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The Dialectic of Obscenity

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THE DIALECTIC OF OBSCENITY

*Brian L. Frye**

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* Visiting Assistant Professor of Law, Hofstra Law School; J.D., New York University School of Law, 2005; M.F.A., San Francisco Art Institute, 1997; B.A., University of California, Berkeley, 1995. The author thanks Penny Lane, Crystal Glynn, Jonathan Horne, Lea Shaver, Ron Colombo, Elizabeth Glazer, Rose Villazor, Amy Adler, Martha Merrill Umphrey, the Law & Humanities Junior Scholars Workshop, and all of the other people who offered helpful comments on this article. The author also thanks Caroline Koebel, the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library & Museum, the Library of Congress, the Yale University Library, the Clarke Historical Library, Jonas Mekas, Anthology Film Archives, Albert Steg, Bruce Allen Murphy, Edward Rudofsky, Angus Johnston, Hugh E. Jones, and everyone else who provided research assistance.

I. INTRODUCTION

Obscenity is like a Cheshire cat. Over the years, it gradually disappeared, until nothing remained but a grin. Until the 1960s, pornography was obscene, and obscenity prosecutions were relatively common. And until the 1970s, obscenity prosecutions targeted art, as well as pornography. But today, obscenity prosecutions are rare and limited to the most extreme forms of pornography.¹

So why did obscenity largely disappear? The conventional history of obscenity is doctrinal, holding that the Supreme Court's redefinition of obscenity in order to protect art inevitably required the protection of pornography as well.² In other words, art and literature were the vanguard of pornography.

But the conventional history of obscenity is incomplete. While it accounts for the development of obscenity doctrine, it cannot account for "pornography's convoluted dialectic with American history."³ As Michel Foucault observed, the repression of sexuality produces discourses on sexuality.⁴ Accordingly, the history of obscenity must account for both regulation and demand. Censorship created pornography by distinguishing it from art and produced a dialectic of obscenity.

The story of *Flaming Creatures* and the so-called "Fortas Film Festival" illustrates the dialectic of obscenity. When President Johnson nominated Justice Fortas to replace Chief Justice Warren in 1968, Fortas's opponents investigated his record, hoping to justify a filibuster. Among other things, they discovered *Jacobs v. New York*, in which Fortas alone voted to reverse obscenity convictions for showing *Flaming Creatures*, an obscure art film that featured a transvestite orgy.⁵ Senator Thurmond showed *Flaming*

¹ See, e.g., Stephen Gillers, *A Tendency to Deprave and Corrupt: The Transformation of American Obscenity Law from Hicklin to Ulysses II*, 85 WASH. U. L. REV. 215, 221 (2007) ("By the 1980s, obscenity prosecutions were rare, especially in urban areas and on the coasts."). The term *obscenity* does not include child pornography, which is unprotected by the First Amendment, whether or not it is technically obscene. See *New York v. Ferber*, 458 U.S. 747, 764 (1982).

² See, e.g., EDWARD DE GRAZIA, *GIRLS LEAN BACK EVERYWHERE: THE LAW OF OBSCENITY AND THE ASSAULT ON GENIUS* xii (1992) (arguing that the new definition of obscenity, as described by Justice Brennan in *Jacobellis v. Ohio*, 378 U.S. 184 (1964), "was so generously fashioned to protect literature and art that it led to the freeing of hard-core pornography"); WHITNEY STRUB, *PERVERSION FOR PROFIT: THE POLITICS OF PORNOGRAPHY AND THE RISE OF THE NEW RIGHT* 3 (2011) [hereinafter *PERVERSION*] (arguing that "a legion of scholars has written the history of pornography and obscenity—often portrayed as a joint subset of the larger category 'censorship'—as a legalistic one, moving from episode to episode anecdotally rather than analytically in terms of the historical context.").

³ See *PERVERSION*, *supra* note 2, at 3.

⁴ MICHEL FOUCAULT, *THE HISTORY OF SEXUALITY VOLUME I: AN INTRODUCTION* 53 (Robert Hurley trans., 1980).

⁵ *Jacobs v. New York*, 388 U.S. 431, 431 (1967).

Creatures to several senators, convinced them to join the filibuster, and blocked the Fortas nomination.

Under the dialectic of obscenity, art protected pornography, and pornography protected art. Doctrinally, the protection of art required the protection of pornography. But politically, the protection of art required the protection of pornography. Art and pornography are social categories. When the Supreme Court tried to protect art, but not pornography, it failed to recognize that those categories were in flux. Art became subversive as pornography became mainstream. As a result, many people were more offended by some of the art the Court protected than the pornography it did not, and the Court found its obscenity cases increasingly difficult to justify. Eventually, it realized that only the protection of pornography could justify the protection of art.

This article uses *Flaming Creatures* and the Fortas Film Festival to explain the dialectic of obscenity. Part I provides a historical overview of the obscenity doctrine.⁶ Part II describes the making and presentation of *Flaming Creatures*.⁷ Part III chronicles the proceedings in *Jacobs v. New York*.⁸ Part IV follows the Fortas nomination.⁹ Part V shows how the Fortas Film Festival illustrates the dialectic of obscenity.¹⁰

II. A BRIEF HISTORY OF OBSCENITY

A. What is Obscenity?

Obscenity is a category of speech that is not entitled to First Amendment protection because of its sexual content. However, while the category of obscenity still exists, the definition of obscenity has narrowed over time. Originally, the common law defined obscenity as any expression that tends “to deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences.”¹¹ In other words, under the common law, obscene meant inappropriate for children.

The common law obscenity test was generally understood to prohibit the depiction or description of sex, without exception for works of art and literature. Accordingly, it permitted the suppression of works like Edmund Wilson’s *Memoirs of Hecate County* and James Joyce’s *Ulysses*.¹²

⁶ See *infra* notes 11–47 and accompanying text.

⁷ See *infra* notes 48–128 and accompanying text.

⁸ See *infra* notes 129–242 and accompanying text.

⁹ See *infra* notes 243–399 and accompanying text.

¹⁰ See *infra* notes 400–406 and accompanying text.

¹¹ *Regina v. Hicklin*, 3 L.R.Q.B. 360, 371 (1868).

¹² *People v. Doubleday & Co.*, 71 N.Y.S.2d 736, 736 (N.Y. App. Div. 1947) (mem.) (suppression of Edmund Wilson’s *Memoirs of Hecate County*), *aff’d*, 77 N.E.2d 6, 6 (N.Y. 1947), *aff’d by equally divided court*, 335 U.S. 848, 848 (1948) (per curiam); Stephen Gillers, *A Tendency to Deprave and Corrupt: The Transformation of American Obscenity Law*

Embarrassed by the philistinism of the common law obscenity test, the Court finally reformed the obscenity doctrine in *Roth v. United States*, holding that an expression is obscene only if “to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appeals to prurient interest.”¹³ Justice Brennan’s plurality opinion added that an expression is obscene only if it is “utterly without redeeming social importance.”¹⁴ Essentially, *Roth* held that the First Amendment protects art, but not pornography.

But the Court soon discovered that distinguishing art and pornography is difficult, as both are in the eye of the beholder. As Justice Stewart famously remarked, “I know it when I see it.”¹⁵ Accordingly, the justices were obliged to review each smutty book and dirty movie. Justices Black and Douglas refused to participate, concluding that the First Amendment protects all sexual expressions.¹⁶

B. The Rise & Fall of the Pandering Test

The Court was in a quandary. Under the *Roth* test, in order to identify obscenity, it had to be able to distinguish art from pornography. Fortas convinced the Court that it could solve the problem by adopting the pandering test, which imposed a *scienter* requirement on obscenity.

The pandering test was based on Chief Justice Warren’s concurring opinion in *Roth*, which held that an expression is obscene if its purveyor is “plainly engaged in the commercial exploitation of the morbid and shameful craving for materials with prurient effect.”¹⁷ Under the pandering test, if “the purveyor’s sole emphasis is on the sexually provocative aspects of his publications, that fact may be decisive in the determination of obscenity.”¹⁸ Essentially, the pandering test assumes that anything sold as pornography is obscene and anything sold as art is not.

from *Hicklin to Ulysses II*, 85 WASH. U. L. REV. 215, 254–64 (2007) (describing suppression of James Joyce’s *Ulysses* and other literary works under the *Hicklin* standard).

¹³ *Roth v. United States*, 354 U.S. 476, 489 (1957).

¹⁴ *Id.* at 484.

¹⁵ *Jacobellis v. Ohio*, 378 U.S. 184, 197 (1964) (Stewart, J., concurring).

¹⁶ *Id.* at 196 (Black, J., concurring).

¹⁷ *Roth*, 354 U.S. at 496 (1957) (Warren, C.J., concurring).

¹⁸ *Ginzberg v. United States* 383 U.S. 463, 470 (1966).

Where an exploitation of interests in titillation by pornography is shown with respect to material lending itself to such exploitation through pervasive treatment or description of sexual matters, such evidence may support the determination that the material is obscene even though in other contexts the material would escape such condemnation.

Id. at 475–76. See also *Memoirs v. Massachusetts*, 383 U.S. 413, 420 (1966) (Brennan, J., plurality opinion) (holding that “where the purveyor’s sole emphasis is on the sexually provocative aspects of his publications, a court could accept his evaluation at its face value”).

The Court adopted the pandering test in a pair of cases: *Ginzberg v. United States*¹⁹ and *Memoirs v. Massachusetts*.²⁰ In *Ginzberg*, the Court affirmed obscenity findings for *Eros* magazine; *Liaison* magazine; and *The Housewife's Handbook on Selective Promiscuity*, erotic publications distributed by Ralph Ginzburg by mail order from Middlesex, Pennsylvania, because “each of these publications was created or exploited entirely on the basis of its appeal to prurient interests.”²¹ By contrast, in *Memoirs*, it reversed an obscenity finding for John Cleland’s *Fanny Hill*, or *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, an eighteenth-century erotic novel published by G.P. Putnam’s Sons, because “the mere risk that the book might be exploited by panders because it so pervasively treats sexual matters cannot alter the fact . . . that the book will have redeeming social importance in the hands of those who publish or distribute it on the basis of that value.”²² In other words, Ginzburg’s publications were sold as pornography and *Fanny Hill* was not.

Initially, the Court voted to affirm both *Ginzburg* and *Memoirs*.²³ Fortas was horrified by the prospect of banning *Fanny Hill* and used the pandering doctrine to convince Brennan to change his vote in *Memoirs*:²⁴

I was alarmed by Brennan’s vote at Conference to affirm the ban on *Fanny Hill*. So contrary to my principles, I went to work, suggested the ‘pandering’ formula to Bill (which I think is as good as any for this cess-pool problem) and came out against Ginzburg.—I guess that subconsciously I was affected by G’s slimy qualities—but if I had it to do over again, I’d reverse at least as to all except his publication of ‘*Liaison*.’ Well, live and learn.²⁵

Later, Fortas insisted that *Memoirs* and *Ginzburg* “wouldn’t have happened without me. I worked every one of those guys over.”²⁶

¹⁹ *Ginzberg*, 383 U.S. at 475–76 (1966).

²⁰ *Memoirs*, 383 U.S. at 420 (1966).

²¹ *Ginzberg*, 383 U.S. 463, 466, 474 (1966). The Court emphasized that Ginzburg also sought mailing privileges in *Blue Ball* and *Intercourse*, Pennsylvania. L.A. Powe, Jr., *The Obscenity Bargain: Ralph Ginzburg for Fanny Hill*, 35 J. Sup. Ct. Hist. 166, 171 (2010).

²² *Memoirs*, 383 U.S. at 421 (1966); See also Powe, *supra* note 21, at 167.

²³ Powe, *supra* note 21, at 168; LAURA KALMAN, ABE FORTAS: A BIOGRAPHY 343–44 (1990). See also BRUCE ALLEN MURPHY, FORTAS: THE RISE AND RUIN OF A SUPREME COURT JUSTICE 458 (1998) (describing Fortas’s role in convincing Justice Brennan to adopt the pandering test in *Ginzburg*).

²⁴ Powe, *supra* note 21, at 173; MURPHY, *supra* note 23, at 458.

²⁵ Powe, *supra* note 21, at 173 (quoting Letter from Justice Fortas to Justice Douglas (Apr. 15, 1966) (available at Library of Congress, Manuscript Division; copy on file with author); Edward de Grazia, *Freeing Literary and Artistic Expression During the Sixties: The Role of William J. Brennan, Jr.*, 13 CARDOZO L. REV. 103, 157 n.220 (1991). See also ROBERT SHOOGAN, A QUESTION OF JUDGMENT: THE FORTAS CASE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE SUPREME COURT 128 (1972) (“Fortas, according to his clerks, helped develop this [pandering] legal formula and urged it upon Justice Brennan”).

²⁶ Kalman, *supra* note 23, at 344 (quoting interview by Mercedes Eichholz with Fortas, J. (Oct. 1988)).

However, Fortas supported the pandering test only because he worried that the Court would permit the suppression of art.²⁷ In theory, he rejected the obscenity doctrine, but he knew that public opinion insisted on suppressing obscenity.²⁸ He accused Black and Douglas of “whoring after principle.”²⁹

In any case, the pandering test never caught on. In 1966, the Court held a slew of obscenity cases, including *Jacobs*, pending its decision in *Redrup v. New York*.³⁰ The Court voted to reverse in *Redrup* and assigned the opinion to Fortas, who circulated draft opinions reversing on the basis of the pandering test.³¹ But the Court ultimately rejected Fortas’s draft and decided *Redrup* on the facts in a per curiam opinion.³² After *Redrup*, the Court disposed of the rest of its obscenity cases in the same way, including *Jacobs*. And for several years, the Court continued to decide obscenity cases on the facts in per curiam opinions.³³

C. The Miller Test

The Court finally revisited the obscenity doctrine in 1973, holding in *Miller v. California* that “prurient” and “patently offensive” material is obscene if “the work, taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value.”³⁴ In *Paris Adult Theater I v. Slaton*, decided the same day as *Miller*, the Court also held that the First Amendment does not protect the public exhibition of obscenity to consenting adults, explaining, “The States have a long-recognized legitimate interest in regulating the use of obscene material in local commerce and in all places of public accommodation, as long as these regulations do not run afoul of specific constitutional prohibitions.”³⁵ In theory, *Miller* provided a more objective definition of obscenity.

Gradually, the Court refined the *Miller* standard. For example, in *Smith v. United States*, it held that the value test “is particularly amenable to appellate review.”³⁶ And in *Pope v. Illinois*, it held that the value test is

²⁷ See SHOGAN, *supra* note 25, at 129.

²⁸ *See id.*

²⁹ *Id.*

³⁰ *Redrup v. New York*, 386 U.S. 767 (1967) (per curiam).

³¹ Draft opinion of *Redrup v. New York* (Dec. 7, 1966) (available at Yale Law School; copy on file with author).

³² *See generally Redrup*, 386 U.S. 767 (failing to apply the pandering test and instead deciding the case on its facts).

³³ *See Paris Adult Theater I v. Slaton*, 413 U.S. 49, 82 n.8 (1973) (Brennan, J., dissenting) (listing 28 cases, in addition to three decided in *Redrup*, decided on the facts in per curiam opinions).

³⁴ *Miller v. California*, 413 U.S. 15, 24 (1973).

³⁵ *Paris Adult Theater I*, 413 U.S. at 57.

³⁶ *Smith v. United States*, 431 U.S. 291, 305 (1977).

objective, not subjective.³⁷ In addition, the Court tried to make the *value* element of the obscenity test an objective, affirmative defense.

More importantly, the Court recognized that the First Amendment does not protect certain categories of sexual expression, other than obscenity. Specifically, it held in *New York v. Ferber* that the “test for child pornography is separate from the obscenity standard enunciated in *Miller*.”³⁸ However, *Miller* remains the governing standard with respect to sexual expression other than child pornography.

D. The Aftermath of Miller

After *Miller*, obscenity prosecutions gradually slowed to a trickle.³⁹ Through the 1970s and ‘80s, the government aggressively prosecuted pornography.⁴⁰ But it generally ignored art, and obscenity prosecutions of art were rarely successful. For example, when Ohio prosecutors pursued obscenity charges against a Cincinnati museum for showing photographs by the artist Robert Mapplethorpe—including five photographs of men in sadomasochistic poses and two images of naked children with exposed genitals—the jury returned a verdict of not guilty.⁴¹ For artists, the issue was no longer obscenity prosecutions, but rather the availability of federal grants.⁴²

Under President Clinton, the Department of Justice decided to stop pursuing obscenity and focus on child pornography.⁴³ As a result, federal prosecutors pursued less than 200 obscenity cases.⁴⁴ Under President George W. Bush, the Department of Justice changed its priorities and began pursuing

³⁷ See *Pope v. Illinois*, 481 U.S. 497, 500–01 (1987) (“The proper inquiry is not whether an ordinary member of any given community would find serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value in allegedly obscene material, but whether a reasonable person would find such value in the material, taken as a whole.”).

³⁸ *New York v. Ferber*, 458 U.S. 747, 764 (1982).

³⁹ See Amy Adler, *All Porn All the Time*, 31 N.Y.U. REV. L. & SOC. CHANGE 695, 695 (2007) (describing the prevalence of pornography in modern society).

⁴⁰ Tim Wu, *How Laws Die*, SLATE, (Oct. 15, 2007), <http://www.slate.com/id/2175730/entry/2175743>.

⁴¹ Isabel Wilkerson, *Cincinnati Jury Acquits Museum In Mapplethorpe Obscenity Case*, N. Y. TIMES, Oct. 6, 1990, at 1, 6.

⁴² See *Nat’l Endowment for the Arts v. Finley*, 524 U.S. 569, 570 (1998).

⁴³ Jason Krause, *The End of the Net Porn Wars: Despite Big Talk, Federal Efforts Against Adult Obscenity Online Have Withered*, A.B.A. J. (Feb. 1, 2008), available at http://www.abajournal.com/magazine/article/the_end_of_the_net_porn_wars/; see also Bret Boyce, *Obscenity and Community Standards*, 33 YALE J. INT’L L. 299, 324 (2008) (describing how the Clinton Administration virtually ended the practice of prosecuting adults for obscenity).

⁴⁴ See Spenser S. Hsu, *U.S. District judge drops porn charges against video producer John A. Stagliano*, WASH. POST (July 17, 2010), available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/07/16/AR2010071605750.html>.

obscenity as well as child pornography.⁴⁵ However, it achieved only limited success, pursuing 361 obscenity prosecutions.⁴⁶ Under President Obama, the Department of Justice de-emphasized adult obscenity and prosecutions returned to Clinton-era levels. Today, pornography is ubiquitous and essentially legal.⁴⁷

III. FLAMING CREATURES

The only thing to be regretted about the close-up of limp penises and bouncing breasts, the shots of masturbation and oral sexuality, in Jack Smith's *Flaming Creatures* is that it makes it hard simply to talk about this remarkable and beautiful film, one has to *defend* it.⁴⁸

By any measure, Jack Smith's *Flaming Creatures* is an unusual film. A 43-minute featurette, the film is a pastiche of campy costume melodramas. It consists of a series of tableaux, several of which include garishly dressed men and women with exposed genitalia engaging in a pantomime of sexual activity. Susan Sontag, an early champion of *Flaming Creatures*, offered the following description of the film:

For the record: in *Flaming Creatures*, a couple of women and a much larger number of men, most of them clad in flamboyant thrift-shop women's clothes, frolic about, pose and posture, dance with one another, enact various scenes of voluptuousness, sexual frenzy, romantic love and vampirism—to the accompaniment of a sound track which includes some pop Latin favorites (*Siboney*, *Amapola*), some rock-'n-roll, some scratchy violin playing, bullfight music, a Chinese song, the text of a wacky ad for a new brand of "heart-shaped lipstick" being demonstrated on the screen by a host of men, some in drag and some not; and the chorale of flutey shrieks and screams which accompany the group rape of a bosomy young woman, rape happily converting itself into an orgy.⁴⁹

By contrast, Smith considered *Flaming Creatures* a comedy. "I started making a comedy about everything that I thought was funny. And it

⁴⁵ See Krause, *supra* note 43.

⁴⁶ Hsu, *supra* note 44.

⁴⁷ Boyce, *supra* note 43, at 303 ("As recently as the 1960s, 'pornography' was seen as the most extreme form of 'obscenity.' In current U.S. constitutional discourse, however, the terms are almost reversed, and 'obscenity' is treated as more extreme than 'pornography.'").

⁴⁸ Susan Sontag, *A Feast For Open Eyes*, 198 THE NATION 374, 374 (Apr. 13, 1964).

⁴⁹ *Id.*

was funny. The first audiences were laughing from the beginning all the way through. But then that writing started – and it became a sex thing.”⁵⁰

Today, *Flaming Creatures* is generally considered an artistic masterpiece. It strongly influenced many contemporary artists, including Andy Warhol and John Waters. It is the subject of many books and articles. And it regularly shows at art museums and in college classrooms.

But in the 1960s, *Flaming Creatures* was quite polarizing. While many artists and intellectuals championed the film, most people abhorred it. One film critic described *Flaming Creatures* as “a faggoty stag-reel.”⁵¹ And a senator who saw the film exclaimed, “That film was so sick, I couldn’t even get aroused.”⁵² *Flaming Creatures* was weird and queer and made people uncomfortable.

A. The Making of *Flaming Creatures*

Jack Smith made *Flaming Creatures* during the late summer and early fall of 1962.⁵³ He stole expired film from the bargain bin at Camera Barn, constructed a ramshackle set on the roof of the Windsor Theatre, and recruited a cast of friends and acquaintances.⁵⁴ Smith filmed *Flaming Creatures* himself, often perched on a makeshift catwalk.⁵⁵ The performers were often intoxicated and in various states of dishabille.⁵⁶ Smith finished filming in October and spent several months editing.⁵⁷ Musician and filmmaker Tony Conrad created the soundtrack, a collage of records from

⁵⁰ JACK SMITH, *Uncle Fishhook and the Sacred Baby Poo-Poo of Art*, in *WAIT FOR ME AT THE BOTTOM OF THE POOL: THE WRITINGS OF JACK SMITH 107–8* (J. Hoberman & Edward Leffingwell eds., 1997).

⁵¹ J. HOBERMAN, *ON JACK SMITH’S FLAMING CREATURES AND OTHER SECRET-FLIX OF CINEMAROC 38* (2001) (quoting Arthur Knight, *THE SATURDAY REVIEW*, November 2, 1963).

⁵² SAMUEL SHAFFER, *ON AND OFF THE FLOOR: THIRTY YEARS AS A CORRESPONDENT ON CAPITOL HILL 92* (1980).

⁵³ See HOBERMAN, *supra* note 51, at 24.

⁵⁴ *Id.* at 27. Camera Barn was a New York retail chain that sold photographic supplies. The Windsor Theatre was a single-screen movie theater located at 412 Grand Street, New York, New York. *Id.* at 26. Richard Preston rented a loft apartment over the Windsor and allowed Smith to film on the roof. *Id.* at 26–27. The cast of *Flaming Creatures* included Mario Montez, Francis Francine, Sheila Bick, Joel Markman, Arnold Rockwood, Judith Malina, Marian Zazeela, Tony Conrad, David Gurin, Kate Heliczer, Piero Heliczer, Ray Johnson, Angus MacLise, Ed Marshall, Henry Proach, Jerry Raphael, Irving Rosenthal, Mark Schleifer, Harvey Tavel, Ronald Tavel, John Weiners and LaMonte Young.

⁵⁵ *Id.* at 27.

⁵⁶ See HOBERMAN, *supra* note 51, at 28.

⁵⁷ See *id.* at 30–32.

Smith's collection.⁵⁸ Apparently, the total cost of *Flaming Creatures* was about \$300.⁵⁹

B. The Introduction of Flaming Creatures

During the winter of 1963, Smith showed versions of *Flaming Creatures* to his friends.⁶⁰ He first presented it to the public on March 9, 1963, at a benefit hosted by Piero Heliczer at Jerry Jofen's loft on West 20th Street.⁶¹ Jonas Mekas, the doyen of avant-garde cinema, attended the benefit and lavishly praised *Flaming Creatures* in his influential *Village Voice* column, *Movie Journal*:

Jack Smith just finished a great movie, *Flaming Creatures*, which is so beautiful that I feel ashamed even to sit through the current Hollywood and European movies. I saw it privately, and there is little hope that Smith's movie will ever reach the movie theatre screens. But I tell you, it is a most luxurious outpouring of imagination, of imagery, of poetry, of movie artistry—comparable only to the work of the greatest, like Von Sternberg.⁶²

Mekas soon proved himself wrong. On April 29, 1963, he premiered *Flaming Creatures* in his Underground Midnights series at the Bleecker Street Cinema, on a double bill with *Blonde Cobra*, a film by Ken Jacobs that starred Jack Smith, Jerry Sims, and Bob Fleischner.⁶³ The Bleecker immediately cancelled Underground Midnights, ostensibly because it thought that the "low quality of the underground" would ruin its reputation.⁶⁴

In fact, the Bleecker was worried about the police. New York law prohibited the public exhibition of unlicensed films, and *Flaming Creatures* was unlicensed in spades.⁶⁵ The Motion Picture Division of the New York State Education Department examined films submitted for review and issued a license, unless the film was "obscene, indecent, immoral, inhuman, sacrilegious, or is of such a character that its exhibition would tend to corrupt

⁵⁸ See *id.* at 32–33. These included recordings by Béla Bartók, Kitty Kallen, Yoshiko Yamiguchi, and the Everly Brothers, as well as excerpts from the scores of "The Devil is a Woman" and "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves."

⁵⁹ HOBERMAN, *supra* note 51, at 31 n.23.

⁶⁰ *Id.* at 32.

⁶¹ *Id.* Piero Heliczer was a filmmaker, poet, and publisher of underground literature.

⁶² JONAS MEKAS, *MOVIE JOURNAL: THE RISE OF A NEW AMERICAN CINEMA, 1959–1971* 83 (1972).

⁶³ HOBERMAN, *supra* note 51, at 33 (2001).

⁶⁴ *Id.* at 37.

⁶⁵ See N.Y. EDUC. LAW § 129 (McKinney 1947) (repealed 1983); see also Richard Andress, *Film Censorship in New York State*, http://www.archives.nysed.gov/a/research/res_topics_film_censor.shtml (providing a historical account of the censorship process, as it existed in New York).

morals or incite to crime.”⁶⁶ Needless to say, the Motion Picture Division would not have licensed *Flaming Creatures*, if anyone had dared to ask.

Mekas excoriated the Bleecker for cancelling Underground Midnights, dubbed *Flaming Creatures* the exemplar of “Baudelairean cinema,” and founded the Filmmakers’ Showcase, a weekly film series at the Gramercy Arts Theater.⁶⁷ The Filmmakers’ Showcase attempted to avoid the license requirement by purporting to present private screenings.⁶⁸ Rather than charge admission, Mekas cheekily requested donations to the “Love and Kisses to Censors Film Society.”⁶⁹

The Filmmakers’ Showcase surreptitiously showed *Flaming Creatures* twice in August 1963.⁷⁰ Advertisements in the *Village Voice* cryptically announced “a film praised by Allen Ginsberg, Andy Warhol, Jean-Luc Godard, Diane Di Prima, Peter Beard, John Fles, Walter Gutman, Gregory Corso, Ron Rice, Storm De Hirsch, and everybody else.”⁷¹ Mekas and Jacobs also presented an impromptu midnight screening of *Flaming Creatures* and *Blonde Cobra*—“two pieces of the impure, naughty, and ‘uncinematic’ cinema that is being made now in New York”—at the annual Flaherty Seminar in Brattleboro, Vermont.⁷²

While Mekas championed *Flaming Creatures*, others dismissed it as trash. For example, when film critic Arthur Knight saw *Flaming Creatures* in Los Angeles, he was appalled. “A faggoty stag-reel, it comes as close to hardcore pornography as anything ever presented in a theater . . . Everything is shown in sickening detail, defiling at once both sex and cinema.”⁷³

In the meantime, Smith started a new film, titled *Normal Love*. Andy Warhol admired *Flaming Creatures* and arranged for Smith to film *Normal Love* at a house in Old Lyme, Connecticut.⁷⁴ Warhol also filmed the production of *Normal Love* and made a little newsreel that he titled *Jack Smith Filming Normal Love*.⁷⁵

In December 1963, Mekas’s magazine *Film Culture* gave its fifth Independent Film Award to Jack Smith for *Flaming Creatures*, stating:

⁶⁶ N.Y. EDUC. LAW § 122 (McKinney 1947) (repealed 1983). The fee was \$3.50 per 1000 feet or fraction thereof of the original film and \$3 per print. *Id.* at § 126.

⁶⁷ See HOBBERMAN, *supra* note 51, at 37 (citing MEKAS, *supra* note 62, at 85–86). The Gramercy Arts Theater was located at 138 E. 27th Street, New York, NY.

⁶⁸ *See id.* at 39.

⁶⁹ *Id.*

⁷⁰ *Id.*

⁷¹ *Id.*

⁷² MEKAS, *supra* note 62, at 95; *see also* HOBBERMAN, *supra* note 51, at 33 (describing Mekas and Jacobs’s visit to the Flaherty Seminar).

⁷³ HOBBERMAN, *supra* note 51, at 38 (quoting Arthur Knight, THE SATURDAY REVIEW, Nov. 2, 1963).

⁷⁴ *See* ANDY WARHOL & PAT HACKETT, POPISM: THE WARHOL SIXTIES 100 (1980). Warhol’s friend Wynn Chamberlain rented the house from Eleanor Ward. *Id.* at 40.

⁷⁵ *See id.* at 100.

In *Flaming Creatures*, Smith has graced the anarchic liberation of new American cinema with graphic and rhythmic power worthy of the best of formal cinema. He has attained for the first time in motion pictures a high level of art that is absolutely lacking in decorum; and a treatment of sex which makes us aware of the restraint of all previous film-makers.

He has shown more clearly than anyone before how the poet's license includes all things, not only of spirit, but also of flesh; not only of dreams and of symbol, but also of solid reality. In no other art but the movies could this have so fully been done; and their capacity was realized by Smith.

He has borne us a terrible beauty in *Flaming Creatures*, at a time when terror and beauty are growing more apart, indeed are more and more denied. He has shocked us with the sting of mortal beauty. He has struck us with not the mere pity or curiosity of the perverse, but the glory, the pageantry of Transylvania and the magic of Fairyland. He has lit up a part of life, although it is a part which most men scorn.

No higher single praise can be given an artist than this, that he has expressed a fresh vision of life. We cannot wish more for Jack Smith than this: that he continues to expand that vision, and make it visible to us in flickering light and shadow, and in flame.⁷⁶

Film Culture announced that it would present the award to Smith on December 7, 1963 in a midnight ceremony at the Tivoli Theater that would include a showing of *Flaming Creatures* and excerpts from *Normal Love*.⁷⁷ But when the Tivoli discovered that the films were unlicensed, it cancelled the event at the last minute, locking several hundred attendees out of the

⁷⁶ FILM CULTURE READER 426–27 (P. Adams Sitney ed. 1970). See also Hoberman, *supra* note 51, at 39 (providing a portion of the quoted material). The previous recipients of the award include John Cassavetes for *Shadows*, Robert Frank for *Pull My Daisy*, Ricky Leacock for *Primary*, and Stan Brakhage for *Prelude*. FILM CULTURE READER, *supra* note 76, at 423–25.

⁷⁷ *Fifth Independent Film Award*, reprinted in CENSORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES: DOCUMENTS MEMOS ARTICLES BULLETINS PHOTOS LETTERS NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, ETC. (Anthology Film Archives pub., 2007); see also *Advertisement*, VILLAGE VOICE, Nov. 28, 1963, reprinted in CENSORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES: DOCUMENTS MEMOS ARTICLES BULLETINS PHOTOS LETTERS NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, ETC. (Anthology Film Archives pub., 2007).

theater.⁷⁸ Eventually, Mekas climbed onto a parked car and presented Smith's award.⁷⁹

Later that month, the notoriety of *Flaming Creatures* increased when it was censored in Belgium.⁸⁰ The Third International Film Exposition in Knokke-le-Zoute took place onboard a cruise ship named the *Casino*.⁸¹ Mekas was one of the nine members of the festival jury and brought several American underground films, including *Flaming Creatures*, which the other members of the jury would not allow him to show.⁸² "The jury said it recognized the film's artistic qualities but said it found it impossible to show under Belgian law."⁸³

Mekas quit the jury in protest and called on American filmmakers to withdraw their films from the festival, but the boycott failed when the festival refused to release any of the films.⁸⁴ Mekas responded by presenting midnight shows of *Flaming Creatures* in his hotel room, to an audience that included Jean-Luc Godard, Agnes Varda, and Roman Polanski.⁸⁵

Mekas also tried to sneak *Flaming Creatures* onto the festival screen. He first replaced a reel of Stan Brakhage's film *Dog Star Man* with a copy of *Flaming Creatures*, but the projectionist noticed and stopped the film.⁸⁶ He tried again on New Year's Eve, the closing night of the festival; the festival presented Andy Warhol's film *Sleep*, and Mekas slipped a copy

⁷⁸ HOBERTMAN, *supra* note 51, at 40; *Locked Out, Award Made on Curb, 2 A.M.*, VARIETY, Dec. 11, 1963, reprinted in CENSORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES: DOCUMENTS MEMOS ARTICLES BULLETINS PHOTOS LETTERS NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, ETC. (Anthology Film Archives pub., 2007).

⁷⁹ HOBERTMAN, *supra* note 51, at 40. See also *Locked Out, Award Made on Curb, 2 a.m.*, *supra* note 79; *A Statement on "Flaming Creatures"*, FILM CULTURE, Dec. 12, 1963, reprinted in CENSORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES: DOCUMENTS MEMOS ARTICLES BULLETINS PHOTOS LETTERS NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, ETC. (Anthology Film Archives pub., 2007).

⁸⁰ *W. German Experimental Film Wins*, L.A. TIMES, Jan. 2, 1964, at 24 (explaining that *Flaming Creatures* was excluded from a Belgian film festival after being deemed pornography).

⁸¹ Elliott Stein, *Fog at Knokke*, SIGHT & SOUND 88, 88 (Spring 1964), reprinted in CENSORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES: DOCUMENTS MEMOS ARTICLES BULLETINS PHOTOS LETTERS NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, ETC. (Anthology Film Archives pub., 2007).

⁸² Brian L. Frye, "Me, I just Film My Life": An Interview with Jonas Mekas, 44 SENSES OF CINEMA, <http://www.sensesofcinema.com/2007/feature-articles/jonas-mekas-interview/>.

⁸³ *Avant-Garde Movie Seized As Obscene*, N.Y. TIMES, Mar. 4, 1964, at 33.

⁸⁴ *Belgians Balk N.Y. 'Creatures'*, VARIETY, Jan. 15, 1964, at 1, reprinted in CENSORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES: DOCUMENTS MEMOS ARTICLES BULLETINS PHOTOS LETTERS NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, ETC. (Anthology Film Archives pub., 2007).

⁸⁵ HOBERTMAN, *supra* note 51, at 40; Frye, *supra* note 83. See also *Belgians Balk N.Y. 'Creatures'*, *supra* note 84, at 15; MEKAS, *supra* note 62, at 114–115 (stating that Agnes Varda viewed *Flaming Creatures* in Mekas's hotel room); Stein, *supra* note 81, at 88 (reporting that Mekas resigned from the festival and proceeded to show *Flaming Creatures* in his hotel room).

⁸⁶ Frye, *supra* note 81; see also MEKAS, *supra* note 62, at 111 (explaining that *Dog Star Man* was switched with *Flaming Creatures*).

of *Flaming Creatures* between the reels.⁸⁷ The projectionist agreed to let Mekas show *Flaming Creatures* but asked to be tied to a chair, in order to create the appearance that he had objected.⁸⁸ As Mekas started to show *Flaming Creatures*, a festival employee realized what was happening and unplugged the projector.⁸⁹ Mekas struggled with the festival employee and called for help from “all those present who believe in the freedom of the screen,” at which point the director of the festival ordered the staff to cut power to the room.⁹⁰

When the lights came back on, M. Pierre Vermeyleen, the Belgian Minister of Justice and the honorary head of the festival, announced that there was no censorship in Belgium, but that films containing “outrages against decency” could not be shown.⁹¹ That included *Flaming Creatures*, which he considered “pornographic and inartistic.”⁹² The festival Pre-Selection Committee was outraged and awarded *Flaming Creatures* a specially created *film maudit* or “cursed film” prize.⁹³

C. The Persecution of Flaming Creatures

In 1964, New York City stepped up enforcement of obscenity laws, trying to clean up the city in time for the World’s Fair.⁹⁴ Targets included beatnik coffeehouses, gay bars, and underground movies.⁹⁵ *Flaming Creatures* was soon caught in the dragnet.

On February 3, 1964, the Filmmakers’ Showcase presented *Flaming Creatures* and rushes from *Normal Love* at the Gramercy Arts Theatre.⁹⁶ Two weeks later, its license to show films at the Gramercy Arts was terminated because it had failed to respond to a citation for showing unlicensed films.⁹⁷ Mekas moved the Filmmakers’ Showcase to the New Bowery Theater, a 92-seat theater at 4 St. Marks Place that he subleased from Diane Di Prima and The American Theatre for Poets, Inc.⁹⁸

⁸⁷ Stein, *supra* note 81, at 89.

⁸⁸ Frye, *supra* note 82.

⁸⁹ Stein, *supra* note 81, at 89.

⁹⁰ *Id.*

⁹¹ *Id.*

⁹² *Id.*

⁹³ *Id.*

⁹⁴ J. HOBERMAN & JONATHAN ROSENBAUM, MIDNIGHT MOVIES 59–60 (1983).

⁹⁵ See Stephanie Gervis Harrington, *City Puts Bomb Under Off-Beat Culture Scene*, VILLAGE VOICE, Mar. 26, 1964, at 1 [hereinafter *Bomb*] (discussing specific locations subject to increased enforcement of obscenity laws).

⁹⁶ HOBERMAN, *supra* note 51, at 42.

⁹⁷ Stephanie Gervis Harrington, *City Sleuths Douse Flaming Creatures*, VILLAGE VOICE, Mar. 12, 1964 [hereinafter *Sleuths*]; see also HOBERMAN & ROSENBAUM, *supra* note 94, at 60 (explaining that the police shut down the Gramercy Arts Theater).

⁹⁸ HOBERMAN, *supra* note 51, at 42 (indicating that Mekas showed the films at the New Bowery Theater); see also *Bomb*, *supra* note 95 (describing Mekas’s lease of the New

On February 20, the Filmmakers' Showcase presented *Flaming Creatures*, rushes from *Normal Love*, and Warhol's newsreel *Jack Smith Filming Normal Love* at the New Bowery.⁹⁹ Mekas advertised a "surprise program" in the *Village Voice* and hung a sign over the door reading, "TONIGHT FLAMING SURPRISE PROGRAM."¹⁰⁰ Unbeknownst to Mekas, the audience included two undercover police officers from the anti-obscenity squad, Detectives Arthur Walsh and Michael O'Toole.¹⁰¹

On March 3, the Filmmakers' Showcase repeated the program.¹⁰² The undercover police officers also returned.¹⁰³ According to one of the detectives, *Flaming Creatures* "was hot enough to burn up the screen."¹⁰⁴ About halfway through *Flaming Creatures*, they stopped the show and arrested Kenneth Jacobs, the projectionist; Florence Karpf, the ticket-seller; and Gerald Sims, the usher.¹⁰⁵ When Mekas heard about the bust, he rushed to the theater and demanded to be arrested as well.¹⁰⁶ The detectives also seized the films, the projector, and the screen.¹⁰⁷ However, most of the audience members got a refund.¹⁰⁸

Mekas, Jacobs, Karpf, and Sims spent an uncomfortable night in prison.¹⁰⁹ According to Jacobs, it "was a bad scene, with movie-imitating killer cops, and I feared Jonas was going to bring it down on us. We were 'fags' and 'weirdos' (intellectuals) and 'commies.'"¹¹⁰ The next day, all four were arraigned, charged with showing an "indecent, lewd, and obscene film," and released without bail.¹¹¹

Bowery Theater); Harrington, *supra* note 97 (explaining that the police witnessed a showing of *Flaming Creatures* at the New Bowery Theater).

⁹⁹ HOBEMAN, *supra* note 51, at 42.

¹⁰⁰ See *Advertisement*, VILLAGE VOICE, Feb. 20, 1964, at 12.

¹⁰¹ Jerry Tallmer & Stan Koven, *Cops Seize 4 In Raid on Village Film*, N.Y. POST, March 4, 1964, at 2, reprinted in CENSORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES: DOCUMENTS MEMOS ARTICLES BULLETINS PHOTOS LETTERS NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, ETC. (Anthology Film Archives pub., 2007); see also Brief for National Students Association as Amici Curiae Supporting Appellants at 3, *Jacobs v. New York*, 388 U.S. 431 (1967) (No. 660).

¹⁰² HOBEMAN, *supra* note 51, at 42; Jurisdictional Statement at 5, *Jacobs v. New York*, 388 U.S. 431 (1967) (No. 660).

¹⁰³ HOBEMAN, *supra* note 51, at 42.

¹⁰⁴ *Id.*

¹⁰⁵ Brief for National Students Association, *supra* note 101, at 3–4; Harrington, *supra* note 97.

¹⁰⁶ HOBEMAN, *supra* note 51, at 43 (citing Letter from Ken Jacobs, arrested theater manager, to VILLAGE VOICE (Oct. 21, 1991) ("Poet Diane di Prima ducked out to phone Jonas [Mekas]. He rushed over and leaped in swinging the First Amendment.")).

¹⁰⁷ *Avant-Garde Movie Seized as Obscene*, *supra* note 83.

¹⁰⁸ *Id.* (indicating that 70 audience members received a refund).

¹⁰⁹ See *Sleuths*, *supra* note 98 (explaining that the four arrestees spent a night in prison); see also MEKAS, *supra* note 62, at 129–30 (detailing the conditions of the prison and treatment received from the officers).

¹¹⁰ HOBEMAN, *supra* note 51, at 43 (citing Letter from Ken Jacobs, arrested theater manager, to VILLAGE VOICE (Oct. 21, 1991)).

¹¹¹ *Sleuths*, *supra* note 97.

On March 6, Mekas, Jacobs, Karpf, and Sims were each charged with a misdemeanor violation of New York Penal Law Section 1141, based on Detective Walsh's sworn declaration that *Flaming Creatures* was "garbage . . . indecent, lewd and obscene."¹¹² Mekas was charged with supplying and distributing a lewd and obscene film, Karpf was charged with selling tickets to and assisting in the projection of a lewd and obscene film, Jacobs was charged with exhibiting a lewd and obscene film, and Sims was charged with taking tickets for a lewd and obscene film.¹¹³

Mekas immediately went on the offensive, presenting Jean Genet's film *Un Chant d'Amour* at the Writers' Stage Theatre on East 4th Street as "a benefit for the *Flaming Creatures* defense fund."¹¹⁴ Genet was a prominent French novelist; playwright; and poet, and *Un Chant d'Amour* is a 22-minute film about two imprisoned men who fall in love, which includes images of the men masturbating and a dream sequence that suggests oral sex.¹¹⁵ Mekas wanted the police to bust *Un Chant d'Amour* because he thought it would be easier to defend than *Flaming Creatures*.¹¹⁶

The police were happy to oblige. When Mekas presented *Un Chant d'Amour* on March 7, nothing happened.¹¹⁷ But when he presented it again on March 13, undercover police officers John Fitzpatrick and Walter Lynch attended a midnight show.¹¹⁸ After watching the film, they paid the suggested \$2 donation. Then they arrested Mekas and his ticket-taker, French film critic Pierre Cottrell.¹¹⁹ They also seized the film and all of the projection equipment.¹²⁰ Mekas and Cottrell spent the night in prison and were released the next day on \$1,500 bail.¹²¹

At that point, the city lost its patience. When the Filmmakers' Showcase presented two unlicensed Japanese films on March 17, 1964, the

¹¹² Brief for National Students Association, *supra* note 101, at 4; *see also* Jurisdictional Statement, *supra* note 102, at 5 (indicating that the appellants challenged N.Y. Penal Law § 1141).

¹¹³ Charging Document at 1, *State of New York v. Jacobs*, N.Y. Crim. Ct. (Mar. 6, 1964), *reprinted in* CENSORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES: DOCUMENTS MEMOS ARTICLES BULLETINS PHOTOS LETTERS NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, ETC. (Anthology Film Archives pub., 2007).

¹¹⁴ HOBERMAN, *supra* note 51, at 43; *see also* *Mekas Gaoled Again, Genet Film Does It*, VILLAGE VOICE, Mar. 19, 1964, at 13; *Sleuths*, *supra* note 97.

¹¹⁵ *See* *Mekas Risking Jail Sentence*, VARIETY, Mar. 18, 1964, *reprinted in* CENSORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES: DOCUMENTS MEMOS ARTICLES BULLETINS PHOTOS LETTERS NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, ETC. (Anthology Film Archives pub., 2007); UN CHANT D'AMOUR (Genet 1950), <http://www.ubu.com/film/genet.html>.

¹¹⁶ *See* WARHOL, *supra* note 74, at 100 ("I knew that Jack's would be a difficult case to fight, with nobody really knowing who he was, and I felt that Genet—for the right or wrong reasons—would be a better case because he was a famous writer.").

¹¹⁷ *Sleuths*, *supra* note 97, at 3.

¹¹⁸ *Mekas Gaoled Again, Genet Film Does It*, *supra* note 114.

¹¹⁹ *Id.*

¹²⁰ *Id.*

¹²¹ *Id.*

director of the License Department stopped the show.¹²² The License Department also cited the New Bowery Theater for showing an unlicensed film.¹²³ Theodora Bergery, the owner of the theater, was livid.¹²⁴ Ultimately, the License Department suspended the New Bowery Theatre's license for 30 days, and the American Theatre for Poets found a new home.¹²⁵

Mekas also hosted private screenings of *Flaming Creatures*, hoping to gin up support.¹²⁶ He met with mixed success. Susan Sontag loved *Flaming Creatures* and published a review in the *Nation* arguing that it was "a brilliant spoof on sex."¹²⁷ But Mekas soon learned that audiences expecting pornography were less receptive:

One of the most revealing experiences I had was during a screening of *Flaming Creatures* to a group of New York writers, upper-class writers who write for money, who expected to see another "blue movie"—I had never met such violent reactions, such outbursts of uncontrolled anger. Someone was threatening to beat me up. They would have sat happily through a pornographic movie, which they were expecting to see and which the host had promised them that night—but they could not take the fantasies of Jack Smith.¹²⁸

IV. JACOBS V. NEW YORK

A. *Flaming Creatures* in New York State Court

The *Flaming Creatures* trial was originally scheduled to begin on April 6, 1964, and the *Un Chant d'Amour* trial was scheduled to begin a week later, on April 13.¹²⁹ Both were postponed, and the *Flaming Creatures* trial began on June 2, before a three-judge panel of the Criminal Court of the

¹²² Don Kirk & Dave Levin, *Big Feature at the Movies—An Invasion by the Law*, N.Y. Post, Mar. 18, 1964, reprinted in CENSORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES: DOCUMENTS MEMOS ARTICLES BULLETINS PHOTOS LETTERS NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, ETC. (Anthology Film Archives pub., 2007); see also Nathan Adams, *Vice Squad Raids Theatre 2d Time*, N.Y. J.-AM., March 18, 1964, at 42, reprinted in CENSORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES: DOCUMENTS MEMOS ARTICLES BULLETINS PHOTOS LETTERS NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, ETC. (Anthology Film Archives pub., 2007).

¹²³ *Sleuths*, supra note 97, at 13.

¹²⁴ See *id.* (explaining that Theodora Bergery attempted to break the lease with the film group and lock its members out of the theater).

¹²⁵ *City Softens Approach to Poets in Cafes*, VILLAGE VOICE, April 2, 1964, at 2; see also *Flaming Theater Rising Again*, VILLAGE VOICE, Apr. 30, 1964, at 15 (stating that the American Theater for Poets "lost its tenure at the New Bowery Theater in conjunction with the obscenity charges the film 'Flaming Creatures'").

¹²⁶ *Mekas Risking Jail Sentence*, supra note 115.

¹²⁷ Susan Sontag, *A Feast for Open Eyes*, 198 NATION 374, 375 (Apr. 13, 1964).

¹²⁸ MEKAS, supra note 62, at 115.

¹²⁹ *Mekas Risking Jail Sentence*, supra note 115.

City of New York: former mayor Vincent R. Impelliteri, Thomas E. Rohan, and Michael A. Castaldi.¹³⁰ Jacobs, Mekas, Karpf, and Sims were each charged with one count of violating New York Penal Law Section 1141 by showing an obscene movie.¹³¹ All four pleaded not guilty.¹³² Assistant District Attorney Harris represented the State.¹³³ Emile Zola Berman and David G. Trager represented the defendants.¹³⁴

The State argued that *Flaming Creatures* was obscene principally by showing the film to the court.¹³⁵ Harris called only two witnesses: Detectives Arthur Walsh and Michael O'Toole.¹³⁶ They testified that the District Attorney ordered them to bust *Flaming Creatures*, that they seized the film two days later, and that they did not obtain search or arrest warrants.¹³⁷ Walsh also testified that *Flaming Creatures* was "garbage" and that it was "indecent, lewd and obscene."¹³⁸ Then, Harris presented *Flaming Creatures* to the judges, the defendants, and a few reporters.¹³⁹ The judges, "two of them munching cigars, watched impassively as the movie was shown in chambers."¹⁴⁰

The defense responded that *Flaming Creatures* is not obscene because it is a work of art.¹⁴¹ Berman called eleven witnesses, most of them

¹³⁰ Stephanie Gervis Harrington, *Pornography is Undefined at Film-Critic Mekas' Trial*, VILLAGE VOICE, June 18, 1964, at 9 [hereinafter *Undefined*]; see also Paul Hoffman, *A Movie Show—in Criminal Court*, N.Y. Post, June 3, 1964, at 16, reprinted in CENSORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES: DOCUMENTS MEMOS ARTICLES BULLETINS PHOTOS LETTERS NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, ETC. (Anthology Film Archives pub., 2007) (identifying only Judge Impelliteri).

¹³¹ Jurisdictional Statement, *supra* note 102, at 2.

¹³² *Id.*

¹³³ Hoffman, *supra* note 130, at 16.

¹³⁴ Jurisdictional Statement, *supra* note 102, at 16. Berman was a prominent tort lawyer who specialized in civil rights cases, and Mekas's friend, Jerome Hill, paid Berman's legal fees. Hill was a filmmaker and an heir of railroad baron James J. Hill. Among many others, Berman defended Staff Sergeant Matthew McKeon, a Marine officer accused of causing the death of six recruits while drunk; Camille Cravelle, a black teenager accused of raping a white woman in Alexandria, Louisiana; and Sirhan Sirhan, accused of assassinating Senator Robert Kennedy. See *The Stunning Blow*, TIME, Aug. 13, 1956, available at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,865425,00.html> (describing Berman's role in Staff Sergeant Matthew McKeon's trial); *Priceless Defenders*, TIME, Jan. 17, 1969 (indicating that Berman comprised part of Cravelle's team of defense attorneys); Linda Charlton, *Emile Zola Berman, 78, Dead; Defense Attorney for Sirhan*, N.Y. TIMES, July 5, 1981, at 14 (identifying Berman as one of the attorneys who represented Sirhan). Trager was appointed to the United States District Court for the Eastern District of New York in 1994.

¹³⁵ Brief for National Students Association, *supra* note 101, at 4.

¹³⁶ *Id.* at 3.

¹³⁷ *Id.* at 3–4.

¹³⁸ *Id.* at 4.

¹³⁹ See Hoffman, *supra* note 130, at 16.

¹⁴⁰ *Id.*

¹⁴¹ Jurisdictional Statement, *supra* note 102, at 6.

experts, to prove it.¹⁴² But Harris repeatedly objected that expert testimony on artistic merit is irrelevant to obscenity, and the court sustained his objections, over Judge Rohan's dissent.¹⁴³

The court excluded the testimony of Berman's first three witnesses as inadmissible.¹⁴⁴ Louis Allen, a producer, would have testified that *Flaming Creatures* "was a serious, talented work of art that poetically and wittily satirized advertising, fashion, love, and society's use of sex."¹⁴⁵ Willard Van Dyke, a documentary filmmaker and film festival judge, would have testified about the cinematic qualities of *Flaming Creatures*.¹⁴⁶ Herman Weinberg, a professor of film history at the City College of New York, would have testified that *Flaming Creatures* "was an aesthetic production that satirized sex and an experimental film that employed artistic technique."¹⁴⁷ Harris objected to all of this testimony and the court sustained his objections.¹⁴⁸

Berman's next witness was Susan Sontag.¹⁴⁹ The court admitted into evidence Sontag's review of *Flaming Creatures* and allowed her to testify about the meaning of the review.¹⁵⁰ Among other things, Sontag defined the avant-garde film movement as "a small group of people who are doing experimental work that is usually just mainly followed by critics and by other artists."¹⁵¹ Sontag also pointed to "posters outside Times Square movie theatres that advertise war movies with sadistic atrocity pictures" as an example of pornography.¹⁵² However, Harris objected to Sontag's testimony that *Flaming Creatures* is a work of art and the court sustained his objection.¹⁵³

¹⁴² Berman called eleven witnesses: Shirley Clarke, a director and film professor at Columbia University; Louis Allen, a producer; Willard Van Dyke, a producer and film festival judge; Herman Weisberg, a film professor at the City College of New York; Susan Sontag, a journalist; Allan Ginsberg, a poet; Joseph Kaster, a classics professor at the New School for Social Research; Robert Trumbull, an employee of the Film-Makers' Cooperative; Charles Levine, an audience member; Dr. Edward Hornick, a psychiatrist, and Dr. John Thompson, a psychiatrist and associate professor at the Albert Einstein School of Medicine, Yeshiva University. *Id.*; Brief for National Students Association, *supra* note 101, at 7. Berman did not call Jack Smith and did not want Smith to attend the trial. HOBBERMAN, *supra* note 51, at 45 n.18.

¹⁴³ Brief for National Students Association, *supra* note 101, at 4–5 n.3; *see also* Jurisdictional Statement, *supra* note 102, at 7.

¹⁴⁴ Brief for National Students Association, *supra* note 101, at 4–5.

¹⁴⁵ *Id.* at 4.

¹⁴⁶ *Id.* at 5.

¹⁴⁷ *Id.*

¹⁴⁸ *Id.* at 5 n.3.

¹⁴⁹ *Id.* at 5.

¹⁵⁰ Brief for National Students Association, *supra* note 101, at 5–6.

¹⁵¹ *Id.* at 6.

¹⁵² *Undefined*, *supra* note 130, at 9.

¹⁵³ Brief for National Students Association, *supra* note 101, at 6.

After Sontag testified, Berman moved for a mistrial, arguing that the court was preventing the defendants from presenting any evidence because it had already decided that *Flaming Creatures* was obscene.¹⁵⁴ The court denied the motion and reasserted its evidentiary rulings, Rohan continuing to dissent.¹⁵⁵

While the court allowed some of Berman's remaining witnesses to testify, it did not allow any of them to testify that *Flaming Creatures* is a work of art. Shirley Clarke, a filmmaker and professor at Columbia University, testified that the Film-Makers' Cooperative distributes avant-garde films, including *Flaming Creatures*.¹⁵⁶ Joseph Kaster, a professor at the New School for Social Research, testified that he showed *Flaming Creatures* to his class as an illustration of the Dionysius myth.¹⁵⁷ Richard Leslie Trumbull, a volunteer clerk at the Film-Makers' Cooperative, which distributed *Flaming Creatures*, testified that the defendants were arrested at a benefit screening advertised in the *Village Voice*.¹⁵⁸ Allen Ginsburg, a poet, testified that he knew Jack Smith and had seen *Flaming Creatures*.¹⁵⁹ Ginsburg also defined the avant-garde as "a group of people up front looking to experiment with their own consciousness, their own hearts, their own feelings, in an attempt to communicate with other human beings."¹⁶⁰ Harris objected to Ginsburg's testimony that *Flaming Creatures* has "aesthetic and artistic value as well as social importance," and the court sustained the objection.¹⁶¹

Harris stipulated to the testimony of Berman's remaining witnesses.¹⁶² Charles Levine, who attended the March 3 presentation of *Flaming Creatures*, would have testified that the audience was well behaved.¹⁶³ Psychiatrists Dr. Edward Hornick and Dr. John Thompson would have testified that *Flaming Creatures* is a work of art.¹⁶⁴ Harris objected to the admission of this testimony, and the court sustained his objection.¹⁶⁵ Oddly, Berman did not call Jack Smith as a witness.¹⁶⁶ Smith was quite a colorful character and Berman apparently wanted to keep him out of the courtroom.¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁴ *Id.*

¹⁵⁵ *Id.*

¹⁵⁶ *Id.*

¹⁵⁷ Motion to Dismiss or Affirm at 4, *Jacobs v. New York*, 388 U.S. 431 (1967) (No. 660).

¹⁵⁸ *Id.*

¹⁵⁹ Brief for National Students Association, *supra* note 101, at 7.

¹⁶⁰ *Undefined*, *supra* note 130, at 9.

¹⁶¹ Brief for National Students Association, *supra* note 101, at 7.

¹⁶² *See id.*

¹⁶³ *Id.*

¹⁶⁴ *Id.*

¹⁶⁵ *Id.* at 8.

¹⁶⁶ *See Hoberman*, *supra* note 51, at 45 n.18.

¹⁶⁷ *See id.*

On June 12, 1964, Berman concluded the case for the defense and moved to dismiss the complaints against all four defendants on the ground that the state failed to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that *Flaming Creatures* is obscene.¹⁶⁸ Harris responded that artistic merit does not disprove obscenity.¹⁶⁹ The court denied the motion to dismiss and convicted Mekas, Jacobs, and Karpf.¹⁷⁰ The court acquitted Sims, finding that he was not responsible for presenting *Flaming Creatures* because he was hired as a ticket taker at the last minute.¹⁷¹

The *Un Chant d'Amour* trial was scheduled to begin on June 19, but was postponed until after the *Flaming Creatures* sentencing hearing.¹⁷² The sentencing hearing was held on August 7, 1964 before another three-judge panel of the Criminal Court of the City of New York: Simon Silver, Edward J. Greenfield, and Charles S. Whitman.¹⁷³ The judges watched *Flaming Creatures* before sentencing the defendants. Jacobs and Mekas got sixty days in the city workhouse, execution of sentence suspended, and Karpf got a suspended sentence.¹⁷⁴ When the sentences were entered, the state dismissed the charges involving *Un Chant d'Amour*, “on condition, agreed to by Mekas, that the import not be shown anywhere in New York State before all appeals from the ‘Flaming Creatures’ conviction had been finally disposed of.”¹⁷⁵

Crusaders against obscenity relished the victory. New York Assistant District Attorney Richard H. Kuh crowed, “Despite anguished squeals of ‘persecution of the avant-garde,’ and howls of ‘censorship’ by those who seemed to relish their kinship to martyrdom, Mekas was tried and convicted for showing ‘Flaming Creatures.’”¹⁷⁶ Even some of Mekas’s allies criticized his approach. For example, Amos Vogel complained, “it is highly debatable whether ‘Flaming Creatures’ should have been used as a test case” because “despite flashes of brilliance and moments of perverse, tortured beauty, [it] remains a tragically sad film noir, replete with limp genitalia and limp art.”¹⁷⁷

¹⁶⁸ Brief for National Students Association, *supra* note 101, at 8.

¹⁶⁹ *Id.*

¹⁷⁰ *See id.* (explaining that the motion was dismissed without explanation); *see also* Jurisdictional Statement, *supra* note 102, at 2 (indicating that Mekas, Jacobs, and Karpf were convicted).

¹⁷¹ *Undefined*, *supra* note 130, at 9.

¹⁷² *See id.*

¹⁷³ Jurisdictional Statement, *supra* note 102, at 17.

¹⁷⁴ *Jacobs v. New York*, 388 U.S. 431, 432 (1967).

¹⁷⁵ Richard H. Kuh, *Obscenity: Prosecution Problems and Legislative Suggestions*, 10 CATH. LAW. 285, 292 (1964). Mekas believes that Hogan decided to drop the case against *Un Chant d'Amour* because Jack Smith was unknown, whereas Genet’s plays were produced on Broadway. Frye, *supra* note 82.

¹⁷⁶ Kuh, *supra* note 175, at 292.

¹⁷⁷ Amos Vogel, *Flaming Creatures Cannot Carry Freedom’s Torch*, VILLAGE VOICE, May 7, 1964, at 9, 18.

Jacobs, Mekas, and Karpf appealed their convictions, without success.¹⁷⁸ Berman filed a notice of appeal in the Appellate Term of the Supreme Court, First Judicial Department, and on December 9, 1965, that court entered an order without opinion affirming the convictions below.¹⁷⁹ Berman also filed an application for leave to appeal to the Court of Appeals, and on April 15, 1966, Judge Stanley H. Fuld denied permission to appeal.¹⁸⁰

B. Flaming Creatures in the Supreme Court

Their state appeals exhausted, Jacobs, Mekas, and Karpf appealed to the United States Supreme Court. On July 13, 1966, Berman filed a notice of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States in the Criminal Court of the City of New York, New York County, and on October 11, he filed a jurisdictional statement for *Jacobs v. New York* in the Supreme Court of the United States.¹⁸¹

Berman's jurisdictional statement argued that New York Penal Law Section 1141 violated the First Amendment as applied because: (1) it excluded expert testimony on artistic merit, educational value, social importance, prurient appeal, and community standards; (2) it prohibited the portrayal of indecent conduct; (3) it excluded evidence of the context in which a film was shown; and (4) it permitted an obscenity conviction without a finding of pandering.¹⁸²

Essentially, Berman argued New York Penal Law Section 1141 was unconstitutional because it did not require pandering.¹⁸³ *Flaming Creatures* was presented "in the setting of an *avant garde* group sincerely devoted to the arts," not as "an attempt to pander to prurient interests."¹⁸⁴ In other words, "we have a film the showing of which was motivated by a legitimate artistic purpose and not for the commercial exploitation of sex in cinema."¹⁸⁵ This argument was calculated to appeal to Fortas, and it succeeded.

On November 11, 1966, New York filed a motion to dismiss or affirm *Jacobs*, arguing that it was moot because appellants' suspended sentences had lapsed and because the trial court properly found *Flaming Creatures* obscene.¹⁸⁶ The motion emphasized the subject matter of the film, describing it in explicit detail:

It is comprised of several separable sequences, all of them depicting some form of transvesticism or abnormal sexual

¹⁷⁸ See Jurisdictional Statement, *supra* note 102, at 17–18.

¹⁷⁹ *Id.*

¹⁸⁰ *Id.* at 19–20.

¹⁸¹ *Id.* at 3.

¹⁸² *Id.* at 3–4.

¹⁸³ *Id.* at 12.

¹⁸⁴ Jurisdictional Statement, *supra* note 102, at 11–12.

¹⁸⁵ *Id.* at 12.

¹⁸⁶ Motion to Dismiss or Affirm, *supra* note 157, at 6–10.

behavior. One of the sequences concerns a sexual attack upon a female by four individuals, some dressed as women, with the camera focusing at times on the “victim’s” bare breast which is being violently shaken by a participant in the assault, and dwelling at other times on the subject’s uncovered pubic area which is being massaged by another attacker. In other sequences there are numerous scenes of male masturbation. Such depictions of penises and pubic regions, portrayed in the perverse manner they are here, debase both the sexual act and the human body and are clearly hard-core pornography.¹⁸⁷

Berman filed a reply to New York’s motion to dismiss or affirm on November 30, 1966.¹⁸⁸ He argued that *Jacobs* was not moot because the obscenity convictions injured appellants by preventing recovery of the confiscated film and equipment, limiting the availability of motion picture licenses and staining their reputations.¹⁸⁹ Berman also reiterated that Jacobs, Karpf, and Mekas were not panders, by arguing that “[n]ot only is any evidence of commercial exploitation wholly absent here, but the opposite is established by the record.”¹⁹⁰ In fact, they “considered the film as well as the many other films produced by the members of Film Makers Cooperative as works of art, treated them as such and expected others to do likewise.”¹⁹¹

Berman’s focus on pandering was quite timely because the Court was wrestling with the pandering test when he appealed *Jacobs*. In fact, Berman filed the jurisdictional statement in *Jacobs* on the day that oral arguments in *Redrup* concluded.¹⁹² And the Court noticed Berman’s focus on pandering. For example, Justice Douglas’s law clerk Lewis B. Merrifield drafted a memorandum concluding that *Jacobs* should be reversed for lack of pandering:

It seems to me that a good argument can be made that Appellants cannot be convicted under the Ginzburg rule. If “pandering” can be used to convict a person, it should be used to acquit as well. Many autoerotic films are considered works of art - due to their symbolism. If a film of this kind is directed to a group of people who appreciate experimental, avant guard films, and exhibited by people who desire to

¹⁸⁷ *Id.* at 7.

¹⁸⁸ Appellants’ Reply to Motion to Dismiss or Affirm, *Jacobs v. State of New York*, 388 U.S. 431 (1967) (No. 660).

¹⁸⁹ *Id.* at 2–3.

¹⁹⁰ *Id.* at 4.

¹⁹¹ *Id.*

¹⁹² See Jurisdictional Statement, *supra* note 102; *Redrup v. New York*, 386 U.S. 767, 767 (1967).

promote film art, an inverse use of Ginzburg should protect them.¹⁹³

On December 9, Edward de Grazia and John R. Kramer of the National Students Association filed an amicus brief in *Jacobs*, with the consent of the parties.¹⁹⁴ The National Students Association emphasized that *Jacobs*, *Mekas*, and *Karpf* were not panders, but “members of a cooperative society of experimental film-makers” who showed “an avant-garde motion picture for the benefit of society.”¹⁹⁵ And it argued that courts hearing obscenity cases must consider expert testimony on artistic and social value, in order to protect “the work whose artistic and social values are apparent only to and appreciated only by a minority on the frontiers of artistic expression and human knowledge, *i.e.*, the avant-garde.”¹⁹⁶

The Court expected *Redrup* to clarify obscenity doctrine by emphasizing the pandering test. So, on January 6, 1967, it held eighteen obscenity cases pending its decision in *Redrup*, including *Jacobs*.¹⁹⁷ But when the Court finally decided *Redrup* on May 8, 1967, it punted; Rather than clarify obscenity doctrine, it issued a per curiam opinion reversing on the facts.¹⁹⁸

The Court planned to decide the *Redrup* line of obscenity cases in conference on May 26, 1967.¹⁹⁹ However, it was forced to postpone them again because it had not yet received the films at issue in *Jacobs v. New York* and *Schackman v. California*. The Court eventually received *Flaming Creatures* on June 2, as well as *O-7*, *O-12*, and *D-15*, the stag films at issue in *Schackman*.²⁰⁰ Presumably, the films were shown for the Court, but there is no record of who attended. A few of the justices also saw *Un Chant d'Amour*, the film at issue in *Landau v. Fording*.²⁰¹ According to Stewart,

¹⁹³ Letter from Lewis B. Merrifield to Justice Douglas (Dec. 13, 1966) (available at Library of Congress, Manuscript Division; copy on file with author).

¹⁹⁴ Brief for National Students Association, *supra* note 101, at 14. The National Students Association was a liberal organization founded in 1947 at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. See UNITED STATES STUDENT ASSOCIATION (last visited Oct. 19, 2011), <http://www.usstudents.org/>. In 1978, it merged with the National Student Lobby and became the United States Student Association. See *id.*

¹⁹⁵ Brief for National Students Association, *supra* note 101, at 3.

¹⁹⁶ *Id.* at 13.

¹⁹⁷ Memorandum from Justice Douglas to Justice Black (May 19, 1967) (available at Library of Congress, Manuscript Division; copy on file with author).

¹⁹⁸ See *Redrup v. New York*, 386 U.S. 767, 771 (1967).

¹⁹⁹ See Memorandum from Justice Douglas, *supra* note 197 (requesting Justice Black to note Justice Douglas's vote on each of the obscenity cases during the conference on May 26, 1967).

²⁰⁰ Memorandum from John F. Davis, Supreme Court Clerk, to Chief Justice Warren (June 2, 1967) (available at Library of Congress, Manuscript Division; copy on file with author).

²⁰¹ See *Landau v. Fording*, 54 Cal. Rptr. 177, 177 (Cal. Dis. Ct. App. 1966), *aff'd*, 388 U.S. 456 (1967) (indicating that the question before the court was whether *Un Chant d'Amour* should be deemed obscene).

“the film is not as the Cal SC described it - no scenes of sodomy etc. The worst thing was a very fleeting scene of masturbation.”²⁰²

The Court finally voted on the obscenity cases in conference on June 8, 1967.²⁰³ The justices voted to reverse many of the cases.²⁰⁴ But in *Jacobs*, a majority of the justices voted to either affirm the convictions or dismiss the appeal as moot.²⁰⁵ On the merits, Justices White, Brennan, Harlan, Clarke, and Warren voted to affirm; Justices Fortas, Stewart, and Douglas voted to reverse; and Justice Black did not vote.²⁰⁶ However, Justices White, Stewart, Harlan, Clark, and Black also voted to dismiss *Jacobs* as moot.²⁰⁷

The Court decided the *Redrup* line of obscenity cases on June 12, 1967.²⁰⁸ Most of the cases were decided in per curiam opinions, reversing under *Redrup*.²⁰⁹ *Jacobs* was also decided in a per curiam opinion, but it was dismissed as moot.²¹⁰ Brennan noted his vote to affirm and Fortas noted his vote to reverse.²¹¹ Warren dissented from the dismissal of *Jacobs* as moot, arguing that it allows states to insulate convictions from review by imposing short suspended sentences.²¹² Fortas added that he would affirm the convictions on the merits because *Flaming Creatures* “falls outside the range of expression protected by the First Amendment according to the criteria set out in *Roth*.”²¹³ Douglas also dissented from the dismissal of *Jacobs* as moot, arguing that denying review of obscenity convictions would cause people “to comply with what may be an invalid statute” and “steer wide and refrain from showing or selling protected material.”²¹⁴ He closed by noting that the

²⁰² Letter from Lewis B. Merrifield to Justice Douglas (not dated) (available at Library of Congress, Manuscript Division; copy on file with author).

²⁰³ Supreme Court Conference Notes (June 8, 1967) (available at Library of Congress, Manuscript Division; copy on file with author).

²⁰⁴ *Id.*

²⁰⁵ *Id.*

²⁰⁶ *Id.*

²⁰⁷ *Id.*

²⁰⁸ See *A Quantity of Copies of Books v. Kansas*, 388 U.S. 452 (1967); *Aday v. United States*, 388 U.S. 447 (1967); *Avansino v. New York*, 388 U.S. 446 (1967); *Books, Inc. v. United States*, 388 U.S. 449 (1967); *Cobert v. New York*, 388 U.S. 443 (1967); *Friedman v. New York*, 388 U.S. 441 (1967); *Keney v. New York*, 388 U.S. 440 (1967); *Mazes v. Ohio*, 388 U.S. 453 (1967); *Ratner v. California*, 388 U.S. 442 (1967); *Schackman v. California*, 388 U.S. 454 (1967); *Sheperd v. New York*, 388 U.S. 444 (1967) (decided on June 12, 1967).

²⁰⁹ See *A Quantity of Copies of Books v. Kansas*, 388 U.S. 452 (1967); *Aday v. United States*, 388 U.S. 447 (1967); *Avansino v. New York*, 388 U.S. 446 (1967); *Books, Inc. v. United States*, 388 U.S. 449 (1967); *Cobert v. New York*, 388 U.S. 443 (1967); *Friedman v. New York*, 388 U.S. 441 (1967); *Keney v. New York*, 388 U.S. 440 (1967); *Mazes v. Ohio*, 388 U.S. 453 (1967); *Ratner v. California*, 388 U.S. 442 (1967); *Schackman v. California*, 388 U.S. 454 (1967); *Sheperd v. New York*, 388 U.S. 444 (1967) (reversing under *Redrup* in per curiam opinions).

²¹⁰ *Jacobs v. New York*, 388 U.S. 431, 431 (1967).

²¹¹ *Id.* at 432.

²¹² *Id.*

²¹³ *Id.* at 436.

²¹⁴ *Id.* at 437.

film and the motion picture equipment would be forfeited if the Court dismissed the appeal.²¹⁵

While the Court ultimately dismissed *Jacobs* as moot, the vote count on the merits is strange. There should have been five votes to reverse. At the June 8 conference, Fortas, Stewart, and Douglas voted to reverse.²¹⁶ But in theory, White and Brennan should have voted to reverse as well. White's unwritten test for obscenity was "no erect penises, no intercourse, no oral or anal sodomy," so "no erections and no insertions equaled no obscenity."²¹⁷ Brennan applied a similar "limp dick" test, under which obscenity required an erection.²¹⁸ Under Brennan's rule, "[o]ral sex was tolerable if there was no erection."²¹⁹

Flaming Creatures is replete with limp dicks and conspicuously lacks erections and intercourse. Nevertheless, both White and Brennan found it obscene. Perhaps they were disturbed by its unfamiliar form and homosexual content. Notably, they also voted to affirm the *Un Chant d'Amour* conviction in *Landau v. Fording*, with Justices Black, Douglas, Stewart, and Fortas voting to reverse.²²⁰

C. The Continuing Prosecution of Flaming Creatures

As *Jacobs* wended its way through the courts, the notoriety of *Flaming Creatures* increased. In 1966, Vincent Canby of the New York Times described it as "a film record of a transvestite orgy."²²¹ The following year, Rosalyn Regelson offered the more charitable assessment that "Jack Smith's still-banned 'Flaming Creatures' depicts the exotic 'pageantry of Transvestia and the magic of Fairyland' as the Film Culture award puts it, in phantasmagoric terms."²²² But *Time* dismissively concluded, "Jack Smith's . . . Flaming Creatures, an incredibly tedious parody of a sexploitation feature, demonstrates how easy it is to fall asleep in the steamy midst of an hour-long transvestite orgy."²²³

College film societies also began to present *Flaming Creatures*, and several were busted. On April 1, 1965, the Albuquerque police busted a

²¹⁵ *Id.* at 438. Indeed, none of the films or equipment was ever returned. MEKAS, *supra* note 62, at 330.

²¹⁶ Supreme Court Conference Notes, *supra* note 203.

²¹⁷ BOB WOODWARD & SCOTT ARMSTRONG, *THE BROTHERS: INSIDE THE SUPREME COURT 192-93* (1979).

²¹⁸ *Id.* at 194.

²¹⁹ *Id.*

²²⁰ See *Landau v. Fording*, 388 U.S. 456, 456 (1967).

²²¹ Vincent Canby, *Underground Movies Find Showcase on 41st St.*, N.Y. TIMES, Jan. 7, 1966, at 21.

²²² Rosalyn Regelson, *Where Are 'The Chelsea Girls' Taking Us?*, N.Y. TIMES, Sept. 24, 1967, at 131.

²²³ *Art of Light & Lunacy: The New Underground Films*, TIME, Feb. 17, 1967, available at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,839497-1,00.html>.

presentation of *Flaming Creatures* at the University of New Mexico.²²⁴ Municipal Judge James Malone watched the film and concluded that it was obscene, but the city attorney declined to prosecute because the people who showed it did not intend to promote pornography.²²⁵ Apparently, a student named Bill Dodd had rented *Flaming Creatures* sight unseen because its star Mario Montez was an alumnus of the University of New Mexico.²²⁶

Similarly, on November 9, 1966, the Austin police busted a presentation of *Flaming Creatures* at the University of Texas.²²⁷ The show was arranged by an art student named Cynthia Smagula and sponsored by Students for a Democratic Society.²²⁸ Smagula cancelled the show when the police arrived in order to avoid arrest, even though the police said they did not intend to arrest anyone.²²⁹

Most notably, on January 18, 1967, the Ann Arbor police busted a presentation of *Sins of the Fleshapoids* and *Flaming Creatures* at the University of Michigan.²³⁰ About 600 people attended the show, which was arranged by Mary E. Barkey, hosted by the University of Michigan Cinema Guild and sponsored by Students for a Democratic Society.²³¹ A professor had filed a complaint about the show, so Detective Lieutenant Eugene

²²⁴ 'Pop Art' Film Sponsored By Rights Group Here Is Confiscated by Police, ALBUQUERQUE J., Apr. 2, 1965, reprinted in CENSORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES: DOCUMENTS MEMOS ARTICLES BULLETINS PHOTOS LETTERS NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, ETC. (Anthology Film Archives pub., 2007); *Albuquerque Axes Avant-Garde Film About 'Third Sex'*, VARIETY, Apr. 7, 1965, reprinted in CENSORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES: DOCUMENTS MEMOS ARTICLES BULLETINS PHOTOS LETTERS NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, ETC. (Anthology Film Archives pub., 2007).

²²⁵ 'Pop Art' Film Sponsored By Rights Group Here Is Confiscated by Police, *supra* note 225.

²²⁶ *Police Seize 'Art' Film*, ALBUQUERQUE TRIB., Apr. 2, 1965, reprinted in CENSORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES: DOCUMENTS MEMOS ARTICLES BULLETINS PHOTOS LETTERS NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, ETC. (Anthology Film Archives pub., 2007). Mario Montez (Rene Rivera), later became one of Andy Warhol's "superstars."

²²⁷ HOBBERMAN, *supra* note 51, at 46.

²²⁸ Renee Fendrich, *FILM SHOWING CANCELLED AFTER POLICE ENTER 'Y'*, DAILY TEXAN, Nov. 10, 1966, at 1, reprinted in CENSORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES: DOCUMENTS MEMOS ARTICLES BULLETINS PHOTOS LETTERS NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, ETC. (Anthology Film Archives pub., 2007).

²²⁹ *Id.*

²³⁰ *Transvestite 'Flaming Creatures' Pic Raided; Campus Auspices Vs. Cops*, Jan. 25, 1967, reprinted in CENSORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES: DOCUMENTS MEMOS ARTICLES BULLETINS PHOTOS LETTERS NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, ETC. (Anthology Film Archives pub., 2007); see also HOBBERMAN, *supra* note 51, at 47 (neglecting to reference *Sins of the Fleshapoids*).

²³¹ *Transvestite 'Flaming Creatures' Pic Raided*, *supra* note 230; see also *Guys in Drag ('Flaming Creatures') Involve Campus Legal Pundits*, VARIETY, Apr. 5, 1967, at 20, reprinted in CENSORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES: DOCUMENTS MEMOS ARTICLES BULLETINS PHOTOS LETTERS NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, ETC. (Anthology Film Archives pub., 2007); *Underground Film Is Seized At U. of Michigan Showing*, N.Y. TIMES, Jan. 20, 1967, at 25 (failing to specify the size of the audience). But see Paul Krassner, *Flicks and Kicks: 2*, CAVALIER, 1967, at 25, reprinted in CENSORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES: DOCUMENTS MEMOS ARTICLES BULLETINS PHOTOS LETTERS NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, ETC. (Anthology Film Archives pub., 2007) (claiming only 300 people attended the showing).

Staudenmeier attended as well.²³² Staudenmeier ignored *Sins of the Fleshapoids*, which lacked explicit sexual content, but he seized *Flaming Creatures* about seven or eight minutes after it began, tucking the film under his coat and trying to leave the theater.²³³ The audience erupted, trying to stop Staudenmeier from leaving the projection booth and chasing him out of the theater.²³⁴ About 100 students protested the seizure of *Flaming Creatures*, demonstrating in front of the police department and staging a four-hour sit-in at city hall.²³⁵

The next day, the police arrested four members of the Cinema Guild: Ellen P. Frank, Mary E. Barkey, Elliot S. Cohen, and Hubert I. Cohen, the faculty adviser.²³⁶ Each was charged with violating the Michigan obscenity law.²³⁷ Municipal Judge S. J. Elden released the defendants without bail but described *Flaming Creatures* as “a smutty purveyance of filth [that] borders on the razor’s edge of hard-core pornography” and “would sexually arouse and excite transvestites and homosexuals.”²³⁸ The defendants responded by moving to suppress the evidence and filing a civil rights claim in federal court and requesting both an injunction against the seizure of art films and \$15,000 damages.²³⁹ The obscenity trial began on December 12 and ended immediately when Mary Barkey pleaded guilty to a lesser charge.²⁴⁰ On February 7, 1968, Barkey was ordered to pay a \$235 fine, and charges against the other three defendants were dropped.²⁴¹ The Ann Arbor police kept the confiscated print of *Flaming Creatures*, which featured in the Fortas Film Festival later that year.²⁴²

²³² See Alan Glenn, *The Flap Over ‘Flaming Creatures’*, MICH. TODAY, Apr. 14, 2010, available at <http://michigantoday.umich.edu/2010/04/story.php?id=7699> (indicating that Staudenmeier attended the showing); see also HOBBERMAN, *supra* note 51, at 47 (explaining that the police responded to a professor’s complaint about the film).

²³³ *Underground Film Is Seized At U. of Michigan Showing*, *supra* note 231. But see *Film Screening Asked in Inquiry Over Fortas*, L.A. TIMES, July 28, 1968, at A6 (claiming that Staudenmeier watched *Flaming Creatures* for 14 minutes); Glenn, *supra* note 232 (stating that Staudenmeier allowed *Flaming Creatures* to play for 15 minutes before seizing the film).

²³⁴ Glenn, *supra* note 232.

²³⁵ Krassner, *supra* note 231.

²³⁶ *Transvestite ‘Flaming Creatures’ Pic Raided*, *supra* note 230.

²³⁷ *Id.*; Krassner, *supra* note 231.

²³⁸ HOBBERMAN, *supra* note 51, at 47 (quoting *Municipal Judge Says Flaming Creatures Obscene*, ANN ARBOR NEWS, Sept. 1, 1967, at 15); Glenn, *supra* note 232.

²³⁹ *Transvestite ‘Flaming Creatures’ Pic Raided*, *supra* note 230; Krassner, *supra* note 231.

²⁴⁰ Glenn, *supra* note 232; see also *Film Screening Asked in Inquiry Over Fortas*, *supra* note 233, at A6 (explaining that Mary Barkey entered a guilty plea).

²⁴¹ Glenn, *supra* note 232.

²⁴² See *id.*

V. THE FORTAS FILM FESTIVAL

Flaming Creatures is probably the only avant-garde film ever shown in the Capitol, and it is certainly the only avant-garde film to have prevented a Supreme Court confirmation. When Johnson nominated Fortas to replace Warren as Chief Justice, Fortas's opponents had to justify a filibuster. *Flaming Creatures* was their ace in the hole.

On June 13, 1968, Warren informed Johnson of his intention to retire and sent a resignation letter stating, "I hereby advise you of my intention to retire as Chief Justice of the United States, effective at your pleasure."²⁴³ In a separate letter sent the same day, Warren stated that he was retiring because of his age.²⁴⁴ While Johnson immediately decided to nominate Fortas as Warren's replacement, he kept Warren's retirement under wraps.²⁴⁵ He needed time to build support for Fortas and he wanted to ensure that Warren could withdraw his retirement if Fortas was not confirmed.²⁴⁶

However, Johnson's attempt at secrecy was remarkably unsuccessful. Rumors of Warren's retirement and Fortas's nomination began to circulate the next day.²⁴⁷ Johnson knew that Fortas needed support from Republicans and southern Democrats, so he quickly started lining up votes, beginning with Republican Senator Everett Dirksen, the powerful minority leader.²⁴⁸ When Johnson decided to nominate Judge Homer Thornberry as Fortas's replacement, Senator Richard Russell, the leader of the southern Democrats, agreed to support both nominees.²⁴⁹ But Senator James O. Eastland, the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, was adamantly opposed to Fortas.²⁵⁰ Fatefully, he did agree to let the nomination out of committee "at my own time."²⁵¹ And Republican Senator Robert P. Griffin was among the first to come out publicly against the Fortas nomination. Johnson had announced that he would not seek a second term, and Griffin argued that the Senate should refuse to confirm any nomination made by a "lame-duck President."²⁵²

Finally, on June 26, 1968, Johnson announced his acceptance of Warren's retirement, "effective at such time as a successor is qualified," and

²⁴³ Letter from Chief Justice Warren to President Johnson (June 13, 1968), available at <http://www.presidentialtimeline.org/html/record.php?id=1338>.

²⁴⁴ Letter from Chief Justice Warren to President Johnson (June 13, 1968), available at <http://www.presidentialtimeline.org/html/record.php?id=1339>.

²⁴⁵ MURPHY, *supra* note 23, at 270–73.

²⁴⁶ *Id.* at 273.

²⁴⁷ *Id.*

²⁴⁸ *Id.* at 292–93.

²⁴⁹ *Id.* at 300.

²⁵⁰ *Id.* at 301.

²⁵¹ MURPHY, *supra* note 23, at 301.

²⁵² *Id.* at 282.

nominated Fortas and Thornberry.²⁵³ The battle lines were already drawn. Many Republicans opposed Fortas because they expected Nixon to win the upcoming presidential election and wanted him to appoint the new Chief Justice.²⁵⁴ And many southern Democrats opposed Fortas because they hated his liberal politics.²⁵⁵ Their weapon was delay. While Fortas had enough votes in the Senate to break a filibuster, he could not keep them for long.²⁵⁶

A. *The Fortas-Thornberry Hearings*

When the Senate Judiciary Committee met on July 27 to discuss the Fortas and Thornberry nominations, Senator Sam Ervin stalled by suggesting that Johnson's conditional acceptance of Warren's retirement meant that no vacancy existed.²⁵⁷ The committee discussed this issue for several days before scheduling hearings on the nominations to begin on July 11.²⁵⁸ Eastland invited Attorney General Ramsay Clark to testify on the vacancy issue at the hearings.²⁵⁹ Eastland also invited Fortas to testify at the hearings.²⁶⁰ Against his better judgment, Fortas agreed.²⁶¹

On July 1, the Fortas nomination suffered a crippling blow when Russell withdrew his support.²⁶² Russell had recommended Alexander Lawrence for a district court vacancy and Johnson was stalling the nomination because Attorney General Clark opposed it.²⁶³ Russell retaliated by withdrawing his support for the Fortas and Thornberry nominations.²⁶⁴ Johnson immediately nominated Lawrence, but the damage was done.²⁶⁵

The committee hearings began on July 11 with Attorney General Clark's testimony on whether the conditional acceptance of Warren's retirement created a vacancy on the Court.²⁶⁶ On July 12, Griffin testified against "cronism" and "lame duck" nominations and alleged that Fortas had

²⁵³ Press Release, White House (June 26, 1968) (copy on file with author).

²⁵⁴ See SHOGAN, *supra* note 25, at 154.

²⁵⁵ MURPHY, *supra* note 23, at 306-07.

²⁵⁶ See *id.* at 313. For an excellent contemporary account of the Fortas nomination, see Hugh Jones, *The Defeat of the Nomination of Abe Fortas as Chief Justice of the United States* (1976) (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University).

²⁵⁷ MURPHY, *supra* note 23, at 312.

²⁵⁸ *Id.*

²⁵⁹ *Id.*

²⁶⁰ KALMAN, *supra* note 23, at 335.

²⁶¹ *Id.*

²⁶² See MURPHY, *supra* note 23, at 328-59 (discussing the letter Russell wrote to Johnson explaining that he intended to withdraw his support for Fortas).

²⁶³ *Id.*

²⁶⁴ *Id.*

²⁶⁵ *Id.*

²⁶⁶ *Nominations of Abe Fortas and Homer Thornberry Before the S. Comm. On the Judiciary*, 90th Cong. 8 (1968) (statement of Ramsey Clark, Attorney General of the United States).

violated the separation of powers by consulting with Johnson on executive decisions.²⁶⁷ Senator Ralph Yarborough also introduced Thornberry, who made a brief appearance, followed by the representatives of several fringe organizations that opposed the Fortas nomination.²⁶⁸

Fortas first appeared before the committee on July 16.²⁶⁹ Eastland and Senator John L. McClellan asked him whether he had consulted with Johnson on executive decisions after he was appointed to the Supreme Court.²⁷⁰ Fortas admitted that he had, but insisted that he had not “recommended anybody for any public position” or “initiated any suggestions or any proposal.”²⁷¹ These assertions were false. In fact, Fortas had recommended many candidates for public office and had pressed many policy proposals.²⁷² Ervin spent the rest of the day and the following day asking Fortas an interminable series of questions about his judicial philosophy and the decisions of the Warren Court, to which Fortas gave carefully vague replies.²⁷³

On July 18, Senator Strom Thurmond stepped up to the plate and started swinging.²⁷⁴ For hours, Thurmond barraged Fortas with questions about various Supreme Court decisions, which Fortas refused to answer on constitutional grounds.²⁷⁵ The climax of Thurmond’s attack came when Fortas refused to answer questions about *Mallory v. United States*, a 1957 case in which the Supreme Court unanimously reversed a rape conviction because the defendant was held too long before arraignment.²⁷⁶ Thurmond intoned, “Does not that decision, *Mallory*—I want that word to ring in your ears—*Mallory*—the man happened to have been from my State, incidentally—shackle law enforcement? *Mallory*, a man who raped a woman, admitted his guilt, and the Supreme Court turned him loose on a technicality.”²⁷⁷ Suddenly, Thurmond became Fortas’s leading opponent.

Thurmond continued to question Fortas on the morning of July 19, before yielding the floor to McClellan, who returned to Fortas’s role in the Johnson administration.²⁷⁸ Fortas admitted to discussing political issues with his friends but denied passing messages for Johnson or consulting on

²⁶⁷ *Id.* at 41–65.

²⁶⁸ *Id.* at 65–97.

²⁶⁹ *Id.* at 103.

²⁷⁰ *Id.* at 103–07.

²⁷¹ *Id.* at 103.

²⁷² KALMAN, *supra* note 23, at 337–38.

²⁷³ *Nominations of Abe Fortas and Homer Thornberry Before the S. Comm. On the Judiciary*, *supra* note 266, at 107–73.

²⁷⁴ *Id.* at 180.

²⁷⁵ *Id.* at 181–95.

²⁷⁶ *Id.* at 191–92; *Mallory v. United States*, 354 U.S. 449 (1957).

²⁷⁷ *Nominations of Abe Fortas and Homer Thornberry Before the S. Comm. On the Judiciary*, *supra* note 266, at 191.

²⁷⁸ *Id.* at 211–23.

legislation.²⁷⁹ When Fortas finished testifying, Eastland closed the Fortas hearings.²⁸⁰ While the papers criticized Fortas for advising Johnson, they considered it a venial sin.²⁸¹ But Fortas's opponents smelled a rat.²⁸² Griffin launched an investigation of Fortas's finances.²⁸³ Thurmond asked Eastland to reopen the Fortas hearings.²⁸⁴

The Thornberry hearings opened on July 20 to an empty house, with only four committee members present.²⁸⁵ Eastland began by announcing that he was reopening the Fortas hearings because he had promised to allow "Liberty Lobby and another group" to testify.²⁸⁶ Liberty Lobby was an anti-Semitic conservative organization, which opposed Fortas because he was a liberal Jew. The other group Eastland referred to was Citizens for Decent Literature (CDL), a nonprofit organization that opposed pornography.²⁸⁷ When Thornberry finished testifying on July 21, he went home, already sure the nomination was dead.

On July 22, the Senate Judiciary Committee heard the testimony of W.B. Hicks, Jr. of Liberty Lobby, James J. Clancy, and Charles Keating of CDL.²⁸⁸ The committee ignored Hicks, but CDL got its attention. CDL argued that Fortas was soft on obscenity and brought a pile of examples to prove it.²⁸⁹ According to Clancy, Fortas's "judicial philosophy" on obscenity was not "spread on the record" because Fortas had joined many summary reversals of obscenity convictions.²⁹⁰ Clancy pointed out that "the U.S. Supreme Court reversed 23 of 26 state and Federal obscenity determinations" during the October 1966 term, including twenty summary reversals, and Fortas voted to reverse in every case.²⁹¹ The summary reversals did not "discuss the facts or conduct of the case and the reasoning

²⁷⁹ *Id.* at 226–28.

²⁸⁰ *Id.* at 250–51.

²⁸¹ See MURPHY, *supra* note 23, at 433.

²⁸² *Id.* at 439–40 (describing an anonymous phone call Griffin received suggesting that he investigate a foundation allegedly established to pay Fortas for teaching a seminar at a law school).

²⁸³ See *id.* at 440.

²⁸⁴ *Id.*

²⁸⁵ *Nominations of Abe Fortas and Homer Thornberry Before the S. Comm. On the Judiciary*, *supra* note 266, at 253.

²⁸⁶ *Id.* at 255.

²⁸⁷ For a detailed account of CDL's activities, see PERVERSION, *supra* note 2, at 80–115.

²⁸⁸ *Nominations of Abe Fortas and Homer Thornberry Before the S. Comm. On the Judiciary*, *supra* note 266, at 291–313. Citizens for Decent Literature began as Catholics for Decent Literature and eventually became Citizens for Decency through Law.

²⁸⁹ *Id.* at 293 (indicating that CDL created a documentary of the October 1966 term decisions).

²⁹⁰ *Id.* at 292.

²⁹¹ *Id.*

involved,” so “the materials and facts involved in these cases are very effectively ‘buried’ in the records of the Court below.”²⁹²

CDL dug them up. Clancy filed as an exhibit a “summary of these cases, including the subject matter involved.”²⁹³ He also stated that CDL had created *Target Smut*, “a 35-millimeter slide film documentary of the October 1966 term decisions” that “traces the history of the 26 cases from their origin in the trial court, up to the final decision of the U.S. Supreme Court and shows pictorially the materials involved.”²⁹⁴

Clancy emphasized that “[w]ithout an understanding of the material that the Court is passing on, the Court’s judgments lose much of their significance.”²⁹⁵ He then used one of those judgments to illustrate Justice Fortas’s philosophy of obscenity:

A more precise understanding of [Fortas’s] philosophy in the obscenity area can be gained from a consideration of his vote in *Schackman v. California* decided in June of 1967. In that case, three striptease films entitled “O-7,” “O-12,” and “D-15” were ruled hard-core pornography by Federal District Judge Hauk, a Los Angeles jury, and the California appellate system. Those determinations were reversed in the U.S. Supreme Court by a 5-4 decision, with Justice Fortas casting the deciding vote. This judgment is representative of his actions in the other cases.”²⁹⁶

Clancy filed a copy of *O-7* as an exhibit and quoted Judge Hauk’s description of the film:

The model wears a garter belt and sheer transparent panties through which the pubic hair and external parts of the genitalia are clearly visible . . . At one time the model pulls her panties down so that the pubic hair is exposed to view . . . the focus of the camera is emphasized on the pubic and rectal region, and the model continuously uses her tongue

²⁹² *Id.*

²⁹³ *Id.*

²⁹⁴ *Nominations of Abe Fortas and Homer Thornberry Before the S. Comm. On the Judiciary*, *supra* note 266, at 293; *see also* DE GRAZIA, *supra* note 2, at 538 (describing *Target Smut*). Apparently, *Target Smut* was a “filmstrip with recorded narration” which “singled out” Warren and Fortas “as being particularly tolerant of pornography.” *Pornography Panel Hold Meeting Open to Public*, PALM BEACH POST, Nov. 13, 1968, at 2.

²⁹⁵ *Nominations of Abe Fortas and Homer Thornberry Before the S. Comm. On the Judiciary*, *supra* note 266, at 294.

²⁹⁶ *Id.* In an unpublished letter to Edward Bennett Williams, Fortas stated that *Schackman* had nothing to do with obscenity and that the Court actually reversed based on a Fourth Amendment violation. *See* MURPHY, *supra* note 23, at 459-60; KALMAN, *supra* note 23, at 344. This explanation of *Schackman* is unconvincing because the majority explicitly reversed under *Redrup v. New York*, 386 U.S. 767 (1967), an obscenity case. *Shackman v. California*, 388 U.S. 454, 454 (1967).

and mouth to simulate a desire for, or enjoyment of, acts of a sexual nature.²⁹⁷

Clancy claimed that *Schackman* caused a porn explosion because “the 1966 term reversals were the causative factor which brought about, subsequent to June 1967, a release of the greatest deluge of hard-core pornography ever witnessed by any nation.”²⁹⁸ Thurmond agreed and suggested that the obscenity cases “were reversed without any opinion to discuss the facts and conduct of the case and the reasoning involved” because the Court was “ashamed of the decisions, and ashamed to write in detail their reasoning.”²⁹⁹

Thurmond was determined to share the facts of those obscenity cases with the committee and the press. When the committee declined Clancy’s offer to show *Target Smut* and *O-7*, Thurmond asked him to show *O-7* after the hearing ended.³⁰⁰ Some found Thurmond’s request distasteful. Hart remarked, “I confess it is almost obscene to sit around here and anticipate we are going to look at dirty movies,” and a *New York Times* reporter “suggested that they think of it not as a witch hunt but as a bitch hunt.”³⁰¹ Nevertheless, when the hearing ended, Clancy showed *O-7* to Thurmond and about twenty reporters.³⁰²

While Thurmond insisted that *O-7* “shocked Washington’s hardened press corps,” some of the reporters disagreed:

Mostly, the press corps giggled. For one thing, there was no screen in the room, and *O-7* was shown on a wooden panel, which made the girl in scanties look as if she were molting. For another, many of the reporters made rude jokes to one another.³⁰³

Apparently, senators have more delicate sensibilities than reporters. Before Clancy testified, McClellan, Fong, Hart, and Miller had previewed *Target Smut* and *O-7*.³⁰⁴ Hart refused to defend the film.³⁰⁵ Miller, Fong, and McClellan agreed that it was “hard-core pornography” and “something no

²⁹⁷ *Nominations of Abe Fortas and Homer Thornberry Before the S. Comm. On the Judiciary*, *supra* note 266, at 295 (quoting *Schackman v. Arnebergh*, 258 F. Supp 983, 991 (C.D. Cal. 1966)).

²⁹⁸ *Nominations of Abe Fortas and Homer Thornberry Before the S. Comm. On the Judiciary*, *supra* note 266, at 296.

²⁹⁹ *Id.* at 303.

³⁰⁰ John Corry, *Strom’s Dirty Movies*, HARPER’S, Dec. 1968, at 30.

³⁰¹ *Id.*

³⁰² Fred P. Graham, *Senate Panel Bids Officials Explain Pro-Fortas Memo*, N.Y. TIMES, July 23, 1968, at 1.

³⁰³ Corry, *supra* note 300, at 30.

³⁰⁴ *Nominations of Abe Fortas and Homer Thornberry Before the S. Comm. On the Judiciary*, *supra* note 266, at 305 (indicating that some Senators viewed *O-7*).

³⁰⁵ *Girlie Movie*, L.A. TIMES, July 26, 1968, at 1.

civilized country can tolerate.”³⁰⁶ It became clear that Clancy would have another opportunity to share *O-7* with the committee when Fong added, “All the members are anxious to see it, and I think they should.”³⁰⁷ Thurmond’s aides immediately started pitching *O-7* to the media, describing it as “a vulgar, filthy, subjective thing of a woman disrobing down to her transparent panties.”³⁰⁸

The hearings ended on July 23, with the testimony of Deputy Attorney General Warren Christopher.³⁰⁹ While Ervin asked Christopher about Fortas’s judicial opinions, Thurmond ostentatiously studied a nudist magazine titled *Nudie-Fax*.³¹⁰ When Ervin finished, Thurmond asked Christopher’s opinion of the material at issue in the Court’s obscenity cases.³¹¹ Christopher professed ignorance.³¹² Thurmond gave Christopher another nudist magazine titled *Weekend Jaybird* and stated that he had “sent a member of my staff today down the street just to see if material of the kind you have there was available in the city in which you live.”³¹³ When Thurmond asked how to suppress pornography, Christopher could not respond.³¹⁴ When the committee invited Fortas to return and discuss obscenity, he wisely declined.³¹⁵ Fortas’s opponents had discovered their theme.

B. The Return of Flaming Creatures

When the hearing ended, Fortas still had enough votes for cloture, so his opponents had to keep the nomination bottled up in committee.³¹⁶ Luckily for them, procedure was on their side. On July 24, Hart made a motion to vote on the Fortas and Thornberry nominations.³¹⁷ In response, McClellan requested a mandatory one-week delay, stating that he “wanted to know a good deal more about the obscenity film before a decision was made on

³⁰⁶ *Id.*; see also *Stag Film Issue*, L.A. TIMES, July 28, 1968, at K4 (quoting McClellan and Fong).

³⁰⁷ *Stag Film Issue*, *supra* note 306; John Chadwick, *Stripper May Perform in Our Lofty Senate*, CHI. AM., July 25, 1968, at 2.

³⁰⁸ *The Senate: Judgment and the Justice*, TIME, Aug. 2, 1968, available at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,838479,00.html>.

³⁰⁹ *Nominations of Abe Fortas and Homer Thornberry Before the S. Comm. On the Judiciary*, *supra* note 266, at 315.

³¹⁰ Corry, *supra* note 300, at 35.

³¹¹ *Nominations of Abe Fortas and Homer Thornberry Before the S. Comm. On the Judiciary*, *supra* note 266, at 345–64.

³¹² *Id.*

³¹³ *Id.* at 359.

³¹⁴ *Id.* at 359–61.

³¹⁵ *Girlie Movie*, *supra* note 305.

³¹⁶ MURPHY, *supra* note 23, at 447.

³¹⁷ *Id.*

Fortas.”³¹⁸ He had seen *O-7* and “was convinced that any Senator who saw it would vote against the nomination.”³¹⁹ The delay was granted.³²⁰ Thurmond and McClellan announced that they would spend the week showing *O-7* to the rest of the committee.

Fortas’s opponents quickly realized that *O-7* provided the perfect excuse for voting against the Fortas nomination. As Senator Smathers explained to Johnson:

So, here it is, Fortas is lined up having voted *for* this circulation, or the allowance of the circulation of this thing, pornographic movie. So what happened is a lot of guys that don’t want to be recorded as for, that are looking for some reason to be against him . . . I’ve seen a number of fellows who have been talking about it—a number of senators are talking about it: “You know, God, I can’t be for a fella that let this kind of literature out on the newsstand, and be showing it.” As usual, they are making a lot of exaggerated statements in connection with it—such as, that it was being shown in public movies, and it’s your mother and your sister and your daughters, and everybody to go see this damn thing.³²¹

However, Fortas’s opponents knew that they needed more ammunition. While *O-7* was obviously pornographic, it was actually pretty tame—a silent striptease with no sexual intercourse. According to Smathers, when Hart saw the film, “he didn’t think it was so bad, although when he told me that, ‘I’ve seen many just like that, and I’m sure most every fella just has, everyone belonging to sort of a man’s club.’”³²² CDL also filed a copy of *O-12*, but it was essentially identical to *O-7*.

Then, the committee discovered *Flaming Creatures*.³²³ CDL’s summary of the obscenity cases decided by the Supreme Court during the October 1966 term referred to *Flaming Creatures* and *Un Chant d’Amour* as “two home-made 16mm. so-called ‘underground’ films.”³²⁴ It further described *Jacobs v. New York* as follows:

In the New York case, Jacobs and Mekas were convicted by a 3-judge trial court in New York County for exhibiting the film “*Flaming Creatures*” in violation of the state obscenity

³¹⁸ *Id.*

³¹⁹ *Id.*

³²⁰ *Id.* at 446–47.

³²¹ Phone call between George Smathers, Senator, and President Johnson (June 25, 1968, 23:30), available at <http://kc-johnson.com/the-fortas-nomination-through-lbjs-eyes/>.

³²² *Id.*

³²³ See *Senators Order Up Indecent Pic to See What Fortas Digs*, VARIETY, July 31, 1968, at 10.

³²⁴ *Nominations of Abe Fortas and Homer Thornberry Before the S. Comm. On the Judiciary*, *supra* note 266, at 1171.

statute. The home-made film, produced by Jack Smith, has gained a notorious reputation for its homosexual content. The 40-minute film presents five unrelated, badly filmed sequences, which are studded with sexual symbolisms. Amapola and other recordings are heard as background music. Included in the first sequence of 17 minutes is a mass rape scene involving two females and many males, which lasts for 7 minutes, showing the female pubic area, the male penis, males massaging the female vagina and breasts, cunnilingus, masturbation of the male organ, and other sexual symbolisms. The second sequence which lasts approximately three minutes shows lesbian activity between two women. The third sequence, about 7 minutes in duration, shows homosexual acts between a man dressed as a female, who emerges from a casket, and other males, including masturbation of the visible male organ. The fourth and fifth scenes show homosexuals dancing together and other disconnected erotic activity, such as massaging the female breasts and group sexual activity. Jacobs and Mekas were found guilty by the trial court and sentenced to 60 days in the New York City workhouse, but execution of the sentence was suspended. The Appellate Court in New York refused to reverse the conviction.³²⁵

CDL went on to explain the Court's disposition of the case:

In *New York v. Jacobs*, the Court refused to render a judgment on the home-made 16mm. film "Flaming Creatures", which depicted a 7-minute rape scene and other sexual deviate acts. . . . While the Court voted the underground film "Un Chant d'Amour" obscene 5-4, the same majority of five was unable to get together on a lower grade film, "Flaming Creatures", which depicted a 7-minute rape scene, acts of oral intercourse, fondling of the female vagina and breasts, masturbation of the visual penis, and the like, some of which were suggested but never shown in the film, 'Un Chant d'Amour'. The Court held the issues in that case "moot", to avoid a decision."³²⁶

CDL's description of *Flaming Creatures* must have caught Eastland's eye because one of his aides located a copy of the film in Michigan and brought it to Washington.³²⁷ On July 30, Senators Eastland,

³²⁵ *Id.* at 1172.

³²⁶ *Id.* at 1174-76.

³²⁷ On January 18, 1967, Lieutenant Eugene Staudenmeier of the Ann Arbor police department busted a University of Michigan Cinema Guild screening of *Flaming Creatures* and confiscated the film. *See supra* notes 230-42 and accompanying text. At

McClellan, Long, Miller, and McGee and several reporters watched *Flaming Creatures* in “a small basement studio in the Capitol.”³²⁸ They were appalled by what they saw. One senator described *Flaming Creatures* as “a candid exploration of transvestitism.”³²⁹ Another senator exclaimed, “That film was so sick, I couldn’t even get aroused.”³³⁰ Eastland refused to comment, and McClellan “termed the film ‘crude vulgarity.’”³³¹

The next day, Long described his reaction to *Flaming Creatures* on the Senate floor:

I have never before seen things like that. We said, “Let us just take a look and see what Judge Fortas is trying to do.” And when I saw it, I said, “I am not going back. I have seen one Fortas film—I have seen enough.”³³²

According to the *Chicago Tribune*, “Even some of the strongest backers of Fortas found [*Flaming Creatures*] filthy and disgusting.”³³³

Fortas’s opponents smelled blood. CDL announced its intention to send copies of *O-7*, *O-12*, and *Flaming Creatures* “to women’s groups and civic clubs.”³³⁴ And Thurmond focused his considerable energy on sharing the films with his colleagues. Suddenly, dirty movies were Fortas’s biggest problem.

C. In and Out of Committee

The committee failed to make a quorum before the August recess, so the Fortas nomination was postponed until September. Thurmond spent the recess hammering away at Fortas’s record on obscenity, claiming, “The

Eastland’s request, Assistant Washtenaw County Prosecutor Thomas F. Shea and Staudenmeier brought the film to Washington and presented it to the committee. *Film Screening Asked in Inquiry Over Fortas*, *supra* note 233; Nadine Cohodas, *Senate Committee May See Flaming Creatures*, MICH. DAILY, July 30, 1968, at 1 (stating that Ann Arbor police chief Walter Krasny and Staudenmeier took *Flaming Creatures* to Washington after the Senate Judiciary Committee subpoenaed the film). Senator Griffin of Michigan, Fortas’s most vocal opponent in the Senate, probably helped Eastland locate *Flaming Creatures* in Ann Arbor.

³²⁸ Morton Mintz, *Griffin Says 40 Ready to Block Vote on Fortas*, WASH. POST, July 31, 1968, at A7; *Senators View Contested Film in Fortas Case*, MICH. DAILY, July 31, 1968, at 1.

³²⁹ *Fleshing Out the Case*, NEWSWEEK, Aug. 12, 1968, at 28.

³³⁰ SHAFFER, *supra* note 52, at 92.

³³¹ Mintz, *supra* note 328; *Senators View Contested Film in Fortas Case*, *supra* note 328.

³³² 114 CONG. REC. 24,701 (1968).

³³³ *Id.* at 25,551.

³³⁴ *Fleshing Out the Case*, *supra* note 329, at 28; *see also* Interview by Joe B. Frantz with James O. Eastland, Senator, I-14 (Feb. 19, 1971) (available at LBJ Library) (“I know that there is a church organization that brought down some films that the court had legalized and saying, ‘Here look at it,’ and they had threatened to buy several thousand—have several thousand copies made and give them to Parent Teachers’ Associations.”).

effect of the Fortas decisions has been to unleash a floodtide of pornography across the country. Those who exploit youth and human weakness now have no fear of conviction, and openly distribute and sell the grossest materials.”³³⁵

On September 4, the committee failed once again to make a quorum.³³⁶ Eastland “was unable to say when he would attempt to have another meeting” and confirmed that he would vote against reporting the nomination to the Senate and against confirmation, if necessary.³³⁷ McClellan added that *O-7*, *O-12*, and *Flaming Creatures* “ought to be shown at a committee hearing and made a part of the record” before the committee acted on the Fortas nomination, calling them “degrading.”³³⁸

Thurmond took the opportunity to approach “colleagues who are on the fence to invite them to private showings” of the films:³³⁹

[L]ast week, the reruns began. And since then in the Senate recording studio and in darkened Senate offices, the films have been shown more than a dozen times. . . .

The films are entitled: “O-7,” “O-12,” “D-15,” and “Flaming Creatures.” The first three, from a California case, are shown together, in descending order of pornography, that is, going from bad strip tease to worse. “Flaming Creatures,” an underground film which displays some attempt at sexistentialist art, was seized in Ann Arbor, Mich., where it was being privately shown.

In the dim Senate offices, as the rather unattractive long-legged young ladies in their altogether pranced and posed on the flickering screens, Senate aides and newsmen chortled and made wisecracks.

But not the distinguished gentlemen of the Senate. Those who have viewed the films have sat stonily silent, with appalled expressions on their faces.

A single private showing of the film this week, one Fortas opponent claimed, converted two senators – Milton Young,

³³⁵ Philip Dodd, *Raps Fortas’ Court Votes on Obscenity*, CHI. TRIB., Aug. 6, 1968, at 2.

³³⁶ *Fortas Nomination Stalls Again; Quorum Lacking in Senate Panel*, N.Y. TIMES, Sept. 5, 1968, at 34.

³³⁷ *Id.*

³³⁸ *Id.*

³³⁹ Saul Friedman, *4 Films: ‘The End’ for Fortas?*, ST. PETERSBURG TIMES, Sept. 12, 1968, at 1.

R-N.D., and Mark Hatfield, R-Ore., a liberal. Neither senator would comment on the claim. . . .

Griffin said the three numbered films are clearly within the bounds of obscenity. And one of his aides cracked: "If you want to find a socially redeeming feature in the films, you can say they provided work for the models, the photographer and the film developer."

Fortas supporters say the case involving "Flaming Creatures," which includes a scrambled montage of a rape scene not unlike the one in the hit "Rosemary's Baby," was overturned because the court ruled the film was illegally seized. But opponents of Fortas point out that he said he would have protected the right to show the film.³⁴⁰

About 20 senators saw the films.³⁴¹ The committee soon added all three films to the record.³⁴² Mansfield and Dirksen publicly warned Johnson that opposition to the Fortas nomination was "hardening."³⁴³ Privately, they explained that "floor debate on pornography will be dirty, that Thurmond smells blood now . . . and that the movies were what the opposition needed to make their positions jell."³⁴⁴

Fortas's supporters realized that his position on obscenity was a problem and tried to respond to Thurmond's attacks. Attorney General Ramsey Clark complained that the "obscenity cases issue is itself obscene" and that Thurmond's film shows were "outrageous."³⁴⁵ And Dean O'Meara of Notre Dame Law School wrote an open letter defending Fortas's record on obscenity, insisting that the attacks were "unfair, misleading and dangerous" because *Schackman* and *Jacobs* were per curiam opinions, and Fortas did not "issue a separate statement of his own views" in either case.³⁴⁶ O'Meara claimed that the cases presented "unique" issues, explaining that *Schackman* "involved a 'peep-show' of a filmed burlesque performance not unlike those presented fairly widely in burlesque houses throughout the

³⁴⁰ *Id.*

³⁴¹ *Id.*

³⁴² Marjorie Hunter, *Senate Panel Asks Fortas to Return*, N.Y. TIMES, Sept. 11, 1968, at 20.

³⁴³ Willard Edwards, *Seek End of Fortas Fight*, CHI. TRIB., Sept. 24, 1968, at 1.

³⁴⁴ Memorandum from Mike Manatos to President Johnson (Sept. 16, 1968) (available at LBJ Library; copy on file with author).

³⁴⁵ Speech by Ramsey Clark, Attorney General (Sept. 13, 1968) (available at LBJ Library; copy on file with author); see also Benjamin Welles, *Clark Declares Foes of Fortas Play Politics and Oppose Rights*, N.Y. TIMES, Sept. 14, 1968, at 17.

³⁴⁶ CONG. REC., *supra* note 332, at 26,699; Joseph O'Meara, *Another Opinion: Fortas and Obscenity*, N.Y. TIMES, Sept. 5, 1968, at E15 [hereinafter *Another Opinion*]; Joseph O'Meara, *Obscenity Issue and Fortas*, WASH. POST, Sept. 11, 1968, at A18 [hereinafter *Obscenity Issue and Fortas*].

country.”³⁴⁷ O’Meara further argued that *Jacobs* “involved a nearly private screening of what we are told was a seriously intended, if unconventional, underground art film, and the show was not advertised in any way to the public at large”; O’Meara repeated the canard that *Schackman* “presented the question of illegal police seizure.”³⁴⁸ Notably, O’Meara also correctly attributed the Court’s adoption of the pandering test to Fortas and argued that it “broke the impasse which had developed over the obscenity issue in the years before his appointment.”³⁴⁹ While O’Meara’s letter appeared in many newspapers and was printed in the *Congressional Record*, it was already too late.

On September 11, Eastland reluctantly agreed to schedule a vote on the Fortas nomination.³⁵⁰ Thurmond insisted on additional hearings before the vote, and Eastland invited Fortas to appear “at his convenience” to discuss “certain films and cases involving the issue of obscenity.”³⁵¹ The committee also asked several people to testify about Fortas’s role in the Johnson administration.³⁵² Thurmond was determined to ensure that the hearing focused on pornography, so he asked Sergeant Donald Shaidell of the Los Angeles Police Department, the arresting officer in *Schackman*, to testify about the seizure of *O-7*, *O-12*, and *D-15*.³⁵³ Thurmond specified that Shaidell “will bring new films with him.”³⁵⁴

Fortas declined the committee’s invitation to testify, as did everyone asked to discuss his role in the Johnson administration.³⁵⁵ So on the morning of September 13, the hearing opened with the testimony of Dean B.J.

³⁴⁷ CONG. REC., *supra* note 332, at 26,699; *Another Opinion*, *supra* note 346; *Obscenity Issue and Fortas*, *supra* note 346.

³⁴⁸ CONG. REC., *supra* note 332, at 26,699; *Another Opinion*, *supra* note 346.

³⁴⁹ CONG. REC., *supra* note 332, at 26,699; *Another Opinion*, *supra* note 346.

³⁵⁰ Robert C. Albright, *Committee to Vote on Fortas*, WASH. POST, Sept. 12, 1968, at A1 [hereinafter *Committee to Vote on Fortas*]; Robert C. Albright, *Senators Set Action on Fortas*, WASH. POST, Sept. 11, 1968, at A1 [hereinafter *Senators Set Action on Fortas*]; Philip Dodd, *Senate Judiciary Committee Votes Tuesday on Abe Fortas*, CHI. TRIB., Sept. 12, 1968, at D8 [hereinafter *Senate Judiciary Committee Votes*].

³⁵¹ *Senators Set Action on Fortas*, *supra* note 350; *see also Committee to Vote on Fortas*, *supra* note 350; *Senate Judiciary Committee Votes*, *supra* note 350.

³⁵² *Committee to Vote on Fortas*, *supra* note 350; *Senate Judiciary Committee Votes*, *supra* note 350 (stating that the committee invited Senator Gordon Allott and Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford to appear for questioning, and the committee subpoenaed Undersecretary of the Treasury Joseph W. Barr, White House legislative assistant W. DeVier Pierson, former White House assistant Richard Goodwin, and New York Magazine writer Daniel Yergin).

³⁵³ Robert C. Albright, *New Hearing on Fortas Case To Start Today*, WASH. POST, Sept. 13, 1968, at A9.

³⁵⁴ *Id.*

³⁵⁵ *See* Robert C. Albright, *Fortas Rejects Senate Bid to Testify Again*, WASH. POST, Sept. 14, 1968, at A1 [hereinafter *Fortas Rejects Senate Bid*]; Fred P. Graham, *2 Johnson Aides Refuse to Testify on Fortas Issue*, N.Y. TIMES, Sept. 17, 1968, at 1 [hereinafter *2 Johnson Aides*] (indicating that Barr and Pierson invoked executive privilege and declined to testify).

Tennery of American University Law School, who answered questions about a class that Fortas had conducted over the summer.³⁵⁶ But the committee's attention returned to pornography when Shaidell testified that afternoon.³⁵⁷ Shaidell told the committee that California "was being flooded with filthy movies and books" because *Schackman* had left its obscenity laws "in a state of chaos."³⁵⁸

As promised, Shaidell also brought a new film: *Un Chant d'Amour*, described rather primly as "an half-hour film depicting incidents between penitentiary inmates."³⁵⁹ Once again, Hart objected to watching the film, stating, "It is almost obscene for us to sit around here and contemplate that we are going to look at dirty movies."³⁶⁰ But after some debate, the committee agreed to a private screening of *Un Chant d'Amour*, which it had not yet seen.³⁶¹ The committee noted that Fortas "was one of four members of the court who said they would have reversed the California courts and cleared the movie legally."³⁶²

Finally, on September 17, the committee approved the Fortas nomination by an 11 to 6 vote.³⁶³ But Eastland observed, "I do not think Mr. Fortas will be confirmed by the Senate," and Thurmond promised a filibuster.³⁶⁴ Hart angrily replied that the first filibuster of a Supreme Court nomination would be "a miserable precedent."³⁶⁵ And Dirksen made a short-lived proposal to strip federal jurisdiction over obscenity cases, ostensibly "in an effort to take some of the steam" out of the obscenity issue.³⁶⁶

³⁵⁶ *Fortas Rejects Senate Bid*, *supra* note 355; Philip Dodd, *Fortas \$15,000 Job Told*, CHI. TRIB., Sept. 14, 1968, at A1 [hereinafter *Fortas \$15,000 Job Told*]; Robert L. Jackson, *\$15,000 Lecturing Fee Paid to Fortas, Senate Panel Told*, L.A. TIMES, Sept. 14, 1968, at 1.

³⁵⁷ *Fortas Rejects Senate Bid*, *supra* note 355.

³⁵⁸ *Fortas \$15,000 Job Told*, *supra* note 356.

³⁵⁹ Lyle Denniston, *Justice Gives No Reason for His Decision*, WASH. STAR, Sept. 14, 1968; *see also Fortas \$15,000 Job Told*, *supra* note 356, (stating that the Senators viewed one of the films Shaidell provided).

³⁶⁰ *Fortas Rejects Senate Bid*, *supra* note 355.

³⁶¹ *See* Denniston, *supra* note 359; *see also Fortas Rejects Senate Bid*, *supra* note 356; Jackson, *supra* note 356; *Fortas \$15,000 Job Told*, *supra* note 356 (explaining that the committee eventually agreed to a private showing). Shaidell busted many underground films, including Kenneth Anger's *Fireworks*, and may have been the arresting officer in *Landau v. Fording*, 388 U.S. 456 (1967). *See* Whitney Strub, *The Clearly Obscene and the Queerly Obscene: Heteronormativity and Obscenity in Cold War Los Angeles*, 60 Am. Q. 373, 373 (2008).

³⁶² Denniston, *supra* note 359.

³⁶³ Philip Dodd, *Fortas Wins Senate Unit O.K., 11 to 6*, CHI. TRIB., Sept. 18, 1968, at 1.

³⁶⁴ *Id.*

³⁶⁵ *Id.*

³⁶⁶ 2 *Johnson Aides*, *supra* note 355; *see also* Richard L. Lyons, *Dirksen Anti-Obscenity Amendment Could Trigger New Assault on Court*, WASH. POST, Sept. 18, 1968, at A3.

D. The Filibuster

Thurmond was undeterred by such criticism and responded by firing up his movie projector once again:

Day after day last week, Thurmond buttonholed his colleagues to watch the films in darkened Senate offices. One aide of Richard Nixon called it “the Fortas Film Festival.” The Senators were not titillated but shocked, and they left the showings in a grim mood. The screenings apparently swayed some votes away from Fortas. Senators know that middle-class opposition to pornography is rising, and the subject—like the Supreme Court itself—has become a symbol of what is wrong in the U.S.³⁶⁷



Senators Judiciary Committee members are 'anxious to see' the strip-tease film which Abe Fortas ruled as not pornographic. . . . News Item

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The media lampooned the Fortas Film Festival, referring to Thurmond as “the gentleman Torquemada from South Carolina.”³⁶⁸ An Oliphant cartoon showed a group of senators leering at movie screen.³⁶⁹ And a Herblock cartoon pictured “Strom Thurmond - U.S. Obscenator” in an

³⁶⁷ *The Congress: The Fortas Film Festival*, TIME, Sept. 20, 1968, available at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,838735,00.html>.

³⁶⁸ *Id.*

³⁶⁹ See *Fleshing Out the Case*, *supra* note 329, at 29 (describing a cartoon of senators watching films they considered obscene).

office full of pin-ups, whispering to passersby, “Psst – Want to see some dirty pictures?”³⁷⁰ The *New York Times* complained that the Fortas hearings were “dominated by Senator Thurmond of South Carolina, whose gutter-level assault on Justice Fortas is based on movies the Senator has been showing Congressmen behind the scenes.”³⁷¹ Even the *Wall Street Journal* objected, claiming “Senator Thurmond was unnecessarily discourteous to Mr. Fortas. Pornography is not one of the nation’s truly burning issues, and showing stag films is not our idea of how to run the world’s greatest deliberative body.”³⁷²



A 1968 Herbblock Cartoon, copyright by The Herb Block Foundation.

³⁷⁰ Herbblock, *Psst – Want to see some dirty pictures?*, WASH. POST, Sept. 15, 1968, at B6.

³⁷¹ *The Fortas Nomination*, N.Y. TIMES, Sept. 14, 1968, at 30.

³⁷² *In Re Justice Fortas*, WALL ST. J., Sept. 11, 1968, at 18.

Nevertheless, Thurmond's strategy was working. "Evidently the showing of the movies has become the nub of the effort to recruit new members for the anti-Fortas Senate group, and turn it into a majority rather than a filibustering one-third-plus minority."³⁷³ Public pressure on obscenity was intense, as "[l]etters poured in . . . from persons aroused about the high court's obscenity rulings."³⁷⁴

Fortas was now "Mr. Obscenity," and his supporters were on the defensive.³⁷⁵ Hart complained that the Fortas Film Festival had "soiled" public perception of the Senate, giving the impression that Senators "have been slipping into innumerable private showings" of obscene films.³⁷⁶ And he insisted, "Those who hold up reels of film as an indictment of the Supreme Court should, in fairness, point out that the Supreme Court never commented on the content of those films."³⁷⁷

The committee report on Fortas recommended confirmation, warned that a filibuster would set "a dangerous precedent," and urged senators to "shun support of such an ignoble venture."³⁷⁸ But minority reports from Fortas's opponents rejected the majority's conclusions and continued to hammer away at Fortas's record.³⁷⁹ McClellan singled out *Flaming Creatures*, emphasizing that it "comprised of several separable sequences, all of them depicting some form of transvesticism or abnormal sexual behavior," and that Fortas was the only vote to reverse.³⁸⁰ "Apparently Mr. Justice Fortas felt that the film had some social value, did not go beyond customary limits of candor in representing sexual matters, and that the average person would not consider it as appealing to a prurient interest."³⁸¹ Even Fortas's supporters conceded that confirmation was increasingly unlikely.³⁸²

³⁷³ Max Lerner, *Cutting Fortas' Head May Give U.S. Pain in the Neck*, L.A. TIMES, Sept. 20, 1968, at A5.

³⁷⁴ John P. MacKenzie, *Johnson Withdraws Fortas Nomination*, Oct. 3, 1968, at A1.

³⁷⁵ See Marquis Childs, *Nixon Role Urged In the Fortas Case*, WASH. POST, Sept. 13, 1968, at A16.

³⁷⁶ Robert C. Albright, *Fortas Foe Decries Hint of Bigotry*, WASH. POST, Sept. 21, 1968, at A1.

³⁷⁷ *Ervin Call Fortas Nomination Blow to Senate Role*, N.Y. TIMES, Sept. 21, 1968, at 15.

³⁷⁸ *Senate Panel's Report Hails Fortas, Decries Filibuster Plan*, WASH. POST, Sept. 22, 1968, at A9; see also *Fortas Backers Call Filibuster Plan Ignoble*, L.A. TIMES, Sept. 22, 1968, at D7.

³⁷⁹ *Fortas Backers Call Filibuster Plan Ignoble*, supra note 378; *Senate Panel's Report Hails Fortas, Decries Filibuster Plan*, supra note 378.

³⁸⁰ S. Exec. Rep. No. 90-8, at 27-28 (2d Sess. 1968).

³⁸¹ *Id.* at 28.

³⁸² *Clouded Prospects for Fortas*, L.A. TIMES, Sept. 22, 1968, at 14; see also *The Stakes Are Large In the Fortas Dispute*, N.Y. TIMES, Sept. 22, 1968, at 187.

On September 25, the Senate debate on the Fortas nomination opened, and the filibuster began.³⁸³ Fortas's opponents took the floor and ponderously repeated every criticism they had already levied against Fortas, reserving special attention for his record on obscenity. McClellan singled out *Flaming Creatures* as a particularly disturbing example of a film protected by Fortas. "One film that came out in New York is called 'Flaming Creatures.' And, brother, that is an understatement. It makes one sick to look at it. It is despicable. Depraved acts are displayed in the film."³⁸⁴ Thurmond also used *Flaming Creatures* to illustrate Fortas's extreme position on obscenity, insisting that "it is evident from reading Chief Justice Warren's dissent and from the descriptions of the film by Senators who have seen it, that the Court as well as most citizens would agree that 'Flaming Creatures' is obscene."³⁸⁵ He continued, "I think it is very significant to note that Justice Fortas stated in this case that he would have reversed the lower court's decision."³⁸⁶

The filibuster was still going strong when Dirksen announced on September 27 that he would not vote for cloture.³⁸⁷ Without Dirksen's support, the nomination was doomed. When the Senate took a cloture vote on October 1, the count was 45 in favor and 43 against—14 votes short of the two-thirds majority needed.³⁸⁸

At Fortas's request, Johnson withdrew the nomination the following day.³⁸⁹ Fortas's opponents had won. And they owed their hard-fought victory to smut.³⁹⁰ Lausche spoke for many of his colleagues when he explained that he had voted against cloture because "a Court majority including Mr. Fortas 'approved' the showing of 'dirty' movies in obscenity cases."³⁹¹ As Eastland later observed, "I think there is one thing that hurt Fortas, hurt him very badly, and that was the pornography decisions."³⁹²

³⁸³ Fred P. Graham, *Critics of Fortas Begin Filibuster, Citing 'Propriety'*, N.Y. TIMES, Sept. 26, 1968, at 1.

³⁸⁴ CONG. REC., *supra* note 332, at 28, 595.

³⁸⁵ *Id.* at 28, 775.

³⁸⁶ *Id.*

³⁸⁷ Fred P. Graham, *Fortas Receives Critical Setback as Dirksen Shifts*, N.Y. TIMES, Sept. 28, 1968, at 1.

³⁸⁸ Fred P. Graham, *Senate Bars Move to End Filibuster by Fortas Critics*, N.Y. TIMES, Oct. 2, 1968, at 1; *Senate Rejects Ending Fortas Filibuster; Next Moves Appears to Be Up to President*, WALL ST. J., Oct. 2, 1968, at 3.

³⁸⁹ MacKenzie, *supra* note 374.

³⁹⁰ The films used in the Fortas Film Festival should have been deposited in the National Archives as exhibits to the record, but they disappeared. While *Flaming Creatures* and *Un Chant d'Amour* are readily available today, no known copies of *O-7*, *O-12*, *D-15*, and *Target Smut* exist. After the hearings ended, Hugh E. Jones saw the films in a filing cabinet in the office of Senator Eastland's legislative aide.

³⁹¹ *Senate Rejects Ending Fortas Filibuster*, *supra* note 388.

³⁹² Interview by Joe B. Frantz with James O. Eastland, *supra* note 334, at I-14. "This was a big thing, that he was responsible for so much of the pornography, so called. That was something, and then of course the income thing. Well, the income thing came later."

E. The Aftermath

Fortas returned to the Supreme Court in October 1968 as an associate justice, not as chief justice. Then, on May 9, 1969, William Lambert published an article in *Life*, alleging that Fortas had recused himself from a criminal appeal because he had a secret financial relationship with the defendant.³⁹³ Lambert revealed that Fortas had accepted \$20,000 from the Wolfson Family Foundation for work on “educational and civil rights projects,” only to return the money after Louis Wolfson “had been twice indicted on federal criminal charges” for securities fraud.³⁹⁴ Fortas denied the allegations, but the Justice Department soon discovered that Wolfson had actually agreed to pay Fortas \$20,000 every year, for the rest of Fortas’s life and that of his wife.³⁹⁵ Faced with this damning evidence, Fortas resigned on May 14, 1969.

In the meantime, *Flaming Creatures* began to reach new audiences, some of which were more receptive than others. When Yale Law School staged a reprise of the Fortas Film Festival, one student described *Flaming Creatures* as “a harmless, stupid stag movie.”³⁹⁶ A belated review in *Variety* was also quite dismissive:

Assembled in 1963, Jack Smith’s transvestivision excess, “Flaming Creatures,” clumsily portrays sexual deviations, while pointing up not only the grossness of the physical contacts but the sadness of the emotional-mental conflicts. Homohouses might profit on a quick turn, but six-year-old film, reputedly cutoff in several U.S. cities because of offensive nature, isn’t so much obscene as grotesque. Poor quality of lensing, remarkable imbalance of sound-over music, and seedy orgy add up to a naive, curiously sad film.³⁹⁷

Flaming Creatures remained a target of occasional obscenity raids for several years.³⁹⁸ But the taint of obscenity gradually faded, as

Interview by Michael L. Gillette with Arthur Krim, Adviser to President Johnson, IV–34 (Nov. 9, 1982) (available at LBJ Library).

³⁹³ William Lambert, *Fortas of the Supreme Court: A Question of Ethics*, LIFE, May 9, 1969, at 32, 33.

³⁹⁴ *Id.* at 33–34.

³⁹⁵ MURPHY, *supra* note 23, at 563.

³⁹⁶ *Yale Law School Holds ‘Fortas Film Festival’*, N.Y. TIMES, Nov. 5, 1968, at 40; *see also* Jody Adams, *I, a Yale Coed*, HARV. CRIMSON, Dec. 2, 1968, available at <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1968/12/2/i-a-yale-coed-pwe-dont/>.

³⁹⁷ *Flaming Creatures*, VARIETY, June 11, 1969, at 38, reprinted in CENSORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES: DOCUMENTS MEMOS ARTICLES BULLETINS PHOTOS LETTERS NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, ETC. (Anthology Film Archives pub., 2007).

³⁹⁸ *See, e.g.*, Thomas J. Fleming, *Hesburgh of Notre Dame*, N.Y. TIMES, May 11, 1969, at SM56; *4 Policemen Run Like 4 Horsemen*, MILWAUKEE J., Feb. 8, 1969, at 6; *‘Nude’ news at NDU*, WINDSOR STAR, Feb. 8, 1969, at 42 (stating that accidental screening of

pornographic films became increasingly explicit. “Ironically, the content of *Flaming Creatures* pales or more appropriately blushes compared to the likes of *Behind the Green Door*, *The Devil in Miss Jones*, and *Deep Throat* – all of which have been shown on-campus this semester.”³⁹⁹ Eventually, *Flaming Creatures* was widely recognized as an exceptional work of art. Today, it is the subject of many books, many more museum exhibitions, and countless presentations at movie theaters and colleges across the country and around the world.

VI. *FLAMING CREATURES* AND THE DIALECTIC OF OBSCENITY

Why did obscenity disappear and how did it happen? The Supreme Court redefined obscenity in order to protect art but soon held that the First Amendment protected pornography as well. According to the conventional history of obscenity, this outcome was inevitable, or at least implied by First Amendment doctrine. As Brennan ruefully observed, “the concept of ‘obscenity’ cannot be defined with sufficient specificity and clarity to provide fair notice to persons who create and distribute sexually oriented materials, to prevent substantial erosion of protected speech as a byproduct of the attempt to suppress unprotected speech, and to avoid very costly institutional harms.”⁴⁰⁰ Art and obscenity are in the eye of the beholder, so the obscenity doctrine necessarily reduces to “I know it when I see it.”

But the conventional history of obscenity is incomplete because it does not account for the dialectic of obscenity. The obscenity doctrine is manifestly arbitrary and illogical. After all, “[t]he life of the law has not been logic: it has been experience.”⁴⁰¹ The Court tried to distinguish between art and pornography, despite the incoherence of the obscenity doctrine. Most notably, it adopted the pandering test, which theoretically demanded the conclusion that stag films are obscene, but *Flaming Creatures* is not.

Obscenity did not disappear because the obscenity doctrine was incoherent. It disappeared because the Court realized that it could not protect art unless it protected pornography as well. That is the dialectic of obscenity. Doctrinally, the protection of art required the protection of pornography because the distinction is necessarily viewpoint-based. Politically, the protection of pornography enabled the protection of art by establishing that certain categories of sexual expression are protected speech. Together, these opposing principles gradually ratcheted open the gates of obscenity.

Flaming Creatures caused the University of Notre Dame to cancel conference on pornography and censorship).

³⁹⁹ Gordon Atcheson, *Memory of 1967 ‘Flaming Creatures’ Bust Still Lingers*, MICH. DAILY, May 22, 1974, at 3 (italics added).

⁴⁰⁰ *Paris Adult Theatre I v. Slaton*, 413 U.S. 49, 103 (1973).

⁴⁰¹ OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, JR., *THE COMMON LAW* 1 (1881).

The story of *Flaming Creatures* and the Fortas Film Festival illustrates the dialectic of obscenity. The Court adopted the pandering test in order to distinguish between art and pornography. But it was not prepared for the result. Fortas applied the pandering test and concluded that *Flaming Creatures* was a work of art, not pornography. The other justices disagreed. They realized that the pandering test was unworkable when they saw that it protected disturbing and socially unacceptable art while suppressing distasteful but socially acceptable pornography. They could stomach *O-7*, but not *Flaming Creatures*. Rejecting the pandering test allowed them to protect *O-7* and suppress *Flaming Creatures*, at least temporarily. But ironically, the protection of *O-7* ultimately required the protection of *Flaming Creatures*. If the First Amendment protected nudity in a stag film, it had to protect nudity in *Flaming Creatures* as well.

The subtext of the Fortas Film Festival was that the senators were titillated by *O-7* and shocked by *Flaming Creatures*. When Fortas's opponents saw *O-7*, they knew that smut could justify a filibuster. Many of them surely found the film distasteful, but they watched it anyway. Notably, they were able to describe the contents of the film in great detail when they criticized Fortas for voting that it was not obscene.

By contrast, the senators were horrified by *Flaming Creatures*. Many refused to watch the whole film and none could bring themselves to describe it in any detail. Recall the anonymous senator's comment, "That film was so sick, I couldn't even get aroused."⁴⁰² Tellingly, when Detective Shaidell testified in the second round of Fortas hearings, he brought *Un Chant d'Amour*, rather than another stag film. Fortas's opponents understood *O-7*, even if they rejected it, but they could not understand *Flaming Creatures* and *Un Chant d'Amour* and were shaken by them.

Of course, the justices, and the senators alike, were reacting primarily to the homosexual content of *Flaming Creatures* and *Un Chant d'Amour*, not their formal aesthetic qualities. While they avowedly disapproved of the depiction of naked women in *O-7*, *O-12*, and *D-15*, they were shocked or disgusted by the suggestion of gay sex in *Un Chant d'Amour* and the polymorphous perversity of *Flaming Creatures*. And the contours of the obscenity doctrine have tracked those feelings. Works that depict minority sexual preferences are especially vulnerable to obscenity charges because juries and judges tend to find the depiction of minority sexual preferences more offensive than the depiction of majority sexual preferences.⁴⁰³ As a result, the obscenity doctrine has historically

⁴⁰² SHAFFER, *supra* note 52, at 92.

⁴⁰³ Boyce, *supra* note 43, at 358–59 ("Materials that 'depict such deviations as sado-masochism, fetishism, and homosexuality' satisfy the 'prurient interest' prong if they appeal to the prurient interest of members of the 'deviant' group. But the 'patent offensiveness' of such material is still judged by the standards of the community as a whole.

discriminated against the depiction of gay and lesbian sex.⁴⁰⁴ Indeed, as obscenity prosecutions of artists petered out, the last few targeted works involved gay content, prominently including Robert Mapplethorpe.⁴⁰⁵

Nevertheless, the fact remains that in the 1960s, almost everyone assumed that *Flaming Creatures* was obscene, but today almost everyone would assume that it is not. Nothing in the text of the obscenity doctrine required that change of heart. Nor does it reflect a reassessment of the artistic merit of the film. On the contrary, it is the function of a *de facto* loosening of the obscenity doctrine in order to protect the depiction of a much wider range of sexual conduct. When the obscenity doctrine protected only the depiction of sexual conduct in artistic works, it was easy for courts to dismiss claims that *Flaming Creatures* is a work of art. But as the obscenity doctrine gradually came to protect the depiction of sexual conduct in frankly pornographic works, it became impossible to justify the suppression of *Flaming Creatures*. By eliminating the need to judge the artistic merits of a work accused of obscenity, the obscenity doctrine finally enabled courts to effectively protect art, albeit at the expense of their ability to prohibit pornography.⁴⁰⁶ Perhaps we owe a debt of gratitude to the army of nameless and numberless pornographers who inadvertently helped protect the peculiar vision of *Flaming Creatures*.

VII. CONCLUSION

The conventional history of obscenity holds that art protects pornography. The story of *Flaming Creatures* and the Fortas Film Festival suggests that pornography also protects art. This relationship expresses the dialectic of obscenity.

In other words, it is obscene if it ‘turns on’ a ‘deviant,’ but ‘grosses out’ a ‘normal’ person. Obviously, such a test is a recipe for the repression of sexual minorities.”).

⁴⁰⁴ Elizabeth Glazer, *When Obscenity Discriminates*, 102 NW. U. L. REV. 1379, 1385 (2008) (“The collateral effect of failing to distinguish gay and lesbian content from obscenity has been an implicit yet pervasive sanctioning of the censoring of gay content.”).

⁴⁰⁵ See, e.g., Brent Hunter Allen, *The First Amendment and Homosexual Expression: The Need for an Expanded Interpretation*, 47 VAND. L. REV. 1073, 1092 (1994) (arguing that “the courts often deny First Amendment protection to artists who address homosexual issues”).

⁴⁰⁶ See, e.g., Amy M. Adler, *Post-Modern Art and the Death of Obscenity Law*, 99 YALE L.J. 1359, 1360 (1990) (arguing that “the two basic goals of obscenity law—protecting art while controlling obscenity—lie in a state of irreconcilable conflict due to the nature of contemporary art”).