which filled the newspaper and drugstore racks alongside other genres such as westerns, mysteries, and detective fiction. Lesbian pulps are typically lurid, voyeuristic and frequently homophobic, easily the opposite of "high literature." At the time they were called "trashy,"

or "dirty books"; they are somewhat like *National Enquirers* in book form. Marked by their explicitly lesbian, sensationalized covers, which emphasized tagline phrases such as "twilight women," "forbidden love," or the "limbo of lesbianism," these books, had surprisingly widespread distribution during the era of McCarthy. Eventually mainstream New York publishers such as Fawcett and Ace published over five hundred books, and sold millions. According to *Publishers Weekly's* statistics, as of 1975 the first lesbian pulp novel, *Women's Barracks*, had sold 2,500,000 copies and was the 244th bestselling novel (pre-1975) in the US (Alice Payne Hackett and James Henry Burke 1977, p. 16); the second book in the genre, Vin Packer's *Spring Fire*, sold over 1.5 million copies (2004, front cover). Jess Stearn's *The Sixth Man* was on the *New York Times* bestseller list for twelve weeks ([1961] 1962, cover). Claire Morgan [Patricia Highsmith]'s *The Price of Salt* sold a half million copies ([1952] 1958, cover). The genre was published with the intent to sell high quantities cheaply, via the then-new idea of distributing books through newspaper outlets; thus many titles sold hundreds of thousands of copies.

Lesbian pulps have so far mostly been ignored in the emerging field of lesbian/gay/queer studies.<sup>1</sup> While this lack of attention is partly because the popular is deemed unimportant, pulps are also dismissed as homophobic, sleazy, pornographic, uncanonical, and negative in their representation. Yet they are important historical documents because they were so popular—constituting the most accessible representation of homosexuality of the time.

I am interested in how pulps' popularity intersects with their voyeuristic appeal. Voyeurism and surveillance have historically often been tools that men wield, and that women do not. Women have been at the receiving end, the "watched" end, of sight, embodiments not of sight-as-power but of "to-be-looked-at-ness," in Laura Mulvey's phrasing from her well-known article, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" ([1975] 1990). Writing about classic Hollywood cinema but with an analysis of broader scope, Mulvey brilliantly shows how power works visually in US culture.<sup>2</sup> For her men watch, and women are to be watched; and in this structure the lookers have power, and the watched do not. Given Mulvey's theorization of male power as residing in the male gaze and a feminist understanding that voyeurism and surveillance have traditionally worked against women and lesbians, feminist and lesbian critics have often seen these two visual systems as inherently hostile to women, and therefore as tools to reject. They are not, however, to be ignored.

To ignore voyeurism is to ignore much of the history of how women, and lesbians, have been represented, and—of more use strategically—to ignore how this sight/gender system generates its power. I am not interested in affirming "positive" (presumably non-voyeuristic) representation or rejecting "negative" (presumably voyeuristic) representation; rather, I want to argue that voyeurism is itself mutable—a tool, in other words, not a mode of oppression. Stuart Hall writes of popular culture as a space between authentic popular community and commodification; this article looks at voyeurism in lesbian pulp and searches for that richly ambivalent space. I analyze a book from the largest subcategory in the genre, the ones I call "virile adventures." These are the most popular, more sex-focused, homophobic, and heterosexual white male-oriented pulps, distinct from the second largest type, "pro-lesbian pulps," the relatively pro-lesbian, more romantic, often lesbian-authored interventions most discussed by scholars. Through the analysis of a typical virile adventure, Don Holliday's *The Wild Night* (1960), I show how lesbian pulps are ideologically in the voyeuristic center, not at the "pornographic" margins of the culture. My tack here is to

examine voyeuristic power to see how it functions, and therefore how lesbianism is culturally placed—and so learn how it can be shifted. Ultimately, if we take a Foucauldian view, voyeurism and surveillance can be seen not as inherently hostile to women but as merely tools of power that can be subverted, and were—even in the 1950s—mutated to serve feminist and pro-lesbian ends.

### Visual Cold War Culture: Personal Boundaries and Public Anxiety

Voyeurism and surveillance are mechanisms of power that use sight to control different realms: roughly, voyeurism controls the private, the sexual; surveillance the public, the criminal, and political. Both voyeurism and surveillance are power relationships where a watcher has more power than the watched. Voyeurism is typically seen as illicit, while surveillance is typically sanctioned. Surveillance seems aligned with men (spying, politics, the public realm), whereas voyeurism seems aligned with women and the private sphere (sex, exoticism). In both, the presumption is that heterosexual white males do the viewing. Despite the dominant stereotype of the 1950s as a “clean-cut” America typified by a prosperous, upstanding white family, owning a home in suburbia with 2.5 kids, both ways of looking are prevalent in fifties culture.

Cultural critics Charles Bernheimer and Michael Denning each persuasively conclude that late capitalist European culture is voyeuristic, a conclusion that also applies, I suggest, to the US. Bernheimer concludes that “the mechanisms of voyeurism and fetishism pervade the culture of late capitalism . . . to such an extent that they influence every aspect of spectatorship and of gender relations” (Charles Bernheimer 1987, p. 171). Similarly, Denning argues that increased levels of voyeurism were central to post-World War II consumer capitalism. Denning writes that the bestselling James Bond books take their “place alongside *Playboy* (1953) as the mark of the first mass pornography . . . [W]hat characterizes these representations and the era of mass pornography are, first, a narrative structured around the look, the voyeuristic eye, coding woman as its object, and second, a culture whose every discourse is dominated by, indeed translated into, a code of sexual signifiers” (Michael Denning 1987, p. 109). In other words, voyeurism—with its implications of male power—is not culturally “abnormal,” but quite “normal.”

The sanctioned political looking known as surveillance worked in tandem with voyeurism. Cold-war America was so fearful of surveillance from without that it was spying on its own citizens, most dramatically in the form of the unsurpassed reach of the FBI under J. Edgar Hoover. This concern came in part from the pervasive fear of infiltration resulting from the spy trials of the Rosenbergs and Alger Hiss, the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), McCarthyism, the Attorney General’s list of subversive organizations, loyalty oaths, Hollywood blacklists, and more.

Communists were suspected of being the enemy within, but homosexuals were similarly slotted.<sup>3</sup> The government instituted less publicly known surveillance of homosexuals who might be security risks, either because they were considered morally “weak” or because of their supposed susceptibility to blackmail. John D’Emilio summarizes the steep rise in surveillance of homosexuality after World War II:

An executive order barred [homosexuals and lesbians] from all federal jobs, and dismissals from government service rose sharply. The military intensified its purges of gay men

and lesbians. The Post Office tampered with their mail, the FBI initiated widespread surveillance of homosexual meeting places and activities, and urban police forces stepped up their harassment. (John D'Emilio 1992, p. 60)

The dangers of communism and homosexuality were similarly structured in the public psyche: both were dangerous to the nation, yet invisible or undetectable threats, and thus all the more insidious, frightening, and hard to stop (John D'Emilio 1992, p. 64; Lee Edelman 1993, pp. 553-554, 560, 568; Barbara Epstein 1994). As Barbara Epstein explains, communism was the threat most talked about in highbrow and mainstream culture while homosexuality was the threat most discussed in lowbrow forums, particularly the scandal magazines—and, I would add, pulps (Epstein 1994). A study estimated that over twelve million workers—more than 20 percent of the labor force—faced loyalty-security investigations over this time period, resulting in a startlingly high amount of sanctioned surveillance (D'Emilio 1992, p. 61).

The cover of the lesbian pulp *The Homosexual Revolution* (Ken Worthy 1965) exploits this public fear of the homosexual, explicitly coupling it with a need for surveillance. The back cover warns:

Today—the world of arts, letters, the theatre is being subverted.

Tomorrow—will it be *your* world?

"There is a sickness abroad in our world," writes a famous drama critic of the new homosexual revolution. "To combat it, each of us must be his own watchman." . . .

READ ABOUT ONE OF THE MOST POWERFUL MINORITY GROUPS IN AMERICA TODAY  
 . . . A MENACE TO THE YOUNG—A THREAT TO EVERYONE—"THE NEW HOMOSEXUAL  
 REVOLUTION!" (Worthy 1965, back cover, capitalization in original)

The homosexual is here explicitly an enemy threatening from within. The succinct phrase, "each of us must be his own watchman," encapsulates the Cold War sense of ongoing anxiety and self-surveillance. It is an exemplary manifestation of Foucault's articulation of the visual as central to internalized control, as described in his analysis of the panopticon, the prison in which all cells are arrayed in an outer circle and can be seen from the center tower by a prison guard who might or might not actually be present to watch them (Michel Foucault 1999). The pulps' sensationalist hyperbole is in part amusing and recognizably sensationalist even then, but barbed to play on specifically fifties anxieties: boundary infiltration by an invisible force.

The world of the US in the fifties was on one level confident and optimistic, on another anxious and afraid. Having won World War II, the US was recognized as the leader of the Free World, with, initially, sole possession of the atomic bomb; the dream of private suburban bliss and public national invincibility was strong. Wini Breines (1992) however points to the "underside" of this pervasive image: "a people alienated, disoriented, and discontent." Breines attributes the despair to the Holocaust, Hiroshima, the Cold War, and McCarthyism, but also to changes in the personal sphere: "[S]ex, gender, and the family were beset with ambiguity . . . The culture was preoccupied with legitimate, meaning marital, sex, while other forms of sexuality were a source of shame, met by ignorance, fear, and punishment" (Breines 1992, p. 8). An anxious society emphasized the boundaries between the "legitimate" way to have sex and the "wrong," "shameful" ways. D'Emilio and Edelman each argue persuasively that the fifties emphasis on the homosexual enemy

responds to the threat to the nuclear family structure due to the cultural shifts of World War II (D'Emilio 1992, pp. 57-73; Edelman 1993).

Another way to look at this confident/anxious dichotomy is to see the 1950s as a culture of rigid boundaries; with everyone certain of the "better" side in binary oppositions such as capitalist democracy versus communist tyranny and heterosexuality versus homosexuality. Stephen Whitfield puts it most sharply:

In an era that fixed so rigidly the distinction between Communist tyranny and the Free World, and which prescribed that men were men and women were housewives, perhaps only one peril seemed, if anything, worse than Communism. "The overriding fear of every American parent," a visiting English anthropologist noticed in 1950, was that a son would become a "sissie." (1991, p. 43)

The prescriptive force of these categories marks the peculiarly homophobic stresses of this culture. Cultural fears like this are not unique to the fifties, but the fifties is one of its high water marks per Michael Rogin's account, which situates the fifties as the last in a series of three major moments in US history, each a conflict between an "American" "self" and "foreign" or "alien" "Others" (1987, pp. 236-237). To simplify for just a moment: the greatest "public" fear of the dominant culture during this time is fear of the "deviant" Other as manifest in communists and homosexuals, while the greatest "private" fear is becoming an Other—or liking one, or as the English anthropologist notes, having a son for one. Arguably, the first fear is controlled through surveillance, the second through voyeurism.

Extrapolated from the individual to the cultural level, Sander Gilman's psychoanalytic work offers a useful way to understand the fifties emphasis on boundaries and fear. Shifting boundaries to negotiate fear is central to Gilman's discussion of the stereotype. According to Gilman, stereotypes are everyone's way of categorizing individuals, because of how the infant psyche develops. The child at first believes the world is part of itself, and always gives it what it needs. When it begins to realize that its needs are not always immediately met, it becomes anxious.

But very soon the child begins to combat anxieties associated with the failure to control the world by adjusting his [or her] mental picture of people and objects so that they can appear "good" even when their behaviour is perceived as "bad" . . . The child's sense of self itself splits into a "good" self, which, as the self mirroring the earlier stage of the complete control of the world, is free from anxiety, and the "bad" self, which is unable to control the environment and is thus exposed to anxieties . . . With the split of both the self and the world into "good" and "bad" objects, the "bad" self is distanced and identified with the mental representation of the "bad" object. (Sander Gilman 1985, p. 17)

In this scenario the individual's anxiety is pushed into the bad self, which itself is distanced into and identified with the bad "Other." Of course the child quickly learns to problematize these simple "good/bad" oppositions. But if the child, or later the adult, is made overly anxious, its boundaries threatened, he or she may revert to the dualistic oppositional structures that helped him or her survive as an infant, lessening anxiety by externalizing the bad self (Gilman 1985, pp. 17-19).

So to push Gilman's scenario further: if a culture thinks itself healthy and the strongest power in the world, on the one hand, but is nonetheless extremely anxious, worried about enemies within and without, on the other; this anxiety of loss of control threatens the self-image and can lead to reasserting the old ways of stereotyping the world

as divided into "good" and "bad" to regain control. Such anxiety in the fifties led to emphasis on rigid boundaries, and to disproportionate focus on the Others of homosexuality and communism.

Lesbian pulp novels are an excellent study in 1950s boundary-making and boundary-crossing. They are ultimately conservative, examining the boundaries only to reassert them, to reassure readers that the dominant cultural forces are still strong. Yet simultaneously pulps threaten the 1950s categories to sell books. I suggest that they were bestsellers precisely because they rode this line. The cover of the paperback of Jess Stearn's *New York Times* bestseller, *The Sixth Man*, a 1962 exposé of the world of the male homosexual, is a perfect example of sensationalism as threat to increase sales: "SOMEDAY WE'LL OUTNUMBER YOU AND YOU'LL BE THE ABNORMAL ONES, AND WE'LL BE THE NORMAL" (Stearn 1962, front cover, capitalization replaces bold in original). The boundary is the line between normal and abnormal—the threat is in the possible reversal of the terms and their concomitant status.

Popular culture including pulps perceived the homosexual alien as invisible, insidious, and pervasive: eager to cross over the boundary, to infect the cultural self. Pulp novels exploited this threat to rigid boundaries, this chance that you or your loved ones might become homosexual, that America might soon overflow with homosexuality. The back cover of Stearn's journalistic book on lesbians, *The Grapevine* (1964) trumpets: "BUT YOU DON'T LOOK LIKE A LESBIAN!" The emphasis is on the invisibility and proximity of the lesbian threat:

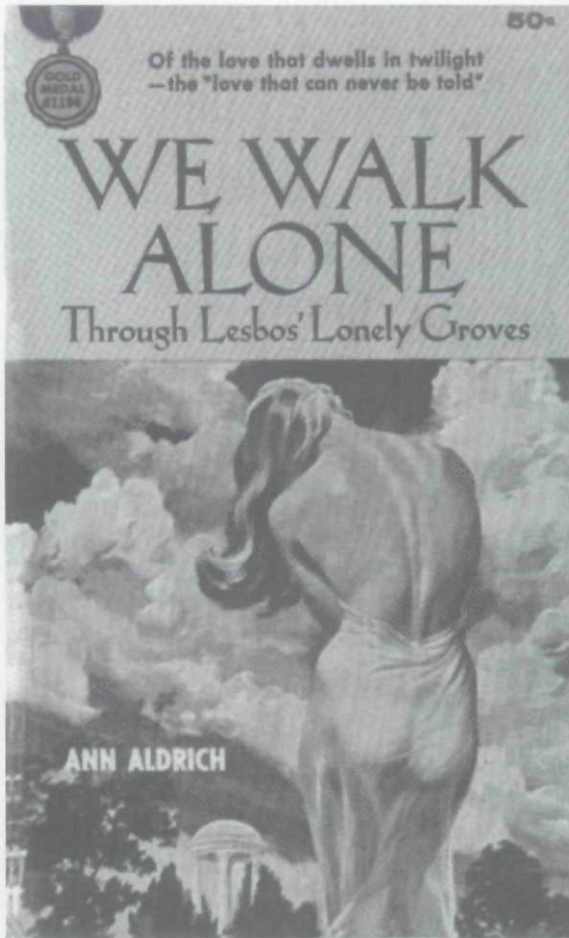
Unlike the male homosexual, the lesbian is usually able to conceal her sex drive. She moves unnoticed in society, working in every field—from Madison Avenue copywriter to small town beautician. She's frequently married and might even have children.

She could live next door to you, attend your church or be a member of your family—but you'd never know it. She hides her unnatural life from everyone, except other members of the "fourth sex," kept constantly on the alert by the lesbian grapevine. (Stearn 1964, back cover)

The lesbian as a "member of your family" reiterates in only slightly altered form the threat that your own son might be a homosexual. Again, while the threat of the Other is frightening, the impossibility of knowing who is Other—of perceiving the Other in the familiar—is also anxiety-producing. This threat as enticement to buy works because the reader knows he or she will ultimately control the Other depicted. Rogin explains the seeming contradiction of a threat that entices as the desire of the countersubversive (the one who fights blacks, immigrants, communists, etc.) for the Other, a desire inevitably mixed into his hatred and fear (1987, p. 237). Thus alongside a shunning of the Other, the culture produces fascination with the Other, journalistic reports of the lesbian "underworld," and pulp novels, but ones that typically reinstate heterosexuality by the end through suicide or marriage.

### **"Not One of Them and Yet Not Different": Voyeurism in *The Wild Night***

As I will show via *The Wild Night*, even in the generally formulaic, ideologically conservative, voyeuristic genre of lesbian pulp, sight can work on behalf of lesbians, and surveillance can work against its wielders. As alluded to above, I organize lesbian pulps into two broad categories: the "virile adventures," (see Figure 2) which were the dominant form



**FIGURE 1**

First epigraph is taken from this lesbian pulp, Ann Aldrich's *We Walk Alone Through Lesbos' Lonely Groves* ([1955] 1962).

in the genre and more explicitly aimed at a male readership, and the "pro-lesbian pulps," (see Figure 3) which were (relatively) pro-lesbian interventions into this predominantly homophobic genre. Published in 1960, Don Holliday's *The Wild Night* is a virile adventure, of which there were over four hundred, as opposed to a pro-lesbian pulp, of which only a hundred or so were published; thus *The Wild Night* is an example of the more popular and more homophobic narrative form. Voyeurism is a genre requisite—often not only invited by the covers but depicted in the narrative of both kinds of lesbian pulp. Virile adventures such as *The Wild Night* show voyeurism within the text as gender-specific, sexual, and demonstrating men's desire for and control over women.

Holliday's book (see Figure 4) for the most part is typical, grafting together multiple scenes of sex and desire (mild by today's standards: rarely naming body parts other than breasts and legs). The book's various subplots are most succinctly, ideologically, and depressingly summed up by this sentence from the back cover: "In one of the most powerful



FIGURE 2

*The Third Way*, by Sheldon Lord (1962), is a typical virile adventurer, the most prevalent subset of lesbian pulps.

and frank novels of recent years, Don Holliday chronicles the incidents of perversion and unnatural desire that led Wanda the stripper, Roger the Negro, Walter the fetishist, Paula the co-ed lesbian, frigid Helen and oversexed Burt to meet in the strip-joint that New Year's Eve." The book displays two stereotypical extremes of sexuality: Wanda "the stripper" and "oversexed" Burt (the very sexual), and Helen and Walter (the very repressed). The latter two, who impel most of the action, have opposing narrative trajectories: Fiercely puritanical, Helen refuses sexuality, yet is raped and enjoys it in the end. Walter on the other hand never has sex, wildly desires Wanda the stripper all night long, is rebuffed, then murders her and is arrested. By the end of the book almost all of the characters' "lusts" are both indulged and punished.

The novel is overtly voyeuristic on two levels: the looks between the characters, and the narrated fantasies and memories of sex in the heads of various characters. The strip club, a business that presumes voyeurism at its financial heart, is the main locale for the action. The frequent scenes describing the strip-tease artist at work align the view of the reader with that of the male characters, especially Walter. Along with the looks between the characters, the novel



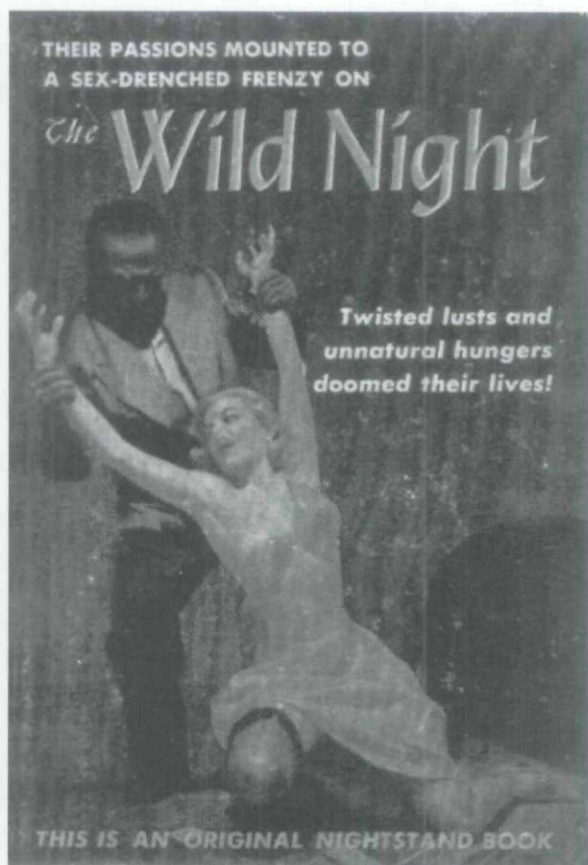


**FIGURE 3**

*Odd Girl Out*, by Ann Bannon (1957), is an example of a pro-lesbian pulp.

describes characters' fantasies throughout. The novel implicitly advocates visualization of fantasy as a method the reader him- or herself can use to enjoy solitary sex. For example, "Paula the co-ed lesbian" fantasizes about sex three times, imagines nursing from her mother one time, and remembers being fondled by the family physician once. Fantasy within the storyline aligns the readers' methods of visualization with those of the characters; that is, readers learn to imagine by watching the fantasizer imagining.

Though according to Mulvey voyeurism is a way for the male gaze to control women, and while most of *The Wild Night* is predictably sanctioning of the status of women as objects of a male look, it is voyeurism's ambiguities that are highlighted in *The Wild Night's* scene of a visit to a lesbian bar, on which I will focus here. Two heterosexual couples, Paula and her date, and her brother ("oversexed Burt") and his date, leave Wanda the stripper's Village club and go to a nearby lesbian bar to see the so-called "freak show." The parallels to the strip joint are clear: both places allow heterosexual men the pleasures of sexualized, domineering sight. In this scene the culture's, reader's, and novel's voyeuristic expectations are the norm, yet those



**FIGURE 4**

The front cover of *The Wild Night*, by Don Holliday (1960); its back cover announces 'panla the co-ed lesbian' as a central character.

norms become twisted, even subverted, through the wavering of fixed identities and identifications as the scene progresses.

The scene is described from Paula's point of view, which is initially portrayed as aligned with a straight male gaze, using a cinematic metaphor: "Quickly, as a movie camera might have shown it, her eyes panned around the room and she saw them all" (Holliday 1960, p. 168). Paula, along with the lesbians and other tourists, considers herself part of this middle-class group of straight "tourists." But the narrative has also described Paula as scornful of men, flat-chested, and daydreaming about women. The scene, then, is in fact about watching Paula watch the show—thus the reader is poised both to identify with her looking and to watch her as the (female, potentially lesbian, deviant) object of the look. This splitting of her function in the text allows a reader with voyeuristic desires to continue to objectify Paula, and an incipient lesbian to identify with Paula and her feelings, which are described at length. This narrative ploy promotes an oscillation between voyeurism and identification in the reader (an oscillation whose possibility is persuasively argued for by Diana Fuss (1995, p. 11)).

Paula quickly moves away from her alignment with the male look: "[T]he idea [of being in a lesbian club] did not repulse or fascinate Paula" (Holliday 1960, p. 169). She becomes a mediating figure, neither straight nor gay. She occupies an explicitly voyeur's position but without a voyeur's desire to distance, punish, or control: "Paula felt her stomach turn in her. She was not one of them and yet she was not different" (p. 169). As the reader's expectations of voyeuristic pleasure via Paula's looking remain unmet, the previous narrative hints of Paula's homosexuality are confirmed. She thinks, "Was she really a lesbian, too? No, no, the idea was insane and yet she had been drawn to Ginnie" (p. 169). It is the question of identification—not voyeurism or even desire—that preoccupies her, and which is also the focus of the narrative. Thus a character's hesitant move from voyeurism to identification with an Other can be threatening to the reader, making the reader complicit in that movement. Yet he or she might also remain distanced, continuing his or her voyeurism from the "insider's" perspective, inside Paula's thoughts.<sup>4</sup>

For Paula herself, voyeurism and lesbian identity formation are fundamentally intertwined. As the scene progresses, Paula's ambivalence continues. When asked to dance by a woman Paula stutters, as her male friends laugh "uproariously": "'I'm not—I'm—' but Paula didn't know what to say" (p. 169). Paula is offered the chance to leave heterosexuality—but she cannot, given her location in culture. "Paula didn't know what to say," and she doesn't know any longer how to look. Paula's voyeurism is repeatedly textually crosscut, and gradually is overpowered, by Paula's identification with the Other. Structurally, this rhythm of repeated boundary crossing from "normal" to "abnormal," along with a second rhythm, repeated sexual scenes, are what give the narrative its pull. In most virile adventures this boundary crossing is a device that titillates and then reaffirms the norm. Yet for some readers, and even a few writers, the emphasis on boundary crossing is such that the text begins to subvert the boundaries the culture so firmly places between "normal" Self and deviant/desired Other.

Despite heterosexuality's institutionalized power, the lesbians in *The Wild Night's* bar do resist being the object of touristic, voyeuristic sight—though in a way typical of a genre obsessed with sex and sensationalism. In some manner symbolizing the lesbian community's mores, two lesbians follow Paula into the bathroom and harass her verbally and physically; slapping her, grabbing her breasts and crotch, and shoving her head under the cold water faucet until she is crying and exhausted. They are angry:

"Look, sister, we didn't ask you to come here and we don't like you down here, see? I heard your boy friends talking. 'Oh look at that one?' 'Did you ever see anything funnier?' You think you're slumming or something, coming down here for a few chuckles?" Her voice rose to an edge and her eyes burned. (pp. 171-172)

The lesbian threat to male heterosexuality/male sight is literalized as a fight over female genitalia: "Her hand suddenly shot between Paula's legs in a crushing grab. Paula screamed. 'See how your society boyfriend likes it now,' the woman said" (p. 172). In this scene lesbians fight back, in a female-only space, the women's room, and Paula is punished for her position as voyeuristic heterosexual tourist despite her incipient lesbian status. This is the more pro-gay reading, yet at the same time of course the "private, women-only" space of the bathroom is invaded by the voyeurism of the storytelling itself.

Single heterosexual males and heterosexual couples were in fact a common event at lesbian bars during the fifties and early sixties. *The Wild Night's* bar scene—in both its heterosexual male voyeurism and its lesbian resistance—is surprisingly similar to scenes described by Stephanie Ozard in *Forbidden Love*, the 1992 Canadian film documentary on

lesbian life in the 1950s. Lesbian, mother, and Metropolitan Community Church minister, Ozard describes heterosexual tourists as a regular occurrence in 1950s bar life. As in *The Wild Night*, Ozard and her friends used to follow the heterosexual women into the bathroom, not to harass or flirt with them, but just to worry their dates, who could not follow them in. Ozard also describes how she and her friends sometimes put a sign in front of their table in the bar, saying, "Don't feed the animals," a move both angry and ironic, but also demoralized about the expected power dynamics of voyeurism/tourism, of who gets to watch whom. She comments, laughing but seeming bitter, "We all got a great kick out of it" (Ozard in *Forbidden Love* 1992). Animals that can write can clearly watch you back, and should not be in a zoo. The sign on the table is a mirror—showing the voyeur himself and his actions, instead of his desired object. The crotch grab is an extreme version of the sign on the table: in both cases these lesbians cross a cultural boundary, by asserting that in lesbian space, they will refuse—or fight or ridicule or mock—the gaze. Again the scene of two lesbians beating up Paula can still be read for the voyeurism and exoticizing in which lesbians remain stereotyped, alien creatures. The text leaves it unclear whether the bathroom scene is a moment of defiance, or just another titillating twisting of cultural norms that allows them to leap back even stronger.

While Ozard reminds us of the unpleasant realities of being watched, authors and bibliophiles Barbara Grier and Marion Zimmer Bradley remind us of the depressing realities of reading for lesbian representation in the 1950s US. In an early, self-published bibliography of lesbian literature, Grier and Bradley write in their 1960 review of *The Wild Night*—causing me an initial shock—"One of those unexpectedly good stories one finds among the floods of paperback trash" (Marion Zimmer Bradley and Gene Damon [Barbara Grier] 1960, p. 29). Why the good rating? Out of twenty Don Holliday titles, Grier's more recent bibliography, *The Lesbian in Literature* (Barbara Grier [1967]1981), lists fifteen as rated "T" for trash, and four as rated "A" (with no stars), which indicates much lesbian material but very little quality of lesbian material. *The Wild Night*, however, is rated "A\*\*," indicating major quantity (the "A") and good quality (the two stars) of lesbian material. This absurdly high rating, the same given to Gale Wilhelm's beautiful, infinitely more literary *Torchlight to Valhalla* (1938), and one star better than Virginia Woolf's *Orlando* (1928), is not so shocking when the book is compared to its pulp compatriots. Despite its voyeurism and stereotypes, *The Wild Night's* construction of lesbianism is more complex—more internal—than that in most virile adventures, which merely include two women having sex as one item on a checklist of many different sexual adventures. In part, this lies in the text's acknowledgment of lesbianism as an identity that is seen from within and with some sympathy. The novel does show a beginning of lesbian awareness as well as defend, in its way, homosexuality. Sitting in the bar, Paula thinks, "[She] could not define her feelings but somehow she did not pity these people and she did not fear them for their abnormality. They were making love, that's all, she reasoned. There was nothing wrong with that" (pp. 169-170). Such an explicit, positive claim for lesbian "(ab)normality" is rarely found even in pro-lesbian pulps. This single line of lesbian propaganda, combined with Paula, may account for the high rating. But this rating also indicates the paucity of any sort of pro-lesbian representation. As Bertha Harris (1974, p. 51) writes, looking back on her coveting of lesbian pulp novels: "[W]hen you are starving, a soda cracker will do."

The contradictions between the frequent homophobia and the occasional pro-gay moments in *The Wild Night* may also be arguably resolved in part by the question of authorship. While Don Holliday wrote twenty pulps with lesbian episodes between 1959 and 1965, after 1965 he began writing overtly gay-male-centered material such as *The*

*Man from C.A.M.P.* (1966) as well as other "insider's" books (Color Him Gay (1966); *Sex and the Single Gay* (1967)). If Holliday is gay, as the existence of these later books implies, that gayness perhaps accounts in part for the occasional pro-lesbian moments in his books. David Bergman (1993, p. 13) confirms my suspicion, assuming Holliday's homosexuality and praising his books about gay men as camp. While *The Wild Night* is nowhere near camp, even seen through today's distanced lenses, its twists and turns of plot can leave the reader wondering what side Holliday is on, if any. The culture's stereotypes are adopted wholeheartedly, and then wholeheartedly twisted. For example, the most actively heterosexual group, the four out on a double date on New Year's Eve, are summarily killed by an oncoming truck when Paula's brother fails to watch the road while kissing his girlfriend at midnight, thus gratuitously inscribing death as the wages of heterosexuality.

In sum, however, *The Wild Night* adheres easily to what Michèle Aina Barale aptly names, in a discussion about the facility with which dominant culture assimilates the Other, the promise that "[a]ll surprises will serve to stimulate; none will threaten" (1991, p. 237). *The Wild Night* also fits Judith Roof's analysis, in which she argues that in pornography the different is guaranteed to titillate, not threaten, and reassure the reader of his dominance. The reader is figured as a tourist who is "self-reaffirmative and difference-denying" (Judith Roof 1991, p. 123). Her argument confirms how in a text like *The Wild Night* the multiple dangerous differences from the "norm" are neutralized. While it flirts with cultural boundaries and crosses them for the thrill of it, *The Wild Night* remains invested in them. The sensationalism that sells the book is the threat/desire of knowing about, merging with, or desiring multiple Others; the story allows boundaries to be crossed and people to be punished for crossing them. In a sense the book troubles the idea of an absolute difference between self and Other, especially in its depiction of Paula's identifications. Yet structurally the reader is not ultimately shaken from, and is indeed reaffirmed in, his position of control and power. The characters' flatness and lack of appeal, and their distancing effects, creates a text that in the end resolidifies categories of Otherness. In this way Paula and other characters function like Fanny Hill, as female figures to identify with and desire that can be simultaneously distanced and controlled (Philip E. Simmons 1990).

Given the cultural centrality of voyeurism and surveillance, lesbian pulps are not marginal, anomalous, pornographic, or foreign to this world; but actually typical of the anxious side of fifties culture, as their engagement with the crucial issues of boundaries and Others attests. They are bestsellers because they are homophobic, and sexual, but also because they are mainstream ways to both offer and control the Other, thus simultaneously expressing and alleviating cultural anxieties.

But what of the lesbian reader? Insisting on the importance of popular cultural representation over and above "real life experience" in identity formation, Stuart Hall writes: "it is only through the way in which we represent and imagine ourselves that we come to know how we are constituted and who we are" (1996, p. 473). Given that pulps were the major source of lesbian representation at a time that otherwise consigned lesbians to invisibility, lesbian identity in the 1950s and early sixties was in part formed, inevitably, with, through, or in resistance to lesbian pulps, and with, through, or in resistance to their integral voyeurism. To read about Paula's tight spiral of voyeurism and identification, disgust and desire, was a frequent experience for a generation of lesbian

readers. The pulps were a problematic place for lesbian identity formation to begin. Joanna Russ attests:

I never dared buy one of those sleazy paperbacks I saw in drugstores, although I wanted them desperately. I was terrified to let the cashier see them . . . I suppose not reading about all those car crashes and suicides was a mild sort of plus, but I don't think it's a good idea to reach one's thirties without any cultural imagery for one of the most important parts of one's identity and one's life. ([1980] 1989, p. 167)

This allusion to a car crash, exactly what happens to Paula in the end, makes me suspect that Russ did indeed indulge; but it is her point about needing cultural imagery that is important here. If bought, daringly maneuvered through gauntlets of homophobic drugstore cashiers, gaining lesbian pulp novels meant gaining representation of lesbianism and gaining voyeurism. Thus in need of representation, fifties lesbians could not simply deflect, refuse, or ignore the gaze and its mechanisms.

While the rigidity of cultural boundaries and demonization of homosexuality in the 1950s led to what Lillian Faderman calls "perhaps the worst time in history for women to love women" (1991, p. 157), the increased representation of lesbianism in popular culture had some productive effects. Women came to lesbian identity formation in a context of homophobia, voyeurism, and surveillance; I attempt here to interrogate this co-mingling of identity and voyeurism. For this paper, Paula represents the contradictory ways that metaphors of vision—from voyeurism to surveillance to lesbian (in)visibility—and lesbian identity formation have been historically linked. Lesbian desire for a protective invisibility or to not be the object of a male look was contradicted by the desire for a visibility that would allow for deeply necessary cultural imagery. Yet some lesbians learned to deal with voyeurism and indeed use it for pro-lesbian ends. Paula should see voyeuristically, in alignment with the heterosexuality of the men, but instead—or also—begins to identify with lesbian Others. She in effect achieves lesbian identity formation through voyeurism. Characters like Paula also became part of the beginnings of lesbian identity formation for some incipient lesbian readers. Many lesbians managed to read lesbian pulp and find some nourishing self-representation, despite their blatant homophobia, racism, and conservatism.

### In Conclusion: Visual Mutability

The seemingly clear injunction to "LOOK AT HER" has become fraught with questions. First, how does one look at something invisible and indiscernible? Second, how is "normality" brought into question if the lesbian who is "abnormal" is one's own "normal" neighbor or family member? And finally, how does lesbian identity formation function when incited by a homophobic text? "Looking at her" is complicated, perhaps mutable, certainly a space of strategic contestation. Voyeurism's mutability in *The Wild Night* is reflected in/a reflection of popular culture's visual structuring systems. The mutability, reversibility, and intimacy of sight, as opposed to its distancing and controlling effects, shows in the fifties problems with boundaries and boundary-crossing. If fifties culture was fixated on firm boundaries, it was necessarily fixated on the possibilities of the Other trying to cross the boundary—i.e. the communist is also an American; the sissy is also in one's family—or that somehow the Self will become the Other; i.e. that Paula becomes the other she views. If one's own son could become a homosexual, the solidity of the border between "us" and "them" is in question. The idea of a proud America, leading the Free World, whose

parents are afraid above all that their sons will become "sissies" is the fear of those who insist on the purity of categories. Gilman writes, "[b]ecause there is no real line between self and the Other, an imaginary line must be drawn," (1985, p. 18) but in this case, in an era of invisible Others, the line is especially difficult to draw or discern.

In sum, the fifties emphasized rigid boundaries, while voyeurism and surveillance functioned as a distanced way to cross and reassert those boundaries. Voyeurism in 1950s culture served as a safe method for dominant culture to control, yet also desire and identify with, the Other while simultaneously guarding the rigidity of the boundary between self and Other. The voyeurism of the ideologically blatant pulps is a form of titillation that reaffirms the dominant. Yet the discourses about the invisibility of this object of sight—whether homosexual or communist—serve to raise the level of anxiety, to heighten the need for surveillance, and in some cases, even to provoke identification with the Other. Voyeurism in the fifties thus becomes an attempt to see the invisible, to control the Other, a voyeurism that must be repeated again and again because it simultaneously breaks down the boundaries of sight, and of self. So perhaps in the end it is not the elimination of the mechanisms of voyeurism and surveillance, but their mutability and reversibility, that offer the best hope for pro-lesbian strategies of change.

### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Marge Frantz for her generous spirit, and for opening up the world of the 1950s and 1960s to me.

### NOTES

1. No book-length academic studies have been done. Of two lesbian literary anthologies, Faderman (1994, p. vii) explicitly says pulps are not worthy of attention and excludes them even though she includes admittedly homophobic writing, writing by sexologists and scientists, and writing by men. Terry Castle (2003) finds the sheer quantity of lesbian representation in pornography important, yet neither discusses nor anthologizes lesbian pulps, other than three that were originally published as "literary" (what I call elsewhere "recycled pulps"). Pulps are mentioned in passing in work by: John D'Emilio (1983, p. 135); Lillian Faderman (1981, pp. 355-356, 378, 383, 392, 1991, pp. 146-147, 185); and Bonnie Zimmerman (1990, pp. 9, 13, 22, 31). Fortunately a reassessment of lesbian pulp has begun. An initial much neglected foray, Maida Tilchen and Fran Koski's (1975) article defended lesbian pulp from seventies feminist political sensibilities. Augmented by republication of some pulps in the 1970s (Arno Press), in the 1980s (Naiad Press and Timely Books), and in the 1990s (Quality Paperback Book Club); the reappraisal began in the late eighties and early nineties in the work of scholars such as Susanna Bennis (1986), Alison Hennegan (1988), Suzanna Danuta Walters (1989), Kate Adams (1990), Diane Hamer (1990), Donna Penn (1991), Angela Weir & Elizabeth Wilson (1992), and Michèle Aina Barale (1993). It was complemented by more popular work (1980-2001), of Andrea Loewenstein (1980), Roberta Yusba (1985a, 1985b, 1991), Eric Garber (1989a, 1989b), Kate Brandt (1993), Dorothy Allison (1994), Lee Server (1994), Donna Allegra (1995), Jaye Zimet (1999), and Susan Stryker (2001). More recently a "Lesbian Pulp Address Book," a film (*Forbidden Love* 1992), and a play (*Pulp* 2004) have surfaced. In 1995 New York University Press released *Diana: A Strange Autobiography*; while in 2003 the Feminist Press released *The Girls in 3-B*. Between 2001 and 2004 Cleis Press

republished five of Bannon's lesbian pulps as well as Packer's *Spring Fire* (2004). Most recent is the work of scholars such as Yvonne Keller (1999), Christopher Nealon (2001), Kelly Hankin (2002), and Lisa Walker (2003), and research on gay male pulp by David Bergman (1999) and Michael Bronski (2003).

2. Mulvey's theory was crucial to the field of film studies, and especially feminist film theory. It has been agreed with by many (see for example Mary Ann Doane 1991), and of course critiqued and furthered by innumerable theorists since then, including Mulvey (and Doane) herself. Many argue against the monolithic quality of her model, arguing for resistant/subversive readings by multiply situated subjects. But I find her argument, while limited, carries great interpretive power for the 1950s exactly because it is a time in which her model held such sway, and especially for lesbian pulp novels, which are so ideologically obvious and simple as to conform to hegemonic norms particularly strongly.
3. For histories of pre-Stonewall g/l/b/t life, see especially: John D'Emilio (1983, 1992), Allan Bérubé (1990), Lillian Faderman (1991), Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy & Madeline D. Davis (1993), George Chauncey, Jr. (1994), Scott Bravmann (1997), Jennifer Terry (1999), Elizabeth Armstrong (2002), Nan Alamilla Boyd (2003).
4. See Simmons (1990) for ways a female hero in a mostly female discursive space is still easily voyeuristically used by male readers.

## REFERENCES

- ADAMS, KATE (1990) 'Making the world safe for the missionary position: images of the lesbian in post-World War II America', in *Lesbian Texts and Contexts: Radical Revisions*, eds Karla Jay & Joanne Glasgow, New York University Press, New York, pp. 255–274.
- ALDRICH, ANN (1962) *We Walk Alone: Through Lesbos' Lonely Groves*, Fawcett Gold Medal, Greenwich, CT, 1955.
- ALLEGRA, DONNA (1995) 'Between the sheets: my sex life in literature', in *Lesbian Erotics*, ed. Karla Jay, New York UP, New York, pp. 71–81.
- ALLISON, DOROTHY (1994) 'A personal history of lesbian porn', in *Skin: Talking About Sex, Class and Literature*, Firebrand Books, Ithaca, p. 193.
- ARMSTRONG, ELIZABETH (2002) *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950–1994*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- BANNON, ANN (1957) *Odd Girl Out*, Fawcett Publications, Greenwich, CT.
- BARALE, MICHÈLE AINA (1991) 'Below the belt: (un)covering *The Well of Loneliness*', in *Inside/Out: Lesbian Theories, Gay Theories*, ed. Diana Fuss, Routledge, New York, pp. 235–258.
- BARALE, MICHÈLE AINA (1993) 'When Jack blinks: si(gh)ting gay desire in Ann Bannon's *Beebo Brinker*', in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, eds Henry Abelove, Michèle Aina Barale & David M. Halperin, Routledge, New York, pp. 604–615.
- BENNS, SUSANNA (1986) 'Sappho in soft cover: notes on lesbian pulp', in *Fireworks: The Best of Fireweed*, ed. Makeda Silvera, The Women's Press, Toronto, pp. 61–68.
- BERGMAN, DAVID (1993) *Camp Grounds: Style and Homosexuality*, University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst.
- BERGMAN, DAVID (1999) 'The cultural work of sixties gay pulp fiction', in *The Queer Sixties*, ed. Patricia Juliana Smith, Routledge, New York.
- BERNHEIMER, CHARLES (1987) 'Degas's brothels: voyeurism and ideology', *Representations*, vol. 20, pp. 158–186.



- BÉRUBÉ, ALLAN (1990) *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War II*, Free Press, New York.
- BOYD, NAN ALAMILLA (2003) *Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- BRADLEY, MARION ZIMMER & DAMON, GENE [Barbara Grier] (1960) *Checklist 1960: A complete, cumulative checklist of lesbian, variant, and homosexual fiction, in English, or available in English translation, with supplements of related material, for the use of collectors, students and librarians*, self-published Marion Zimmer Bradley, Rochester, TX.
- BRANDT, KATE (1993) *Happy Endings*, Naiad Press, Tallahassee.
- BRAVMANN, SCOTT (1997) *Queer Fictions of the Past: History, Culture, and Difference*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- BREINES, WINI (1992) *Young, White, and Miserable: Growing Up Female in the Fifties*, Beacon, Boston.
- BRONSKI MICHAEL (ed.) (2003) *Pulp Friction: Uncovering the Golden Age of Gay Male Pulps*, St. Martin's Press, New York.
- CASTLE, TERRY (ed.) (2003) *The Literature of Lesbianism: A Historical Anthology from Ariosto to Stonewall* Columbia University Press, New York.
- CHAUNCEY, GEORGE, JR. (1994) *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940*, Basic-Harper, New York.
- D'EMILIO, JOHN (1983) *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940–1970*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- D'EMILIO, JOHN (1992) *Making Trouble: Essays on Gay History, Politics, and the University*, Routledge, New York.
- DENNING, MICHAEL (1987) *Cover Stories: Narrative and Ideology in the British Spy Thriller*, Routledge, London.
- DOANE, MARY ANN (1991) 'Masquerade reconsidered: further thoughts on the female spectator', in *Femmes Fatales*, Mary Ann Doane ed., Routledge, New York.
- EDELMAN, LEE (1993) 'Tearrooms and sympathy, or, the epistemology of the water closet', in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, eds Henry Abelove, Michèle Aina Barale & David M. Halperin, Routledge, New York, pp. 553–574.
- EPSTEIN, BARBARA (1994) 'Anti-communism, homophobia, and the construction of masculinity in the postwar U.S.', *Critical Sociology*, no. 3, 20, pp. 21–44.
- FADERMAN, LILLIAN (1981) *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present*, Morrow, New York.
- FADERMAN, LILLIAN (1991) *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America*, Columbia University Press, New York.
- FADERMAN, LILLIAN (ed.) (1994) *Chloe Plus Olivia: An Anthology of Lesbian Literature from the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, Viking Penguin, New York.
- FORBIDDEN LOVE: THE UNASHAMED STORIES OF LESBIAN LIVES (video recording) (1992) Aerlyn Weissman & Lynne Fernie (dir.), Canada: National Film Board of Canada.
- FOUCAULT, MICHEL (1999) 'The Panopticon' in *Visual Culture: The Reader*, eds Jessica Evans & Stuart Hall, Sage Publications, London.
- FREDERICS, DIANA (1939), (1995), *Diana: A Strange Autobiography*; New York University Press, New York.
- FUSS, DIANA (1995) *Identification Papers*, Routledge, New York.
- GARBER, ERIC (ed.) (1989a) 'Those wonderful lesbian pulps, part II', *San Francisco Bay Area Gay and Lesbian Historical Society Newsletter*, 4, no. 5 pp. 7–8.

- GARBER, ERIC (ed.) (1989b) 'Those wonderful lesbian pulps: a roundtable discussion', *San Francisco Bay Area Gay and Lesbian Historical Society Newsletter*, 4, no. 4, pp. 1+.
- GILMAN, SANDER L. (1985) *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness*, Cornell UP, Ithaca.
- GRIER, BARBARA [1967, 1st edn] (1981) *The Lesbian in Literature*, 3rd edn, Naiad Press, Tallahassee.
- HACKETT, ALICE PAYNE & BURKE, JAMES HENRY (1977) *Eighty Years of Bestsellers: 1895–1975*, Bowker, New York.
- HALL, STUART (1996) 'What is this 'Black' in Black popular culture?', in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, eds David Morley & Kuan-Hsing Chen, Routledge, New York, pp. 465–475.
- HAMER, DIANE (1990) "I am a woman": Ann Bannon and the writing of lesbian identity in the 1950s', in *Lesbian and Gay Writing*, ed. Mark Lilly, Macmillan, New York.
- HANKIN, KELLY (2002) *The Girls in the Back Room: Looking at the Lesbian Bar*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
- HARRIS, BERTHA (1974) 'The lesbian in literature: or, is there life on Mars?' in *The Universities and the Gay Experience: Proceedings of the Conference Sponsored by the Women and Men of the Gay Academic Union November 23 and 24, 1973*, Gay Academic Union, New York City, pp. 45–52.
- HENNEGAN, ALISON (1988) 'On becoming a lesbian reader', in *Sweet Dreams: Sexuality Gender and Popular Fiction*, ed. Susannah Radstone, Lawrence & Wishart, London, pp. 165–190.
- HOLLIDAY, DON (1960) *The Wild Night*, Nightstand Books, [no city given].
- HOLLIDAY, DON (1966) *Color Him Gay*, Corinth Publications, San Diego.
- HOLLIDAY, DON 'AS TOLD TO' JACKIE HOLMES (1966) *The Man from C.A.M.P.*, Corinth Publications, San Diego.
- HOLLIDAY, DON 'AS TOLD TO' JACKIE HOLMES (1967) *Sex and the Single Gay*, Corinth Publications, San Diego.
- KELLER, YVONNE (1999) 'Pulp politics: strategies of vision in lesbian pulp novels, 1955–1965', in *The Queer Sixties*, ed. Patricia Juliana Smith, Routledge, New York.
- KENNEDY, ELIZABETH LAPOVSKY & DAVIS, MADELINE D. (1993) *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community*, Routledge, New York.
- LOEWENSTEIN, ANDREA (1980) 'Sad stories: a reflection on the fiction of Ann Bannon', *Gay Community News*, 24 May, pp. 8+.
- LORD, SHELDON (1962) *The Third Way*, Beacon Books, New York.
- MORGAN, CLAIRE [Patricia Highsmith] [1952, 1953] (1958) *The Price of Salt*, Bantam Books, New York.
- MULVEY, LAURA (1990) 'Visual pleasure and narrative cinema', in *Issues in Feminist Film Criticism*, ed. Patricia Erens, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, pp. 28–40. [Originally in *Screen*, vol. 16, no. 3 (1975).].
- NEALON, CHRISTOPHER (2001) *Foundlings: Lesbian and Gay Historical Emotion Before Stonewall*, Duke UP, Durham NC.
- PACKER (1952) *Vin [Marijane Meaker] [1952] (Cleis Press, 2004) Spring Fire*, San Francisco, CA.
- PENN, DONNA (1991) 'The meanings of lesbianism in post-war America', *Gender & History*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 15–22.
- PULP (play) (2004) Patricia Kane (playwright), USA.
- ROGIN, MICHAEL (1987) *Ronald Reagan the Movie and Other Episodes in Political Demonology*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- ROOF, JUDITH (1991) 'The erotic travelogue: the scopophilic pleasure of race vs. gender', *Arizona Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 4.

- RUSS, JOANNA [1980] (1989) 'Not for years but for decades', in *The Original Coming Out Stories*, eds Julia Penelope & Susan J. Wolfe, expanded edition with a new introduction, Crossing Press, Freedom, CA, pp. 153–167.
- SERVER, LEE (1994) *Over My Dead Body: The Sensational Age of the American Paperback: 1945–1955*, Chronicle Books, San Francisco.
- SIMMONS, PHILIP E. (1990). 'John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*: literary voyeurism and the techniques of novelistic transgression', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, Vol. 3, no. 1, pp. ??.
- STEARNS, JESS [1961] (1962) *The Sixth Man*, McFadden, New York.
- STEARNS, JESS (1964) *The Grapevine: A Report on the Secret World of the Lesbian*, Doubleday, Garden City, New York.
- STRYKER, SUSAN (2001) *Queer Pulp: Perverted Passions from the Golden Age of the Paperback*, Chronicle Books, San Francisco.
- TAYLOR, VALERIE [1959] (2003) *The Girls in 3-B*, The Feminist Press, New York.
- TERRY, JENNIFER (1999) *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and the Place of Homosexuality in Modern Society*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- TERRY, JENNIFER (1999) *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and the Place of Homosexuality in Modern Society*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- TILCHEN, MAIDA & KOSKI, FRAN (1975) 'Some pulp sappho', *Margins*, vol. 23, pp. 41–45.
- WALKER, LISA (2003) 'Afterword', in *The Girls in 3-B*, reprinted as part of *Femmes Fatales: Women Write Pulp*, ed. Valerie Taylor, The Feminist Press, New York.
- WALTERS, SUZANNA DANUTA (1989) 'As her hand crept slowly up her thigh: Ann Bannon and the politics of pulp', *Social Text: Theory/Culture/Ideology*, Vol. 23, no. 8/2, pp. 83–101.
- WEIR, ANGELA & WILSON, ELIZABETH (1992) 'The Greyhound bus station in the evolution of lesbian popular culture', in *New Lesbian Criticism: Literary and Cultural Readings*, ed. Sally Munt, Columbia UP, New York, pp. 95–114.
- WILHELM, GALE [1938] (1985) *Torchlight to Valhalla*, Naiad Press, Tallahassee, FL.
- WHITFIELD, STEPHEN J. (1991) *The Culture of the Cold War*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
- WOOLF, VIRGINIA [1928] (1993), *Orlando*, Harcourt, New York.
- WORTHY, KEN (1965) *The New Homosexual Revolution*, L.S. Publications–Imperial Books, New York.
- YUSBA, ROBERTA (1985a) 'Twilight tales: lesbian pulps 1950–1960', *On Our Backs*, summer, pp. 30+.
- YUSBA, ROBERTA (1985b) 'Building Community, Finding Love: Lesbian Bar Culture Since the Forties', lecture at panel, National Women's Studies Association Annual Conference, Seattle, WA. VHS Video published by National Women's Studies Association.
- YUSBA, ROBERTA (1991) 'Odd girls and strange sisters: lesbian pulps novels of the '50s', *Out/Look*, vol. 12, pp. 34–37.
- ZIMET, JAYE (1999) *Strange Sisters: The Art of Lesbian Pulp Fiction 1949–1969*, Viking Studio/Penguin Putnam, New York.
- ZIMMERMAN, BONNIE (1990) *The Safe Sea of Women: Lesbian Fiction 1969–1989*, Beacon, Boston.

**Yvonne Keller** is a Visiting Assistant Professor of Interdisciplinary Studies at Miami University-Ohio. Her forthcoming book, is entitled *Pulp Sappho: Lesbian Pulp Novels and Spectacularization in U.S. Popular Culture* analyzes 1950s and 60s lesbian pulp novels in the US. Email: KellerY@muohio.edu

Copyright of Feminist Media Studies is the property of Routledge, Ltd.. The copyright in an individual article may be maintained by the author in certain cases. Content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.