How Sex Got Screwed Up

The Ghosts that Haunt Our Sexual Pleasure

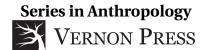
Book Two From Victoria to Our Own Time

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(Since I've Got) The Pill

Words and Music by Loretta Lynn, T.D. Bayless and Don McHan

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Young Woman's Blues

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Dedicated to the millions and millions of women, men, and children whose tribes, churches, politicians, pundits, and doctors tortured them, murdered them, or forced them to live in misery because of their sexuality.

Peace.

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Foreword

How Sex Got Screwed Up is a tremendous gift to our sexual health. It reports, from the beginning of life until today how sex got so screwed up that we've become uncomfortable with it. It also clears up myths and mistaken notions of how that happened. For example, as an avid reader of history, I was surprised to learn that ancient Greece and Rome had more rules about sex than I had learned.

The book is huge. People who are interested in the history of sex will read it avidly, as I did. Others may enjoy reading about periods of special interest and then bounce around through the book as one interest leads to another. As big as the book is, Jon did a fantastic job of condensing a vast world history into an easy-to-read and succinct outline. I have a lot of respect for the way he simplified a story that runs the course of more than 12 millennia.

Jon's "personal hauntings" from this history are very evocative. They not only describe the way our shared history affected his life. They will stir up the readers' memories of how that history has affected them. That was certainly my experience.

Most readers are unaware of the great volume of writing about the history of sex that has been accomplished in the last 20 years. Jon brings this information to light for them.

Jon and I have been colleagues for nearly 30 years. We served on the board of the Society for the Scientific Study of Sexuality together. And we coauthored an important paper, "The Health Benefits of Sexual Expression". We share a belief that sexual pleasure is a basic human right and that the social history of the world has infringed upon that right in many ways. To know and understand how our history has affected us can help relieve us from some of the discomforts we feel about sex. For a while it is true that none of us invented sex, it is also true that we did not invent most of our own hassles with it. We inherited most of them. How Sex Got Screwed Up helps us see this more clearly.

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Past-president, Society for the Scientific Study of Sexuality (SSSS)

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Past- Director, International Society for the Study of Women's Sexual Health (ISSWSH)

Preface

First of all, I want to make it very clear that I am not a credentialed historian. What I offer here is some of the information about sex and sexuality that I have found fascinating in my reading of much more accomplished, *real* historians. I offer the reader a simplified outline of that information in plain English, which I hope will be entertaining as well as informative. This book is especially for readers who are intrigued with sex and sexuality, but who might not have the time, patience, or interest to wade through volumes of often dense, sometimes difficult, language that many historians often use to talk with one another.

I did the research for *How Sex Got Screwed Up* to find out what were the forces that have made sex so difficult for a lot of us. My interest in how the sex drive works and how society deals with it crystallized in 1981 at the onset of the AIDS pandemic. I was in the first cohort of buddies that the Gay Men's Health Crisis (GMHC) trained to care for people living with AIDS in New York City. I witnessed first hand — for 13 years — the enormous pain people suffer because of individual and social fears about sex and sexuality. I also cofacilitated a score of grief and healing workshops for GMHC volunteers who were experiencing burnout. Those were indelible experiences that demonstrated how difficult it is for many people — straight, gay, or bisexual — to cope with their sexuality.

In 1983, I got a position as a temp with Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA). Two years later, I became its sexual health writer — largely because I knew so much about AIDS at a time when few people did. I spent 30 years at Planned Parenthood. I recreated and expanded its body of sexual health information, in print and online. As a content editor for plannedparenthood.org's teenwire, I was in direct contact with American teens and their struggles to come to grips with their sexuality.

In 1994, I joined the Society for the Scientific Study of Sexuality (SSSS) to increase my knowledge about sex and sexuality. As a member of the Society, I worked with Beverly Whipple. She was a former president of the Society and is the co-author of the landmark book, *The G-Spot — And Other Discoveries about Human Sexuality*. PPFA and SSSS published our paper "The Health Benefits of Sexual Expression" as a fact sheet on their Web sites. It put together, for the first time, a coherent, evidence-based argument that sex is good for us and has physical as well as emotional health benefits. The paper has had a positive impact on sexual health professionals. They had long viewed sexuality more in terms of risk than in terms of benefit.

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Through GMHC, PPFA, and SSSS, I heard thousands of stories about how people cope with their sexuality and their sex lives. I wondered why health professionals saw sexuality mostly as a risk behavior and why most people seemed pretty ambiguous about their sex lives. And why the increasingly powerful, conservative right was so negative about human sexuality.

Early in my career as a sexual health writer, I asked a seasoned colleague for her advice on what I should read to understand the history of sexuality. She gave me a copy of Michel Foucault's *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction.* She told me that he was the world's greatest authority. But I couldn't read it. It was much too dense and too theoretical for me. I never admitted that to her, and I assume she believes that I read the book.

I am also unable to read other great authorities on human sexuality. These include, for example, Judith Butler. She is an expert theorist about gender and queer studies. But she also uses words such as "poststructuralism" and "denaturalize" and concepts such as "sexual difference fundamentalism" and "French theory" as though they were as simple to grasp as "Run, Jane, run." Many of these words don't even appear in my home dictionary. Words like that stop me cold. I don't enjoy reading much of anything that I can't understand without constant referral to reference books.

I needed stories and studies about sex in much plainer language. So, I looked for other sources. And I found them. Hundreds of them. From Elizabeth Abbott to Bella Zweig. It all started with a multi-authored, six-volume study *A History of Private Life*. The first one came out in 1987. I had always thought history was about politics and war. It was a revelation to me that there could be such a thing as a history of private life. Why not a history of sex? The next year I read one: *Intimate Matters* by John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman. An amazing history of sex in North America. Then the *Journal of the History of Sexuality* came out in 1990. It is a terrific resource. An avalanche of studies and books followed. And I began to take notes and build a timeline.

The only single-volume world history of sex that I encountered was Reay Tannahill's *A History of Sex*. She first published it in 1980. It's a great read. But in her preface, she said that her book was neither "feminist or antifeminist". That seemed to me a needless limitation. Human sexuality may be the most political subject in history. I wanted to understand the politics around it even more than knowing about all the different sex practices around the globe. I wanted to understand what makes us so uncomfortable about sex. I believe

¹ Butler, 2007 [1990], ix-x.

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that knowing that would help me better comprehend my own life and the lives of those around me.

It may be that many of the writers whom I cite in my footnotes and bibliography will find that I have over-simplified the very complex events, experiences, and arguments that they have taken great pains to investigate and describe. I offer no other defense than that I wanted to make the whole story available to the general reader. Readers who have an interest in reading the original sources can refer to my citations and bibliography. Through them, they will find much more developed, intricate, and, for many, even more fascinating writing on these subjects.

Warning! In these books, I criticize, ridicule, and even lampoon some very hallowed and beloved doctors, cultural commentators, organizations, philosophers, politicians, religious leaders, saints, and scientists. These books are about sex and sexuality. In them, I call to account the hallowed and beloved *only* for their misguided teachings on these two subjects — teachings that I believe have added difficulty to our lives and made them less pleasant. This is not to say that we should not admire such teachers for whatever good they may have left us in their posterity. But I will leave such praise to others. It would be misplaced here.

It took me 22 years of fairly constant research to put together the facts for this story. Throughout both books, I offer little analysis and even less theory. I do present, instead, stories about how ghosts from the history of our sexual past have haunted my life and the lives of my relatives, friends, neighbors, playmates, and workmates. They describe events that inspired my intellectual, emotional, and spiritual interest in sex and sexuality. And they have a direct relationship to the historical events I describe. I believe they are, in fact, directly descended from those events — which is why I wrote these books. Agree with me or not, I think you will find the story enjoyable, fascinating, shocking, weird, and, perhaps, helpful. Most of all, I hope these books will help you see how sex got screwed up.

Because I am a very western guy, because most of my reading was about figuring out *my* sexual heritage, and because the West played such a huge role in screwing up sex worldwide, these books have a western bias. To find more in-depth histories of non-western cultures take a look at the book listings at the back of any volume of the *Journal of the History of Sexuality*. There is a world of information about the history of sex and sexuality out there. Enjoy it. And I hope you enjoy my take on the *How Sex Got Screwed Up*.

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Many people have been very supportive of this project, and I could not have done it without them. I'm particularly indebted to Christopher Reed and Beverly Whipple who read every word of the manuscript for both books. Chris read and reread the bibliography at various stages of development and checked the citations again and again. And Erica Connerney helped me figure out how to do the index! My family — my husband Jim Beers, our son Devin Adams, and his partner Jennifer Loiacano — also offered incisive insights and much-needed emotional support.

Many friends over more than 20 years helped me shape these books. Here they all are in alphabetical order: Devin Adams, Heather Altman, Jim Beers, PhD, Richard Brown, Karla Buitrago, Lois Clouthier, Erica Danielle Connerney, PhD, Ligia Cravo, May del Rio Dorfman, Charlie Fletcher, Julia Forth, Mardi Fritz, CSW, Rajiv Gulati, MD, PhD, Ross Davies Hooper, Sandy Hoyt, MD, Ben Jenkins, Greg Jennings, Sally Kagerer, Helene Kendler, LCSW, Jeff Kresser, Chris Karatnytsky, Deborah LaCoy, Kim Lafferty, Jennifer Loiacano, Ehtesham Majid, April Martin, PhD, Liz Mayers, Claire McCurdy, Jeffrey Miller, JD, David Pauley, MSW, Christopher Reed, Maurice Schroder, PhD, Nancy Schneiderman, M.S.W., Barbara Snow, Robyn Stein, John Russell Todd, Regina S. Todd, PhD, Curt Tow, Ann Tubbs, John Tweddle, Jeanne Van Gemert, MC, Tyrone Vincent, Sean Weibersch, Beverly Whipple, PhD, RN, FAAN, Celine Wood, and the students in Dr. Beers' human sexuality courses during 1996 at John Jay College of Criminal Justice. And then, of course, thanks to Carolina Sanchez, Argiris Legatos, Javier Rodriguez and others at Vernon Press who took it on themselves to get these books into print. Also, special thanks to Carolyn Lane for inspiring the title — How Sex Got Screwed Up. Thank you all. Very much.

Introduction

Here is a rapid-fire summary of *Book One* for those who have not read it. I also offer another for *Book Two* for those who like a map of what's coming up. In *Book One* of *How Sex Got Screwed Up*, I showed that sexual desire was born billions of years ago. It may be the most powerful instinct in the animal world. It often blinds us and all other straight and queer animals to the risks we take to satisfy it — from social stigma, to becoming pregnant, or to dying of a dangerous sex infection. Political leaders and great thinkers, including Augustine, Plato, Darwin, Freud, Gandhi, Kinsey, Sanger, and eons of theologians have all tried to understand the desire for sex and the powerful ways that it affects us and our world. We still have a lot to learn. But the history of their thoughts makes sex problematic for us today.

The desire for sex bonded people and held the first families together. From the Stone Age to our own times, societies have tried to channel, contain, and tame sexual desire with taboos, sex customs, and laws. The earliest troops and tribes did so to set themselves apart from others. Their myths and misunderstandings haunt us today, leaving millions of individuals and most world communities uncomfortable with sex and sexuality.

In the Bronze Age, Stone-Age sex taboos merged with the economic forces of the Agrarian Revolution to consign women to ever-weakened roles in their world and in the hearts of men. Our ancestors gave up gender equality when they left nomadic life behind them. Men and their sons become owners and inheritors of the land. They began to treat women's bodies like the earth in which they planted their seed, and they increasingly confined women to the role of breeding heirs. With each wave of civilization and conquest, women's lives moved in ever-diminishing circles of social, political, and sexual freedom. Those freedoms lived more and more in the bonds men made with each other. Male friendships and loyalties, erotic and not, cemented the foundations of civilization in Bronze-Age Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece. They echo through the world's oldest epics, *Gilgamesh*, the *Iliad*, and the family sagas of the Hebrew Bible.

The subjugation and de-sexing of women was not an exclusively western custom. The Bronze Age and the Agrarian Revolution in the East were as hard on women as they were in the West. And the East also spawned some fundamentally sex-negative thinking. The Buddha, for example, suggested that women and sex could prevent a guy from reaching Nirvana. Women couldn't get there until becoming men through reincarnation. In China,

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Confucius overturned the pro-sex, pro-woman values of Taoism. No longer could the Chinese absolve their sins with coitus. Sexual restraint became the insignia of the righteous. One of the few Taoist customs Confucius left in place was the binding of women's feet. A world of hobbled women and hobbling eunuchs fit right in with the Confucian male supremacist view. It was the way of the Chinese world well into the 20th century.

During the early Iron Age in the West, two cultures — Athens and Sparta — emerged to exalt erotic love between men. But they treated women very differently. One kept them spinning wool in the cool dark shadows of the women's quarters. The other encouraged them to exercise naked in the public sun, drive their horses in chariot races, and learn how to fight and throw javelins. In both, sex was a healthy after-dinner diversion as well as a motif for home decorating. Both supported the relationships of citizen warriors who fought ferociously to protect their same-sex lovers who stood along side them on the field of battle. Preserving anal chastity, marriage, and child-rearing were also masculine responsibilities of citizenship. Whenever the young tried to avoid them, their elders passed laws to force compliance. As in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and China, non-nobles and slaves — women, men, and children — had to make themselves available for their masters' sexual pleasure. None of them were free to say "no."

The Romans were control freaks — when it came to battle and when it came to sex. To take pleasure was the Roman's birthright. To show it was a betrayal of class. Noble women had to be virgins when they married, but they could and did enjoy sex after their weddings — not always with their husbands. They also made divorce an art form. They used it to build their family's fortunes and to wield power for themselves. A Roman man could do pretty much whatever he wanted with whomever he wanted — unless she was a noble woman. But there were limits. He couldn't go down on a woman or a man. That was taboo. And he couldn't ever let a penis penetrate him. That was a crime. The guilty forfeited their citizenship for it. Despite that stigma, a whole subculture of men who loved being penetrated sprang up in Rome. They cruised the bathhouses, gladiatorial games, and the theatres. They also married other men in public, and in sometimes lavish, ceremonies.

The early Christians took the Roman model of self-control and self-denial and amplified it with a horror of *everything* sexual — from clean hair to physical fitness. They believed that sexual pleasure was evil — that sex was barely permissible only between those who were married and only for having children. Everything else was fornication. Virginity was their ideal. Virgins got a bigger piece of the heavenly pie than non-virgins when they died and went to heaven. In the fourth century, laws forced everyone to become Christian and follow the church's beliefs about sex. Fornicators had to confess their sins, beg forgiveness,

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and do penance publicly — for up to 13 years — before being allowed once more to live with or talk with their own families. Same-sex love became the outlet for passion. The passionate friendships of Rome took on new meaning in the church. Monks and priests created Christian rites for same-sex unions. Priests, brothers, and nuns made public vows of perpetual love for one another in a world that forbid mixed-sex sex — unless making babies was the goal.

The Dark Ages in Europe were as dark for sex as they were for civilization. Jerome preached that you should bite out your own tongue if that's what it took to prevent anyone from deep kissing you. But in India, women and men studied the *Kāma Sūtra* to learn how to take delight in their own and one another's bodies. In India, making love was a gateway to the divine. Same-sex marriage was not unusual. In Europe, sex was the gaping maw of hell. And same-sex unions were supposed to be sexless. Priests all over Europe developed manuals for investigating the sex lives of the women and men in their parishes. For every sin revealed, there was a penance — fornicators, for example, had to stand with arms spread in the shape of a cross and recite the entire Book of Psalms before letting their hands fall to their sides. While India was too far away to infect Europe with its joy in sex, a whole new world of romantic notions came sweeping out of the desert sands of Arabia. With Islam, came a world of love poetry and courtly behavior that set Europe agog.

While Charlemagne protected Europe from the Muslims, he emulated their style in his courts and schools. He appointed bishops to set examples for courtly life. They had to have good manners, a passion for their king, and an addiction to the language of love. Troubadours spread the tradition. They wandered from Islamic court to Christian court and back again and sang rhapsodic songs about strong and beautiful women and men who defied the church to express their love for one another. The popes' loyal priests could decry carnal pleasure as much as they wished, but many others composed erotic hymns to love. The meeting of theologian Pierre Abélard and Héloise launched one of the most torrid love affairs in history. Courtly love became a strategy to keep rough-housing, landless bachelor knights on the straight and narrow. The tradition of the suffering knight who would do anything to win his married lady's love was a major turning point. Mixed-sex love had come into its own. So did same-sex unions.

Love and sex suffered major setbacks in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries. The return of a cash economy re-empowered the church, and, with the terror of the Black Death, it solidified its anti-sex power again. It blamed the deaths of up to half the population of Europe on so-called sex deviants — fornicators, heretics, Jews, lepers, "sodomites", and witches. Priests lost the right to marry. The church turned their wives, now witches, and their children, onto the streets. It also began to forbid same-sex unions. The Inquisition turned hundreds of

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thousands of women and men over to the secular authorities who tortured them, maimed them, and burned them at the stake. Public burning of sodomites and flogging of fornicators — by Protestants as well as Catholics — did little to keep people from having same-sex sex or sex outside of marriage. In fact, subcultures of same-sex lovers sprang up in the very cities that burned them at the stake. Disappointed wives still ran off with their lovers. And no matter the penalties, women, men, and teens still had sex that was taboo.

The New World had a Stone-Age diversity of sex and marriage customs before the Christians invaded and overwhelmed it. Same-sex marriage was frequent. Most tribes accepted child sexuality, divorce, women as equals, and "third sex" women and men as channels to the spirit world.

The church exported its Inquisition to the New World in the 15th and 16th centuries. The Protestants exported theirs. They all were content to wipe out entire peoples on the grounds that they, too, were sex deviants. Diverse sex customs died. Into this world, rose another evil that still haunts the sex lives of millions today — slavery based on race. To make money and avoid primogeniture and other Old-World social and sexual restrictions, young people fled to the ever-expanding western frontiers of the New World. They enjoyed new sexual freedom, but they also imposed dominant Old-World taboos and customs on their colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Americas.

Doctors urged that coitus was good for everybody. But the masters of the Age of Reason found scientific excuses to condemn other kinds of sex play. For example, Samuel Tissot originated myths about the calamities that would befall those who had solo sex. They would live to haunt Boy Scout manuals published in the 20th century. Doctors took over for priests to condemn sexual minorities. Men who wanted sex with men fled to molly houses in London. Europe executed thousands of such men. Women who had sex with women, on the other hand, such as "the Ladies of Llangollen," became celebrities, heroes, and tourist attractions. Same-sex marriages appeared once again. The pansexual "rake" rose and fell into disrepute. The straight guy emerged in response to the panic about men who had sex with men. Many toured the Muslim and Far Eastern worlds for sex adventure. At home, men joined gangs and clubs, went to coffee houses, and, in groups, had solo sex and sex workers to assert their manliness. They even changed their style of dress to assert their "gigantic masculinity." Cross-dressing increased for both sexes who hoped to gain the advantages of the other sex.

Women could only choose between being a mother or a slut. Most had to work hard build a dowry to marry and become their husband's business partner. But they had to submit to their husbands in all things. Punch and Judy mirrored the times. Audiences laughed and applauded Punch for beating and killing his wife.

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Priests implored real wives to accept the beatings their real husbands gave them. Husbands even made money suing their wives' lovers. Until the Marriage Act of 1753, most British people married — mixed-sex or same-sex — without ceremony. They also left their marriages without ceremony. Even after the Act, which called for ceremony, most people formed "free unions" on their own. However married, women became men's property under the common law of *couverture*. They began to plead for a better social contract. Some, such as Théroigne de Méricourt, took to the streets. Some, such as Mary Wollstonecraft, took to the press. And a few, such as Guilia Tofana, helped one another poison their abusive husbands. Some used potions for other things. For birth control. To abate a husband's lust. To win a man's love.

Working in the new industrial towns and cities, young women and men began to live unchaperoned and apart from their families. Their marriages became more and more about romance and less and less about family obligation. The forces that gave birth to the individual and the nuclear family also produced burgeoning same-sex subcultures, on land and on sea. Self-control was again a theme. Corporal punishment was its tool. The body became more private and washing it became acceptable. Orgasm cured women of the hysteria their "wandering" uteri created. At the beginning of this era, women needed an orgasm to get pregnant. By the time it ended, they couldn't have one. But "rakes" could have as many as they wanted - with women, men, children, or, if none were available, with animals. Women and men celebrated the glories of coitus in brothel guidebooks, newspapers, pamphlets, poetry, popular song, pornography, theatrics, and in their lives. Vauxhall Gardens and Paris became sex playgrounds. Kink, S & M, and rape flourished. As empires grew, so did sex tourism. Pornography, sex infections, and sex workers ruled most men. Moralists in medicine rose up to cure them. All this is detailed in *Book One*. It's a good read. I recommend reading it before reading Book Two.

In Book Two, I will show that the Victorian era protected kids from sex. Families sent "bad" boys and girls to reform schools. Richard von Krafft-Ebing developed theories of degeneracy for any sex that was not coitus. Porn flourished as people began to read. So did underwear, lingerie, and Beau Brummell. Women were now frail, delicate, dependent, and passionless. Those who liked sex were dangerous. Doctors bled them and burned their clitorises to turn them off it. Many became hysterical. Their families put them in institutions. Black people's masters controlled their sex lives until emancipation. African-Americans remained outsiders afterward. Women were outsiders, too. So was any man who behaved like them. Mormons, too. They gave their plural wives careers and the right to vote. Other outsiders, including Susan B. Anthony, Lucretia Mott, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton organized the suffrage movement. Many in it asked men to stop having sex and began the

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temperance movement to close the bars and brothels. Men responded by developing men-only clubs and "muscular Christianity" to keep from becoming effeminate. Sports become a signature of manliness. The word "homosexual" appeared. States began to pass laws against what it stood for.

Going without sex before marriage became the goal, especially for girls. Solo sex was not an alternative. Sylvester Graham and John Harvey Kellogg terrified readers with new terrors about what happened to girls and boys who had solo sex. If their cold cereals didn't cure them, circumcision and cutting off the clitoris would. Social purity organizations formed to keep people from having any kind of sex. But unmarried people still took risks with it. Love and playing at love became the rage. Utopians sought Free Love in communes. Women and men exploited their slaves for sex. Darwin's theories about gender mirrored his Queen's. Males were strong and sexy, and they pursued. Women were frail and sexless, and they submitted. Sexually-frustrated middle-class wives flocked to doctors who cured them of their "troubles" by bringing them to orgasm. Most doctors, including Kraft-Ebing, claimed that non-coital sex play was psychotic. A minority, including Havelock Ellis, found that it was natural. Kink and S & M became popular. Sex workers and sex tourism gave men an escape from their Victorian homes. And economics forced many, if not most, women to try a hand or two at sex work.

In the Victorian era, marriage for love became common. Laws about it were local. Bigamy, plural marriage, and same-sex marriages became possible in locales that recognized common-law marriage. "Lavender marriages" disguised same-sex relationships in other locales. Monogamy was the social ideal. But couverture remained in place. Divorce became more common. Birth control was illegal. Parents abandoned children. Women began to rely more on abortion than on birth control. The AMA and suffragists campaigned against both. Phrenology validated teachings about monogamy. It gave the masters of the world scientific excuses to eradicate native sex customs, prevent mixed-race marriage, and preserve race slavery. Society began to understand that sex ed was necessary — to keep passion in check. Porn flourished with photography and inexpensive printing, but officials made stronger laws against it. Anthony Comstock took the campaign to Congress. Most rapes were not crimes at the beginning of the century. Officials raised the age of consent from 10 to 16 or 18 to protect young people. They gave little protection for wives. Sex infections raged among whites. One of them, spermatorrhea, was a fearful fiction. Prosecution and regulation of sex workers stepped up to reduce the risk of infection.

At the beginning of the 20th-century sexual double standard limited the breeding capacity of the middle class. It encouraged young men to visit brothels to avoid solo sex and effeminacy. A majority of them infected their brides with

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sex infections. Within a year or two, their wives were sterile. Society considered all girls sexless. If a girl was too sexy, it sent her to a reform school. As sex work became illegal, ordinary women began to paint themselves like sex workers. A new "muscular" Christianity protected young, single men from predatory women, sexual depravity, sex infection, and effeminacy. It urged them to keep their bodies pure for the good girls they were to marry. It took two World Wars to teach public health officials the importance of condoms to fight sex infection. Censorship of film and books became rife. Margaret Sanger took on Comstock and waged civil-disobedience and public-relations campaigns to give women the right to plan their pregnancies.

As new geographic frontiers vanished and nations sought to expand their borders and ideologies, sex selection took on new meanings. Religious and political ideologies, including the Nazis, called on their followers to outbreed the bad guys — people with other economic systems, ethnicities, and faiths.

The World Wars made the sex worker suspect. They gave women jobs outside their gender roles, gays and lesbians a sense of community and entitlement, and expanded sexual horizons for men. But panics about sex crimes, real and imagined, took hold. Finally, Alfred Kinsey and company blew the lid off society's strongbox of myths about the sex lives of women and men. For the first time in thousands of years, we got to see just what people's sexual behavior really looked like. Through Kinsey, we learned that women were sexual, too. And why woman-on-top had been the most favored pre-Christian position for coitus — most women need clitoral stimulation to have an orgasm.

In the wake of Kinsey, the anti-war, civil rights, reproductive rights, women's rights, and gay rights movements shaped the second sexual revolution of the 20th century. The Baby Boom generation of hard rocking flower children rescued the *Kāma Sūtra* from Victorian obscurity while chanting, "Make love, not war!" Scientists revealed lovemaps and sexual scripts. Burgeoning multimedia, multibillion-dollar industry in porn developed new technologies. Advertising exploited sexual imagery to expand global consumerism. But under the Republicans, the federal government launched one of its most dangerous and expensive social-engineering projects: abstinence-only-until-marriage programs for public schools. Meanwhile, international air travel became commonplace, setting the scene for global sex tourism as well as the first worldwide epidemic of a sex infection — AIDS.

HIV / AIDS tore down the closet doors of the rich, the famous, and the boys next door. For those with a medieval turn of mind, the hand of God wrought the AIDS epidemic. Hysterical accusations of the satanic ritual abuse of children and horrors recalled through "recovered memory" swept the country and ruined the lives of thousands of women and men who had

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contact with children. With lightning change, America had moved from the cute innuendos of Doris Day movies to the full-throttled sexual howls of Janice Joplin. In reaction, the religious right, often with anti-porn feminist allies such as Andrea Dworkin, Catharine MacKinnon, and Gloria Steinem, re-solidified its hold on private life. The new victim of sex and the new sex criminal was the child.

In the first quarter of the 21st century, same-sex marriage became legal in all of the United States. But it is still difficult for people to be queer, and millions of families refuse to accept their LGBT kids. Even so, young people challenge the idea of absolute womanliness and manliness. The Internet offers all sexual minorities safety from thousands of years of gender- and sex-negative thinking. Women of all ages have more equality with men, but big pharma seeks profit by medicalizing the age-old social problems women have with their sexuality.

Conservatives still seek to cut back on a woman's right to control her own body. And the concepts of *marianismo* and *machismo* still thrive. Society still stigmatizes sex workers and makes their work illegal. And the U.S. government still subsidizes programs to keep people from having sex before marriage. But there is less stigma associated with kinky sex play and solo sex. Yet the double standard lives on, and society still expects women to keep from becoming "too" sexy. Online sources make using porn more common and much more private — no more trips to book and video stores. But the stigma against porn grows.

Many parents believe that knowing about sex will corrupt a child's innocence, so they restrict their kids' sexuality even as advertisers and the media sexualize them. A panic about child sex abuse still sweeps the country. We remain in such denial about sexual desire among girls and young women that millions of parents panic about sexting and hooking up. Authorities have begun to accuse children of sexual harassment — playing doctor is now a problem. And colleges punish young men for sexual harassment without giving them a full hearing. While two out of five women do experience sexual assault in college, the definition of rape is becoming "grayer", and many women now see regretted consensual sex play as rape. And it is wonderful that women are standing up around the world to put a final stop to sexual harassment. But in this increasingly conservative milieu, we have all become sex criminals in one way or another. It is tragic that a man can now become a registered sex criminal on nationwide online public databases and pay the penalties for life if he gets drunk and pees in a public place.

We should not pass all these abuses to the next generations. We need to own and enjoy our own sexualities. And we need to accept the sexualities of others. If we do, *How Sex Got Screwed Up* will become just another strange story about a dark past.

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