



"The worst filth I've seen..." So said Police Commissioner Michael Murphy (center) after raids on distributors of allegedly obscene books in Queens following parental complaints. District Attorney Frank O'Connor (right) and aide Guy A. Vitacco, flank Murphy in one raided establishment at 35-27 31st Street. Photographer: Bruce Hopkins © Bettmann/CORBIS

JAY GERTZMAN

SOFTCORE PUBLISHING: THE EAST COAST SCENE

Softcore sleaze paperbacks have an erotic promise that holds its own—the libidinous nudges of titles, blurbs and cover art, even the suggestions offered by the authors' names. In the earlier '60s, four-letter words were strictly taboo. Not only were "cock," "balls," and "pussy" inadvisable, but even the scientific designations for the sex organs were considered problematic. Unlike hardcore, the curtain rose in the first act, not the last: the sex scenes had to be in proportion to the bulk of the story, so setting and characterization were necessary.

As a sort of requiem for the genre, Olympia Press published, in 1971, *The Dirtiest Book in Town*, a fictional collection of softcore covers, blurbs, and text.¹ The storylines and euphemisms concocted were a satiric tribute to the verbal and narrative skills needed to write such books. There was, for example, the stream-of-consciousness gambit:

Suddenly he was pumping and pounding and gasping and grunting and groaning and moaning and grinding and pushing and pulling and shoving and tearing.

The science fiction variation:

They all had seven breasts, and not as we know them on Earth women—much larger, with nipples flaming red, and erect. The usual female opening was in the back, and in the front they all had oversized penes [sic]—three times larger than any known on Earth men... Then Philiotina, their chieftain, forced her huge erection into Bill's anus—way up to the base—while two others held his legs apart as she forced her hugeness in and out...

And the clinical report:

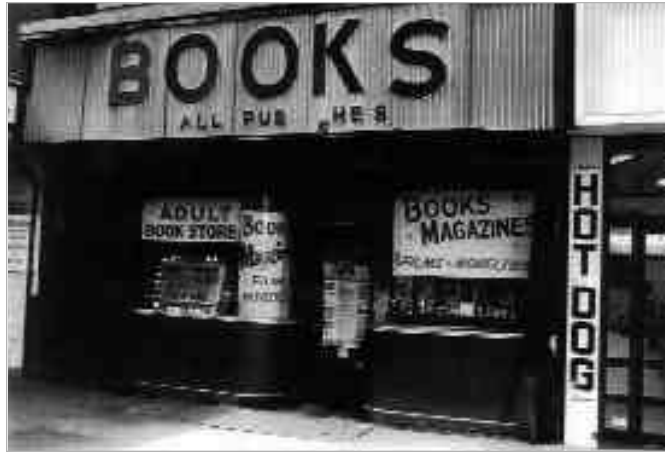
Then he [vernacular for osculated] my [vernacular for mammalia (sic)]. I spun around and started to [vernacular for fellatio]. He [vernacular for digitalized] my [vernacular for genitalia]. Moments later we were [vernacular for copulating].

The softcore paperback sex pulp had a long span of popularity, a large readership, and a complex publishing history. It may have been a literary lightweight, but it took a lot of effort to get it to work correctly to bring in the money. And it certainly did do that. By 1969, according to the President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, in New York City alone, publishers issued per month, respectively, 20 titles with press runs of at least 75,000 copies (Midwood-Tower, with yearly sales of 7.2 to 9 million copies) and 12 titles with runs of about 25,000 (Bee-Line; about 3.1 million copies sold for the year).²

I.

Before we begin, we must be clear that popular paperback publishing after World War II was based on the procedures used to publish and distribute mass-market magazines. The antecedent of the adult bookstore was the urban newsstand. Successful booksellers and publishers understood what sold magazines, how their distributors operated, who bought them, and why the customers came back for more of the same. Paperback books, as well as the digest-sized newsstand pulps that preceded them, were written and marketed as if they were magazines. Until 1957, the American News Company distributed both. Distributors were the most influential people in the business, for it was they who delivered, and placed in racks, the publications.³

There is a legal and cultural context for the ubiquitousness of the softcore sleaze paperback throughout the '60s. In 1959, Barney Rosset's Grove Press published an unexpurgated *Lady Chatterley's Lover* against the wishes of the author's estate as well as the Postmaster General's. Rosset could afford good lawyers, and he won his case against the Post Office by showing that he had prepared a scholarly edition of a literary classic.



Sleaze emporium, mid-town Manhattan, 1963.

He then published *Tropic of Cancer*, and defended booksellers in over 60 jurisdictions who faced prosecution for carrying it. Liberating these two books from the obscenity laws almost bankrupted Rosset, but opened the way for other expressive work of literary, artistic, political, or scientific merit, and radically changed public taste as well. Rosset also published in cheap paperback under his Black Cat imprint well-written Victorian erotica, making this body of material available to a mass audience. There is a vast gap between Lawrence and Henry Miller's novels and the sleaze, but once the early '60s "de-censorship" decisions were made, publishers could plead that their books were not devoid of literary, artistic, political or social value. They often provided introductions by "experts" with Ph.Ds after their names. But more importantly, they could take advantage of the fact that, after *Lady Chatterley*, they were not offending contemporary social mores.⁴ In 1963, the New York Supreme Court ruled that softcore magazines and books, while crude, afforded people without the education or taste to desire better a valid outlet for spending leisure time. Also that year, with *Tropic of Cancer* being openly sold, the Illinois high court stated that two softcore paperbacks, with the typical titles *Campus Mistress* and *Born To Be Made*, could not be censored, because they "do not go substantially beyond customary limits of candor" and were not "utterly without redeeming social importance."⁵ In 1966, Illinois stated that seven paperbacks were not patently offensive and contained less sexual activity, sadism, oral sex and scatology than recently de-censored erotic

classics. A bit later, the same court ruled *The Sex Addicts* was not obscene because "The acts of intercourse are not described in detail, so as to exceed the limits of contemporary candor in such matters, nor do we find repulsive and disgusting language of the kind given permission [by the *Chatterley* decision]."⁶

Softcore paperbacks were sold in newsstands, specialty stores of various kinds (cigar and candy stores, drug stores), bus and airport kiosks, and through the mail. The major point of sale was the bookstore, and the rise of the sex paperback coincided—at least on the East Coast—with the rise of the Adult Book Store. This major outlet was evolving by 1960 from what was usually called the Back Date Magazine and Book Store. The adult book shop shared ways of configuring space with its forerunner. Upon entering, one saw a center table, upright racks, and both library and pegboard shelving for paperbacks. Some of these, including the softcore novels, might be wrapped in cellophane (thus providing more prurient curiosity) and displayed on the center table, having had the cover price crossed out and raised.⁷ The cash register was strategically placed, as it was in the back date magazine shop, often on a raised platform. Materials of special interest, more expensive than other items, might be behind the register, or proximate to the clerk and the register.⁸ Non-fiction books on sexology, sexual anthropology, and prostitution, classic erotica of the past, and titillating best-sellers by Robbins, Wallace, and Susann were common in both back date magazine stores and the early '60s adult bookstores. Both shops had risqué novelties.

Back date magazine establishments carried girlie, adventure, and mystery pulps, but also all kinds of general-interest fare. In adult stores of the mid-'60s, one could find peep booths as well as a larger selection of sex toys and images, supplementing conventional steady sellers such as the greeting cards and erotic playing cards; photo and strip sets (a series of action photos which, when flipped through, gave the impression that the girls were moving); 8 mm films, records, and slides; and "art study" magazines of nudist and beefcake images. Many adult shops had windows that were blocked from the view of the passerby by signage or shades, accommodating citizens offended by the exclusively sexual goods. Blocked windows also created an atmosphere of prurience.

As sociologist Michael Stein put it, the "normalized" purchase of sexually explicit materials⁹ required that both store owner and patron adopt a kind of "hiding strategy." Such was the ambiance in which softcore sleaze was purveyed.

Liberal court decisions of the 1960s by no means meant that police, clergy, and politicians became more tolerant of sexual expression in print or on film. The opposite was true. In New York, the Robert Wagner administration (1954–65) was a watershed. There were numerous confiscations of horror comic books and nude photographs which police officers, but certainly not lawyers, thought were obscene. A series of pornography raids followed the conviction of a photographer who wholesaled pictures of nude women. Instead of the decision being based on the presence of pubic hair, or the community's contemporary tolerances, the more general concept of "prurient interest" guided the decision.¹⁰

A Mayor's Citizens' Anti-Pornography Commission was created after Monsignor McCaffrey's 1963 call for action against "the disgrace that is Times Square" before World's Fair visitors arrived. Several months later, Operation Yorkville's Father Morton Hill went on a hunger strike until the Commission's four-point program was instituted. One goal was creation of a court dedicated to hearing obscenity cases.¹¹ Mayor Wagner "welcom[ed] his help and the help of other religious and civil leaders in rooting out this evil."¹² In 1966, the *Herald Tribune*, in an article headlined "The Problems of Times Square—Winos and Daffodils Take Over," described realtors' hopes that investors would purchase Times Square properties and

turn the area into a "World's Fair industrial zone." The article's conclusion was that in the battle between "negatives and positives... the creeps and the investors will make it a struggle."¹³

All the despair over "the merchants of smut" making money by exploiting the prurience of a puritanical culture, the community action in the name of decency, and all the media coverage given screeds by politicians and clergy had the predictable effect. Times Square's sex businesses grew to include prostitution strolls and drug pushing. Middle-class citizens shied away from the increasing numbers of young Hispanic and African-American men visiting from Harlem and the Bronx.¹⁴ In 1965, Broadway's premier general interest bookstore, The Concord, which had opened just north of the Paramount Theater marquee in 1933, closed. The owner cited street crime: marijuana sellers, pickpockets, drunks, flamboyant gays, and more generally the unruly after-dark atmosphere which had driven the playgoers away as soon as the curtain fell. "The street has turned into an unwalkable jungle," he said.¹⁵ This was an exaggeration, but reflected an understandable public response to the environment in which one purchased softcore paperbacks, not only in New York but in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Pittsburgh, and other large eastern cities. No wonder some purchasers preferred cigar and candy stores, newsstands, and mail order outlets.

No wonder, also, that booksellers, distributors, and publishers of softcore sex novels had to face social stigma, harassment from police and community moralists, and legal fees. The largest New York City distributor of softcore paperbacks was G.I. Distributors. In the '60s, it handled both mass-market and secondary lines designed to appeal to the clientele of adult book stores. In April, 1963, police raided its Long Island City, Queens warehouse and confiscated many softcore paperbacks, bundled and ready to be trucked out to secondary retailers. G.I. was an established, well-financed company and defended itself vigorously. The owners sued the Police Commissioner and the Queens District Attorney for \$325,000 in damages, and requested an injunction against further interference in the sale of their books, which they claimed were not legally obscene.¹⁶ G.I.'s successful defense didn't stop police during the Wagner and Lindsay administrations from making periodic "sweeps" and "raids" during the rest of the decade.

II.

There were two kinds of publishers, and two channels of wholesale distribution, for softcore '60s sleaze: mass-market and secondary. Mass-market firms such as Fawcett Gold Medal, which originated the paperback original (before the late '40s, paperbacks had been reprints of hardcover books), distributed to "department stores, drug stores, book stores, gift shops, specialty shops, in many places where you will see the softcover book on sale side-by-side with the hardcover books."¹⁷ Fawcett acted as its own distributor, rather than relying on a separate middleman concern. Dell and MacFadden-Bartell did likewise, and all three firms distributed other publishers' books as well. Other mass-market firms with sexually-oriented material were Signet, Pocket, Berkley, and Grove (the aforementioned Black Cat Books). The 1970 Technical Report on Obscenity and Pornography (the Lockhart presidential Commission) reported Bee-Line, Tower and Lancer to be mass-market publishers, although these firms were of lesser stature than the ones previously mentioned.¹⁸ Many publishers followed Barney Rosset and had their wares distributed by both mass-market and secondary outfits. His Black Cat paperbacks, including *The Victorian Library*, and the literary classics by Lawrence, Burroughs, and Miller, reached adult bookstores through the offices of G.I. Distributors.¹⁹ Prurient interest paperbacks for the mass market may have reached points of sale not by national but by local, or independent, distributors. There were usually no more than one or two of these in any large city.²⁰

The secondary market consisted of various specialty stores and newsstands, but focused in the '60s on adult outlets dedicated mostly or entirely to sexually explicit materials. Publishers, many of them functioning also as distributors, primarily handled imprints (and different "lines" specific to various fetishes) targeted exclusively for these sorts of readers. The Lockhart Commission explains that print runs for secondary books was between 10 and 30 thousand copies, while the mass market variety could often have been as high as 100,000.²¹ This meant a higher unit cost for the secondary publisher. At the end of the decade, he typically would spend approximately \$4,000 in production costs (author's fee, "make-ready," printing) and another \$500 for shipping. On a print run of 30,000 copies, he would be spending 15 cents per book. Retail prices ranged from 95 cents to \$1.95. If half the books printed were sold, and the publisher's return after dis-

tributor and retailer's fees amounted to half the cover price, he would do well, especially if he could publish ten or more volumes per month.²²

The Commission listed some 15 eastern concerns: Olympia Press Inc., Overstock Book Company (Bob Brown), Interstate Book Distributors (formerly L-N), Cosmopolitan (formerly Eastern News), and Tuxedo in New York; Pendulum Books, Atlanta (Mike Thevis); Central Sales, LTD, Baltimore; Sovereign News Company, Cleveland (Reuben Sturman); Marble Distributors, Boston; Potomac News and Guild Press, Washington DC (Herman Womack); United Graphics, Delray Beach, Florida.²³ Other secondary publishers included Bedside, Fleur de Lis, Kozy, Casanova, and Tuxedo. Buffalo was the location of a publisher responsible for the following lines: Unique, Wee Hours, First Niter, After Hours.²⁴

Thevis, Womack, and Sturman ran "empires of the obscene." For all three, the softcore pulp paperback, a significant cash cow, was one of several sexually-oriented products. Sturman, by the '70s, had created a multifaceted business: books (Eros Gold Stripe, Consolidated), sex emporia, peep booths, sex novelties (Doc Johnson's), and films. He had to deal with Mafia bosses on many levels, like them hiding his huge investments behind a shield of corporate names. Eventually his corporate shields were pierced and he was sent to federal prison, having become one of the century's media whipping boys for the kind of organized crime newspaper and TV "reporters" never attribute to tobacco, gas and oil, pharmaceutical, or military hardware industries and their corporate subsidiaries.²⁵ Womack, a man of physical and intellectual stature, established an enormous clearinghouse especially for gay literature. By 1970 he faced federal prosecution for distributing the latter (magazines, books, photographs), some of which featured underage boys.²⁶ Thevis, like Sturman, began with newsstand operations. By the early '60s his publishing and distributing operations were nationwide. His federal prosecutions for transporting obscene materials across state lines began in 1970. He became involved with murder, extortion, and arson charges, and died in prison.²⁷

Mail order was an important method of selling softcore, as the ads in the back of many books show. Numerous catalogues crossed the country, especially reaching customers in towns and rural locations without bookstores. Of the many mail order concerns based in East Coast cities, Arnold Levy's World Wide Books was one of the largest. Levy, and many others, took advantage of the "drop-ship" method, of



SEX LIFE OF A COP (1959) By Oscar Peck
Saber Books

which Womack was a leading practitioner. Womack would arrange to have his own name and address put on a mail order dealer's catalogue. When orders came in, Womack would make out an address label for each customer, and send it to the dealer with the order and one-half the remittance. The dealer, always grateful for additions to his mailing list, would send out the books.²⁸

The Liberty Gift Shop, on Seventh Avenue just south of 42nd Street in Times Square, was a mini-center of secondary publishing and distributing in the mid-1960s. Chris Eckhoff, a vintage paperback bookseller, explains that Liberty's owner, Stanley Malkin, used the second floor of a topless bar he owned as an office for the editing of Unique, After Hours, Nitey Nite, and First Niter Books. Eckhoff thinks that Unique Books' Buffalo, New York address that might have been only a mail, or mail drop, address. It may be, conjectures C.J. Scheiner, bookseller and scholar of erotica, that there was a collaboration between Malkin and the owner of Gordon Books, located north of Niagara Falls near Hamilton in Canada, and thus close to Buffalo. The purpose of this collaboration would have been to distribute secondary market paperbacks in Canada. Malkin may have arranged with WWNC (World Wide News Company), AMD (American Magazine Distributors) or EMD (Eastern Magazine Distributors) to place his books in secondary markets, for these initials, Eckhoff points out, were on the spines of Unique, After Hours, First Niter, and Nitey Nite books.²⁹

J.B. Rund, publisher of The Bélier Press, believes that Malkin might have distributed books in collaboration with Reuben Sturman. Sturman had realized by the mid-'60s how much more lucrative erotica was than any other kind of bookselling. He had already seen his warehouses raided in Detroit (1963) and Cleveland (1964). From the Cleveland location, the FBI confiscated 590 copies of *Sex Life of a Cop*, written and published by Sanford Aday (Saber Books, Fresno, CA).³⁰ Rund suggests that Malkin may have been Sturman's packager,³¹ which means Malkin would have hired the writers and cover artists, had the press work done, and paid salaries. As packager, he would have received a flat rate, and possibly have been allowed to keep some copies to sell.

Malkin had the savvy to conduct successful sex book publishing and distributing operations. Earlier in his career, he ran an important distribution outfit called Satellite, in which Times Square's current smut king, Eddie Mishkin, was a partner.³² An insider among New York's pariah entrepreneurs in erotica, he knew the popularity of fetish artists such as Bill Ward, Bill Alexander (later on the Hudson News staff),³³ Gene Bilbrew, and Eric Stanton. Bilbrew and Stanton had for years been doing artwork for Irving Klaw's Nutrix bondage booklets, which earned Klaw national infamy when the Kefauver Committee investigating the effect of obscenity on juvenile delinquency questioned him in 1955. These men created for Malkin's typewritten pulps dynamic cartoon-like images, in stark primary colors, which embodied the objects of the voyeur's lust: exaggerated breasts and buttocks, women lasciviously anticipating what the leering men in the pictures might do, women cavorting before male onlookers. Their work, which appeared on covers of various softcore novels, was imitated on adult bookstore posters in the hardcore period. It was an epitome, that is, of the Times Square bookstore and sex emporium, and perhaps of the secondary softcore market generally.

Another kind of softcore publisher was the "fly-by-night" variety. Such a person's books carry no indication of publisher or of publisher's imprint (or "line" or series), except in some cases for a phrase such as "An Original Arrow Reader." Chris Eckhoff has noticed that in some instances, except for the cover, the manufactured object had previously been on the market. The fly-by-night version was a kind of remainder. Its publisher had stripped the book of its original cover and a new one had been glued on, bearing a new title. In some cases a

new title page had been added, but in others there was none. Opening the book, one found the conventional half title (or “ad cart”) leaf with a set of blurbs, then the first chapter, on the second leaf. On the final page or back cover is the “printed in USA” statement. The publisher had reissued the work unidentified, as a new line, hoping in this new sub-edition to get some additional return on it. Alternatively, the book may have been the product of someone who was undertaking a pirating gambit, having got his hands on a number of remainder copies of one or more books. A 1965 *New York Times* investigative article discussed yet another kind of “suitcase operator,” who had paid to get books produced cheaply by offset in runs of 50 or 60 thousand and “[sold] their output to a distributor for about half the cover price.” The suitcase “publisher” had a minimal investment, and probably operated alone, or with one or two accomplices. Their products were sold as single titles to a local secondary distributor. Only outlets like Times Square’s adult stores carried them.³⁴

Such a book was illegal. State laws required businesses to apply for permission to operate, and corporations to file certificates. Both in these papers and on the manufactured book itself, the publisher or distributor had to identify himself with a valid name and address for tax purposes. The people behind a fly-by-night operation, who dealt only in cash, did not dilute their profits by sharing them with anyone other than the distributor or bookseller. The former would have had a problem if his business records were audited. He would not have been able to identify the fly-by-night publisher by business name or address, and probably would have no invoices or receipts from him.

Many, but not all, secondary-market paperbacks carried the notice “Adult Reading” or “Adults Only” on their covers. They differed in content and production values from mass-market softcore sex paperbacks. Surveying the mass-market and secondary gay-lesbian paperbacks of the ’60s, Laurence Miller finds little of the insightful delineation of tabooed sexual desire that made books by mass-market authors popular. Although secondary paperbacks sometimes featured a greater variety of gay and fetish lifestyles, they stressed the titillating and sensationally exotic. In contrast to the mass-market story, the secondary novel heavily favored female characters involved in the lesbian, high-heel, flagellation, and bondage scene who were two-dimensional randy perverts, not sympathetic troubled outsiders. There was little character develop-

ment or social observation. The same lower level of style and theme characterizes secondary sex pulps depicting heterosexual lifestyles. The secondaries were also more likely to have spelling errors, blurred or faint text, flimsy paper, weak bindings, and poorly composed title pages and covers.³⁵

When the Lockhart Commission analyzed the secondary sex paperback industry in the late ’60s, they found that the market was saturated, and that competition was cutthroat. Many titles were being dumped on discount shelves. There was also great hostility among distributors and publishers alike.³⁶ The Commission listed 15 secondary-market publishers in New York alone (there were three more in the Los Angeles area). Among these flourishing in 1968, or continuing to flourish then, were Bark Book Distributors, and Star Distributors Ltd. (both with organized crime connections); Overstock Book Company; G.I. Distributors; Interstate Magazine Distributors; and the Olympia and Ophelia Presses (both Maurice Girodias).³⁷

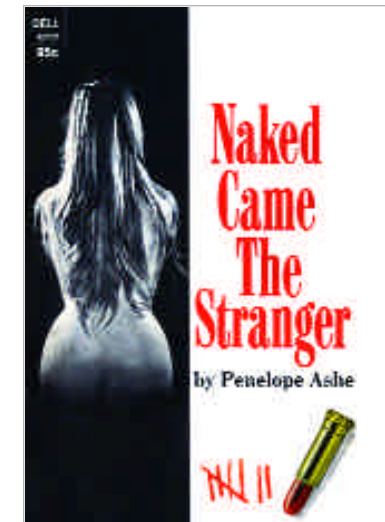
III.

In 1965 Robert Redrup, a Times Square newsstand dealer, sold to an undercover policeman two softcore sex pulp paperbacks, *Lust Pool* and *Shame Agent*. In 1967, the ensuing case came before the Supreme Court, which was divided on criteria for obscenity. The Court adopted a policy of reversing without comment all obscenity convictions which reached it.³⁸ This decision was an open sesame for hard-core. By 1969, softcore sex pulps had been largely supplanted by “fuck books.” But that is not quite the end of their story, thanks to a publisher with marketing genius, ideological conviction, and the courage needed to test the limits of public tolerance for sexual explicitness. This was Lyle Stuart, who successfully mainstreamed the adult bookstore softcore paperback. In 1969 Lyle Stuart published the hoax novel, *Naked Came the Stranger* by “Penelope Ashe.” A *Newsday* journalist, Mike McGrady, had organized some two dozen colleagues to collaborate in writing a softcore erotic tale that he hoped would become as popular as Jacqueline Susann’s breakthrough sexy potboilers. *Naked Came* was initially released in hardback and sold in general outlets.³⁹ The illusion of artistic and social value had to be present to give booksellers and customers the rationale they needed. The jacket had to be “tasteful,” because otherwise the volume would appear to be what McGrady

admitted it really was. He liked the proposed cover art, with its downward-bearing phallic lipstick protruding from its casing. He suggested the addition of a nude woman, with her back to the viewer. Stuart took a chance on the jacket revision. The total effect was artistic enough to transform a pin-up nude into a study of classic beauty that hid salacious content behind a shield of sophistication for discriminating adults. The publisher learned from his bookstore contacts that it was the jacket that sold the book. Men took the book from its shelf, read it, walked away, and then, as they were leaving the store, bought it.⁴⁰ Notably, sociologists doing field studies during the late ’60s were observing exactly this behavior pattern in patrons of adult bookstores.⁴¹ *Naked* was on the fiction bestseller list in 1969.

Stuart followed the next year with *The Sensuous Woman*, pseudonymously authored by “J.” He conceived the book, as he explained to the authoress, as a sex manual for women. Many softcore publishers had entries in this genre. Lyle Stuart Incorporated’s would be revolutionary because it would make oral sex “respectable” for Americans.⁴² It reached third place on the nonfiction list. Again, the cover art was key. Stuart originally planned to have an open-mouthed woman on the jacket, the colors of which were to be chartreuse and black. But his writer, an excellent publicist, had a better idea. She took Stuart to Bloomingdale’s to show him how soap and perfume were displayed for discerning middle-class women. The colors and typeface on the revised, non-illustrated dust jacket suggested “sensuousness, not smut.”⁴³

Lyle Stuart claims to have “started the sex revolution in [trade] publishing,” and tested



NAKED CAME THE STRANGER (1969)
By Penelope Ashe
Dell

the boundaries that separated entertainment from vice, bringing what had been disreputable 42nd Street stuff into the mainstream. To demonstrate the subtle but powerful effects of creative book packaging, and the weird contrast between the reality of text and the cosmetics of its exterior, one need only juxtapose the covers of *Naked Came the Stranger* and *The Sensuous Woman* with the softcore paperbacks illustrated in the book you now hold in your hands.

Jay A. Gertzman is the author of *Bookleggers* and *Smuthounds: The Trade in Erotica, 1920–1940*.

Notes

1. Terrance McKerrs and Fredric Dehn [editors], *The Dirtiest Book in Town: A Bedside Companion for the Sensuous Man and Woman* (NY: The Olympia Press, 1971). Some of Olympia staff writers mentioned in the Acknowledgments are Marilyn Meesky, Lou Caselli, and Michael Menzies. The subtitle is modeled after the bestsellers *The Sensuous Man* and *The Sensuous Woman*.
2. “Part II: Books and Magazines,” President’s Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, *Technical Report, Vol. III: The Marketplace: The Industry* (Washington, DC: GPO, [1970]), 86–87.
3. I am indebted to editor and writer Earl Kemp, email 17 Jan. 2004, for this insight and for many others regarding the paperback and magazine business, and also to Steve Gertz, email to the author, 21 March 2002.
4. Edward de Grazia, *Girls Lean Back Everywhere: The Law of Obscenity and the Assault on Genius* (NY: Vintage, 1993), 496–504; Kenneth C. Davis, *Two Bit Culture: The Paperbacking of America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984), 241–45.
5. Paul I. Montgomery, “Pulp Sex Novels Thrive as Trade Comes Out into the Open,” *New York Times*, 5 Sept. 1965, (hereafter abbreviated as NYT). Felice Flanery Lewis, *Literature, Obscenity, and Law* (Carbondale: So. Illinois U.P., 1967), 192.
6. Lewis, *Literature, Obscenity, and Law*, 193–95.
7. Montgomery, “Pulp Sex Novels,” 26.
8. *Peter Campbell Brown, Corporation Counsel of the City of New York, v Kingsley Books, Inc. et al*, Court of Appeals, State of NY, 1955, index number 41983, Supreme Court of the State of NY (clerk’s office, 60 Centre St., New York City), pp. 32–35 (testimony of James Rushin, police department detective).
9. Michael Stein, *The Ethnography of an Adult Bookstore* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellon Press, 1990), 73, 113.

10. Richard Kuh, *Foolish Fickleaves? Pornography in—and out of—Court* (NY: Macmillan, 1967), 108–10; “21 Face Court in Smut Raid,” *New York Post*, 19 Jan. 1961, 8; “Times Square Smut Raiders Nab 22,” *New York Daily News*, 19 Jan. 1961, 5; “22 Arrested in Times Square Raid on Smut,” *New York Herald Tribune*, 19 Jan. 1961, 18.
11. Ronald Collins and David Skover, *The Trials of Lenny Bruce: The Fall and Rise of an American Icon* (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, 2002), 240–41. See “Priest Denounces Smut in Times Square,” *NYT*, 6 May 1963, 1; “City Opens Drive on Pornography,” *NYT*, 29 Oct. 1963, 1; “Jesuit Begins Fast to Protest Pornography Sales to Children,” *NYT*, 28 Oct. 1963, 24; “Mayor’s Unit Seeks Pornography Curbs,” *NYT*, 30 March 1965, 34.
12. “City Opens Drive on Pornography,” *NYT*, 29 Oct. 1963, 1.
13. *New York Herald Tribune*, 6 March 1966, clipping preserved in H. Lynn Womack Papers, Box 2, Folder 11, Human Sexuality Archive, Kroch Library, Cornell U., Ithaca, NY.
14. William Kornblum et al., “West 42nd Street: ‘The Bright Light Zone,’” Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York, 1978, (typescript), 74–76.
15. Richard F. Shepard, “Times Square Home of Unbest Sellers Is Closing,” *NYT* 26 Oct. 1965, 47.
16. “2 City Officials Sued in Seizure of Books,” *NYT*, 10 May 1963, 17.
17. U.S. House of Representatives, Select Committee on Current Pornographic Materials, Hearings, 82nd Cong., 2nd Session, H.R. 596 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1953), 9–20. Testimony of Ralph Daigh, Vice President of Fawcett Publications.
18. President’s Commission, III, 85–86.
19. Barney Rosset, personal interview, 23 Jan. 2001, New York City.
20. President’s Commission, III, 76–78.
21. President’s Commission, III, 94.
22. President’s Commission, III, 94–98.
23. President’s Commission, III, 89.
24. Laurence Miller, “Adult-Oriented Gay and Lesbian Paperbacks During the Golden Age,” *Paperback Parade*, December 1997 [vol. 47], 42–58 (an excellent checklist).
25. Eric Schlosser, *Reefer Madness: Sex, Drugs, and Cheap Labor in the American Black Market*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2003), 116–18.
26. Peter Osnos, “Womack Arrested Again as Obscenity Publisher,” *Washington Post*, 25 April 1970, Box 1, Folder 1, H. Lynn Womack Papers, Kroch Library, Cornell U., Ithaca, NY; James Griffin, “Dr. Womack and the Nudie Magazines,” *The Washington Daily News*, 30 April 1970, Box 1, Folder 2, Womack Papers.
27. John Heidenry, *What Wild Ecstasy: The Rise and Fall of the Sexual Revolution* (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1997), 231–33; “Jury in Racket Case Will Not be Limited,” *NYT*, 21 Aug. 1979, 21.
28. Arnold Levy, personal interview, 23 April 1964.
29. For the information in the above paragraph I am grateful to the following: Chris Eckhoff, “After Hours Books,” 25–27, and interview 14 July 2004; Clifford Scheiner, professor (Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality) and erotica collector, interview 25 Feb. 2001; Stephen Gertz, bookseller and author, email 21 March 2002.
30. Schlosser, *Reefer Madness*, 116–18.
31. J.B. Rund, interview 15 July 2004, New York City. Rund’s invaluable Bélier Press publications include those on the work of Bettie Page (*Private Peeks*), Eric Stanton (*Bizarre Comix*), and John Willie (*The Adventures of Sweet Gwendolyn*).
32. See Chris Eckhoff, “After Hours Books,” *Paperback Parade*, April, 1996, 25–31. J.B. Rund told me (7 May 2003) that Malkin’s bar was in the second building to the south of the bookstore; there was a small hotel in between. The Manhattan County Clerk’s records show Liberty Gift Shop was opened and incorporated in 1952, and in 1964 changed its name to Forsythe Books. A Request for Business Name form in the New York City County Clerk’s office lists Stanley Malkin, and Frank Adler, as owners of The Little Book Exchange, 228 W. 42nd Street, an address associated also with “smut king” Eddie Mishkin, distributor of at least one early edition of the typewritten flagellation booklets *Nights of Horror*, which he was enjoined from selling by New York police in 1955. In 1960, Mishkin’s indictment for similar booklets eventually led to a prison sentence.
33. I am grateful to Chris Eckhoff for this information (interview Jan. 2004).
34. Montgomery, “Pulp Sex Novels,” 26.
35. “Adult-Oriented Gay and Lesbian Paperbacks During the Golden Age,” 26–42.
36. President’s Commission, III, 90.
37. President’s Commission, III, 89.
38. de Grazia, *Girls Lean Back Everywhere*, 512–18; Lewis, *Literature, Obscenity, and Law*, 196–97.
39. Mike McGrady, *Stranger Than Naked or How to Write Dirty books for Fun and Profit* (NY: Wyden, 1970), 2–3, 22–23.
40. McGrady, *Stranger than Naked*, 93–109.
41. David A. Karp, “Hiding in Pornographic Bookstores: A Reconsideration of the Nature of Urban Anonymity,” *Urban Life and Culture* 1.4 (Jan. 1973), 427–51 (see esp. 442–43); William C. McKinstry, “The Pulp Voyeur: A Peek at Pornography in Public Places,” in *Deviance: Field Studies and Self-Disclosures* (Palo Alto, CA: National Press Books, 1974), 30–40.
42. Lyle Stuart, “Breaking Through in Book Publishing,” *Breaking Through in Book Publishing*, videotape, rec. 22 June 1972, Institute for the Advanced Study of Human Sexuality, San Francisco, CA (reel-to-reel tape).
43. Terry Garrity, *Story of “J”: The Sensuous Woman* (NY: Morrow, 1984), 53–54.