

My Desire for History

Essays in Gay, Community, and Labor History

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ALLAN BÉRUBÉ

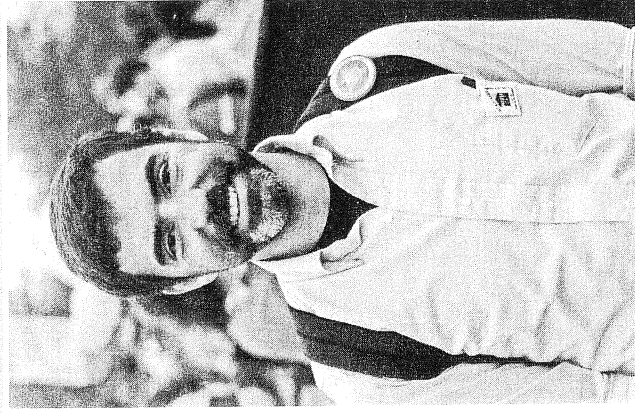
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Allan Bérubé and the Power of Community History

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Allan Bérubé was a community historian. He believed passionately in the power of history to change the way individuals and even whole groups of people understand themselves and their place in society. He projected a vision of history as a world-changing tool. The stories he told about the past—in public talks, in slide shows, and in writing—propelled people into varieties of activism. Allan Bérubé built community wherever he went.

In a 1992 keynote address delivered at a lesbian and gay studies conference in Quebec, Bérubé posed a question that captures the complexity of the life and the work represented in this collection. How, he asked, did “a Franco-American kid raised rural and working class in New England, whose earlier family history included no self-identified intellectuals or homosexuals—how did I learn how to become this new thing: a gay community-based historian?” (Chap. 10). How, indeed, did this 1960s conscientious objector and antiwar activist come to write the definitive history of lesbians and gay men in World War II? How did this college dropout become a self-taught, influential historian who in 1996 won a prestigious MacArthur Foundation “genius award”? In the process, how did he sustain his political activism, sharpen his own class and race consciousness, and continually inspire community building wherever he spoke or lived? Exploring these questions reveals not only the personal journey of an exceptional scholar-activist but also the broader phenomenon of the grassroots lesbian and gay history movement that emerged in the 1970s and laid the groundwork for the academic queer studies of the 1990s and beyond.

Best known for his Lambda Literary Award-winning book *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War II* (1990), which was later adapted into a Peabody Award-winning documentary film, Bérubé also wrote extensively on the history of sexual politics in San Francisco and on the relationship between sexuality, class, and race.¹ In addition



Allan Bérubé in high school, Massachusetts, ca. 1964. Courtesy of the Allan Bérubé Collection at the GLBTHS, San Francisco.

to the essays he published in the gay press and the talks and classes he gave on college campuses, for two decades he crisscrossed the country presenting highly popular historical slide lectures to lesbian and gay community audiences as well as to gatherings of union members and organizers. At the time of his death, he was in the middle of drafting an innovative book about the radical, interracial, and queer-friendly Marine Cooks and Stewards Union (MCSU) from the 1930s through the 1950s.²

We had the good fortune to encounter Allan in the late 1970s, soon after he made the commitment to write lesbian and gay history. As academic historians and political progressives exploring the history of sexuality, we found much common ground with him. We also forged deep mutual friendships that shaped our lives and work for decades. Like all who knew Allan, we were devastated by his sudden death from ruptured stomach ulcers in December 2007, just after his sixty-first birthday.³ As his friends and as trustees of his literary estate, we decided to make accessible his most influential published writings along with excerpts from his unfinished book project.⁴

The essays we have selected focus on four central concerns in Bérubé's work. The first section collects his early excavations of lesbian and gay com-

munity history, particularly for San Francisco; these essays reflect the sexual politics of the 1970s and 1980s. Part 2 explores the lives of lesbians and gay men during World War II, the project that culminated in *Coming Out Under Fire*; it includes pieces that illustrate Bérubé's skills as a practitioner of oral history. Part 3 includes the more self-reflective and theoretical writing that characterized Bérubé's work in the 1990s, as he turned his attention to the intersections of class, ethnicity, and sexuality and his own identity as a working-class and queer intellectual. In the final section, we have selected excerpts from his work-in-progress on the MCSU, in which he applies his insights into class and queerness to the history of a radical union. While there is some unavoidable overlap between a few of these essays, each one provides both a unique perspective and rich historical context.

In writing this introduction we have drawn from our personal knowledge; interviews with friends, family members, and associates of Bérubé; and some archival research. We each knew Allan too well, and were too deeply connected to him in personal and professional ways, to claim that we have written a detached critical biographical essay. Rather, we hope the introduction will frame these essays within the life and times that shaped him as a community historian. In addition to providing historical context, we hope to convey a sense of the intellectual, political, and personal life of the author who produced this compelling body of work.

Allan Bérubé's development from a working-class, Franco-American youth growing up in a New Jersey trailer park to an influential historian and public intellectual began when he won a scholarship that enabled him to attend the Mount Hermon School for Boys, a private New England preparatory school. "I remember being terrified in high school that if I didn't get good grades and be in all kinds of extra-curricular activities, I would never get a scholarship to college, terrified that I would be stuck working in a factory like my uncles, since I had no skills," he later recalled. Long considered the "golden boy" in his family, as his sister Annette Bérubé remembered, he felt not only the pressure to succeed but also the embarrassment of having to work on campus, where wealthy boys "tended to look down on students like Allan." As a waiter in the school's dining room, he was not allowed to talk to the students he was serving, even though he attended classes with them. A Catholic in a Protestant setting, at Mount Hermon he listened to sermons by liberal ministers, including William Sloane Coffin, and found a small group of students who shared his concerns about civil rights and peace.⁵

Bérubé earned a scholarship to the University of Chicago and enrolled

in 1964. He would come to label his journey there as one of “class displacement.” Even as he studied English literature and delighted in poetry, he felt too intimidated to speak in class. During summers he returned to his parents’ home in western Massachusetts, where he worked as a ward attendant at the nearby state mental hospital. The summer job, which was “filled with meaningful and disturbing experiences,” contributed to his political consciousness. He realized “how little respect for human life and dignity exists in state mental hospitals” and recognized that “although I was doing no violence myself, I lacked the courage to speak out against the violence I was witnessing.”⁶ At Chicago his moral critiques of American society deepened. Inspired by those students who had been involved in Freedom Summer in Mississippi (1964), he began to tutor black high school students through the Woodlawn Project. At the time, Bérubé later explained, he distrusted politics and political groups, but he felt drawn to acts of conscience. A turning point occurred in 1966 when the university’s compliance with the Selective Service System led him to join a sit-in at the administration building. At first uncomfortable with the prospect of breaking the law, he felt reassured when he determined that the protesters were “extremely responsible,” that they were sincerely “trying to figure things out, and they were coming up with an analysis of power.” He joined the sit-in, but he continued to value what he called “moral activism” rather than organized politics.⁷

Bérubé’s senior year of college (1967–68) coincided with escalating protests and political upheavals. Mobilizations against the Vietnam War, the insurgent campaign of Senator Eugene McCarthy to unseat President Lyndon Johnson, and widespread rebellions after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in April 1968 made places like the University of Chicago incubators for radical political activism. Faced with the dilemmas posed by the war and increasingly drawn to pacifism, Bérubé trained as a draft counselor and coedited an anthology of responses to the draft, titled *Living at War*. In the piece he contributed, “To Acknowledge Every Person as a Person,” he explained the reasons behind his conviction that he could never serve in the military. “There is something holy about the life and person of every human being,” he wrote. “The armed forces accept the killing of human beings as a legitimate means towards some end. . . . I do know that I have no authority to destroy any person’s life.” He and his close friend and college roommate Roy Guttman, another working-class scholarship student, met with Guttman’s rabbi in nearby Skokie, Illinois, as they struggled to understand the moral basis for conscientious objection. Bérubé and Guttman also wrote and circulated a “Statement of Belief” based on principles of religious pacifism.⁸


Bérubé was not yet out as a gay man, but he was “totally in love with”

Guttman. Although comfortable with their intense friendship, the sexual component of his attraction preoccupied Bérubé, who feared at the time that he “might be mentally ill.” In April 1968—the month of Martin Luther King’s murder, the subsequent urban riots, and an escalating antiwar movement—Allan came out to Roy with the statement “I have a homosexual problem.” Roy “listened,” Allan recalled. “There was more to be said, and it never did get said,” for just days later Guttman was killed in an apparently random race-related murder on the streets of Hyde Park near the university, a casualty of the violence that erupted after King’s assassination. As Bérubé described it, “The world had turned completely dangerous. . . . Everything was falling apart.” Deeply shaken, he stopped studying and attending classes, finally dropping out of school just weeks before he would have graduated.⁹

No longer a student, Bérubé faced the prospect of being drafted when he returned home to Massachusetts later in 1968. He applied successfully to have his Selective Service board reclassify him as a conscientious objector. For his two-year alternative service to military duty, he took a job in Boston with the American Friends Service Committee. Increasingly committed both to noncooperation with the war and to nonviolent civil disobedience, he risked arrest during the week of Memorial Day in 1969 by sitting in at his local draft board in Palmer, Massachusetts, and reading the names of all the soldiers killed in Vietnam, which at that time numbered over 30,000. When a police officer confronted him, Bérubé managed to avoid arrest by engaging him in a respectful discussion of Thoreau and Gandhi. The episode helped Bérubé clarify his motivation. “I was wondering whether my resistance [to the war] was based in my fear of being killed, of danger, or a lack of courage,” he reflected years later. “I realized that week that I had the courage.”¹⁰

Bérubé also realized that courage served him well “as someone who was about to come out at that time.” Along with exposure to antimilitarist ideas by writers such as the pacifist Barbara Deming, Bérubé began rethinking issues of gender and sexuality. He first heard about gay liberation from a lesbian he met on one of the several Peace Walks he took across New England with other pacifists, stopping in small towns and engaging local people in conversation about the war.¹¹ From feminists in Boston he learned of the emerging critique of “sex roles,” and he also began attending meetings of the Student Homophile League at MIT.

At the time Boston was overflowing not only with political radicals opposed to the Vietnam War but also with youths steeped in the growing counterculture. And, at the turn of the decade, it became one of the sites of an emerging gay liberation movement. Bérubé moved into a cooperative house



in Roxbury where some former members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) were living. One visitor to the household in these months remembers “colorful vegetarian meals around the big table in the Victorian row house” and lively conversation punctuated by Allan’s “gentle wit.” Soon he became involved with a collective that was planning to start a gay liberation paper. One evening he mentioned this work to a friend, Allan Troxler. It was Bérubé’s indirect way of coming out, and Troxler reciprocated by asking if he could work on the paper too. Before long, they were not only co-conspirators in the founding of what became *Fag Rag*, one of the main radical gay publications of the 1970s, but sexually intimate friends as well. Troxler, a North Carolina native, had dropped out of Swarthmore and, like Bérubé, had come to Boston where he, too, fulfilled his alternative service work as a conscientious objector. He remembers the time in Boston and, later, in Cambridge as “mighty heady days.” The group households, the radical politics, and most of all, the new gay liberationist world they were building were thrilling. Their friendship, Troxler recalled, provided “a ticket to soar above our histories of fear and self-loathing.”¹²

For many young adults who saw themselves as participants in the counterculture, these were years of geographic mobility. At some point in the early seventies, after they had finished their alternative service work, Bérubé and Troxler migrated to Vermont. They found a place near Montpelier, where some friends from Boston had already relocated. “We invented our rural selves,” Troxler later wrote. For Bérubé, that meant, among other things, learning to play the dulcimer and to weave and crochet, as well as collecting leaves, berries, and flowers to use as natural dyes. At first, he just made clothes for himself. Soon he was making scarves, mittens, and other goods for sale, to help allay “his anxiety over paying the bills.” With other gay men, he and Troxler planned Vermont’s first public gay event, at the state’s inaugural People’s Fair in Burlington. But Bérubé also traveled back and forth to Boston, working in a hospital, selling his crafts, and maintaining his friendships there. His simultaneous longings for both urban and small-town worlds would recur throughout his life.¹³

One of the gay men who moved in and out of Bérubé’s and Troxler’s life in these years was Carl Wittman, a key figure in both the New Left and radical gay politics. As a student at Swarthmore, where he and Troxler first met, Wittman became a nationally prominent SDS activist in the early and mid-1960s. He achieved even greater notoriety as the author of “A Gay Manifesto” (1969), one of the most widely read and cited gay liberation essays of the era. By the early 1970s Wittman and his partner were living with other gay male radicals in Wolf Creek, Oregon. A visit to Vermont and

Massachusetts revived the friendship with Troxler and initiated a new one with Bérubé. By early 1973, the search for community led Troxler, and then Bérubé, to the San Francisco Bay Area. For a while they migrated back and forth to Oregon to visit Wittman, until Troxler decided to stay in Wolf Creek, where he and Wittman settled into a long-term relationship. Bérubé would make San Francisco his home for more than two decades.¹⁴

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Bérubé’s identity as a gay community historian took root in the sexually and politically charged atmosphere of San Francisco in the 1970s. “I discovered a gay community when I visited San Francisco for the first time,” he later explained. Soon he had joined a commune in the Haight-Ashbury district, a place described by a visitor as “full of fey bearded, long-haired gay hippies . . . a magical house full of looms, beautiful long rag runners on the stairs, everyone weaving all the time.”¹⁵ Troxler, who visited often, reflected that Bérubé’s “belief in collective . . . came to full flower there on Ashbury Street. Someone was always busy at one of the looms in the loft on the fourth floor.” Bérubé lived simply, supporting himself by selling mittens, hats, scarves, placemats, and rugs at curbside bazaars and later at The Soft Touch, a collectively run store on Haight Street, and at A Thousand Fingers, a cooperative gallery in the Castro district. In his free time, he explored the beaches, streets, and parks. “This is a city,” he wrote in his journal, “for learning how to slow down and spend your days pleasantly.”¹⁶

Long a magnet for bohemians, the Bay Area had a reputation as a sexually “wide open town.” Well before the Stonewall riots catalyzed the modern gay liberation movement, San Franciscans had accumulated an impressive history of resistance. In 1951, in response to a suit by bar owner Sol Stoumen, the California Supreme Court ruled that the state could not revoke a liquor license simply because a tavern’s patrons were homosexual. In the mid-1950s, Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon had formed the first national lesbian rights organization, the Daughters of Bilitis. In 1961, José Sarria, a waiter and drag performer at one of the city’s bohemian bars, ran for a seat on the Board of Supervisors as an openly gay candidate. Five years later, transvestites in the Tenderloin neighborhood rioted against police harassment, and the next year, the hippie “summer of love” made San Francisco synonymous with the sexual revolution. It was a few years later, in the 1970s, that Bérubé gravitated to San Francisco, as did Harvey Milk and thousands of other gay men from around the country. Together they created a critical mass of sexually and politically conscious citizens. As the Castro district transformed into a middle-class gay enclave, Bérubé enjoyed visiting this nearby neigh-

borhood where “gay could be ordinary.” In San Francisco, pride replaced a once-stigmatized identity, community replaced isolation, and sexual revelry replaced sexual hiding.¹⁷

The process of transforming a once-tarnished identity into a positive base for community often involves the search for a usable past, whether for African Americans and Mexican Americans in the civil rights struggle or for women in the feminist movement. Indeed, the search for historical antecedents—whether racial, ethnic, or sexual—characterized large swaths of popular culture in the 1960s and 1970s. Alex Haley’s best-selling book, *Roots* (1976), and the television adaptation of it were the most dramatic examples of this phenomenon, but grassroots versions of this impulse could be found in the Freedom Schools in Mississippi, in the local libraries and archives that the women’s movement spawned, and in the pages of a newly established gay and lesbian press. In one of the earliest signs of a lesbian and gay history movement, in 1974 activists in New York City created the Lesbian Herstory Archives. Two years later, in 1976, New York self-trained historian Jonathan Ned Katz published *Gay American History*, a hefty collection of historical documents testifying to both gay oppression and gay resistance since the colonial era. The book inspired Bérubé to explore lesbian and gay history, especially San Francisco’s, a task that he pursued with characteristic passion.¹⁸

Tumultuous political events in the late 1970s also fueled Bérubé’s quest for historical insight into gay oppression. In 1977 Florida orange-juice spokeswoman Anita Bryant made headlines leading a voter-referendum campaign to repeal a gay rights antidiscrimination law enacted in Dade County, Florida. In early June, her “Save Our Children” crusade succeeded when a landslide vote rejected the ordinance. Bryant then traveled across the country, encouraging successful repeal campaigns in other cities. The next year, Californians faced a statewide ballot initiative, Proposition 6, that would have prohibited the employment of lesbians and gay men in the public schools. San Francisco activists played a key part in the successful mobilization against the measure. Just weeks after its rejection by voters, Harvey Milk, the first openly gay supervisor in San Francisco and a leader in the anti-Prop-6 campaign, was assassinated by Dan White, a conservative former supervisor. In May 1979, after a jury convicted White of manslaughter rather than murder, the gay community exploded with rage. Thousands of people marched on City Hall, where they smashed windows and set a row of police cars on fire. Police responded by storming the Castro; they invaded gay bars and assaulted pedestrians on the street.¹⁹

These events affected Bérubé deeply. His journal and his correspon-

dence in this period recorded his participation in the meetings, vigils, and marches through which the San Francisco community mobilized. “We’re not going away or back into the closet—we can’t!” he wrote in his journal soon after the 1977 Dade County vote.²⁰ After attending a mass meeting in which candidates for elected office appealed for gay votes, Bérubé described the anger that spontaneously erupted. The crowd of 350 people, he reported, “booed [and] shouted ‘Get out!’” at politicians perceived to be insensitive to the community.²¹

The politics of the era made Bérubé more determined to deepen his understanding of history. One night, after watching the extensive television coverage of Bryant’s campaign, he made a list of things he now wanted to do: write about Nazi persecution of homosexuals, undertake a biographical study of the British writer Edward Lear, and “start a gay history study group.” A week after the Dade County vote, he began to keep a “research log” that cataloged his efforts to explore these topics. At times during these years, feelings of urgency, even doom, coursed through him. “I’m feeling very powerless lately, powerless politically,” he lamented in his journal. “Many of the gains we’ve made—gay rights laws, food stamps, abortion rights, etc.—can be reversed very easily.” As his research progressed, historical analogies surfaced. “We talk often of the gay movement in Germany and how it was crushed by the Nazis,” he mused. “Learning about the systematic crackdowns on gays in SF in the 50s in detail, following the openness of the war, is a little scary.”²²

All of this upheaval pushed Bérubé to learn the historian’s craft. In the months after the Anita Bryant campaign, he began to visit libraries, spending hours in the Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley looking through the papers of Noel Sullivan and, during a trip east, in the Houghton Library at Harvard, where he read the diaries of Edward Lear and materials about Horatio Alger. He contacted writers such as Jonathan Ned Katz, of *Gay American History* fame, and James Steakley, who had published an account of the early gay movement in pre-Nazi Germany. To Katz he wrote of his excitement that, at age thirty, he could now “use the skills I learned in college . . . in an unalienated way.”²³ He purchased *The Modern Researcher*, by Jacques Barzun, which he found “very helpful.” He immersed himself in the emerging literature of U.S. social and women’s history. During this time, Bérubé gave himself the equivalent of a graduate education in research methods and historiography. Conscious of this redirection of his life, he compared his “growing devotion to discovering a gay history” to the desires of a close woman friend to have a child; in part, they agreed, having recently turned thirty contributed to their respective longings.²⁴

Bérubé devoted much of the next three decades of his life to uncovering lesbian and gay history. The work brought him a delight and pleasure that anyone passionately committed to research will understand. Consider this description, written in the fall of 1979, of a day's work: "Today I got a grip on my work—my first step, which I'm really enjoying, is to do an index-card chronology of everything I know and have collected about early San Francisco gay history—organized by decade, so far. So I did this all day—listing municipal report statistics on sodomy arrests in SF, dates of newspaper articles, letters from gay people with gay content, publication of gay-related books, changes in laws, etc. I was in heaven."²⁵

Bérubé also frequently expressed a yearning for "a small community/circle of gay people who are writing/reading/researching about gay culture and history and can share their work in a non-competitive way." He wanted "people to talk out ideas with, learn from, criticize each other."²⁶ In a sense, he wanted to re-create for the study of gay history something of what he had experienced in the weavers' collective a few years before.

By early 1979, at least, Bérubé was no longer working alone. His irrepressible enthusiasm for history—anyone Allan met heard about his research—began to attract friends and acquaintances to the task of creating a new kind of community history. Eric Garber, a Colorado gay migrant, shared Allan's delight in research and often accompanied him to the newspaper room of San Francisco's main public library. Amber Hollibaugh, a member of the collective that operated Modern Times, an independent left-wing bookstore, engaged in spirited conversation about politics and history whenever Allan visited the store, and she pointed him toward books on women's and radical history. Others whose paths crossed his included Lynn Fonfa, a community activist who was working on a master's thesis on lesbian history; documentary film makers Frances Reid, Liz Stevens, and Rob Epstein; Jeffrey Escoffier, a transplanted activist from Philadelphia who later became editor of *Socialist Review* and a founder of the magazine *Out/Look*; Estelle Freedman, who taught women's history at Stanford; Gayle Rubin and John D'Emilio, who were each writing dissertations on gay topics; photographer Honey Lee Cottrell; and computer programmers Roberta Yusba and JoAnn Castillo, who wanted to learn more about lesbian and gay history.²⁷

Early in 1979, several of them established the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project. For the next several years, they met regularly for often intense conversations. They read books together, discussed the turbulent politics swirling around them, and shared their latest research findings in "show-and-tell" sessions. Remarkably, given the strong tendencies toward lesbian separatism in the 1970s, the project remained a mixed-sex group, al-



Allan and other members of the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project, Gay Pride Parade, June 1980. From left: Honey Lee Cottrell, JoAnn Castillo, Roberta Yusba, Allan Bérubé, Estelle Freedman, Eric Garber, and Amber Hollibaugh. Courtesy of the Allan Bérubé Collection at the GLBTHS, San Francisco.

though lesbians met separately as well as with the male participants. While almost entirely white, it was also a mixed-class group and one that defined itself as politically activist.

From the beginning, the History Project believed that understanding history endowed individuals and communities with the power to act more effectively in their world. Bérubé especially wanted the history he was uncovering to be shared with the community. So, in addition to functioning as a reading group in sexual history and politics, the project began producing events in response to contemporary crises. In August 1979, in the face of continuing police harassment of the community after the City Hall rioting, the group convened a panel, "Spontaneous Combustion," at the feminist-run Women's Building. A packed hall listened to speakers Amber Hollibaugh, Jeff Escoffier, John D'Emilio, and Lois Helmbold, a historian who taught at San Jose State University, present episodes in the history of police-community relations, from raids on bars and bathhouses to street harassment of sex workers. One theme in particular kept surfacing: that the past was filled with examples of successful resistance, that a community need not remain passive targets of abuse.²⁸

Even more successful was the premiere during June's Pride Month festivities of "Lesbian Masquerade," Bérubé's illustrated slide lecture based on newspaper stories of women who had passed as men in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century San Francisco. The large auditorium was filled to overflowing with an audience that seemed to cross every line of sexual and gender identity that one could imagine. Bérubé's ability to project queer life more than a hundred years back in time produced laughter, applause, tears, and a thrill that rippled through the crowd. The excitement was palpable, and it grew as he moved the audience through the lives of Jeanne Bonnet, Milton/Luisa Matson, and Jack Garland/Babe Bean. After the presentation was over, the crowd that pressed in upon Bérubé testified to the event's power. This was no routine history lecture.

"Lesbian Masquerade" catapulted Bérubé from anonymity to a position of great visibility in San Francisco and even beyond. He presented the slide show to enthusiastic audiences throughout the Bay Area and, in the fall of 1979, traveled up and down the East Coast showing it in cities stretching from Salem, Massachusetts, to Durham, North Carolina. But his growing celebrity also provoked introspection and uncertainty. Bérubé took satisfaction in being part of a *community* project; indeed, other project members had helped produce the premiere lecture. Now he confronted, in his own words, "the old individual-in-relation-to-community issue." Where, he wondered, does "my own work stand in relation to collective work and decisions?"²⁹ The passionate identity politics and separatist climate of the times added fuel to these concerns. Lesbians in the project debated the implications of a gay man presenting lesbian history, as well as the title "Lesbian Masquerade," which implied a self-conscious but hidden lesbian identity in the past. With Bérubé's cooperation, a group of lesbians in the project began to present the slide lecture on their own. To facilitate its distribution, in 1983 Estelle Freedman and Liz Stevens produced an audiotape with slides, now titled "She Even Chewed Tobacco: Passing Women in Nineteenth-Century America."³⁰ A videotape version of it continues to be shown in classrooms and to community groups. Bérubé meanwhile published a version of the script of "Lesbian Masquerade" in the national gay press (Chap. 1).

Fed by the interest in local history that his audiences displayed, Bérubé continued his research into San Francisco's queer past. By 1980, he was envisioning a book about gay history stretching from the Gold Rush days, when San Francisco's reputation as "a wild and pleasure-loving city" solidified, through "the elements that led to the identifiable gay communities, institutions, and consciousness of the '20s, '30s, and '40s," and culminating finally in the flowering of a visible gay world during World War II and the

ensuing police crackdowns. The heightened visibility of Bérubé and the History Project enhanced the feasibility of such an ambitious venture, as new sources regularly kept surfacing. Bois Burk, an East Bay resident for half a century, contacted Bérubé and presented him with folders full of gay-related news articles that Burk had systematically clipped from the San Francisco press for decades. A gay doctor who learned about the History Project encouraged his older patients to volunteer their oral histories; Bérubé, as well as Garber, Epstein, and Escoffier, were only too happy to interview them. After one of his public presentations, a white lesbian in the audience made available her photo album from her years in the navy during World War II.³¹

As his research on San Francisco's past moved forward, Bérubé remained attuned to contemporary events, often seeing parallels between past and present. His attention turned particularly to the media demonization of gay male sexuality. The media had long expressed hostility to gay men, and in the Reagan era, a new conservatism that drew on Christian evangelicalism was making appeals to "traditional family values" a centerpiece of political mobilization. In April 1980, CBS-TV broadcast during prime-time hours an inflammatory documentary, *Gay Power, Gay Politics*, which raised the specter of a homosexual takeover of San Francisco. It led Bérubé to notice the ways that the demonizing of gays had played itself out in previous moments of the city's history. As he recorded in his journal: "My 50s work seems so crucial now that the New Right is becoming so powerful—crucial because it can delineate the patterns of sexual repression . . . we need to know about today in order to fight. Feels like this will become my 'political work' . . . that I will be doing in the next year."³² He wrote an essay, "Behind the Specter of San Francisco," about the attacks on gays and lesbians during the mayoral campaign of 1959 and analogized with the present (Chap. 2). Significantly, it was published by *The Body Politic* in Toronto, a city experiencing a police crackdown of its own in the early 1980s.

The onset of the AIDS epidemic in the 1980s only heightened antigay rhetoric. References to the "gay plague," calls to quarantine gay men, and proposals to close gay male bathhouses all circulated widely. Once again, Bérubé's response was to turn to the past for analogies and enlightenment. He explored how medical scapegoating had a history in San Francisco, most notably in anti-Chinese measures at the turn of the century (Chap. 3). And he created another powerful application of the historical slide lecture, "Resorts for Sex Perverts," a pictorial history of gay bathhouses. In the face of AIDS, Bérubé took a strong public stance against the attacks on gay male sexual culture that emanated from without, as well as from within, the gay community. He argued against repression and prohibition, such as the clos-

ing of bathhouses, and insisted on the importance, historically, of sexual bonds as a basis for building community (Chap. 4). Lovemaking, he would later write, had long provided a “partial refuge” from an antigay social climate, but AIDS was taking “the safety out of our old shelters” (Chap. 9). Rather than demonize gay sex, he hoped to locate a new kind of shelter and build a new kind of community through the safer sex practices being pioneered and advocated by AIDS activists.

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Even as he marshaled historical evidence from San Francisco’s past to apply to contemporary issues, Bérubé found the focus of his research shifting. Of all his discoveries of new historical sources during these years, perhaps the most dramatic was the uncovering of a cache of several hundred letters written during World War II by a group of white gay male friends serving in the military. By a circuitous route, a friend of a friend told Allan of finding the letters packed away at the back of a closet in a vacant apartment that he was helping to clean out. They belonged to Harold Taylor (a pseudonym), one of the correspondents, who had died in 1975 and who had apparently meticulously preserved them for more than three decades. Don, the gay man who rescued them, had saved them for over four years, and now he passed them on to Bérubé. Reading through them for the first time aroused an almost spiritual response. “As I discover more and more of this story,” he confided, “I can’t help but think that it was all saved with the hope, an act of faith, that it could all be put together somehow.”³³

The Taylor correspondence so excited Bérubé that he used the material to construct a new slide lecture. Focused on World War II, it was designed initially to advance the San Francisco book project. San Francisco, after all, was a port of embarkation and return for millions of service members, while other young Americans had migrated to the Bay Area for employment in defense industries. During the war, many encountered city life for the first time on the streets of San Francisco; some likewise discovered their first gay and lesbian bars as well as the freedom to experience same-sex intimacy. Bérubé was able to recount the history of gays and lesbians in World War II in a way that also made the city’s history come alive.

In picking so central and national a topic, Bérubé tapped into something more profound than he had initially anticipated. In the early 1980s, World War II was still vividly present in the memories of large numbers of Americans. Many of those who had fought in the war or worked in defense plants — “the greatest generation,” as NBC news anchor Tom Brokaw later described them — were still alive. And the baby boomers, the men and

women who helped create gay liberation in the 1970s, had grown up with movies about the “Good War.” Here was Bérubé, in characteristic fashion, retelling this grand narrative. Yes, he recounted stories of oppression and injustice, as some gay men and lesbians faced courts-martial, imprisonment, and then discharge from the service. But he also told stories of heroism and selflessness, of camaraderie and solidarity, of fun and self-discovery. For his audiences who had experienced the silence, invisibility, isolation, and persecution of the 1950s, ’60s, and ’70s, Bérubé’s lecture was a profound experience. He was documenting the presence of gays and lesbians in a pivotal event in U.S. history.

As with “Lesbian Masquerade,” Bérubé took his show, which he titled “Marching to a Different Drummer,” on the road. Everywhere he went, the reaction was the same. “People at my slide show are just entranced by the whole thing,” he reported. “Everyone *loves* it.” At one showing, at the Walt Whitman Bookshop in San Francisco, a black veteran whom he had previously interviewed was in the audience. After the presentation, he raised his hand to comment. “First time he spoke he started to cry, and stopped to compose himself,” Bérubé wrote afterward. “Then he said I had ‘worked magic.’”³⁴

With these presentations Allan Bérubé powerfully drew community audiences to gay history. Though exceptionally gifted as a presenter, his effort was by no means a singular one. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, lesbian and gay history projects had emerged in a number of cities, and the slide talk had become something of a rage. Jim Steakley mesmerized audiences with his illustrated lecture on the German gay movement in the early twentieth century. Judith Schwarz, an independent researcher living in Washington, D.C., entertained and instructed with an account of a pre-Depression-era world of bohemian women in Greenwich Village. Gregory Sprague, a graduate student at Loyola University, began researching Chicago’s queer past. He put together a slide show that helped bring some older Chicagoans out of the closet, and they in turn made themselves available to be interviewed by him. Sprague’s work grew into a local history project that, a generation later, still lives on in the form of the Gerber/Hart Library, a rich repository of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) books, newspapers, and archival collections.³⁵

Sometimes Bérubé himself helped provoke these other ventures. Roberta Yusba, a friend of Jeff Escoffier, had joined the San Francisco History Project soon after the first showing of “Lesbian Masquerade.” Inspired by it, she assembled her own presentation on the lesbian pulp novels of the 1950s and 1960s, filling it with images of cover art that not only were instructive but

also often elicited gales of laughter. In November 1979, after Bérubé showed “Lesbian Masquerade” in the Boston area, a group of enthusiastic audience members formed a collective that evolved into the Boston Area Lesbian and Gay History Project. They developed a slide show, collected oral histories, and wrote pieces for the local press. Still in existence almost three decades later, the project in 1996 organized a massive exhibit at the Boston Public Library and then published *Improper Bostonians: Lesbian and Gay History from the Puritans to Playland*.³⁶

Some of this local historical work preceded Bérubé’s explorations. In Buffalo, New York, Elizabeth Kennedy and Madeline Davis created the Buffalo Women’s Oral History Project in 1978. Motivated by a belief that it was their “political responsibility . . . to give this history back to the community,” they not only gave talks around town but eventually produced *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold* (1993), which has become a revered work in the canon of lesbian history.³⁷ Members of the Lesbian Herstory Archives, including Joan Nestle and Deborah Edel, proselytized across the country, urging lesbians to see their lives and their communities as historically significant. Countless letters, photos, diaries, scrapbooks, and other memorabilia have been saved from the dump thanks to the zeal of the Herstory Archives.³⁸

At the distance of a generation, this account of how Bérubé and others became pioneering founders of a movement to recover gay and lesbian history can sound like a wonderfully inspiring and romantic tale, filled with joyous discoveries and deep satisfaction. In terms of the thrill that the work brought to both the practitioners and the audiences, it was glorious. But it was also a story of immense and difficult struggle. Throughout these years, Bérubé labored with very few material resources to support his research. He enjoyed none of the benefits that a faculty position at a university provides: no salary or health insurance, no paychecks during the summer, no funded sabbaticals for writing. For a while, he went back to weaving scarves, which he could do in the evening, and sold them by word of mouth through friends and acquaintances. He worked as an usher and manager in local movie theaters and registered with an agency for temporary office workers. But the insecurity took a toll. “I am not cut out for 8–5 jobs,” he wrote, after one long stretch of typing gigs. “I’ve been very frustrated lately, discouraged about ever getting the time I want and need to write. This business of squeezing it into lunch hour or Saturday nights is for shit. . . . This frustration from lack of money and time is just about driving me crazy.” Fortunately, even in the hardest times he managed to retain a sense of humor that his friends knew well. After learning that an auto insurance company had agreed to pay him \$4,500 in damages after he was hit by a reckless driver (this at a time

when any money “left over after bills” made him feel “rich”), Bérubé drew on the popular culture of his childhood to express his delight: “This is like being ‘Queen for a Day,’ winning the washer *and* dryer, and a year’s supply of Tide.”³⁹

In the summer of 1981, Bérubé took a major step. He decided to abandon his plan to write a book on San Francisco and instead to devote himself to the World War II story. Everything seemed to point him in that direction. “My showing of the slide show is scaring up all kinds of incredible new sources,” he wrote. “The World War II stuff keeps pulling me toward it, from my own interest to other people’s enthusiasm.” Because its scope was national, he thought it would give him a better chance, as a first-time author, of attracting a publisher’s interest. In the meantime, he reasoned, “the slide show could serve, for a year, as a means to supporting my work, scaring up sources, publicizing the book, and generally educating and raising people’s spirits.”⁴⁰

Bérubé labored on the World War II book for the remainder of the 1980s. A key part of the work was the travel he did with the slide show, since he considered his tours a form of “public dialogue with the communities whose history I was documenting and to which I belonged.”⁴¹ The presentations, which he gave before local organizations, on college campuses, at academic conferences, and in the homes of veterans themselves, moved the book forward in a number of ways. Since there was so little published writing on gay and lesbian history, the talks in academic settings helped open a conversation about this new field of social history and evoked useful insights from other researchers and scholars. The community talks provided a different kind of assistance. Through them, new sources kept materializing. In Los Angeles, for instance, a man who had placed an ad in the *Advocate* in 1972, asking older gay men to write to him about their experiences in the era of World War II and before, volunteered to let Bérubé have all of the letters he had received.⁴² The slide show also steadily provided new subjects to interview, especially when Bérubé did living-room showings in the home of someone, usually a veteran, whose network of friends was invited. With their memories brought to life by the talk and the images, they often began to narrate their own experiences to Bérubé, who was especially skilled at drawing out their stories. They frequently passed the hat as well, providing him with income to keep going.

The World War II project epitomized Bérubé’s multipronged approach to community history. The countless showings of “Marching to a Different Drummer” helped not only to build community but also to create new networks of activists, especially among an older group of veterans who began

to organize against antigay military policies that were as alive as ever in the 1980s. Through traditional methods of research in the National Archives, he uncovered a wealth of documents that had never before been used by historians. His many Freedom of Information Act requests, which provoked “battles with the Navy over secret documents they are withholding from me,” eventually led to the release of thousands of pages of material, including detailed accounts of investigations designed to weed out women suspected of homosexual activity.⁴³ Bérubé saw all these efforts not only as aiding his book project but also as building an accessible public archive. Through the politically progressive Capp Street Foundation in San Francisco, he created a World War II Project that helped fund the oral history work, including transcriptions of his interviews. Meanwhile, he promised to donate all of his research materials to the Northern California Lesbian and Gay Historical Society, a spin-off of the San Francisco History Project that had been nurtured by Bill “Willie” Walker, who had joined the project in the 1980s.⁴⁴

All along the way, Bérubé published pieces about the World War II story. He hoped these would build enthusiasm, change consciousness, uncover more sources and subjects to interview, and spark activism. Several of these essays appear in this volume: a 1981 article in the *Advocate*, a gay and lesbian newspaper with a national audience; a featured story in 1983 in *Mother Jones*, a monthly magazine devoted to the community-organizing impulses of the New Left; and a prominently placed piece in the 1984 Pride issue of the *Front Page*, a North Carolina lesbian and gay newspaper, in which Bérubé revealed the astounding story of the *Myrtle Beach Bitch*, a newsletter published during the war by gay GIs stationed at bases in the South (Chaps. 5–7).

The decision to write a book about lesbian and gay male soldiers during World War II had deep emotional implications for Bérubé’s sense of himself. Taking himself seriously as a historian, despite his lack of undergraduate or graduate degrees, coincided with a conscious effort to challenge the constraints that he recognized as a product of his class and familial background. In soul-searching journal entries and letters, he described “how ashamed I was when I was growing up about living in a trailer, and how much of an outsider I was when we lived in a middle-class suburb for 3 years and when I went to prep school on a full scholarship.”⁴⁵ Bérubé grappled with the obstacles to his becoming “a more powerful person,” given his oppression “as a gay man, a working-class man, and as a radical.” Yet, at the same time—with his characteristic moral seriousness—he acknowledged that “I also have other privileges—a good education, some middle-class skills, ambition, charm, being a white male, that I shouldn’t ignore or take for granted, either.” The critical role of support from others—including



Allan Bérubé and Brian Keith. Courtesy of the Allan Bérubé Collection at the GLBTHS, San Francisco.

members of the History Project in San Francisco as well as his youngest sister, Annette, who also lived in San Francisco and who held bake sales to raise money for Allan’s research—enabled him to envision himself as a historian. In the process, he struggled against a self-acknowledged tendency to rely on others to take care of him, admitting to those closest to him that he feared taking advantage of them.⁴⁶

A special and unique form of support came to Allan through his relationship with Brian Keith. They met in 1983, in a south-of-Market-Street leather bar, and quickly became intimate partners. In some ways, they could not have been more different. Keith was British and a biochemist at the University of California at Davis, where his research focused on plant growth. But he had also been an orphan, raised by an “auntie,” while the death of Allan’s mother when he was four had left him in the care of his grandparents on their farm until his father’s remarriage. Allan and Brian bonded over these childhood experiences as well as over their class backgrounds. Brian was raised in an unmistakably working-class home, with the kind of sharp understanding of class that is so much a feature of British life. Among other things, Brian introduced Allan to the BBC television series *EastEnders*, about the working-class residents of a London neighborhood. The series provided

endless opportunities for them to talk about “the hidden injuries of class,” to borrow the title of a book that Allan often referenced.⁴⁷ Brian was a tremendous support to Allan in the face of the insecurities that class inequality bequeathed to him.

As was true for so many gay men in the 1980s, intimacy placed one at risk for profound and tragic loss. In 1986, just three years after they had met, Brian was diagnosed as having AIDS. In the era before protease inhibitors raised some hope of containing the effects of the infection, a rapid deterioration in health often quickly followed a diagnosis. Allan's sister Annette and a small circle of friends provided support for the couple as Allan cared for Brian through the last stages of the illness. Allan described some of that experience in “Caught in the Storm,” one of his first autobiographical essays (Chap. 9). For his part, Brian extracted a promise that grief would not prevent Allan from finishing the book. He also made Allan the beneficiary of his life insurance policy, an act that provided Allan with the financial resources to complete the book and to buy an apartment in San Francisco.

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Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War II was published early in 1990. It was—and remains—an impressive achievement. At the time it was released, there were perhaps half a dozen books on U.S. lesbian and gay history. More than half of them were documentary collections or anthologies; none placed gay and lesbian history at the center of a national narrative.⁴⁸ Ten years earlier, it would have been almost impossible to imagine that a history such as the one Bérubé wrote was even there to be found. The fact that a story of such depth and consequence was produced outside the academy was a telling comment on the lack of receptivity of the university, in that generation, to such intellectual endeavors.

Reviewers at the time recognized the significance of the book and the labor that produced it. Writing in *Reviews in American History*, Elaine Tyler May described *Coming Out Under Fire* as “a masterpiece of social history” and “a triumph of individual initiative and scholarly community.” Placing it within the broad themes of contemporary historical writing, she ranked it “among the best works of social history in which the most downtrodden emerge as agents of their own destiny in spite of powerful odds against them.” In the *Journal of American History*, Clayton Koppes used the review to comment on what the book revealed about “the importance of who controls histories.” Bérubé, he said, “found gay and lesbian GIs cooperative; excluded from history, they wanted him to tell their stories.” By contrast, government records, both civilian and military, sometimes mysteriously disappeared or

were arbitrarily withheld. “Such methods,” Koppes argued, “help control a version of history that sustains a policy that, as the military's own studies conclude, is based on prejudice alone.”⁴⁹

Koppes's reference to military policy alerts us to one aspect of what made Bérubé's book especially compelling. He had written a history that spoke to a contemporary issue—the military's antigay policies—that was increasingly in the news. Reviewing *Coming Out Under Fire* in the *Sunday New York Times Book Review*, Doris Kearns Goodwin described it as “timely and valuable . . . particularly in the context of today's debate over who has the right to fight and die for his or her country.” A review in the daily edition of the paper remarked on the nearly 100,000 men and women purged because of “the military's rigid anti-homosexual policies.” Writers in papers ranging from the *Washington Post* to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* to the *San Francisco Chronicle* all commented on how the book's historical argument resonated with the present.⁵⁰

As Bérubé pointed out in his book, military policy had shifted between the 1930s and 1950s from a prohibition against the commission of homosexual acts by military personnel to a more expansive policy that excluded from service all persons with homosexual tendencies. In other words, anyone who revealed that they felt attraction to members of the same sex, even if they never acted on those desires, was subject to discharge. Thus, Bérubé showed, a population was simultaneously created and threatened by governmental policies. In the 1970s, in the wake of the new visibility provoked by the gay liberation movement, a few service personnel came out of the closet and openly challenged the policy, among them air force sergeant Leonard Matlovich, who was on the cover of *Time* in 1975, and army sergeants Miriam Ben-Shalom and Perry Watkins. The cases of Ben-Shalom and Watkins dragged on for years, even producing some lower-court victories. But the challenges only led the armed services to tighten their policies. By 1981, one could be dishonorably discharged for the “intent to commit” a homosexual act.⁵¹

By the late 1980s, with the upsurge in militancy provoked by the AIDS crisis, lesbian and gay activists were tackling the military exclusion issue head-on. After news surfaced of antilesbian purges at the Parris Island Marine Corps Training Depot, Sue Hyde of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force formed the Military Freedom Project (MFP). Drawing in organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Organization for Women, and Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund, the MFP was the driving force bringing media attention to the plight of lesbian, gay, and bisexual military personnel. Making use of Bérubé's historical knowledge, ac-

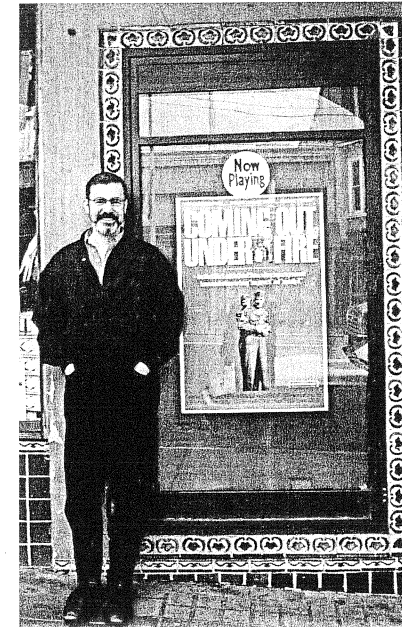
tivists invited him to Washington, D.C., to reprise his “Marching to a Different Drummer” slide show as a fundraiser to benefit their efforts to combat the military exclusion policy.⁵²

A pacifist and former draft counselor, Bérubé had come to see the economic and political importance of access to the military for many gay men and lesbians. As History Project member and anthropologist Gayle Rubin recalled, Bérubé “saw that the ban on gays in the armed forces fell most heavily on working class and poor queer youth for whom the military was a mechanism for social mobility. He saw the loss of benefits resulting from homosexual discharges in terms of economic hardship. And he understood that for modern nation states, military service was intimately connected to full citizenship.”⁵³

The effort to repeal the ban became a front-page national news story in 1992–93. During the presidential campaign, the Democratic candidate, former Arkansas governor Bill Clinton, on a number of occasions promised an immediate lifting of the ban. But soon after he won the election, Clinton found himself facing a determined opposition from the Joint Chiefs of Staff and congressional leaders in both parties. As it became obvious that this would be a key political battle in Washington, a small group of wealthy gay men, including Hollywood figures such as David Geffen and Barry Diller, funded a new professional lobbying effort, the Campaign for Military Service (CMS), that bypassed grassroots mobilizations like the MFP and took over the work in Washington to end the military’s antigay policies.

Considered an expert on the issue of gays in the military by virtue of his book, Bérubé found himself drawn into this political controversy. Journalists sought out this community-oriented public historian to obtain historical background for their articles. The CMS wanted him to help craft messages that might resonate with the public and with congressional leaders. When Senator Sam Nunn, a Democrat from Georgia who chaired the Armed Services Committee and was vocally opposed to lifting the ban, announced that he was scheduling hearings on the policy, the CMS included Bérubé on its list of potential witnesses. They brought him to Washington, where he stayed for several weeks consulting and preparing his testimony. He worked not only with the CMS but also with Senator Ted Kennedy’s staff, who sought his advice on the type of questions Kennedy should raise.

For Bérubé, the gays-in-the-military debate was sobering. Senator Nunn, who kept tight control over the hearings, had little interest in a full and open airing of all sides in the debate, and Bérubé was never called as a witness. The twenty-two-page statement he wrote did get used in preparing the minority reports of both the House and Senate armed services committees.⁵⁴



Allan outside the Castro Theater in San Francisco during the opening of the documentary film based on *Coming Out Under Fire* (1994). Courtesy of the Allan Bérubé Collection at the GLBTHS, San Francisco.

But overall, he wrote afterward, “what was frustrating was experiencing the enormous power of Nunn and the military to define, run, erase and implement whatever they wanted, with us hardly present at all.” It was, he observed, an example of “total unchecked power.” Although President Clinton and some other Democratic Party liberals touted the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy that became law in the summer of 1993 as an important step forward, to Bérubé it was a disaster: “not ‘half a loaf’ as both the gay and mainstream press is calling it, not even a crumb, not even the faint aroma of a baked good in the vicinity.”⁵⁵

The experience also sharpened his skepticism toward the tactics and strategy used by “the mainstream movement,” as represented in this instance by the CMS. “It highlighted,” he wrote that summer, “the ‘gay rights’ dead-ends we’ve gotten trapped in. . . . Of course, we were outnumbered,” he continued, “much less powerful, inexperienced, and not ready for this fight. But,” he added, “there are disruptive strategies that the powerless can use . . . that have the potential of putting the big guys on the defensive by our changing the rules.”⁵⁶

Film provided one mechanism for changing hearts and minds about gays in the military. After director Arthur Dong approached Bérubé about making a documentary based on *Coming Out Under Fire*, the two collaborated on the script, and in 1994 the film premiered at the Castro Theater in San Francisco. Funded in part by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the National Endowment for the Humanities, it was filled with on-camera interviews with some of the gay and lesbian veterans Bérubé had talked with for his book. The film brought Bérubé's historical research to a broader popular audience. It also made explicit the connection between history and contemporary events by ending with footage from the 1993 Senate hearings.

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The “disruptive strategies that the powerless can use”: Underneath Bérubé's use of the word “disruptive” lie some far-reaching changes that had occurred since the days when he and others first formed the History Project. The AIDS epidemic of the 1980s brought huge numbers of gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender people out of the closet, far more than had responded to the radical gay and lesbian liberation message of the early 1970s. This massive outpouring of energy and resources enabled the building of stronger organizations and institutions as well as the creation of much wider networks of activists and intellectuals. Some of these, as Bérubé suggested, were very “mainstream” in their orientation. They lobbied legislatures, worked within the electoral system, and built nonprofit organizations that provided useful services. But others, especially toward the end of the 1980s and into the early 1990s, deliberately employed militant disruptive tactics and consciously embraced points of view that challenged conventional norms. Chapters of ACT UP (the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) blocked traffic on the Golden Gate Bridge, invaded the New York Stock Exchange on Wall Street, and staged a major demonstration outside the offices of the Food and Drug Administration. In October 1987, with his civil disobedience affinity group, the Forget-Me-Nots (all of whom were surviving partners of men who had died of AIDS), Bérubé participated in a massive nonviolent sit-in on the steps of the Supreme Court building in Washington, D.C., to protest the Court's *Hardwick* decision, which upheld state sodomy statutes.

The rise of “queer” in this era—from “queer nation” as an umbrella term meant to unite a range of sexual and gender identities to “queer studies” as a disruptive intellectual endeavor—was one important manifestation of this change. It meant that someone like Bérubé, without mainstream institutional ties, nonetheless found himself increasingly embedded in a dense world where the lines dividing activists, organizers, intellectuals, writers,



Police arresting Allan in Washington, D.C., in 1987 during demonstrations at the Supreme Court protesting the *Hardwick* decision. Courtesy of the Allan Bérubé Collection at the GLBTHS, San Francisco.

and scholars grew blurred. In the 1990s, he had the opportunity to teach a course called “Queer Life and Social Change” in the Community Studies Program, which had been founded to bring together scholarship and community organizing, at the University of California at Santa Cruz. He was also able to participate in events like the annual Out/Write conference for GLBT writers, conceived in part by Jeff Escoffier, whom he knew from his History Project days; Creating Change, the yearly gathering of grassroots activists sponsored by the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, where John D’Emilio served first on the board and later on the staff; and conferences and colloquia such as the inaugural Quebec Lesbian and Gay Studies Conference in Montreal in 1992.

With the opportunity that these venues provided, and the push that came from his own recent experiences—Brian's death, the success of his book, and the frustrating outcome of the military policy debate—Bérubé intentionally began to reflect on and mine his personal experience. These autobiographical explorations, the most important of which are contained in Part 3 of this collection, served many purposes. They allowed him to under-

stand his work not just as a product of individual achievement but rooted as well in the ethnic, racial, class, and sexual politics of U.S. history. As this activist historian became the analyst of his own biography, he was able both to reclaim his roots and to look at their complicated legacies. He experienced class constraints as well as racial privilege. Sexual desire had provided one kind of escape route, yet it also contained him within a new set of boundaries. At a time when a range of academic writers were insisting on intersectional theoretical frameworks and forms of political organizing, Bérubé was mining his own history to arrive at a personally usable past, and in the process, he developed a more vibrant and powerful style of writing.

In "Intellectual Desire," his keynote address at the Quebec Lesbian and Gay Studies Conference (Chap. 10), Bérubé wrote, "It was only a matter of time before I'd see and feel these connections between class, ethnicity, and sexuality, then use my intellect to make sense of them." The phrasing implies that there was something preordained about the meanings he imparted to his life experience or the decisions he reached about his work priorities. Yet there was nothing inevitable about it. He was choosing to pursue certain paths rather than others, in his work and in his life. In particular, he tells us, he "made the decision to put race and class at the center of my gay writing and activism" (Chap. 12).

In practice this meant that Bérubé chose as his next major research endeavor a history of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union. A relatively small union whose members were especially concentrated on the West Coast, the MCSU experienced its heyday between the 1930s, an era of intense labor militancy, and the early 1950s, when government crackdowns on radical unions largely eviscerated it. In many ways the project grew organically from his previous work on World War II and San Francisco. The navy and the merchant marine figured importantly in the story about gays and the military during the war, while the San Francisco Bay Area was a major center for shipping and for the navy. A number of Bérubé's informants for the World War II project also had prior histories at sea and knew of or were involved in the maritime labor radicalism of the 1930s. One interview subject in particular, Stephen "Mickey" Blair, appealed powerfully to the "sentimental nostalgia" that, Bérubé acknowledged, often "infused my writing" (Chap. 10). Blair shared Bérubé's French Canadian ethnic heritage; he remained throughout his life firmly anchored in the working class; he developed a radical, left-wing analysis of American capitalism and society; and finally, like Bérubé, he was gay. As was so often the case in his oral history work over the years, Bérubé's subjects became not merely sources of information but dear friends and comrades as well.

Bérubé worked on the MCSU book for the rest of his life. He brought to it skills and styles of work that had characterized his earlier endeavors. He relentlessly tracked down subjects to interview, a task that proved more onerous than it had been for his World War II project. By the early 1990s, survivors of the labor strife of the 1930s were well into their seventies, if not older, and there had been far fewer maritime workers to begin with than there were veterans of World War II. He meticulously pored through labor periodicals of the era, the radical press that might have covered sympathetically the strikes and organizing drives, and the mainstream press that typically did not. He also immersed himself in the trade publications and business records of the shipping industry, particularly those connected with the luxury cruise liners that employed many of his working-class subjects. Bérubé began as well to collect material objects related to his subject—postcards, pulp fiction, model ships, and the like—so that he might root his story firmly in the culture of the era. In part because his subject was not as expansive as World War II, the search for material was daunting. "He never stopped doing research," Bert Hansen, a historian friend of his from this period, remembered.⁵⁷ Another friend, Peter Nardi, recalled the day Bérubé and he explored the Queen Mary when it was docked in Long Beach, California. Looking closely at a mural in the ship's bar, Allan erupted with delight when he detected two men holding hands. "He was so excited," Nardi recalled.⁵⁸

In settling on the MCSU as his next project, Bérubé once again found himself in a pioneering role. Just as he was among the first to engage in local gay and lesbian history with his San Francisco research, and among the first to implant gay and lesbian history in mainstream historical narratives with his World War II book, so his study of the MCSU was breaking new ground. It wasn't so much that the subject matter addressed working-class queer life. For instance, Elizabeth Kennedy and Madeline Davis in their 1993 study of Buffalo had focused sharply on working-class lesbians, while George Chauncey's 1994 study of New York City addressed class differences in male sexual expression.⁵⁹ Bérubé, however, was venturing into labor history. He was locating queerness in an occupation and workplace. He was examining, in a generation before the formation of an identity-based social movement that addressed sexuality, whether some workingmen were able to embrace their sexual or gender-crossing selves on the job and how those dynamics played out in the maritime world. The project impelled him to begin thinking more broadly about the connections between work and sexuality, an effort reflected in the essay "'Queer Work' and Labor History" (Chap. 14).

As he had done before, Bérubé prepared a slide lecture on his topic that served both to educate and to facilitate further research. He presented it around the United States many times, including to trade unionists in their union halls, before organizations of GLBT labor activists, at labor history meetings, on college campuses, and at academic conferences. “No Race-Baiting, Red-Baiting, or Queer-Baiting!,” a title he used in one of its iterations, hints at what he was learning through his research (Chap. 16). With his promise to himself to put race and class at the center of his writing and activism, and with a determination to scrutinize the unconscious “whitening practices” that tend to erase the presence of people of color, Bérubé reconstructed a surprising tale of a multiracial, multiethnic, politically radical, and queer-inflected union. The story was unlike anything that appeared in the annals of either labor history or the history of sexuality. After hearing the lecture, one prominent labor historian responded, “This is truth stranger than fiction.”⁶⁰ The MCSU story as excavated by Bérubé promised to upend assumptions about the field.

In support of his work, Bérubé received a yearlong fellowship in 1994 at the Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies (CLAGS) at the City University of New York. Established in the late 1980s by historian Martin Duberman, with support from anthropologist Esther Newton and other progressive academics, CLAGS had won funding from the Rockefeller Foundation to support innovative work in the emerging field. CLAGS prided itself on maintaining porous boundaries between the university and the community. It drew to its many events an audience not only of academics but of activists and community members as well.⁶¹ CLAGS provided Bérubé with immediate connections with a large number of activist writers and intellectuals. And his living situation proved ideal. Jonathan Ned Katz, whose work had originally inspired him to do historical research, rented Bérubé a room in his Greenwich Village brownstone. “It was like a commune,” Katz recalled. Katz worked on his book manuscript on nineteenth-century male relationships, Bérubé began drafting his on the MCSU, and they shared their progress each day over lunch. The year was so stimulating and intellectually satisfying that when his fellowship ended, Bérubé decided to leave San Francisco after two decades and move permanently to New York City.⁶²

Not surprisingly, Bérubé quickly embedded himself in a wide network of relationships, much as was true of his life in San Francisco. Friends from his San Francisco History Project days, like Amber Hollibaugh and Jeff Escoffier, were now living in New York. With them and Katz, along with feminist intellectuals Carole Vance and Judith Levine, Bérubé participated in a writer’s support group that met for years. He made contact with union

activists in the city, found additional subjects to interview, and began exploring the maritime history and politics of New York, as part of his MCSU story. With Bert Hansen, he scoured Manhattan’s flea markets on weekends, looking for things related to his own Franco-American heritage as well as objects related to ocean liners, maritime life, and the trailer parks of his youth. “He had a really good eye,” Hansen recalled, and his early years of living in a trailer as a child had taught him how to organize objects efficiently in the relatively tiny living spaces that Manhattan provided.⁶³

In New York during this period, Bérubé was also able to put old research to new purposes. In the mid-1990s, fears about a potential spike in HIV infections provoked a new round of efforts among city officials and some gay activists to regulate the sexuality of gay men. In order to make Times Square and midtown Manhattan more attractive to tourists, New York’s new mayor, Rudolph Giuliani, proposed the use of zoning laws to close down bathhouses and other commercial venues where men had sex with men. While some gay community members helped drive the effort to shut down sex venues, many others protested as well. Wayne Hoffman, a community activist and journalist in New York City, remembers “a town hall meeting about the bathhouse closures, an extremely contentious meeting, and Allan gave the opening speech about the history of the baths.”⁶⁴ Over the next couple of years, other such opportunities presented themselves. A revised version of Bérubé’s piece on the historical role of the baths was included in an anthology edited by *Dangerous Bedfellows*, an activist collective in New York of which Hoffman was a member.⁶⁵

In the midst of all this activity, Bérubé received a phone call in the summer of 1996 that many writers, artists, and academics dream about. Jonathan Ned Katz, in whose house he was living at the time, described the moment. “I was sitting in the kitchen one morning and he said ‘I got it, I got it!’ And I said ‘What did you get?’” Katz recounted. “He’d gotten a call from Catherine Stimpson.” The director of the prestigious fellowship program at the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, Stimpson told Bérubé that he was a recipient of one of the foundation’s fellowships. Colloquially known as the “genius award,” it carried a total stipend of \$300,000 paid out over five years.⁶⁶

The announcement set off a round of celebrations. Nan Boyd, a younger historian whom Bérubé had mentored while she wrote her dissertation on San Francisco queer history, attended “an impromptu pizza party” at Katz’s house. Over the next few weeks, she recalled, Bérubé “endlessly discussed what it meant, what money and recognition meant, and how he could now stop worrying about basic living expenses and finish the project on the

Marine Cooks and Stewards Union.” Wayne Hoffman, who had become close to Bérubé during the bathhouse debates, said of the fellowship that it “changed everything for him.” Beyond the money and notoriety, it put an establishment stamp of approval on the kind of history that he produced. No one working on specifically gay or lesbian scholarship had ever received a MacArthur grant before.⁶⁷

As sometimes happens, the fellowship proved a complicated blessing. On one hand, it allowed Bérubé to buy his own place in Manhattan and live independently. For the first time in his life, immediate concerns about money faded into the background. He was able to indulge the bane and blessing of every historian, the urge to search for every last document. He also had the freedom to engage in activist work, and he participated in these years in many of the key conferences on queer sexual politics. But on the other hand, the award also seemed to raise the stakes. At MacArthur Foundation gatherings, where he mingled with the other “geniuses,” Bérubé found himself again in a setting where class privilege was taken for granted. The events left him feeling like a pretender among intellectual royalty. Suddenly, the topic of the book wasn’t original enough. Instead, as Bert Hansen recalled, he now thought he had to do “something new and different.” He began buying books on writing. He created story boards in his apartment, as if he were writing a screenplay. He experimented with first-person narratives, injecting himself into the story as the interviewer of the historical characters, as can be seen in “Trying to Remember” (Chap. 15).⁶⁸ He wrote and rewrote drafts, never producing a complete one. The start of a new draft produced new titles, as his computer files indicate: “Dream Ships Sail Away,” “The Power of Legendary Queens,” “Red, Black, and Queer,” “Shipping Out,” “Sailing to Paradise.” Work on the manuscript was no doubt emotionally complicated by the fact that there was no happy ending to the story he wanted to tell. The radical union created by his working-class heroes during the turbulent era of the Great Depression was almost completely destroyed by the Cold War witch hunts of the early 1950s.

As the new century began, Bérubé found himself without a complete draft and, once again, without money. The MacArthur grant had finally run out. Upheavals in the publishing industry had left him with a new editor for his MCSU book, someone less attuned to his work. His publisher demanded either a completed manuscript or a return of the advance he had received when he signed the book contract. And a serious romantic relationship, with



San Francisco celebration of Allan’s MacArthur Foundation fellowship, 1996. Annette Bérubé is third from the right in the front row; Allan is in the center of the second row; above him to the right is Bill “Willie” Walker, a founder of the GLBT Archives. Photograph by Rosa Maria Pegueros. Courtesy of the Allan Bérubé Collection at the GLBTHS, San Francisco.

a working-class man of French Canadian origins, had ended unexpectedly and painfully.

In a dramatic shift in direction, Bérubé moved out of New York City and resettled in Liberty, New York, a small town in Sullivan County at the edge of the Catskill Mountains. In the middle decades of the twentieth century, the area had enjoyed a tourist-induced prosperity. The center of what was affectionately called “the Borscht Belt,” Sullivan County was peppered with resorts, camps, and entertainment venues that served summer vacationers, especially from Jewish families living in New York City and other northeastern cities. But by the 1990s, that era of prosperity had long passed, and Liberty had become one of many upstate New York towns experiencing serious economic decline.

At first he stayed with Jonathan Ned Katz and his partner, David Gibson, who owned an old farmhouse where they spent weekends. Bérubé took regular trips to Liberty with them as a respite from both city life and his book manuscript. Allan, Jonathan, and David formed relationships with many of the local people. When the three of them learned that a landmark building in the town center was slated for demolition, they worked with other residents to save it and succeeded in having it placed on a historic register. Together they began imagining other projects to restore Liberty to its glory days. Gibson bought an old movie theater in downtown Liberty, and Bérubé

managed it, hiring local high school students to sell tickets and work the concession stands. “We wanted to help revive the town,” Katz recalled, but “there were huge obstacles. . . . The economy defeated us, and irrational exuberance. None of us really knew how to do it.”⁶⁹

For Bérubé, the initial experiences in Liberty made him want to live there full time. Throughout his adult life he had helped to create communities, whether in rural Vermont or in Boston and San Francisco communes. Despite his love of urban living, small-town life and the sense of belonging it promised attracted him. Having built friendships with a number of Liberty’s residents, in 2002 Bérubé sold his apartment in Manhattan, bought a place in Liberty, and settled in the town. He threw himself into the life of the community. Bérubé became a member of the Liberty Volunteer Fire Department. Twice he was elected to public office as a trustee of the Village of Liberty, its governing body. With others, he launched an effort that led to the listing of over 100 downtown buildings on the New York and the National Register of Historic Places. He converted his property into a bed-and-breakfast inn that he ran himself. He won awards from the Chamber of Commerce of Liberty and Sullivan County. Strengthening his ties to the area even more, he formed an intimate partnership with John Nelson, a nurse-practitioner who commuted to Manhattan for a job working with HIV-positive young people. Together they opened a business in downtown Liberty that specialized in 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s collectibles. They playfully named it Intelligent Design Antiques.⁷⁰

Through these changes, the MCSU book remained largely on hold. Bérubé’s various Liberty projects cannot be reduced to a nostalgic effort to reproduce a romanticized version of the small-town working-class life that he knew as a boy. He had to make a living, and he had found a community of good friends and loved ones. Bérubé would go back to the manuscript from time to time, fiddling with his latest draft but not making substantial progress. For a while he dropped it completely. Friends tried to prod him along, but without much success. Katz remembers an effort that he made. “I very gingerly sat down with him. You have a block on this,” Katz told him. “You keep restarting it.”⁷¹

Sometime in 2007, Bérubé went back to the manuscript in a serious way. The draft he was working on in the months before his death is qualitatively different from the earlier versions saved on his computer. He seemed at last to have found a structure for the narrative and a voice with which to tell it. The first eighty or so pages have the grace and flow of a novel, and another eighty pages simply need the pencil of a good editor. He also had outline notes for some of the remaining half of the story. As we write this intro-



John D’Emilio, Estelle Freedman, and Allan Bérubé, ca. 1980. Courtesy of the Allan Bérubé Collection at the GLBTHS, San Francisco.

duction, it remains undetermined whether a complete manuscript can be constructed through a process of borrowing from earlier drafts in an effort to realize the vision of the last one. In the meantime, in order to preview the history of the MCSU, we have included in Part 4 two selections based on this research. “Trying to Remember” comes from a 2003 draft of the manuscript. “No Red-Baiting, Race-Baiting, or Queer-Baiting!” is the text of the illustrated lecture he gave in many settings around the country; it offers an overview of the project (Chaps. 15–16).

Allan’s sudden death in December 2007 was a loss for the community he was part of in Liberty as well as for his family, his friends and loved ones, and the historical profession. For us, compiling this book has been a painful reminder of our own personal loss, but it has also been a labor of love. Allan was an intimate friend at crucial periods of each of our lives, and he remained dear to us over the years. He was the glue that held together members of the History Project in San Francisco; he moved between the academy and the community, enriching both realms for his efforts; he mobilized World War II veterans to meet one another and helped them gain the recognition they so long deserved. At the end of his life he was engaged in further acts of historical recovery, through his local activism in Liberty and his original research on the MCSU.

Whether or not a completed book on the MCSU appears, we think this

collection of Allan Bérubé's published and unpublished work provides a compelling picture of the history he produced and the politics he espoused in his lifetime. We hope as well that it keeps alive his vision of a community-oriented public history and his conviction that historical research and knowledge has the power not only to captivate individual readers but also to motivate them to organize for change in their world.

NOTES

1. The 1994 film, also titled *Coming Out Under Fire*, was cowritten by Bérubé and director Arthur Dong.
2. For a bibliography of Bérubé's writings, see the posting on the website of OutHistory: <http://outhistory.org/wiki/Allan_B%C3%A9rub%C3%A9:_December_3%2C_1946-December_11%2C_2007>.
3. For an obituary, see *New York Times*, December 16, 2007, 12.
4. Bérubé's papers have been deposited at the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society (GLBTHS) in San Francisco.
5. Allan Bérubé to John D'Emilio, April 2, 1981, letters in possession of John D'Emilio (hereafter cited as AB to JD); Annette Bérubé to Estelle Freedman, email communication, November 21, 2009; Ian Lekus interview with Allan Bérubé, December 17, 1999, 4, original transcript in possession of Lekus (hereafter cited as Lekus interview). Bérubé had two other siblings in addition to Annette: Diane and Florence.
6. CO Statement, box 12, Bérubé Papers.
7. Lekus interview, 6–7.
8. Allan Bérubé and David Worstell, eds., *Living at War: A Collection of Contemporary Responses to the Draft* (Chicago: n.p., 1968); Lekus interview, 7.
9. Lekus interview, 9.
10. *Ibid.*, 18.
11. *Ibid.*, 25, 28–29.
12. Untitled essay by Allan Troxler, November 2009, in possession of authors (hereafter cited as Troxler essay).
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.* For Wittman's essay, "A Gay Manifesto," see Karla Jay and Allen Young, *Out of the Closets: Voices of Gay Liberation* (New York: Douglas/Links, 1972), 330–41.
15. "Intellectual Desire" (paper presented at La Ville en Rose: Le premier colloque Québécois d'études lesbiennes et gais [First Quebec Lesbian and Gay Studies Conference], Concordia University and the University of Quebec at Montreal, November 12, 1992, published in *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 3, no. 1 [February 1996]: 139–57, reprinted in *Queerly Classed: Gay Men and Lesbians Write about Class*, edited by Susan Raffo, 43–66 [Boston: South End Press, 1997]); Rob Dobson to John D'Emilio, email communications, August 30, 31, 2010.
16. Troxler essay; Allan Bérubé Journals, June 1, 1974, box 19, Bérubé Papers (hereafter cited as Bérubé Journals).
17. For discussions of San Francisco in the 1960s and 1970s, see Elizabeth Armstrong, *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950–1994* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Nan Boyd, *Wide Open Town: A History*

of Queer San Francisco to 1965 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); John D'Emilio, "Gay Politics, Gay Community: San Francisco's Experience," in *Making Trouble: Essays on Gay History, Politics, and the University*, 74–95 (New York: Routledge, 1992); and Marcia Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (New York: Carroll and Graf, 2006).

18. See Alex Haley, *Roots: The Saga of an American Family* (New York: Doubleday, 1976), and Jonathan Ned Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.* (New York: Crowell, 1976). *Roots* was also an immensely popular twelve-part miniseries that aired on ABC-TV in 1977.
19. See Randy Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), and the documentary film *The Times of Harvey Milk*, produced by Rob Epstein and Richard Schmiechen (1984).
20. Bérubé Journals, July 9, 1977.
21. AB to JD, November 23, 1979.
22. Bérubé Journals, July 11, 16, 1977; AB to JD, May 19, 1980.
23. Draft of letter to Katz, Bérubé Journals, August 19, 1977.
24. Bérubé Journals, May 14, 1979, November 1, 1977.
25. AB to JD, November 21, 1979.
26. Bérubé Journals, August 10, 1977.
27. The group of individuals who came together in the History Project in these years proved extraordinarily productive and influential. They brought long activist resumes with a variety of organizations. The individuals and the work they produced include Rob Epstein, director of the documentary films *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984) and *Common Threads: Stories from the Quilt* (1989), each of which won an Oscar for best documentary film; Jeffrey Escoffier, *American Homo: Community and Perversity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Eric Garber, *Uranian Worlds: A Guide to Alternative Sexuality in Science Fiction, Fantasy, and Horror* (Boston: GK Hall, 1990), coauthored with Lyn Paleo; Amber L. Hollibaugh, *My Dangerous Desires: A Queer Girl Dreaming Her Way Home* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000); and Gayle Rubin, "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality," in *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality*, edited by Carole Vance, 267–319 (New York: Routledge, 1984). Frances Reid and Elizabeth Stevens produced *In the Best Interests of the Children* (1977), an award-winning documentary film on lesbian mothers and child custody. John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman coauthored *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988).
28. John D'Emilio, personal recollection.
29. AB to JD, November 23, 1979.
30. *She Even Chewed Tobacco*, video produced by Elizabeth Stevens and Estelle Freedman, 1983, distributed by Women Make Movies (<<http://www.wmm.com/filmCatalog/pages/c216.shtml>>); San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project, "'She Even Chewed Tobacco': A Pictorial Narrative of Passing Women in America," in *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, edited by Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey Jr., 183–94 (New York: New American Library, 1989).
31. Quotation is from AB to JD, January 8, 1980; other examples come from AB to JD, June 17, 1980, and February 8 and March 10, 1981.
32. Bérubé Journals, November 4, 1981.

33. AB to JD, December 5, 1979.
34. AB to JD, April 2 and February 22, 8, 1981.
35. James Steakley, "Homosexuals and the Third Reich," *Body Politic* 11 (January/February 1974); Judith Schwarz, Kathy Peiss, and Christina Simmons, "'We Were a Little Band of Willful Women': The Heterodoxy Club of Greenwich Village," in *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History*, edited by Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons, with Robert A. Padgug, 118–37 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989); for Gerber/Hart Library, see <<http://www.gerberhart.org/>>.
36. The History Project, *Improper Bostonians: Lesbian and Gay History from the Puritans to Playland* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999).
37. Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993), xvi.
38. See the Lesbian Herstory Archives website at <www.lesbianherstoryarchives.org>.
39. AB to JD, January 28, August 4, 1980, December 16, 1979, February 8, 1981.
40. AB to JD, July 9, 1981.
41. Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War II* (New York: Free Press, 1990), x.
42. AB to JD, June 1, 1981.
43. AB to JD, June 6, 1982.
44. The society later renamed itself the GLBT Historical Society; see <www.glbthistory.org>. Walker's papers are deposited at the historical society.
45. AB to JD, April 2, 1981.
46. "Talk with Amber," July 24, 1981, box 19, Bérubé Papers.
47. Richard Sennett and Jonathan Cobb, *The Hidden Injuries of Class* (New York: Knopf, 1972).
48. Works already published in 1990 include Katz, *Gay American History*; Jonathan Ned Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac: A New Documentary* (New York: Carroll and Graf, 1983); John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940–1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Martin Duberman, *About Time: Exploring the Gay Past* (New York: Meridian, 1986); Duberman, Vicinus, and Chauncey, *Hidden from History*; and Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: Morrow, 1981).
49. Elaine Tyler May, "History without Victims: Gays in World War II," *Reviews in American History* 19, no. 2 (June 1991): 255–59, and Clayton R. Koppes, review of *Coming Out Under Fire* in *Journal of American History* 78, no. 1 (June 1991): 377–78.
50. *New York Times Book Review*, April 8, 1990, 9; *New York Times*, May 2, 1990, C20; *Washington Post*, April 22, 1990, D3; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 3, 1990, 4D; *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 13, 1990, 5.
51. Matlovich appeared on the cover of the September 8, 1975, issue of *Time*. For a detailed account of the history of the military's policy and the challenges to it in the 1970s, see Randy Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming: Gays and Lesbians in the U.S. Military* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).
52. These events are discussed in Urvashi Vaid, *Virtual Equality: The Mainstreaming of Gay and Lesbian Liberation* (New York: Anchor, 1995).
53. Gayle Rubin, "Remembering Allan," memorial at GLBTHS, May 17, 2008, in possession of authors.
54. See Senator Edward Kennedy's comments in the *Congressional Record*, September 9, 1993, retrievable at <<http://dont.stanford.edu/regulations/KennedyViews.html>>.
55. AB to JD, August 3, 1993.
56. *Ibid.*
57. Bert Hansen, telephone interview with John D'Emilio, October 2, 2009 (hereafter cited as Hansen interview).
58. Nardi to D'Emilio, email communication, February 17, 2010.
59. See Kennedy and Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold*, and George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).
60. John D'Emilio, personal recollection.
61. For information about CLAGS and its history, see <<http://web.gc.cuny.edu/clags/index.html>>.
62. Jonathan Ned Katz, telephone interview with John D'Emilio, September 28, 2009 (hereafter cited as Katz interview).
63. Hansen interview.
64. Wayne Hoffman to Bert Hansen, email communication, October 2, 2009.
65. Dangerous Bedfellows, ed., *Policing Public Sex* (Boston: South End Press, 1996).
66. Katz interview.
67. Nan Alamilla Boyd, "Remembering Allan Bérubé," CGLH Newsletter 22, no 1 (Spring 2008), 4; Hoffman to Hansen, October 2, 2009.
68. Hansen Interview.
69. Katz Interview.
70. For information on Bérubé's years in Liberty, see the biographical data on the website of OutHistory: <http://outhistory.org/wiki/Allan_B%C3%A9rub%C3%A9:_December_3%2C_1946-December_11%2C_2007>.
71. Katz Interview.