NEW PREFACE

We began to draft this book in 1991. At that time there were no books on outing and the phenomenon itself (at least as currently understood, by activists) was virtually brand new. Since then a torrent of publications has poured forth. Richard D. Mohr's perceptive *Gay Ideas: Outing and Other Controversies* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992) was the first book to devote a chapter to the subject, "The Outing Controversy: Privacy and Dignity in Gay Ethics." Michelangelo Signorile, the master outer, published *Queer in America* (New York: Random House, 1993), which is to appear in paperback with a 60-page "afterthought" in June of 1994. With the death of Randy Shilts of AIDS on February 17, Signorile became America's leading gay journalist/gossip columnist. He has already been acknowledged in print as one of the "opinion makers" of the American media.

Larry Gross's *Contested Closets: The Politics and Ethics of Outing* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993) is an essay of one hundred and seventy-three pages of close analysis followed by one hundred and forty-three pages of reprints of material dating from April 1982 to October 1991 that had appeared in gay publications or other unconventional sources seldom accessible in academic or public libraries. They include many of Signorile's most outstanding earlier articles, as well as pro-outing analyses by Michael Bronski of *IN* (Boston) but formerly long-time columnist for the now defunct *Gay Community News*, by Gabriel Rotello, editor of *OutWeek*, which broke the story of
Malcolm Forbes just after the financier's death in 1991, and by others in the Advocate. A highly controversial publication of recent date is Bruce Bawer's *A Place at the Table: The Gay Individual in American Society* (New York: Poseidon Press, 1993) on account of the author's disparagement of what he calls the "gay subculture," viewing it as highly conformist and obsessed with the "politically correct." The extreme manifestations of the subculture--the ones likely to offend and alienate the rest of the American public--Bawer rejects and condemns. He acknowledges, it is true, that the subculture underlay the gay rights movement which he thoroughly supports, but he never conceptualizes the crucial fact that because we began from a starting point of forced assimilation and invisibility, our movement could only be a separatist one. An assimilationist like himself--and probably 85% of gay Americans--will inevitably feel ill at ease with the tactics and goals of separatist politics, not the least of which is visibility. Understandably he has no sympathy for outing (p. 235), stemming as that does from separatists' impatience with assimilationists whom they deem passive collaborationists. "The desire to *out*’ gay celebrities for no other reason than that they have failed to come out to the general public, moreover, cannot be regarded as anything but authoritarian. Indeed, the subculture's tendency to paint the issue in simplistic, black-and-white terms is at once ignorant, dishonest, and brutal." But has Christianity ever posed the moral problem of homosexuality in other than simplistic, black-and-white
terms? The authors of this book believe that their analysis of outing (Chapters VII and VIII) is neither simplistic nor black-and-white.

In addition to this welcome acceleration in the printed debate over outing, much has occurred since our book went to press. When Pete Williams lost his job in Washington after the defeat of George Bush, he returned to NBC News, proving that there is life after being outed, even a good life, although he was personally embittered and feels that the exposure harmed his career. After Otis Charles, former bishop of Utah and retired Dean of the Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge, MA, came out, the Boston Globe reported that the "received warm support from bishops across the country," proving that although Episcopalians generally remain conservative, their leadership is more prepared to listen when Bishop Charles wrote to them: "The choice for me is not whether or not I am a gay man, but whether or not I am honest about who I am with myself and others" (Episcopal Times, December 1993, p. 15).

While Gross and Signorile himself seem more interested in media personalities and those who promote and control them from the boardrooms of motion picture and record studios (such as David Geffen), we follow Signorile's long-time ally Michael Petrelis in concentrating on political figures and in addition we are treating and encountering outing abroad as well as in this country.

A NEW ORGANIZATION

"Queer Nation so expanded the frontiers of gay activism that
middle-of-the road-people felt forced to come out and almost felt conservative in doing so," said Don Gorton, once the head of the Greater Boston Political Alliance, and yet, in the very years when outing and books and articles about it were peaking, ACT UP and its offshoot Queer Nation have floundered. Issues of political correctness contributed most directly to the division and then collapse of Queer Nation in San Francisco, but it has more or less disappeared around the country for one reason or another. The Boston chapter is defunct, as is the original one founded in New York in March 1990. Larry Kramer—the inspirer of ACT UP in New York, which was the original chapter—has agonized over this. He complained about the dissolution of ACT UP/Washington to Stephen Smith. Queer Nation, the multi-issue offshoot of ACT UP, has succumbed to its own anarchist tendencies—a factionalism and lack of structure that made more than one chapter unviable within three years after its founding.

Significantly, important figures in these organizations are now devoting their energies to rather different enterprises. The founder of ACT UP/Washington, Stephen Smith, reluctantly helped dissolve that chapter and is now head of the Cannabis Users Club which supplies the herb to those with AIDS, cancer, and other diseases, getting doctor's orders for it. It should and probably will soon be legalized by the Clinton administration (thank God for Joycelyn Elders, the Surgeon General). Even Michael Petrelis, the most visible member of Queer Nation (pp. 187-90), now has a more moderate group, Gay & Lesbian Americans (GLA), founded in
Washington, D. C., on Martin Luther King weekend of 1994. The event was reported in USA Today of February 14, 1994 under the headline "Gay-rights activists move into the mainstream." In the new political climate of the Clinton administration, confrontation has yielded to interfacing with the establishment.

Having lost patience with NGLTF, HRCF, and even to a lesser degree with Lambda Legal Defense because their officials draw large salaries, have fancy offices, and spend too much time fundraising and wasting funds, Petrelis's and Ann Northrop's group intends to concentrate on the grass roots and refuses to continue the coverup of closet cases in high places who often fail to support gay rights. Gay & Lesbian Americans describes itself as "a diverse, nonpartisan coalition of grassroots advocates committed to civil rights for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered people, and to a cure for AIDS."

Its proactive, focused agenda calls for a Federal gay civil rights bill, passage of the "AIDS Cure Act," which would establish a "Manhattan Project" for overcoming AIDS, sodomy law repeal in the remaining 23 states that still have such laws, enactment of state and local gay civil rights bills, and local actions to be held by the chapters. It will also "coordinate a Grassroots Advocacy Network consisted of local chapters across the country," furthering the GLA platform through phone trees, letter writing committees, direct action, advertising, and other strategies. Although Gay & Lesbian Americans staged its first action in a number of states on Valentine's Day of 1994, it has not specifically endorsed outing so far. Besides Stephen Smith, its
membership includes a number of former ACT UP and Queer Nation activists such as Michael Goodman of New York City, Craig Scott of New York City, Luke Sissyfag now from the District of Columbia, David Hamburger of Boston, and quite a number from Los Angeles who had organized the "outing" at the Academy Awards gathering. Frank Kameny, who endorses outing in certain cases, attended the organizational meeting, as did William F. Buckley's former main aide, Marvin Liebman, who is currently organizing a conventional gay group and working closely with the Log Cabin Club, whose past president Rich Tafel is now a paid staff member of that group. He, like his ally Liebman, is residing in Washington, and as been replaced as national chairman by a fellow Bostonian, a Black graduate of Harvard, Abner Mason. Needless to say, Log Cabin members oppose outing. Richard Mohr, who also attended the GLA organizational meeting and reported about it in Philadelphia Gay News (vol. 18, no. 14), declared that he had found "not only an organization that [he] could support but one that is inspirational." There was also a televised press conference, which as luck would have it, occurred on the morning of the California earthquake. Chris Bull did a major article for The Advocate and Bob Rohr a syndicated column for several gay periodicals. In that regard, it was significant that Gay & Lesbian Americans gathered together in Washington many of the most impressive young people active in the gay rights movement today. In addition to the following choices as temporary officers new GLA members include Luke Sissyfag, who interrupted a speech by
President Clinton on World AIDS Day of 1993, Judy Sisneros, part of the group that organized an "outing" at the 1992 Academy Awards gathering, and Greg Scott, a moving force behind the Military reading project which was formed in 1993 to foster "greater awareness of sexual diversity" in the military.

NEW INCENTIVES
Percy has in this new and updated preface inserted with dates his own bounty offers to outers:

BOUNTY
OFFERED BY WILLIAM A. PERCY, [date]
COAUTHOR OF OUTING: SHATTERING THE CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE
I hereby offer $10,000 to anyone who first succeeds in outing a living American Cardinal, a sitting Justice of the United States Supreme Court, or a four-star officer on active duty in any branch of the U.S. armed forces. By outing I mean disclose his or her homosexual orientation or practices to the public through the mass media in a way analogous to that in which Assistant Secretary of Defense Pete Williams was outed so that neither the person nor his colleagues of equal rank can effectively deny the accusation. If the outee admits the allegations so much the better. If not, the educated public must be so convinced as evidenced by media coverage and/or public opinion polls. In short, the allegation must stick. Michelangelo Signorile looks for evidence not only of acts but also of circles of friends and the subject's frequenting of gay locales. If anyone in the aforementioned categories voluntarily comes out, he or she will be entitled to the reward. I place a deposit of $10,000 in custody of Shawmut Bank in Boston for a period of three
years. A committee composed of the Commander of Alexander Hamilton Post 448 of the American Legion Paul Hardman, the long-time gay activist Jim Kepner, and Professor of American Studies at the University of Massachusetts/Boston Charley Shively (two out of three) is to judge when the conditions are fulfilled and to whom the bounty will be paid. I am offering this reward as an incentive to intrepidouters. I realize how much abuse they will receive, what tremendous efforts they must undertake to find out the well-guarded secret of the hypocrite and then even more to convince the skeptics in the media to print the truth. Congress abounds in closet cases as both Michael Petrelis and Barney Frank have claimed (perhaps for a total of 50 depending on how one counts). Two members of President Clinton's cabinet (the ladies) have already been partially outed, though both have denied the allegation. The judiciary, every church and every branch of the military seem to be full of queers, so that I must restrict my offer to the highest ranks of church and state.

If there are only six Cardinals and nine justices, there are almost forty officers on active duty wearing four stars. The Queer Nation can no longer tolerate hypocrites belonging to our much oppressed minority continuing to collaborate with institutions which denounce and exclude us. The supposed right of privacy about sexual orientation is truly, as Richard Mohr argues, the keeping of a "dirty secret"—i.e. that one is gay. Closeted celebrities and power brokers of all sorts contribute to the conspiracy of silence that blacks gay figures out of history. Unless they work actively to subvert the homophobia of their institutions, they must be deemed traitors to the Queer Nation and outed.

A bounty extended to great Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand in
December 1993 replaces the opening portion of the preceding offer with:

I hereby offer $10,000 to anyone who first succeeds in outing a living member of the Royal family (at least a legitimate first cousin no more than once removed of the Queen with royal blood in his or her veins), a living Archbishop of the Church of England, a living Chancellor or ex-Chancellor of Oxford or Cambridge Universities, a living Field Marshal, Admiral of the Fleet, or Air Marshal, or a living Prime Minister or ex-Prime Minister, or the Governor General or Prime Minister active or retired but living of any dominion.

A third bounty was extended to Northern Ireland and South Africa in January 1994 and makes the same offer for the outing of members of the Parliament of Northern Ireland and the Presidents of the Republic of South Africa.

A fourth bounty was extended to the state of Mississippi in February 1994. Gary __________ represented the besieged lesbians from Camp "Sister Spirit" in Ovett, Mississippi. When the population of a rural Mississippi community was exposed to homosexuality, all hell broke loose, and for the first time in history, the United States Attorney General ordered the FBI to intervene in a case involving harassment of gay people.

Camp Sister Spirit is a retreat for women founded by two lesbians in Ovett, Mississippi. For four months before the Attorney General's order the Camp faced the outrage and hatred of Christian fundamentalists. In the words of the local Baptist minister, "They said from the start they're loud and they're proud
and they want to bring about changes. Well, we don't see the kind of changes they want as positive." Those women are on the front line confronting the rednecks on their own soil. In short, a growing element of the gay community, perhaps now a majority, endorses some form of outing or another.

Although some might believe, as the interviewer for Canadian Public Broadcasting in February 1994 suggested, that what Percy wished to do was to "ignite a worldwide outing campaign," we do not feel that all countries are currently ready for it. Outing could lead to official executions (in Iran, for example), assassinations (in Brazil), imprisonment (in China), or deprivation of jobs even in many advanced or secularized countries. In some of these, state control or censorship of the media would make outing impractical in every sense, even if foreign newspapers or television stations carried the story. We hoped that all of the Teutonic lands--similar as they are in language, culture, religion (Protestant), wealth and education such as the English-speaking lands and with traditions of homosexual emancipation and gay liberation, would adopt outing immediately, but as of now Percy is not extending bounty offers to those nations. Belgium and Switzerland, both partly of Teutonic speech, and France, like Israel the most similar of the non-English-speaking countries, along with the other Romance-speaking nations, may soon be ready for outing. On the other hand, because the Napoleonic Code did not criminalize sodomy, they did not have strong and active homosexual emancipation movements or champions before Hitler, nor has gay liberation
flourished in them as much as in English-speaking lands. The former Czechoslovakia, the only East European nation to preserve the democracy established across the region after 1918, and the westernmost of the Slavic countries, is closest to the Germanic ones in the character of its institutions. On the advice of Kurt Freund, in the 1960s the Communist regime quietly repealed the provisions against sodomy of the penal code inherited from the Habsburg era.

RECENT OUTINGS

Just as in retrospect few would deny that it would have been an entirely commendable act to assassinate Hitler before he committed so many atrocities, nowadays most would have favored outing Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's aide, Roy F. Cohn, before he destroyed the careers of so many fellow queer nationals. Privacy did not protect Hardwick in Georgia and it clearly should not be used to protect anti-gay lovers of their own sex in Washington or elsewhere. Visibility is clearly our best defense, but too many gay people in high places refuse to acknowledge their orientation, much less their citizenship in the Queer Nation.

A certain political imperative demands outing closet cases in high places (especially if they are voting, speaking, or acting against gay interests)--whether they be politicians (even at the level of mayors and city councillors), judges, religious leaders, or chiefs of powerful corporations or other businesses. Others such as baseball stars or other champion athletes possess their value as role models to the average young red-blooded American
male, gay or straight. Even if they, like actors and musicians or talk show hosts, do not make the laws, still we need well-known ideological figures [icons], alive as well as dead. Outing them will destroy the myth that icons are always straight and that the only gay people are limp-wristed fags cowering in dark corners--or conversely bulldykes.

None of Petrelis's list of 10 (p. 188) admitted the charge. Michael Matza, in a story titled "Out/Rage," in the Philadelphia Inquirer of June 28, 1990, p. E1, reported that "the people . . . named denied through a spokesman being homosexual, declined comment or could not be reached because an aide refused to ask."

Chris Bull, the star reporter for the Advocate, meticulously documented Jim McCrery (R, La.)--one of the 10 on Petrelis's list (see p. 188)--in "The Outing of a Family-Values Congressman," The Advocate, September 22, 1992, pp. 38-45, but the mainstream press ignored the story and the congressman, who rarely supports pro-gay legislation, was reelected. In other words, his usefulness to the Republican establishment, and his collaborationist stance on gay issues, justified its protecting his image and reputation.

The most significant outing since we went to press is that of Senator David L. Boren (D., Oklahoma), a joint accomplishment of Petrelis and Signorile. With being named, Boren had been the subject of pp. 168-192 of Queer in America, there simply called "the Legislator" who when his wife went out of town from time sexually harassed and victimized one or another of his male aides. "His desire to keep his homosexuality a secret does not affect only
his life. Beyond the obvious fact that it influences the lives of millions of his own kind whom he votes against, his closetedness also causes him to sexually and psychologically abuse people who work for him. The damage done to these young men is incalculable. Certainly there can be lifelong trauma” (p. 182).

A graduate of Yale College *summa cum laude* (1963) and member of the Skull and Bones Society, Boren was like President Clinton a former Rhodes scholar. He took his law degree from the University of Oklahoma in 1968. A member of the Oklahoma House of Representatives as early as 1967, he went on to become Governor of Oklahoma in 1975 and then Senator from Oklahoma from 1979 onwards. Within the Senate he has chaired the Select Committee on Intelligence--a "sensitive" position if ever there was one. His career strikingly parallels Clinton's in neighboring Arkansas except that he has ended one rung below in the hierarchy.

Like many Washington insiders, Petrelis deduced Boren's name from the information in *Queer in America* (but also received a tip, as he confirmed to us in a telephone conversation). Petrelis then demonstrated with others outside the Senator's office. Boren was away, but the staff allowed the demonstrators into the office and there was no further publicity.

How ironic (but symptomatic of the problems faced by gay activists) that the outings of these members of the United States Congress were of no effect whereas considerable press coverage was given to the queer careers of two prominent figures when they met a violent death. The media even rushed into print with the
accusations against Cardinal Bernardin that have subsequently been withdrawn. So the
treatment of outing is highly selective and clearly follows unwritten guidelines.
A Conservative member of the British Parliament, Stephen Milligan, was found dead
under highly compromising circumstances. He was a rising personality in the Tory party,
which currently governs Great Britain, where on January 21, 1994 the military reaffirmed
its ban on gay personnel. Sad but true is the realization that even had Milligan's murder
not occurred, neither his voice nor his authority would have fought against such a ban.
The same Tory animus against civil rights legislation was revealed only a month later
when Parliament voted down the proposal of the opposition Labour leader John Smith to
lower the age of consent for homosexuality in males from 21 to 16 (the current age for
heterosexuals and lesbians). A subsequent vote lowered the age to 18 only.
James K. Flaherty, treasurer of the Boston Redevelopment Authority, died on February
14, 1994 at the hand of a 28-year old drug addict whom Flaherty had picked up in a
Miami bar. The confessed killer himself furnished details of the evening while in Boston
parties familiar with the predominantly Irish Catholic working-class neighborhood of
South Boston where Flaherty had grown up debated whether or not that environment had
brought the man to dread the consequences of coming out, thus forcing him to seek
gratification in a way that ultimately killed him. Whoever is correct, newspaper coverage
of Flaherty's death proved refreshingly
candid (e.g. *The Boston Globe*, February 17, 1994). By the same token, such openness created interesting ironies. Irish groups in South Boston have decided not to hold the St. Patrick's Day parade in 1994 rather than honor a court decree to permit the Irish Lesbian and Gay Organization (ILGO) to march in the parade. One of Flaherty's closest friends and newly elected Boston City Council President James Kelly (also from Southie) staunchly opposes gay participation, insisting that "it is an issue of principle not tolerance." However incredible is Kelly's stance, even in the face of the sexual orientation of one of his close political associates and friends, it must pale in comparison with the one great confrontation between revelation and attitude that has occurred since 1991--the scandals that have rocked the Catholic Church.

CATHOLIC SCANDALS

Though charges of sexual misconduct represent no novelty in the life of the Catholic Church, when we completed *Outing* we could not have imagined the magnitude of the revelations that were to come regarding sexual molestation by Catholic priests. Of course, the scandals in the churches continue and we should say accelerate. Joseph Cardinal Bernardin of Chicago and many others have been accused publicly in face of the ferocious backlash. Franciscans

Perhaps the outstanding record for child abuse was set by Father James Porter, who arrived at St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church in North Attleboro, Massachusetts on April 8, 1960. Fresh out of the seminary in Baltimore, he breathed new life into a large parish of working-class Catholics. What happened subsequently is

If he was not denounced at the time, it was not because the children had been instructed in the provisions of the decree *Quantavis diligentia* (p. 161), they scarcely knew the word sodomy and could never imagine accusing a man of God of such a terrible crime. In 1963 Father Porter disappeared--"a routine transfer." The complaints filed against him by the parents of the children who had told what he did to them were relegated to the archives of the Diocese of Fall River. Transferred to other assignments in Massachusetts and then in New Mexico, Texas and Minnesota, he continued his familiar practices. He was finally suspended for three years and then left the priesthood in 1974.

Not until May 1992 was an invitation issued asking anyone who had been molested by Father Porter at St. Mary's to attend a gathering. Forty men and women attended and traded their stories. The enusing decades of the lives of his victims were a litany of sexual confusion and broken marriages, depression, pseudo-suicides and psychiatric institutionalization. Drug abuse and alcoholism were as common as the terrible guilt which these parishioners had retained from their childhood.

It was an insurance investigator named Frank Fitzpatrick who set out on Porter's trail. Refused assistance by the diocese, he began combing through old newspapers in local libraries, and some months found a brief obituary for Porter's father that named among
the survivors James R. Porter of Minnesota. The Department of Motor Vehicles in Minnesota gave him Porter's address in the St. Paul suburb of Oakdale. On a Sunday in February 1990, after attaching a tape recorder to his telephone, he dialed Porter. Porter admitted his guilt, even that the victims had been "quite a few."

To induce the authorities to act against Porter, Fitzpatrick had to launch nothing short of a publicity campaign. The mother of one victim referred him and his informants to a Boston attorney named Roderick Mac Leish, Jr., with skills in manipulating the news media. MacLeish advised creating a scandal with the help of at least 25 of the victims.

On May 7, 1992 Station WBZ-TV, the NBC affiliate in Boston, broke the story of the children of St. Mary's on the five o'clock news. He even played the tape of Father Porter's confession over the telephone.

By early September, the District Attorney in North Attleboro had received close to 125 complaints. Television interviews with the victims were broadcast night after night, followed by stories in *Newsweek*, *People*, and *The New York Times*. The Catholic Church responded--with its own counteroffensive. Cardinal Bernard Law of Boston denounced the media, and especially the *Boston Globe*, for placing so much attention on a single bad priest. "The good and dedicated people who serve the Church deserve better than what they have been getting day in and day out in the media." The new District Attorney Paul Walsh Jr. thought otherwise. In the wake of a program on *Prime Time*, he ordered a full-scale investigation.
The legal obstacles also had to be overcome: the state of limitations, the wording of the statutes on the books in 1960. The first was offset by the rule that the 20-year limit does not apply if the defendant leaves the state, the second by subsuming Porter's offenses under the crime of battery.

At the beginning of October 1992 Porter was indicted and arrested in Minnesota. There he awaited extradition to Massachusetts. At the first hearing in Superior Court in New Bedford, Massachusetts Porter pleaded not guilty 46 times. With Porter behind bars, the victims organized for a campaign against the institution that had shielded its own innocence at the expense of the children's. One of the stock arguments in the ascetic litany against tolerating every form of sexual expression is that "it would be bad for children." But when children are objectively victimized, the Church often decides that discretion is the better part of valor. It became clear that Church officials had known about Porter's sexual proclivities for years. There had been complaints against him before he entered seminary, while he was in seminary, and wherever he went thereafter. Church officials repeatedly pleaded their own ignorance of all the delicate issues in cases such as Porter's, from pedophilia itself to their obligation to report cases of child molestation to the authorities. The problem goes far deeper than the Church's unwillingness to have its clergy accused publicly in secular courts. In practice, it rarely removed abusing priests from contact with children, instead telling the culprits to "Pray--and
go and sin no more." As far back as the 1960s the psychiatric advisers of the Church had warned the authorities that prayer was no cure for such a deep-seated condition as pedophilia. But the infallible Church could not accept the insights of Richard von Krafft-Ebing and his successors that put the whole problem in a fundamentally new perspective. Scholastic philosophy offers no basis for understanding and reception of the new doctrines. For Christian thinkers even of the present day, homosexuality is either an evil craving for the forbidden, like chocolate for the overweight or whiskey for the confirmed alcoholic, or else a result of demonic possession. Neither explanation satisfies anyone conversant with the well-investigated facts. The Church could not move forward into the twentieth century, instead it preferred to do what it had done since the Middle Ages--to turn its back on the problem and above all to protect its own public image. In the case of Father Porter it ultimately opted for a financial settlement that would spare it the publicity of a prolonged court battle with testimony from the molestees. The final compensation figure was $4.5 million to be divided among 68 victims.

On December 11, 1992 Porter was convicted in Minnesota of molesting his children's baby sitter in 1987. He received a six-month jail sentence. On October 4, 1993, the first of his trial in Massachusetts, he pleaded guilty to 41 counts of sexual misconduct. What is remarkable about this case is that to out an obscure individual who had left the priesthood many years earlier and bring him to justice required nothing short of a full-scale, prolonged
publicity campaign. On the other hand, "celebrities" who are supposedly always in the glare of publicity may be protected by the media from outing attempts, which fail because the accusations are systematically and deliberately blacked out.

Other cases continue to be reported from around the country. We know that the archdiocese of Santa Fe, New Mexico has paid over $1,000,000 to the victims of such misconduct. After Father Joseph Fredette of Worcester, MA was accused in 1974 of sodomizing two boys, aged 13 and 16, he fled to Canada with collusion of the Church, only to be apprehended and returned to the United States for trial in 1994.

In Chicago Joseph Cardinal Bernardin was accused by a former seminary student named Steven J. Cook who later, however, withdrew the charges on technical grounds, namely that he recalled the incidents under hypnosis. Bernardin pleaded his innocence from the outset and was firmly supported by the hierarchy. However, a priest denounced by the same ex-seminarian is to go on trial.

In sum, what characterizes all these scandals is that if the language in which they are reported and discussed is of the twentieth century, the substance is of the nineteenth. Not one of those accused has retorted "I am gay and proud of it!," instead the reply has always been "Mea culpa, mea culpa." So the entire episode betrays no change in the thinking of the Church or even of its wayward adherents. Suffer as may the Church as much undeniable embarrassment and contumely from these scandals as it did at the height of the anti-religious and anti-clerical movement of the
1875-1914 period, its reponse foretells that it will not alter its position on homosexuality in this century, and that the gulf between tradition and modernism will be even wider in the twenty-first.

The Church is, to be sure, slowly but inevitably gaining awareness of the extent of homoeroticism in its midst. Proof of this is an article by a Catholic priest writing under the pseudonym Eusebius, "Betrayal: Father Jason's Double Life," *Crisis*, January 1993, pp. 17-22. *Crisis* is a conservative lay Catholic monthly then edited by Dinesh D'Souza. The piece narrates the fictionalized life of Father Jason, a homosexual priest who in the end dies of AIDS. Only one adept in the characterology of the gay subculture can appreciate the sentence on p. 20: "He developed a profound hatred for the Masculine, an idea that in the heat of his disgust took on an extraordinary solidity, an idea that comprised everything rough, male, unyielding, unanswerable, aggressive, black-and-white, nay-saying." Evidently this personality type has wormed its way even into the Church.

So--unmoved, ostensibly unshaken, and unpentant before the proliferation of such molestation cases--the Roman Catholic Church persists in standing against every attempt to grant legal rights and legal status to lovers of their own sex. The *Boston Globe* of February 11, 1994 carried on p. 6 a story "Pope vows fight against European Parliament plan on gays." Paul John Paul II is quoting to the effect that the Church would oppose a resolution in the Parliament of Europe that would ban discrimination in employment
and housing allow couples of the same sex to contract marriage and adopt children. A
editorial in the Vatican newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano* of February 9 had labeled
homosexuality an "aberrant deviation." The Pope called upon the member states of the
European Union to disregard the resolution, which is non-binding.

THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT

The Judeo-Christian tradition has bequeathed to every denomination its share of
homophobic members, who should be as much feared and denounced as the Muslim
fanatics--except that the latter are far more visibly strangers to the modern world. No
fewer than two and a half chapters of the fifteen in the Abraham cycle in the book of
Genesis--one-sixth of the whole subdivision--are devoted to the legend of Sodom.

Homophobia and Western monotheism are inextricably intertwined.

In the Bible Belt prominent fundamentalists have shown their colors at Waco, and now
they are persecuting the lesbian couple at Ovett. We should out some Southern Baptist
leaders and other Protestant extremists and legislators and governors in states that still
criminalize sodomy--which include all southern states. Contrariwise, like Quakers,
American Anglicans have supported gay rights more than have members of other
denominations. Yet even some Episcopalian ministers are so appalled at the increasing
ordination of women that they are embracing the Roman Catholic Church, which remains
steadfast against women priests and gay rights, even though some estimate that 50% or
more of Episcopal clergy, like Roman Catholic clergy, in the United States are gay or
biological. Self-loathing! Cite recent fight in Massachusetts, the most liberal and largest diocese, where the laity do not support gay rights as strongly as do the clergy.

On the home front, Rush Limbaugh, right-wing television commentator and spokesman for the Florida Citrus Commission, has been targeted for a GLA action because of statements like: "I say to those of you of the leftist, militant homosexual crowd: Take it somewhere else. Get out of our schools. Get out of our churches. Take your deadly, sickly behavior and keep it to yourselves" (Time, February 28, 1994, p. 14).

Developments of this kind confirm what Warren Johansson has been arguing for the past 41 years--often in the face of indifference if not hostility from the self-styled leaders of the gay movement as well as from gay historians and sociologists. Some of them seem to believe that "we must never criticize the Church" or that "if only we give the Church enough time, it will come around to our way of thinking." One may legitimately ask why an institution that claims to be infallible should need time in order to understand anything. Events have proved them wrong and him right. As the book Outing asserts from cover to cover, the condemnation of homosexuality in Western civilization is and has always been religious intolerance, and the Christian churches are the institutional bases of our defamation and oppression. The Pope's stand comes as a further rebuke to the late John Boswell, who took into his head the belief that before the thirteenth century

Roman Catholicism approved and sanctified gay marriage and
even wrote a book that purports to document the practice. Queer Christians of the Protestant persuasion such as Troy Perry, founder of the Metropolitan Community Church, similarly argue that the primitive church and Jesus himself did not disapprove of homosexuality on the questionable ground that it is never mentioned in the canonical gospels. We may confidently expect that in what remains of this decade the traditionalist faiths--Orthodox Judaism, the Greek Orthodox Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the fundamentalist Protestant denominations--will continue to place all their material and moral resources behind opposition to gay rights throughout Europe and North America. A major battle between tradition and modernism is being joined, and sooner or later everyone will be forced to take sides.

ECONOMIC CLIMATE AND OUTING

Hypocrisy and intolerance are not the only major impediments to the advancement of gay civil rights. The present economic and political climate in both Communist and non-Communist countries, as well as of the developing and industrialized worlds, makes outing a special priority for some of these societies, although it should always be remembered that in countries untouched by the Judeo-Christian tradition, the very concept of homosexuality has little if any meaning.

Intolerable poverty, ignorance and disease (of which AIDS is a rapidly rising component) continued along with a lingering attachment of many to Marxism, counterpoised by mounting fundamentalism, to prevent gay people from making more progress in
the Third World. Despite the decision by Fidel Castro in January 1994 to cease quarantining HIV-positives, we still live in a time when Asia Watch could report (February 1994) that Chinese officials had sentenced a Wang Shuxiang to death for selling such allegedly pornographic books as *An Elementary Course on Marriage*. There is somewhat more progress for us in Eastern Europe, where, however, anti-Semitism and persecution of Gypsies are still "respectable" and grow in virulence. So gay people are not at this time the main scapegoats there or in the Middle East.

The Communists, while not getting worse, are not getting better either. China may soon lose its most-favored-nation status with the United States because of persistent human rights violations. Castro continues his homophobic mania, ceasing only in January of 1994 to quarantine HIV-positives. We should out Comintern members in all Communist countries, although most of the Communist regimes in Africa, which so harmed the newly independent nations there and wrecked their economies, have fallen. Their new governments nowhere favored gay people and have strongly homophobic voices in the African National Congress, including Winnie Mandela but somewhat countered by ______ ______, which will probably soon rule the Republic of South Africa.

Islamic and other fundamentalists wax in numbers and power. Signorile is writing a book on the religious right, but like all his work it will doubtless deal almost exclusively with the United States. Even here, of course, an aide of Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan made homophobic and anti-Semitic remarks in a
speech early in 1994, and American Jews naturally rallied to denounce the aide but left his homophobic utterances virtually unchallenged. Why should Farrakhan's aide be able to call for the execution of gay people with less protest than over his anti-Semitic remarks? Paul Varnell has documented the evasiveness of gay rights organizations on this matter in a column in *Windy City Times* of February 24, 1994. Since Farrakhan, half-literate and obscene though he be, is gaining respectability, even being invited to address the NAACP, he cannot be ignored. Homosexuals are being executed in states that have reverted to traditional Islamic law. We should out mullahs and imams as well as cardinals and archbishops. We must denounce all our foes in the religious camp, even such minor and exotic components of it as Orthodox Judaism and the Nation of Islam. Outing has hardly (never) occurred in non-English-speaking or Germanic countries. Outside of France most do not yet know the meaning of the word, yet nearly everywhere there are queer nationals high in church and state who should be outed. 

OUTING THE DEAD

Difficult as this may be to believe, the outing that has provoked the most acrimony since our book went to press is that of an individual who has been dead for almost three hundred years. We refer to William of Orange (1650-1702), King William III of England after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. One might think that because his sexuality has been extensively studied and discussed in print in the past, it would be a "dead issue."
In 1867 Wilhelm Ludwig Holland published a crucial collection of primary source documents was under the title *Briefe der Herzogin Elisabeth Charlotte von Orléans aus den Jahren 1676 bis 1706* as volume 88 of the *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*. It was the correspondence of the German wife of Monsieur, the homosexual brother of Louis XIV of France, a general of some distinction in his own right. The letters of October 12, November 4, and December 13, 1701 contain the data on William of Orange's homosexuality.

As early as 1870 Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, the founder of the homosexual emancipation movement, had in one of his brochures announced his plan to treat the subject in a journal which he intended to publish under the title *Uranus*, but the periodical—for unknown reasons—never saw the light of day. It was the pioneer activist for homosexual rights Edward Carpenter who first discussed William's homosexuality in print in *The Intermediate Sex: A Study of Some Transitional Types of Men and Women* (London: Sonnenschein, 1908). Hermann Michaelis analyzed the material in contemporary correspondence relative to the homosexual lives of the high nobility in an article titled "Aus den Briefen der Herzogin Elisabeth Charlotte von Orléans (1652-1722). Ein Beitrag zur Bisexualität im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," *Vierteljahrsberichte des Wissenschaftlich-humanitären Komitees* 4 [= *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 13]: 62+ (1912). Magnus Hirschfeld summarized their findings in *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes*, pp. 477, 672.
The French chronicler of medical and erotic curiosa Augustin Cabanès devoted a section of his book *La Belle-Soeur du Grand Roi (Une Allemande à la Cour de France)* (Paris: Albin Michel, n.d. [1916]) to allusions to Madame's homosexual contemporaries (pp. 65-76), among them William of Orange.

Subsequently, Henriette Elisabeth Heimans dealt at length with the personality of William III in *Het Karakter van Willem III Koning-Stadhouder. Proeve eener Psychographie* (Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1925), pp. 21-25, 83, but her approach was that of a naïve heterosexual trying not to see the evidence. She did amass a number of references from contemporary sources and even from Voltaire ("Il n'aimait pas les femmes") and Macaulay ("We can hardly suppose that he was much in the habit of reading Jacobite pamphlets; and, if he did read them, he would have seen that the unalterable affection which he felt from his boyhood to his death for three or four of the bravest and most trusty friends that ever prince had the happiness to possess, was made a ground for imputing to him abominations as foul as those which are buried under the waters of the Dead Sea") which the modern reader will have no difficulty in decoding.

More recently, a biography of the king and his consort has been written by Henry and Barbara van der Zee, *William and Mary* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973). It discusses the king's homosexuality and his intimate as well as political liaisons with his favorites. Terrence Sidney Johnson, in *Representation of Male Homosexuality on the English Restoration Stage* (Ph.D. Dissertation,
UCLA, 1992), argued that the plays on the London stage of the 1690s, owing in part to William III's reputation, evince an upsurge of interest in sodomy. Independent of these writings, a collection of political documents issued by Yale University Press has included scurrilous satires aimed against the king by his Jacobite opponents, *Yale Series of Documents Illustrating English History since 1688*, V, 38, 41-42, 47, 60, 122, 153, 154, 221, 333, 366, 386, 440 and VI, 18, 244, 370. These texts can no longer be dismissed by historians of British politics as merely prejudiced diatribes.

Warren Johansson summarized all that is currently known on this topic in the article "William III," *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*, vol. 2, pp. 1391-1392. Notably conservative as was the *Encyclopedia* in its inclusion of historical figures, the naming of William of Orange on its pages must be considered definitive.

Yet throughout the British Commonwealth (not just in Northern and Southern Ireland), William of Orange's sexual orientation is a bone of contention between Protestants and Catholics, partly because the British exposed Sir Roger Casement's homosexuality in connection with his martyrdom in the uprising of 1916. The Ulster Protestant leader Ian Paisley has, for example, dismissed the allegations about William of Orange as "nonsense." This dispute unfolds against a background of rumors that if the British withdraw from Northern Ireland, Protestant extremists mean to launch their own campaign of "ethnic cleansing"--to drive Catholics out of Ulster (*The Economist*, January 22, 1994, p. 62). The sexual reform
movement and knowledge of homosexuality came late to Ireland. The more sophisticated
denizens of other climes are fully aware that throughout history a certain percentage of
the population of every country has been homosexual or bisexual, and that their ranks
include figures at the very apex of society. It is no longer a matter for anxiety, outrage or
ridicule; it is a fact of human biology and psychology. The traditional attitudes should be
left in the medieval past.

PROGRESS AND BACKLASH
Gay rights become an ever more burning issue as eight or nine states anticipate referenda
against them, all sponsored by the religious right. This strategy has had notable success
in small towns and rural areas where the electorate is still in the grip of fundamentalism,
but has lost in the more secularized large cities.
The number of openly gay elected officials around our nation has grown from 50 to 150
since we began this manuscript. In addition, President Clinton has appointed two gay
people as Assistant Secretaries, Roberta Achtenberg in Housing and Urban
Development and _______ _______ in Commerce. Governor William Weld of
Massachusetts has appointed a number of openly gay people to top posts in his state--
with no loss of support, since polls show him at the all-time peak of his popularity as the
1994 gubernatorial race begins. List his former roommate at Harvard and his roommate's
lover.
Thus it has ceased to be true, as it was when we began writing this book, that no visible
queer nationals hold top governmental
administrative positions.

David LaFontaine. Add Varnell and Rohr from Washington.

Moreover, in early 1994, the Clinton administration banned discrimination against gay employees in the issuance of security clearances for positions in the FBI, CIA, and National Security Agency. This advance could not have occurred without the persistent lobbying of Representative Barney Frank (D., Mass.), who was incorrectly reported in our first printing as having "merited personal censure." In reality the House reprimanded Frank, a much lighter judgment than censure and entailing no loss of privilege. As of this writing, he remains the only Congressman ever to come out on his own and he should be unstintingly praised for his unprecedented act of courage. Frank Kameny confirms that Representative Frank was quite openly attending gay rallies some time before he came out to the establishment media--all this long before he "had any trouble with Gobie," as he told Percy over the telephone.

Even at the level of state and local government, outing does have its uses. Larry Gross mentioned (pp. 87-88) that gay attorney Thomas Coleman (a member of Arthur Warner's circle and former law partner of Mickey _____, who has moved to the District of Columbia and become the treasurer of GLA) outing Los Angeles City Councilman Joel Wachs, a longtime friend of Los Angeles’ gay community, by making public a letter that he had written to Wachs asking the City Councilman why he was failing to take action against the notoriously homophobic Los Angeles police chief Daryl Gates in the
case of police officer Mitch Grobeson. Harassed out of the police force because of his sexual orientation, Grobeson later filed suit against the Los Angeles Police Department asking for not just his own reinstatement, but the recruitment, hiring and protection of openly gay police officers. Gross, however, failed to mention--although Grobeson has never denied it--that the police officer was a closet case who had never been active in the gay community and perjured his sexual identity when confronted by the heads of the Department (ONEletter, January 1994, pp. 2-3).

Outing may thus find an unexpected and broader application than has been given it by such activists and journalists as Petrelis and Signorile. Since achieving mass dimensions in 1969 the gay rights movement has proliferated in a highly decentralized fashion, to the point where as many as 80 to 150 organizations exist in every medium-sized American city. Those activists who for the past twenty years or more--often at risk, sometimes at cost, occasionally at great sacrifice to themselves--have been struggling against conservatism and inertia know which institutions hide within their walls myriads of closet cases who have opted to turn their backs on the movement and its travail, even though they are fully implicated in the pariah community's forbidden sexual activities. Slowly but surely the patience of these activists is being exhausted, and no one should be surprised if they begin to threaten the apolitical and collaborationist elements in their midst with exposure if they do not mend their ways--and in fact do carry out the threat.

The battle with the religious right has now
been openly joined, and every queer national has the duty to be at his or her post and ready for combat. The "draft dodgers" in this struggle are not likely to enjoy much more good will and toleration from those fighting in the trenches.
CORRIGENDA

p. viii.3 "A member of ACT UP/New York and Queer Nation/New York" should be changed to "A member of ACT UP/New York and ACT UP/Boston" [Queer Nation is defunct in both cities]

p. ix Last two works have since been published

p. 171.20 "Pavelic" should be "Pavelić"

p. 451.2 "Kosice" should be "Košice"

p. 1431.26150 elected openly gay officials by 1994

p. 1741.2 After "in their cities" add "just as the Pope had never denounced Hitler"

Clinton backs down on gays in the military

p. 1911.27 on 4 June 1991

p. 1921.1 Hamburger no longer in Queer Nation [itself defunct in Boston] [treated in new preface]

1.5 Substitute "formerly" for "currently"

p. 205 Canada's military policy is changed to admit homosexuals

p. 2201.32 "allows" should be "allowed"

p. 2211.2 in the Advocate since then

p. 2361.21 Not "and" but "that oppose gay rights"

Mention Ed Boyce and IN

p. 2581.19 "Québecois" should be "Québécois"

p. 2731.25 "numerous" should be "several"

p. 2801.6 "never" must be changed to "only since"

p. 2951.2 Williams did not like being outed. He is
bitter and although he survived at the Pentagon is not now in such a great position

p. 304 First reference "Brownsworth" should be "Brownworth"

p. 305 1.8 Time should be Time

p. 306 1.22"int he" should be "in the"

p. 307 1.16"Ct. App. 19984" should be "Ct. App. 1984"

p. 308 1.3"Pollack 992" should be "Pollack 1992"

1.7 The misprinted

1.9 Recusants" [omit quotation mark]

1.13"a compelling state interest" [omit second quotation mark]

1.28"ciminality" should be "criminality"

p. 309 1.8"conflict of fiction" should be "conflict of fictions"

p. 309 1.23"market value" [omit second quotation mark]

p. 310 1.32"separtist" should be "separatist"

p. 312 1.4 "David, H." should be "David H."

p. 320"Erasmus Desiderius" should be "Erasmus, Desiderius"

p. 322"Griesinger, Wilhelm" should precede "Griffin, Merv"

p. 324 Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes, Dies last word should be Die

p. 326 Jolly, Friedrich, 56 [add: 73]

p. 327 Kennedy, John F., assassination of, 104-105 [add: 301]

p. 328"Mark, Anthony" should be "Mark Anthony"

p. 331 Nixon, Richard M., administration of [add: 301]

p. 333 §, 143 des Preußischen Strafgesetzbuches should be §143
[no comma]
p. 334"Pritchard, Peter" should be "Prichard, Peter" and moved before "Prime-Stevenson, Edward Irenaeus"
p. 336Scientific-Humanitarian Committee (Wissenschaftlich-humanitären Komitee) next to last word should be humanitäre
p. 338"sodomy delusion, strategies of late, 1960s activists to prevent" should be "sodomy delusion, strategies of 1960s activists to prevent"
Blumenfeld not in Index [named in text; unimportant]