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*AHR Forum*  
Transnational Sex and U.S. History

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IN THE DISCIPLINE OF HISTORY, “TRANSNATIONAL” is the word of the day, or maybe the decade, but what it actually means is difficult to decipher. In the December 2006 issue of this journal, six historians discussed transnational history and circled around a definition. Their collective deliberations outlined the contours of an area of study and suggested a few core premises that might read as follows: At their most obvious, transnational histories question the nation as the default unit of analysis and remind us of the artificiality and permeability of political borders. Transnational histories, though, are neither world histories with comprehensive accounts of everything everywhere nor comparative histories that compare and contrast isolated or static entities. Instead, they attend to specific movements, transits, and circulations that crossed or transcended one or more national borders. These transnational flows involved people, capital, goods, and knowledge; they took place through migrations, trade, conquest, and communications; and they included the spread and reworking of religion, science, popular culture, art, public policies, and social movements. Transnational histories may focus on interconnections, but they also recognize the power that some empires, nations, groups, or individuals held (and hold) over others. They acknowledge uneven connections and flows as well as the processes and networks that connected some people and excluded others. Although one can easily imagine other ways to construe transnational histories, a number of us seem to have groped our way from multiple directions—from postcolonial and cultural studies, from social, intellectual, economic, and political history, from the history of immigration and diaspora, and from the Atlantic world and Pacific Rim—toward this particular version, and we can now track it as it works its way through our various historiographic domains.<sup>1</sup>

For the history of sexuality, this transnational approach seems especially apt.

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<sup>1</sup> C. A. Bayly, Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol, and Patricia Seed, “*AHR* Conversation: On Transnational History,” *American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (December 2006): 1441–1464. For useful introductions to the growing literature on transnational history and U.S. history, see *The Nation and Beyond: Transnational Perspectives on United States History*, Special Issue, *Journal of American History* 86, no. 3 (1999); Ann Laura Stoler, “Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies,” *Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (2001): 829–865; Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002).

Sexual behavior, in some of its more common forms, is fundamentally about interconnection, and it is not unusual for sexual actors to transgress the boundaries constructed to constrain them. In various times and places, people have crossed national borders and in the process found or pursued romance or sex, and sometimes perpetrated sexual violence. For centuries now, sexual arts, commodities, sciences, and services have traveled the globe, and so have sexually transmitted diseases. Explorers, missionaries, travelers, and anthropologists recorded the sexual practices of people they encountered; traders, rulers, spies, and diplomats used sex for alliance, information, and exchange; and colonial officials and local authorities attempted to regulate the sexual behavior of those they hoped to control. Bicultural heterosexual couplings, some voluntary and some not, resulted in generations of "métis," "mestizo," "mulatto," "half-caste," "creole," and "mixed-blood" children. In transnational histories of imperialism, slavery, war, and labor, sex has appeared and reappeared as a site of pleasure and exploitation, of vexed and troubling interactions, of simultaneous regulation and unruliness.

As in other subfields, though, much of the work in the history of sexuality has focused at the national or local level. Historians know a fair amount now about the history of sexuality in the United States, which is my area of expertise, and historians also know something of the history of sexuality in Germany, Mexico, Thailand, Turkey, and Zimbabwe, which are the geographic specializations (in contemporary national terms) of the other participants in this forum. But what might we gain if we paid closer attention to the transnational circulations that transcend the localized histories? My own recent research on transsexuality focused on the United States, but it nonetheless convinced me that the history of transsexuality was inextricably transnational. From the early twentieth century on, it involved international circulations of medical literature, surgical techniques, and conceptions of biological sex, gender, and sexuality. The medical interventions that transformed bodily sex inspired the foreign travels of people seeking sex-change surgery, first in Berlin, then in Copenhagen and Amsterdam, then in Casablanca and Tijuana, and now in Bangkok, Trinidad (Colorado), and elsewhere. In the 1950s, Christine Jorgensen, the celebrity transsexual, made "sex change" an international media phenomenon. After the worldwide publicity about her surgery, her doctor in Denmark received 465 letters from people in 37 different nations. Jorgensen herself traveled as a transsexual performer in the United States and Canada, Europe, Latin America, and the Pacific Islands, attracting audiences everywhere she went, and sometimes crowds as well. What might we learn from these circulations of sexual science, sexualized medical services, and sexual celebrity?<sup>2</sup>

Transnational histories will not replace the histories of nations, nationalism, and national identities or erase the need for fine-tuned local and regional studies. But they remind us, if we need reminding, that nations and their laws and traditions did not develop in isolation. They ask us to rethink causation, to trace the movements of texts, goods, and people across national borders, and to place our understanding of exchange, conflict, and the operations of power on a larger stage. For the history

<sup>2</sup> Christian Hamburger, "The Desire for Change of Sex as Shown by Personal Letters from 465 Men and Women," *Acta Endocrinologica* 14, no. 4 (1953): 361–375; Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002).

of sexuality, they may push us to acknowledge multiple modernities that emerged separately and together over the course of several centuries. They may move us, for example, to study how travel and tourism promoted, distorted, and transformed regional sexual practices or how concepts of “licentious” foreigners shaped national and imperial identities. Or they may help us explain why “sexual revolutions” occurred virtually simultaneously in the 1960s in Argentina, Germany, the United States, and elsewhere. Or they may further our understanding of how a multifarious gay liberation movement spread internationally in the 1970s and after, and how various people appropriated, reworked, and rejected its language to describe their own sexual acts or identities. In short, transnationalizing sexuality invites us to reframe some of the histories we have only recently begun to write.

BEFORE CONSIDERING A FEW transnational possibilities, let me begin, then, with a nod to the relative youth of the history of sexuality as a professional subfield. Thirty years ago, it did not exist. In U.S. history, the area that I know best, a few books and articles (on sex among the Puritans, say, or on obscenity laws) addressed sexuality, but they hardly constituted a field or subfield in any sense of the word.<sup>3</sup> In the 1970s, histories of sexual behavior and sexual ideals began to appear more frequently along with the rise of social history, but even then they often fell under the rubric of what was sometimes called “women’s and family” history.<sup>4</sup> Gay and lesbian history challenged the “women and family” model, but through the 1970s it found its home in community-based social history projects more often than in the academy.<sup>5</sup> In the social history moment, the history of sexuality seemed to serve as the ultimate in history from the bottom up, the most private of the private side, peering into the bedrooms of the anonymous masses of the past. For social historians, the history of sex could help reveal the intimate texture of everyday life, the subordination and exploitation (or the resistance and agency) of women, or an obvious source of demographic change. But for the critics of social history, sexual behavior, and bodies and bodily functions more generally, sometimes stood for the lunatic fringe, a social history gone wild, and if my acute memory of slights and insults serves me correctly, it provoked eye rolls and sneers almost as often as it piqued interest.

It was not until the 1980s that the history of sexuality came into its own as an independent subfield. And from early on, it was, in U.S. history as elsewhere, influenced heavily by volume 1 of Michel Foucault’s *History of Sexuality*, which helped shift the center of gravity from private to public and from social to cultural history. Historians of sexuality turned away from the bedroom—that is, away from the study

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Edmund S. Morgan, “The Puritans and Sex,” *New England Quarterly* 15, no. 4 (1942): 591–607; Robert W. Haney, *Comstockery in America: Patterns of Censorship and Control* (Boston, 1960); Paul S. Boyer, *Purity in Print: The Vice-Society Movement and Book Censorship in America* (New York, 1968).

<sup>4</sup> For early and influential articles, see, for example, Carl N. Degler, “What Ought to Be and What Was: Women’s Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century,” *American Historical Review* 79, no. 5 (December 1974): 1467–1490; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, “The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Signs* 1, no. 1 (1975): 1–29; Nancy F. Cott, “Passionlessness: An Interpretation of Victorian Sexual Ideology, 1790–1850,” *Signs* 4, no. 2 (1978): 219–236.

<sup>5</sup> See, for an early and important example, Jonathan N. Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.—A Documentary* (New York, 1978).

of sexual experience—and toward discourse, representation, science, and the construction of modern identities. From the late 1980s on, Joan Scott's article "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" contributed via analogy to the rise of sexuality as an axis of historical inquiry. The new approach suggested that the discourse on sexuality, like the language of gender, had served historically not only to constitute sexual relations but also to construct, signify, and legitimate other social and political hierarchies.<sup>6</sup>

By the 1990s, the history of sexuality had finally accumulated the trappings of an independent historiographic field. In U.S. history, John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman's 1988 book *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* helped mark the rise of the field by providing the first synthetic survey.<sup>7</sup> Two years later, the first issue of the *Journal of the History of Sexuality* established a venue for scholarly publication. But even though we can track the rise of the field, it is worth noting again that the history of sexuality is still a fairly new and somewhat marginal endeavor, especially to some of our colleagues who work in other areas. (I remember serving on a program committee for a major historical conference in the mid-1990s and listening to my colleagues argue against a panel on sexuality on the grounds that we already had lots of sessions on women and on masculinity. I tried to explain, without great success, that the history of sexuality was not the same as the history of women or gender.) Aside from its recent advent, and therefore its lack of the legitimation of tradition, the history of sexuality has had other burdens to bear. It had to (and maybe still has to) justify itself in ways that other new subfields did not, to dissociate itself from the seemingly trivial and embarrassing, from the lingering sense that sex is private and therefore distasteful when aired in public.

Nonetheless, in the past ten years, the field has grown exponentially. Anyone who teaches courses on the history of sexuality knows how hard it has become to pare down the voluminous available readings to appropriate syllabus size. The new work in the field is all over the map—both geographically and topically. It looks at the intersections of sexuality with class, race, and gender and at the deployment of sex in constructing ethnic, national, and imperial identities. It draws on poststructuralist, critical legal, postcolonial, political science, and queer theories. Recent books on U.S. history address the histories not only of hetero- and homosexuality but also of sexual reform, sexual scandal, sexual science, sexual "slumming," sex education, sex in prison, birth control, bisexuality, incest, masturbation, obscenity, nymphomania, pedophilia, polygamy, and prostitution.<sup>8</sup> The new history of sexuality overlaps with

<sup>6</sup> Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1: *An Introduction* (New York, 1978); Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1986): 1053–1075.

<sup>7</sup> John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York, 1988).

<sup>8</sup> For just some of the books published on the U.S. history of sexuality in the last ten years (and not mentioned elsewhere in this essay), see, for example, Steven Angelides, *A History of Bisexuality* (Chicago, 2001); Beth Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999); Peter Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs: Constructing and Controlling Homosexuality in the Pacific Northwest* (Berkeley, Calif., 2003); Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley, Calif., 2003); Irene Quenzler Brown and Richard D. Brown, *The Hanging of Ephraim Wheeler: A Story of Rape, Incest, and Justice in Early America* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003); Susan Cahn, *Sexual Reckonings: Southern Girls in a Troubling Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007); Julian B. Carter, *The Heart of Whiteness: Normal Sexuality and Race in America, 1880–1940* (Durham, N.C., 2007); George Chauncey, *Why Marriage? The History Shaping To-*

histories of love, intimacy, and leisure and also with histories of labor, politics, religion, and crime. The sense that sex, like the air we breathe, is just about everywhere suggests the difficulties of its historical containment; it seems to seep through and spill over borders, including those of nations.

IN THE HISTORIES OF SEXUALITY that focus on the United States, the transnational frame was, in limited ways, there from the start, especially in intellectual and legal history. Historians of “free love” acknowledged the transatlantic crossings of the arguments of Mary Wollstonecraft, Robert Owen, and Frances Wright, and historians of sexology recognized the undeniable influence of Havelock Ellis and Sigmund Freud on American sexual science. Historians who studied fornication or sodomy addressed the British legal tradition from which most American laws derived. In

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*day's Debate over Gay Equality* (New York, 2004); Elizabeth Alice Clement, *Love for Sale: Courting, Treating, and Prostitution in New York City, 1900–1945* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006); Rachel Devlin, *Relative Intimacy: Fathers, Adolescent Daughters, and Postwar American Culture* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005); Lisa Duggan, *Sapphic Slashers: Sex, Violence, and American Modernity* (Durham, N.C., 2000); David Eisenbach, *Gay Power: An American Revolution* (New York, 2006); Anne Enke, *Finding the Movement: Sexuality, Contested Space, and Feminist Activism* (Durham, N.C., 2007); Richard Wightman Fox, *Trials of Intimacy: Love and Loss in the Beecher-Tilton Scandal* (Chicago, 1999); Susan K. Freeman, *Sex Goes to School: Girls and Sex Education before the 1960s* (Urbana, Ill., 2008); Andrea Friedman, *Prurient Interests: Gender, Democracy, and Obscenity in New York City, 1909–1945* (New York, 2000); Jane Gerhard, *Desiring Revolution: Second-Wave Feminism and the Rewriting of American Sexual Thought, 1920 to 1982* (New York, 2001); Jay A. Gertzman, *Bookleggers and Smuthounds: The Trade in Erotica, 1920–1940* (Philadelphia, 1999); Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002); Carol Groneman, *Nymphomania: A History* (New York, 2000); Chad Heap, *Slumming: Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife, 1885–1940* (Chicago, 2009); Pippa Holloway, *Sexuality, Politics, and Social Control in Virginia, 1920–1945* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006); Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Rereading Sex: Battles over Sexual Knowledge and Suppression in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 2002); John Howard, *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago, 1999); Nadine Hubbs, *The Queer Composition of America's Sound: Gay Modernists, American Music, and National Identity* (Berkeley, Calif., 2004); Daniel Hurewitz, *Bohemian Los Angeles and the Making of Modern Politics* (Berkeley, Calif., 2007); Albert L. Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California* (Albuquerque, 1999); Philip Jenkins, *Pedophiles and Priests: Anatomy of a Contemporary Crisis* (New York, 2001); Jonathon Ned Katz, *Love Stories: Sex between Men before Homosexuality* (Chicago, 2001); Wendy Kline, *Building a Better Race: Gender, Sexuality, and Eugenics from the Turn of the Century to the Baby Boom* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001); Karen Christel Krahulik, *Provincetown: From Pilgrim Landing to Gay Resort* (New York, 2005); Regina Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy: Prison and the Uneven History of Modern American Sexuality* (Chicago, 2008); Clare A. Lyons, *Sex among the Rabble: An Intimate History of Gender and Power in the Age of Revolution, Philadelphia, 1730–1830* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006); Angus McLaren, *Sexual Blackmail: A Modern History* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002); Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s–1970s* (Chicago, 2006); John Ruston Pagan, *Anne Orthwood's Bastard: Sex and Law in Early Virginia* (New York, 2003); Joanne E. Passet, *Sex Radicals and the Quest for Women's Equality* (Urbana, Ill., 2003); Miriam G. Reumann, *American Sexual Character: Sex, Gender, and National Identity in the Kinsey Reports* (Berkeley, Calif., 2005); Leila J. Rupp, *A Desired Past: A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America* (Chicago, 1999); Johanna Schoen, *Choice and Coercion: Birth Control, Sterilization, and Abortion in Public Health and Welfare* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005); Michael S. Sherry, *Gay Artists in Modern American Culture: An Imagined Conspiracy* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2007); Christina Simmons, *Making Marriage Modern: Women's Sexuality from the Progressive Era to World War II* (New York, 2009); Christine Stansell, *American Moderns: Bohemian New York and the Creation of a New Century* (New York, 2000); Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945–1972* (Chicago, 2000); Andrea Tone, *Devices and Desires: A History of Contraceptives in America* (New York, 2001); Leigh Ann Wheeler, *Against Obscenity: Reform and the Politics of Womanhood in America, 1873–1935* (Baltimore, 2004); Sharon E. Wood, *The Freedom of the Streets: Work, Citizenship, and Sexuality in a Gilded Age City* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005).

social history, too, scholars suggested, for example, that early colonists and later immigrants brought their notions of sex and propriety with them from abroad and reworked them in new settings. Historians described how new arrivals engaged—or did not—in sexual liaisons with other people they encountered. In cultural history, they traced how ethnocentric Euro-American understandings of sexual behavior rendered the sexual mores of “others” as savage and depraved. For the past decade or so, the transnational turn has especially shaped early American histories of sexuality, with their growing attention to empire, conquest, borderlands, and the Atlantic world. Transnational histories of sexuality, then, are not exactly new.<sup>9</sup>

But in the current historiographic moment, transnational history has reached the top of the scholarly agenda, and as many historians have discovered, it has the potential to redirect our deliberations about the past. Since the mid-1990s, a handful of topics with potential for transnational reframing have attracted special interest among historians of U.S. sexuality. These “hot” topical areas—I will briefly mention only three—do not in any way cover the entirety of the variegated field, but they will, I hope, serve this forum’s purpose in two ways. First, they might inform colleagues, especially those whose specializations lie in other geographic regions, of some recent clusters of significant scholarship in the history of sexuality in the U.S.; and second, they might suggest a few areas that seem especially ripe for further transnational inquiry.

Take, for a first example, the outpouring of histories on interracial sex and marriage, histories that draw direct connections between the regulation of sexuality and the construction of racial hierarchies. Works by Martha Hodes, Kevin Mumford, Rachel Moran, Henry Yu, Peter Wallenstein, Renee Romano, Joshua Rothman, Charles Frank Robinson, Alecia Long, Michele Mitchell, Mary Ting Yi Lui, Peggy Pascoe, and a number of others point to the policing of interracial sex and interracial marriage in the United States, and also to the moments when and places where interracial sex or marriage was treated with a modicum of toleration. For example, in the antebellum South, historians now find, sexual relations between white women and African American men did not evoke the punitive, violent, racist responses that they often did later in the nineteenth century. Some of the recent literature addresses the ways that sexual intimacy could subvert the unstable boundaries of racial and ethnic difference. Much of it, though, emphasizes the laws, court cases, social science, and sensationalized mass media that structured interracial sex and marriage as illicit, the multifaceted surveillance that restricted sexual behavior, and the sexual vulnerability and stigmatization of various subjugated groups.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> For a few examples, see John C. Spurlock, *Free Love: Marriage and Middle-Class Radicalism, 1925–1860* (New York, 1988); Nathan G. Hale, Jr., *Freud and the Americans: The Beginnings of Psychoanalysis in the United States, 1876–1917* (New York, 1971); Paul Robinson, *The Modernization of Sex: Havelock Ellis, Alfred Kinsey, and William Masters and Virginia Johnson* (New York, 1976); Roger Thompson, *Sex in Middlesex: Popular Mores in a Massachusetts Colony, 1649–1699* (Amherst, Mass., 1986); Gary B. Nash, *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1974); James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York, 1981); Axtell, ed., *The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes* (New York, 1981); Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Stanford, Calif., 1991). On the early American history of sexuality, see also *Sexuality in Early America*, Special Issue, *William and Mary Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (2003).

<sup>10</sup> Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South* (New Haven, Conn., 1997); Hodes, ed., *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History* (New York,

As Ann Laura Stoler, Philippa Levine, and others show, however, the regulation of interracial sexual contact was not simply a local or national phenomenon. It constituted and stabilized colonial relations around the globe and across centuries. The policies of incitement and prohibition differed in different times and places, but they also circulated along with the officials, missionaries, doctors, and social scientists who implemented them. Historians of early America, such as Kathleen Brown, Richard Godbeer, and Jennifer Spear, draw, in varying degrees, on this imperial context to explore the management of interracial sex and marriage in British and French American colonies. Other historians address later transnational dimensions of American approaches to interracial sex and marriage. In histories of nineteenth-century Afro-Indian families, Tiya Miles and Claudio Saunt, for example, explain how and why the Cherokee and Creek nations appropriated and reconfigured U.S. customs and policies forbidding and punishing interracial marriage—and how some individuals defied the prohibitions. Historians of U.S. imperialism, including Laura Briggs and Paul Kramer, examine policies that regulated sex between native prostitutes and white American soldiers and sailors in Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and elsewhere. At various sites and moments, U.S. officials and reformers consciously emulated, amended, or rejected British or Spanish imperial models of restriction, registration, and inspection. For the U.S. West, Nayan Shah studies the policing of sex between transient Asian immigrant and (mostly) white American men. In these case studies of interracial prostitution and interracial sodomy, U.S. officials displaced their anxieties about colonialism, immigration, and American masculinity onto dark-skinned foreigners and natives, who were cast as diseased, perverted, and corrupting.<sup>11</sup> These works and others place local and national policy and law in the

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1999); Hodes, *The Sea Captain's Wife: A True Story of Love, Race, and War in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 2006); Kevin J. Mumford, *Interzones: Black/White Sex Districts in Chicago and New York in the Early Twentieth Century* (New York, 1997); Rachel F. Moran, *Interracial Intimacy: The Regulation of Race and Romance* (Chicago, 2001); Henry Yu, *Thinking Orientals: Migration, Contact, and Exoticism in Modern America* (New York, 2001), chap. 3; Peter Wallenstein, *Tell the Court I Love My Wife: Race, Marriage, and Law—An American History* (New York, 2002); Renee C. Romano, *Race Mixing: Black-White Marriage in Postwar America* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003); Joshua D. Rothman, *Notorious in the Neighborhood: Sex and Families across the Color Line in Virginia, 1787–1861* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003); Charles Frank Robinson II, *Dangerous Liaisons: Sex and Love in the Segregated South* (Fayetteville, Ark., 2003); Alecia P. Long, *The Great Southern Babylon: Sex, Race, and Respectability in New Orleans, 1865–1920* (Baton Rouge, 2004); Michele Mitchell, *Righteous Propagation: African Americans and the Politics of Racial Destiny after Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004), chap. 7; Mary Ting Yi Lui, *The Chinatown Trunk Mystery: Murder, Miscegenation, and Other Dangerous Encounters in Turn-of-the-Century New York City* (Princeton, N.J., 2005); Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (New York, 2009).

<sup>11</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002); Stoler, “Tense and Tender Ties”; Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (New York, 2003); Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996); Richard Godbeer, *Sexual Revolution in Early America* (Baltimore, 2002); Jennifer M. Spear, “They Need Wives”: Métissage and the Regulation of Sexuality in French Louisiana, 1699–1730,” in Hodes, *Sex, Love, Race*, 35–59; Spear, “Colonial Intimacies: Legislating Sex in French Louisiana,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (2003): 75–98; Tiya Miles, *Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Berkeley, Calif., 2005); Claudio Saunt, *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family* (New York, 2005); Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002); Paul A. Kramer, “The Darkness That Enters the Home: The Politics of Prostitution during the Philippine-American War,” in Ann Laura Stoler, ed., *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham, N.C., 2006),

broader supranational context of the sexual management of racialized populations that was unique in each setting but not peculiar to the United States.<sup>12</sup> They highlight the sexual infrastructure of racism, an infrastructure that was constructed and re-vamped in part through transnational borrowings, transnational conversations, and transnational fantasies.

Recent works on the modern state and homosexuality offer another example of histories that invite transnational consideration. In U.S. history, the study of gay men and lesbians has partially moved away from earlier interests in community, science, and sexual identity and toward an emphasis on the state's construction and devaluation of homosexual citizens. Books and articles by Leisa Meyer, Robert Dean, David Johnson, K. A. Cuordileone, Marc Stein, Andrea Friedman, Siobhan Somerville, and Margot Canaday, among others, have reinvigorated a broadened twentieth-century U.S. political and legal history. The new works attend to the ways in which politics and policy recast citizenship, with lesbians and gay men marked as less deserving citizens, especially after World War II. These new histories delineate how federal officials (and others) derogated suspected homosexuals, fired gay men and lesbians from government jobs, discharged them from the military, denied them veterans' benefits, and refused them entry into the United States.<sup>13</sup> The emphasis on the postwar "containment" of homosexuality sometimes underplays the concomitant postwar liberalization, but it nonetheless underscores an important sexualized redefinition of citizenship in the twentieth century.<sup>14</sup> One provocative version of this argument suggests that the federal government constructed homosexuality as a distinct domain that was detrimental to the nation at the same historical moment that it retreated from overtly racial definitions of citizenship. Did heteronormativity in some sense supplant whiteness as an explicit legal attribute of respectable, healthy, and worthy citizens?<sup>15</sup>

The transnational version of this history has yet to be written, but interesting threads of it weave their way through the existing literature. In her book on sexual

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366–404; Nayan Shah, "Between 'Oriental Depravity' and 'Natural Degenerates': Spatial Borderlands and the Making of Ordinary Americans," *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2005): 703–725.

<sup>12</sup> See also Hodes, *The Sea Captain's Wife*.

<sup>13</sup> Leisa D. Meyer, *Creating GI Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women's Army Corps during World War II* (New York, 1996); Robert D. Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and the Making of Cold War Foreign Policy* (Amherst, Mass., 2001); David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago, 2004); K. A. Cuordileone, *Manhood and American Political Culture in the Cold War* (New York, 2005); Marc Stein, "Boutilier and the U.S. Supreme Court's Sexual Revolution," *Law and History Review* 23, no. 3 (2005): 491–536; Andrea Friedman, "The Smearing of Joe McCarthy: The Lavender Scare, Gossip, and Cold War Politics," *American Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (2005): 1105–1129; Siobhan B. Somerville, "Queer Loving," *GLQ: A Journal of Gay and Lesbian Studies* 11, no. 3 (2005): 335–370; Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, N.J., 2009). For earlier pioneering works in gay and lesbian history that addressed postwar politics and policy, see especially John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940–1970* (Chicago, 1983); Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War II* (New York, 1990); Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York, 1993).

<sup>14</sup> On the "containment" of sexuality, see especially Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York, 1988).

<sup>15</sup> Siobhan Somerville writes: "When the explicit language of race disappeared, the underlying fantasy of national purification—an unadulterated Americanness—was articulated instead through the discourse of sexuality." Somerville, "Queer Loving," 355.

science, Jennifer Terry shows that the circulation of European sexology, especially psychoanalysis, critically shaped the popular postwar American narrative in which mature and adjusted citizens were necessarily heterosexual. And in their discussions of immigration policy and its revision to bar the entry of homosexuals, Margot Canaday, Marc Stein, Siobhan Somerville, and Eithne Luibhéid point to the transnational implications of a sexualized redefinition of citizenship.<sup>16</sup> Immigration authorities, for example, were increasingly asked to engage in a particular form of international sexual profiling that rendered certain border crossers suspect and unwelcome. More generally, the American anxiety about homosexuality may well have reflected broader transnational concerns of postwar reconstruction. Gary Kinsman, Dagmar Herzog, Matt Houlbrook, and others write of the post-World War II regulation of homosexuality in Canada, Germany, Britain, and elsewhere.<sup>17</sup> Whether politicians, bureaucrats, and social scientists from the U.S. (or other nations) imported or exported policies of homosexual “containment” is not yet clear, but by the late 1950s, their opponents—those Americans who hoped to liberalize the laws and policies on homosexuality—routinely borrowed overseas examples. They publicized, for example, the British Wolfenden Report of 1957, which advocated the decriminalization of private consensual sexual relations between adult men. More recently, gay activists have showcased the nations that have legalized same-sex marriage or welcomed gay men and lesbians into the military. They draw on other nations’ policies in order to end the degraded status of gay and lesbian citizens within the United States. These borrowings suggest again how policies of sexual management have circulated transnationally, and sometimes served the ends of activists and reformers as well as government officials.

The history of sexual coercion, my final example, suggests somewhat different transnational possibilities. Several recent histories—by Cornelia Hughes Dayton, Saidiya Hartman, Laura Edwards, Mary Frances Berry, Kirsten Fischer, Diane Miller Sommerville, Lisa Lindquist Dorr, Stephen Robertson, Pablo Mitchell, Sharon Block, Thomas Foster, Hannah Rosen, and others—investigate American legal processes and the stories of sexual coercion told in courts, hearings, and print culture.<sup>18</sup> These various histories use accounts of rape to illustrate forms of domination,

<sup>16</sup> Jennifer Terry, *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society* (Chicago, 1999); Canaday, *The Straight State*; Stein, “*Boutilier*”; Somerville, “*Queer Loving*”; Eithne Luibhéid, *Entry Denied: Controlling Sexuality at the Border* (Minneapolis, 2002), chap. 4.

<sup>17</sup> Gary Kinsman, *The Regulation of Desire: Homo and Hetero Sexualities*, 2nd ed. (Montreal, 1996), chap. 7; Dagmar Herzog, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton, N.J., 2005), chap. 2; Matt Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918–1957* (Chicago, 2005), chap. 9.

<sup>18</sup> Cornelia Hughes Dayton, *Women before the Bar: Gender, Law, and Society in Connecticut, 1639–1789* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995), chap. 5; Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1997), chap. 3; Laura F. Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction* (Urbana, Ill., 1997); Mary Frances Berry, *The Pig Farmer’s Daughters and Other Tales of American Justice: Episodes of Racism and Sexism in the Courts from 1865 to the Present* (New York, 1999), chap. 8; Merrill D. Smith, ed., *Sex without Consent: Rape and Sexual Coercion in America* (New York, 2001); Kirsten Fischer, *Suspect Relations: Sex, Race, and Resistance in Colonial North Carolina* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2002), esp. chap. 5; Diane Miller Sommerville, *Rape and Race in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004); Lisa Lindquist Dorr, *White Women, Rape, and the Power of Race in Virginia, 1900–1960* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004); Stephen Robertson, *Crimes against Children: Sexual Violence and Legal Culture in New York City, 1880–1960* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005); Pablo Mitchell, *Coyote Nation: Sexuality, Race, and Conquest in Modernizing New Mexico, 1880–1920* (Chicago,

racial hierarchy, illicit masculine behavior, misogynist humor, sexist and racist adjudication, and the privileges of powerful men. Rape marked the vulnerability of poor and powerless girls and women (and sometimes boys and men) who lacked white patriarchal protection. In eighteenth-century American colonies, with their adapted European laws, and well into the nineteenth century, elite white men could coerce their servants and slaves with relative impunity. But an African American man accused of raping a white woman upset the social order and could expect punishment, and not infrequently death. (Historians disagree on when southern whites began to stereotype black men as rapists, but they generally agree that from early on, in all regions of the nation, prosecution, conviction, and penalties for rape depended heavily on the social standing—including the class, race, nationality, and age—of both the accuser and the accused.) Nonetheless, the new histories stress that the outcome of particular cases depended on a complicated calculus of local contingency, on the performance of respectability, and on the not always predictable interplay of changing conceptions of gender, race, and class. They also point to shifting understandings of childhood, consent, and aggressive sexuality. From the late nineteenth century on, middle-class observers drew tighter proscriptive lines around childhood sexuality and around coercive and violent masculinity. Social purity advocates, child protection reformers, “free love” proponents, and black and white women’s rights activists increasingly denounced the damage to victims of sexual coercion. Civil rights activists also conducted campaigns to stop the lynching and legal execution of African American men accused of rape and to protest the immunity of white men who raped women of color.<sup>19</sup> In these different (though sometimes overlapping) social movements, the international press coverage demonstrated that both sexual coercion and its unequal punishment inspired transnational outrage and transnational reform movements.

Several historians of early America, including Antonia Castañeda, Richard Trexler, Stephanie Wood, James Brooks, Juliana Barr, Sharon Block, and Ramón Gu-

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2005), chap. 3; Sharon Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006); Thomas A. Foster, *Sex and the Eighteenth-Century Man: Massachusetts and the History of Sexuality in America* (Boston, 2006), chap. 3; Hannah Rosen, *Terror in the Heart of Freedom: Citizenship, Sexual Violence, and the Meaning of Race in the Postemancipation South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2008). For a highly useful (and more comprehensive) historiographic account, see Estelle B. Freedman, “The Politics of Rape in Nineteenth-Century America: Gender, Race, and Citizenship” (revised version of paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, April 2006).

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, *Revolt against Chivalry: Jessie Daniel Ames and the Women’s Campaign against Lynching* (New York, 1979); Elizabeth Pleck, “Feminist Responses to ‘Crimes against Women,’ 1868–1896,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 8, no. 3 (1983): 451–470; Darlene Clark Hine, “Rape and the Inner Lives of Black Women in the Middle West: Preliminary Thoughts on the Culture of Dissemblance,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 14, no. 4 (1989): 912–920; Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago, 1995); Mary E. Odem, *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885–1920* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995); Pamela Haag, *Consent: Sexual Rights and the Transformation of American Liberalism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1999); Leslie K. Dunlap, “The Reform of Rape Law and the Problem of White Men: Age-of-Consent Campaigns in the South, 1885–1910,” in Hodes, *Sex, Love, Race*, 352–372; Jesse F. Battan, “‘In the Marriage Bed Woman’s Sex Has Been Enslaved and Abused’: Defining and Exposing Marital Rape in Late-Nineteenth-Century America,” in Smith, *Sex without Consent*, 204–229; Danielle L. McGuire, “‘It Was Like All of Us Had Been Raped’: Sexual Violence, Community Mobilization, and the African American Freedom Struggle,” *Journal of American History* 91, no. 3 (2004): 906–931; Robertson, *Crimes against Children*.

tiérrez, also address the transnational history of sexual coercion and war, in which sexual violence, captivity, and the traffic in women served as recognized tools and spoils of conquest.<sup>20</sup> Of the multiple historic links between the masculine aggression traditionally required of war and the aggressive sexuality sometimes encouraged among male warriors, the most obvious are perhaps the many instances in which invading soldiers raped local girls and women (and as Trexler and Gutiérrez argue, also boys and men). In the pre-Columbian era, during the European conquest of Indian lands, during the American Revolution and the War of 1812, during and after the Civil War, during and after World War II, during the Vietnam War, and in the current war in Iraq, sexual coercion seems to have played a recurrent role in American military history. Rape has also served, of course, as a constituent component of wartime propaganda (and postwar memory), with combatants rallying their forces by portraying their enemies as savage abusers of power. As Sharon Block notes, the longstanding association of war and sexual violence seems, in some sense, transhistorical, but clearly it also has a history, still underexplored, involving masculinity, forced concubinage and prostitution, military strategy, state-sanctioned violence, techniques of propaganda and terror, international protest, and international law. Placed in this context, familiar historical episodes might take on less familiar forms. The postbellum reign of terror in the late-nineteenth-century U.S. South, for example, starts to resemble a prolonged war of (re)conquest, with southern white men reasserting their local dominance in part through sexual violence that targeted black women, and in part through sexual propaganda that cast black men as rapists and thereby sanctioned the collective violence seen in riot and lynching.<sup>21</sup>

These three clusters of recent scholarship—interracial sex and marriage, the modern state and homosexuality, and sexual coercion—borrow from and build on the now-old Foucauldian model and also implicitly critique its relative neglect of race, citizenship, gender, and sexual violence. They also open out to transnational reconsideration. They ask us to investigate how knowledge, policies, and practices

<sup>20</sup> Antonia I. Castañeda, "Sexual Violence in the Politics and Policies of Conquest: Amerindian Women and the Spanish Conquest in Alta California," in Adela de la Torre and Beatriz M. Pesquera, eds., *Building with Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 15–33; Richard C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Cambridge, 1995); Stephanie Wood, "Sexual Violation in the Conquest of the Americas," in Merril D. Smith, ed., *Sex and Sexuality in Early America* (New York, 1998), 9–34; James F. Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002); Juliana Barr, "From Captives to Slaves: Commodifying Indian Women in the Borderlands," *Journal of American History* 92, no. 1 (2005): 19–46; Block, *Rape and Sexual Power*, chap. 6; Ramón A. Gutiérrez, "Warfare, Homosexuality, and Gender Status among American Indian Men in the Southwest," in Thomas A. Foster, ed., *Long before Stonewall: Histories of Same-Sex Sexuality in Early America* (New York, 2007), 19–31. On the history of wartime rape, see also Atina Grossmann, "A Question of Silence: The Rape of German Women by Occupation Soldiers," *October* 72 (Spring 1995): 42–63; Leslie A. Schwalm, *A Hard Fight for We: Women's Transition from Slavery to Freedom in South Carolina* (Urbana, Ill., 1997), chaps. 3 and 4.

<sup>21</sup> On rape and terror in the postbellum South, see Rosen, *Terror in the Heart of Freedom*; and, in addition to other works cited above, Catherine Clinton, "Bloody Terrain: Freedwomen, Sexuality, and Violence during Reconstruction," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 76, no. 2 (1992): 313–332; Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896–1920* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996), chap. 3; Hodes, *White Women, Black Men*, chaps. 7 and 8; Nell Irvin Painter, *Southern History across the Color Line: Essays* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002), chap. 4; Lisa Cardyn, "Sexual Terror in the Reconstruction South," in Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber, eds., *Battle Scars: Gender and Sexuality in the American Civil War* (New York, 2006), 140–167.

circulated among localities, nations, and empires. They push us to examine similar forms of sexual regulation, incitement, subjugation, advocacy, or identity that appeared in disparate places, and they encourage us to investigate to what extent the parallel forms emerged independently, perhaps through a common logic of conquest, governance, or reform, and to what extent they borrowed and adapted from one another.

WHERE MIGHT WE GO from here? From my (admittedly limited) vantage point as a twentieth-century U.S. historian, let me suggest a few additional topics that might benefit from more transnational histories. For one, we might research the history of sexual commerce, including the history of prostitution with its well-known, but understudied, international dimensions, and also of sexual products (pornography or condoms, for example), sexual medicine (aphrodisiacs or penis enlargement, for example), and sexual tourism. Over the past few centuries, one could argue, sex for sale has undergone its own industrialization. If we adopt a labor history model, we might say that the center of sex for sale has gradually shifted in emphasis from the customized craftwork of prostitution to the commercial production of “leg shows,” “striptease,” “exotic dance,” and “live sex shows,” to the industrialized production of pornography, mass-produced in postcards, books, magazines, and videos and mass-distributed on the Internet. The shift seems to have entailed more impersonal relations of production and consumption, or, to put it another way, it may have involved an aggregate shift for (male) consumers from sex with prostitutes to masturbation with pictures, that is, from touching others to touching themselves. But like other forms of industrialization, it developed unevenly. We need more histories of the emergence of a preindustrial international sexual economy, its partial industrialization via mass production, its post-Fordist manifestations, its international division of sexual labor, and its centuries-long transnational circulations of people, goods, and images.

The sexual economy is perhaps related to another area, diasporic histories of sexual practices, identities, and ideals, which have been imported and exported by churches, occupiers, tourists, immigrants, refugees, and activists, and through the circulation of print and visual culture. Martin Manalansan, Gayatri Gopinath, and others write on the ethnography, cultural forms, and hybridities of contemporary queer diasporas, but the longer, broader history of diasporic sexualities has only begun to be written.<sup>22</sup> In late-eighteenth-century America, for example, European erotica circulated freely through Philadelphia’s bookstores and may have shaped conceptions and categories of sexuality in the new nation’s cosmopolis. In the more recent United States, observers attributed certain sexual practices to particular immigrant groups. From the late nineteenth to at least the middle of the twentieth century, George Chauncey notes, southern Italian men “had a reputation,” in Europe and later in the United States “for their supposed willingness to engage in homosexual relations.” As Chauncey has written, this reputation may have signaled

<sup>22</sup> Martin F. Manalansan IV, *Global Divas: Filipino Gay Men in the Diaspora* (Durham, N.C., 2003); Gayatri Gopinath, *Impossible Desires: Queer Diasporas and South Asian Public Cultures* (Durham, N.C., 2005).

the sexual stigma assigned to a subordinate group, and it may also have captured ethnic or regional differences in sexual practice.<sup>23</sup> Did the distribution of print materials and the streams of immigration transport local sexual mores to other parts of the world, and if so, what did the local ideals and practices signify (and how did they change) in the mutual interplay of homeland, immigrant or expatriate communities, and host societies? In another direction, American sex reformers—free lovers, birth control advocates, anti-prostitution campaigners—have attempted in various ways and with varying degrees of success to publicize and promote their sexual ideals outside the United States. The historical investigations that focus on only one locale often fail to ask the larger questions about how and why particular sexual practices, ideals, and subjectivities circulated transnationally and sometimes played a part in international tensions.

Finally, more attention to international conflicts might direct us to the symbolic uses of sexuality, not only in the past but also in the present. In the twentieth-century U.S., to put it too simply, sexual expression became increasingly associated with freedom (for some liberals) and moral corruption (for some conservatives). Liberal proponents of “free speech,” for instance, repeatedly turned to sexual speech as a critical test case for freedom in a democracy. In contrast, their opponents argued that public sexual expression had invaded the nation’s homes and damaged its youth. Sex has been an insistent site of cultural conflict within the American middle class, often refracting concerns that have little to do with sex itself. But if we keep our vision trained solely on the battles within the United States, we miss their broader ramifications and their transnational permutations. Sexuality has played a key role in international disputes over the merits of liberalism, globalization, Westernization, and mass media. Depending on one’s point of view, the “sexualized societies” of the West might stand (positively) for freedom of expression or (negatively) for the corrosive effects of capitalism, imperialism, or secularism. As recent events have shown, the particular sexual modernism that blossomed in the twentieth-century U.S. (and in different ways in much of Europe) has not won universal acclaim. In various parts of the world, the sexualized society has become a symbol of decadence, amorality, decline, and the corruption of power. It was curious, seemingly irrelevant, but not coincidental that in the weeks after September 11, 2001, the *New York Times* reported that the father of Mohammed Atta, one of the terrorist attackers, had assailed the United States “for moral contagions like adultery and homosexual marriage.”<sup>24</sup> In this account, an imagined vision of American sexual practices—depicted as aberrant—had come to stand for the nation and to encourage its repudiation by those outside its borders. His purported statement was just one minor counterpoint to the centuries of discourse in which Westerners have depicted Arabs (and other “Orientals”) as licentious (or, more recently, repressed), but it points nonetheless to the ongoing deployment of sexuality to define the character of peoples and nations.<sup>25</sup> In

<sup>23</sup> George A. Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York, 1994), 74. On eighteenth-century Philadelphia, see Clare A. Lyons, “Mapping an Atlantic Sexual Culture: Homoeroticism in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (2003): 119–154.

<sup>24</sup> Neil MacFarquhar, “Father Denies ‘Gentle Son’ Could Hijack Any Jetliner,” *New York Times*, September 19, 2001, B4.

<sup>25</sup> For a recent history of responses to Western visions of Arab sexuality, see Joseph A. Massad,

sum, we might begin to explore more systematically how sexuality has served—and continues to serve—as a critical symbol in international debate.

NOT ALL HISTORY IS TRANSNATIONAL, and not all historians need to reposition their topics on the world stage. For U.S. history in particular, we run the risk of a scholarly imperialism, in which the rise of twentieth-century superpower status re-renders the entire world as American history.<sup>26</sup> But it still seems worthwhile to ponder which topics lend themselves to the transnational turn. As many others have noted, the transnational approach questions “exceptionalist” narratives of U.S. history and places national histories, often treated separately, in dialogue with one other. Not least among the benefits, it encourages us to read the work of our colleagues in fields other than our own. It also reminds us that what we construe as private and local—“what happens in Vegas,” in the coy slogan—may well reach out and go beyond.<sup>27</sup>

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*Desiring Arabs* (Chicago, 2007). On Western accounts of Middle Eastern sexuality, Jasbir K. Puar writes: “The Orient, once conceived in Foucault’s *ars erotica* and Said’s deconstructive work as the place of original release [and] unfettered sin . . . now symbolizes the space of repression *and* perversion, and the site of freedom has been relocated to Western identity.” See Puar, “Queer Times, Queer Assemblages,” *Social Text* 23, no. 3–4 (2005): 125.

<sup>26</sup> See Louis A. Pérez, Jr., “We Are the World: Internationalizing the National, Nationalizing the International,” *Journal of American History* 89, no. 2 (2002): 558–566.

<sup>27</sup> The well-known advertising campaign, sponsored by the Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority, began in 2003 as “What Happens Here Stays Here.” It promises that the commercialized naughtiness promoted in Las Vegas will remain safely contained as private and localized play. On the history of sexuality in Las Vegas, see Red Vaughan Tremmel, “Sin City on the Hill: Play, Urban Conflict, and the Rise of Commercial Liberality, 1900–1960” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2008).

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