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FAIRY TALES OF TWO CITIES, OR QUEER NATION(S)/URBAN CINEMA(S)

Résumé: Cet article examine quatre films d'auteurs gais qui se situent en marge des canons du cinéma au Canada et au Québec: À tout prendre, Winter Kept Us Warm, Il était une fois dans l'Est et Outrageous!. Deux de ces films sont de Toronto, deux de Montréal; deux furent produits avant la date charnière 1968/1969, deux après. L'auteur analyse ces oeuvres pionnières du cinéma gai et leurs réceptions par l'intermédiaire des grilles cinéma/culture, sexualité/genre, habitat/nation. Ce sont moins des textes nationaux que des textes urbains qui émergent des configurations cinématographiques, sexuelles et spatiales des deux métropoles qui ont présidé à l'émergence de la modernité canadienne et qui furent les creusets de ces quatre films.

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times.... We had everything before us, we had nothing before us.... There were...a queen with a plain face on the throne of England...and a queen with a fair face on the throne of France....

Claude (voice off): In this way has escaped the secret that I've kept inside me even longer than I can remember. Johanne... has lifted the heaviest part of my burden. She has made me confess the unconfessable and I had no shame, I had no hurt. And now everything is changed, for that driving desire that was never satisfied, that torment, has taken the form of a ray of hope.

Claude Jutra, À tout prendre (1963)1

Bev: Why Doug you'd almost think that you guys were-

Doug: Oh come on cut it out, Bev.

David Secter, Winter Kept Us Warm (1965)

Sandra: Hormones! Isn't life exciting on the Main!

Maurice, club owner, to "protégé": If [the Chez Sandra Club] didn't pay so much, I would have got rid of this fucking rabble long ago... You don't know if they're men or

if they're women.... And they spend their lives making dumb jokes about it.... That's all they talk about, try to get them talking about anything else! Goddamm gang of lunatics. Give me straight people any day, who go to straight clubs, see straight shows. To look at cunt, dammit, real cunt, not imitation rubber ones.... When you come here, dammit, the men smell like cunt and the girls are built like trucks. But what can you do? It pays....

André Brassard, Il était une fois dans l'Est (1973)

Social Worker: Have you been sleeping with this roommate? Liza: Oh no, Robin and I sleep in different worlds.

Richard Benner, Outrageous! (1977)

Claude, Bev, Doug, Liza, the Social Worker, Sandra and Maurice are all talking about identities and desires, but only Maurice is talking about the bottom line, the economics of sexual marginality.

This special issue has as its objective to explore materialist methods for sorting out the interface of cultural texts and a certain "habitation/ nation system" within the legal borders of the precarious political entity called Canada. My contribution will be an attempt to factor in a "sex/gender system,"2 or certain over-determined queer corners of it, in an attempt to flesh out, as it were, Maurice's analysis. Furthermore, my endeavour is to historicize this interface within our so-called national cinema, or more properly—since it is not possible to speak of a monolithic national cultural apparatus any more than it is possible to speak of a Canadian queer identity—our national cinemas. Both queerness and Canada have been largely invisible in Canadian cinemas, especially in the critical period of the sixties and seventies, which, no one would deny, were key to the transformation of national feelings, sexualities, and cinemas within the state called Canada. Why not look at a few representative cinematic texts from this period of invisibility and transformation, in fact the four key feature films whose dialogue I have already offered for tasting, to see if confronting invisibilities makes them less invisible, more material?

To do so representatively is of course to cross back and forth over borders both geographical and chronological as well as political. It means keeping one foot in Montréal and the other in Toronto, the bicultural camps of private sector Canadian film production of those decades.³ And it means straddling the chronological watershed of the late sixties, the historical divide around 1968-69 that partitions the period. (Perhaps as an Anglo Montrealer by adoption I am especially qualified to do so, a straddler by history, geography, culture and choice.) This somewhat artificial

time and space border straddling, requires a grid, no doubt too neat, for highlighting the symmetries and oppositions through which our four films partook of and can illuminate retroactively the material constructs of nation, sexuality and cinema in that formative historical period that began with Québec's "Quiet Revolution" and ended with the first referendum on Québec independence in 1980.

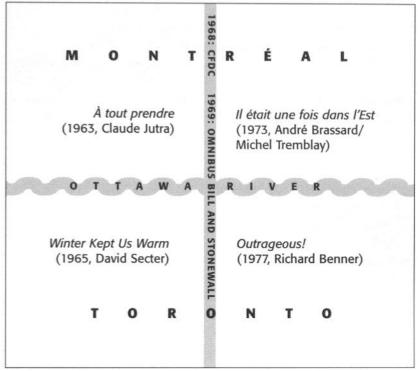


Figure 1: The Grid

The dividing line of 1968-69 marks the founding of the Canadian Film Development Corporation (CFDC) and the Omnibus Bill.⁴ These two acts of state symbolize respectively the official transition from an artisanal cinema to an industrial one (and from sober black and white to glitzy colour), and from underground sexual subcultures to decriminalized sexual constituencies, a "gay and lesbian" political minority. Geographically speaking, though the sixties were the age of the Trans-Canada Highway and the St. Lawrence Seaway, these east-west vectors scarcely spanned at all the huge chasm between the two metropoles of French and English Canada, nor between the two "national" cinemas and the two sexual and political cultures they (coyly?) embraced.⁵



Figure 2. À tout prendre. Director Claude (right) has his eye on his actor and plays out his middle-class ambiguity and high cultural alibi on the film set. Courtesy La Cinémathèque Ouébécoise.

Our corpus of four feature fiction films-two from Toronto and two from Montréal, two from the sixties and two from the seventies: À tout prendre (1963), Winter Kept Us Warm (1965), Il était une fois dans l'Est (1973), Outrageous! (1977)—are stuck schematically but symptomatically within the four quadrants of this grid. These texts are particularly-and materially—fraught with the queer, national and cinematic identities being constructed within the borders of this federal state and of this formative period. The four films, their respective careers, and the symptomatic critiques I have selected, resonate with echoes and divergences in every direction, across both geographical and chronological borders. They allow us to trace tandem trajectories of queer identities and desires through a cinematic sifting of class, economic, geographical, cultural, linguistic and sexual variables, onscreen and off, in the two urban locales in the era of Montréal's Expo '67 and the historic confrontation over Toronto's Spadina Expressway. The films are representative of the queer-authored fiction features that emerged from these spatial and chronological quadrants: they bad to be, they were virtually the only ones, and they thus acquire a disproportionate historical weight, dialoguing with each other like an epochal chorus.6

À tout prendre (Take It All, Claude Jutra, Montréal, 1963, Best Canadian Feature Film Award). This semi-autobiographical experimental narrative





Figure 3. Winter Kept Us Warm. The University of Toronto shower room as unorganized sexual underground. Peter (flirtatiously? sadistically?) feeds Doug the soap and commands Doug to scrub his back.

shows a privileged young filmmaker named Claude passionately involved with a black model named Johanne, who suddenly guesses that he likes boys. He strolls with her up the Mountain—the large and popular Mount Royal Park in the centre of Montréal, which was also a famous gay cruising area—where he fantasizes that the couple is attacked by a leatherman biker. Johanne gets pregnant, Claude dumps her, and the relationship dissolves in narcissism, rejection and bitterness.

Winter Kept Us Warm (David Secter, Toronto, 1965; Semaine de la critique, Cannes). This University of Toronto student production, a realist social melodrama, impressed international critics at Cannes in 1966. Doug, big man on campus, meets Peter, a shy young Finnish-Canadian theatre major from Capreol, and discovers that his friendship is more than male bonding, and more even than frolicking in the snow within the U of T residences compound. Doug is jealous of Peter's girl friend, and Doug's girl friend is jealous of Peter; Peter loses his virginity to his girl friend; Doug suddenly can't get it up with his, and their friendship dissolves in narcissism, rejection and bitterness.

Passing the watershed, Il était une fois dans l'Est, (Once Upon a Time in the East, André Brassard, Montréal, 1973; Official Canadian Representative, Cannes) is a downbeat melodrama based on characters from the plays of the brilliant young stage sensation Michel Tremblay. Hosanna the Queen of the Main is planning the greatest transformation of history as Elizabeth Taylor Queen of the Nile, but her rival, Sandra, hostess of a club modelled after the landmark Club Cléopâtre—still in existence as of this writing—plots to steal both Hosanna's thunder and her boyfriend, Cuirette, in the same big night of revenge on the Main (officially known as boul. St-Laurent, conventionally regarded as the "dividing line" between East/French and

West/English Montréal, and in actuality the main street through several different "ethnic" neighbourhoods as well as part of the city's tenderloin, red light district). This story and the other plots woven in and around the universe of the Duchesse de Langeais, drag queens, waitresses, lesbians, housewives, and drunks of the "East"—the "Est" of the film's title—dissolve in rejection, bitterness and rage.⁸

In the shadow of the new Toronto Dominion Centre, meanwhile, Outrageous! (Richard Benner, Toronto, 1977; Silver Bear, Berlin Film Festival), an upbeat hybrid of backstage musical and melodrama, narrates a hairdresser named Robin, a refugee from a closety salon, and his roommate Liza, a refugee from schizophrenia and psychiatry. Robin is the best female impersonator in town, but can only make it as a diva impressionist in New York. Robin's triumph is qualified because Liza's baby is stillborn, but, hey, everyone has "a healthy case of craziness" and let's dance.

The films must first be situated within three intersecting discursive and material frameworks.

Cinema/Culture: Along with the passage from artisanal feature fiction to industrial, state-financed cinema is the parallel passage from the gay subtext-not so much the voice of the other as the voice from under-to the gay spectacle, from innuendo to performance, from acting to acting out. The cinematic cultures of the two regions are diametrically opposed: in the sixties Rouch, Cocteau and Truffaut, plus Hitchcock and Anger, are the presiding geniuses of cinephilic Montréal, but in the Toronto of Winter they're all still colonial English and Drama Majors fixated on Ibsen, Eliot...and Harry Belafonte.9 In the seventies Montréal crossfertilizes Genet and Bergman, but Toronto counters with erratic dreams of vintage Hollywood and contemporary Greenwich Village. Despite different genres and cultures, all four films embody a cinema of alienation and despair, the sublimated desire and self-directed violence that struggling New Wave cinemas by thirty-year-old male would-be auteurs have embodied in many national cultures. In Montréal this means Jutra's three surrogate suicide fantasies and Brassard's heavy theatrical screaming in rainy nocturnal streetscapes. In Toronto, Secter's recourse is to fist-fights and poetry, and Benner's to a climactic disco dance party that can scarcely disavow the traumatic stillbirth.

Enlivened by their autobiographical authenticity (both À tout prendre and Outrageous! star their real-life protagonists, and the other two films are also strongly though obliquely self-referential), all four films are nonetheless fragile butterflies. Anomalous even within the self-financed auteur moviemaking of the sixties and the erratic early years of CFDC financing of the seventies, none was ever really part of a continuum of film culture, despite their respectable critical and commercial success. Even Outrageous!, which the CFDC seemingly couldn't believe was a hit, despite raves from Variety, Rex Reed, Judith Crist and the rest, and sellouts in New York, was a flash in the pan (notwithstanding an uneven sequel a decade later produced shortly before the AIDS-related deaths of star Craig Russell and director Benner [Too Outrageous!!, 1987]¹⁰). Their lonely marginality and intense sincerity makes all four films seem so vital and enduring today.

Sex/Gender: Heterosex abounds in these queer films. But Claude's passion leads to a payoff for an implied abortion and Doug's to impotence. Tremblay/Brassard's characters are too stressed or drunk or mad to fuck, except in flashback, and in any case it would lead, in the story's pre-legalization period setting (allegedly c. 1965, though the art design belongs more or less consistently to 1973), to the devastating botched abortion of the film's dénouement. Liza's male one-night-stand just doesn't understand anything—women, queer roommates or schizophrenia—and their bad sex leads to the corpus's third fruitless pregnancy!

Do these images of sterility cast a displaced metaphoric shadow over the films' same-sex fucking? Perhaps, for queer love happens only in the loose sense, in surrogate, oblique and offscreen forms. Outrageous! is the exception, but even there Robin has to pay for its begrudging enactment by "trade." Both of the sixties films displace the homoerotic onto the erotic exoticism of ethnicity, on otherness as a space of sexual liberation (Claude's deluded Haitian fantasies of Johanne and their sensuous dalliance at the famous black jazz club Rockhead's; Doug's delectation of Peter's Finnish pastries, folksongs and—of course—sauna). The breezy homosociality of Jutra's café-terrasses and Secter's university residence clearly masks the fissures of taboo desire and sadistic initiation. In the seventies films, images of erotic expression may be more outspoken and upfront, but are also no less disturbed, banished to the idyllic country of the past by Brassard's stylized flashbacks, or restricted to the glittery artifice of masks and performance in both films.

In general, between the sixties and the seventies, the transitions are telling: from closeted isolation to a collectivity (for better or worse), from

conflictual triangles of girl friends and boy friends (in which the girl friends get the short end, it goes without saying), to supportive circles of gay male-female solidarity that transcend biological gender, from the surrogate intimacy of homosocial bathing, drinking and sports, to the heterosocial claustrophobia of the dysfunctional family kitchen, workplace, and play space. Above all the shift is from intense moments of private confession to spectacular outbursts of public acting out. In other words, all four films are animated by the overwhelming momentum of "coming out" as a performative political ritual and narrative trope with, as Eve Sedgwick discusses it, "immense potency," the trigger of the "flow of power." Claude's moment of truth, prompted by Johanne's intuitive enquiry (repeated with a haunting echo chamber accent), is not only articulated by the momentous and poetic voiceover declaration excerpted in my epigraph but also accompanied by the clash of percussion and frenetic zooms into facial closeups. Doug, in the face of a parallel enquiry from bis girl friend, cuts it off and out, but the entire film is shaped by the emerging shame of his realization that he is what you'd almost think he is, which finally explodes in violence. In short, in the sixties the dream of bursting through the shells of repression animates the films, the potential for harnessing what Claude calls the burden of his shame and hurt, and what Sedgwick calls the "powerfully productive and powerfully social metaphoric possibilities" of shame.12

But even in the seventies, when everyone is already "out," the act of coming out requires its daily update of "shame consciousness and shame creativity."13 Ex-waitress Hélène strolls through a back alley of the Plateau—a working class neighborhood (lately becoming gentrified) east of the Mainarm in arm with her butch girl friend Bec-de-lièvre (hare lip), to the sound of housewives' intolerant and voyeuristic catcalls from their galeries; Hélène's tense supper en ex-famille follows and Bec-de-lièvre eats in dignity on the back galerie from which she is not allowed to enter the inner sanctum of the familial kitchen-surely one of most powerful sequences of coming out and reinscribed shame in queer cinema of any decade. Even Robin, the most "flaming" and "out" of queens, must have his scene of confrontational truth with his closety hair salon boss who wants him to butch it up. Yet for all the transformative animus of these coming out narrative dynamics, the identity utopias of the seventies are deferred and the sex is still unaccountably bad. It is the decade of Hosanna's betrayals, the Duchesse's delusions, Robin's humiliations and Liza's bone crunchers, where everyone knows how little salvation can be found in the flesh and keeps looking for it anyway.

Space or Habitation/Nation System: All four films claim the urban geography of their cities, undertaking the pleasurable bricolage of fictional worlds through on-location shooting and community-recruited extras, documentary strategies that seduce audiences through the boosterish recognition of naming and familiarity. The pairs of films from Montréal and Toronto follow surprisingly similar trajectories through this space. For one thing they follow instinctively the political agendas of gay politics of their respective periods. 14 Jutra's and Secter's narratives prophetically inhabit the anxious bedrooms where, according to Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau, author of the Omnibus Bill, the state has no business. Yet in the private space of Claude's ground floor bachelor pad and Doug's dormitory room, privacy doesn't really exist: even when beer buddies aren't crowding through the doors and windows, hidden looks and hovering innuendos can erupt at any moment into the violence of flouted desire. In Claude's masochistic fantasy, street urchins shoot through his apartment windows at him; Doug beats up Peter in his dorm room because he can't fuck him. On the other side of Stonewall, Brassard and Benner, in tune with their decade's slogan of "Out of the closets and into the streets," literally have their queens stop the traffic on rue Ste-Catherine and Yonge Street, respectively. Urban public nightlife and streetlife are the settings for tumultuous climaxes of both seventies films, as well as the refuges from all that bedroom bad sex.

The sixties camera explores also the ambiguous haunts of the middle-class intelligentsia as they play out their high cultural alibis on the Radio-Canada film set (where Claude directs and cruises a sexy actor with more hyperkinetic zooms) or at the U of T drama club rehearsal space (where Peter plays Ibsen and seduces a sexy actress); the seventies see a shift to rawer subaltern regions, the working class bathroom and kitchen, the vocational ghettos of hair salons, snack bars and liquor stores, tacky in Montréal, more sanitized in Toronto. The sixties are also charged with the furtive eroticism of the unorganized sexual undergrounds of Mount Royal (the cruising area to which Claude climbs with Johanne) and the University of Toronto's Hart House shower room (where Peter—flirtatiously? sadistically?—commands Doug to scrub his back!). 15 Both films seem to have one spatial mythology strategized for "national" audiences, and another for private recognition by queer audiences, knowing surveys of our undergrounds, our ghettos and our liminal spaces. 16

In the seventies, this territory is replaced by organized public visibility and commodification, the profit and spectacle of the Main's Club Cléopâtre and the gleaming Manatee Club at the centre of Toronto's emerging

Wellesley St. gay ghetto. (As Maurice says, it pays.)17 The two seventies films brazenly and defiantly proclaim gay public geography, but the problematical and provisional status of this declaration remains discernible, whether in Brassard/Tremblay's garish misanthropy or in Benner's overstated cheerfulness and escapes to elsewheres. If Claude had seemed unaccountably at home in Montréal's toney Anglo West End downtown (which incidentally housed the embryonic gay ghetto of the sixties), a decade later Brassard embraces the red light district and balconvilles further east, the at once tolerant and intolerant crucibles of marginalities of every kind (where housewives may scream "bibite" at the "butch" in the ruelle, despite there being an outcast in every family). 18 The Torontonians are more into urban renewal than slumming, moving up from Secter's seedy beverage rooms of the Yonge Street hetero tenderloin towards the domesticated and gay-friendly strip that Benner frequents in the seventies. (Robin's entourage goes skating at City Hall, the brand new symbol of the new Toronto.) In short, all four films are shaped by the volatile urban dialectic of private and public intrinsic to the metropoles of the sixties and seventies, the cyclical tunnelling and emancipation, taming and merchandising of the zones of the forbidden. 19

Despite—or perhaps because of?—their inextricable centrality to collective discourses and material frames of cinema/culture, sex/gender and habitation/nation, the four films are seldom revived and have resisted canonization, maintaining their invisibility within the official boundaries of "national" cinemas of both Québec and English Canada. Only the name brand auteur label of À tout prendre merits an occasional flash out of oblivion. Yet, all four films were situated as "national" texts by heterosexual critics upon their initial release, a legitimation withdrawn by subsequent tastemakers in each case.

Of À tout prendre, Denys Arcand, in his film critic hat, was quick to draw connections between film, sexuality and (French Canadian) nation:

Why can Claude have a valid relationship only with this foreign Johanne whom he wants to make even stranger? There are after all "everyday" Québécois women all around him...both onscreen and psychologically. À tout prendre doesn't succeed in getting close in tenderness and satisfaction to real everyday women. And in that, the hero is like lots of 30-year old French Canadians, sensitive and cultivated,

who have to have women who are black, yellow or red, in any case "foreign," in order to have their intoxicating affairs. There is here, it seems, an unconscious refusal to coincide with his collective self, at the same time as an unquenchable thirst to perfect oneself in a mythic exteriority that arises from the global situation of our people.... Nothing very surprising that at that point the film seems to claim the right to homosexuality.... Nothing very new or very immoral in that. The only question is to know to what extent homosexuality is a solid form of sexual activity and in what manner it has a special state of self-affirmation, given our global context of existence in relation to artistic expression.²¹

Of Winter Kept Us Warm, a more sympathetic French critic, Louis Marcorelles, started with a comparison of this "very very beautiful film" to Salinger's Catcher in the Rye. Hinting at rather than sermonizing sexual marginality, he was no less ready and sweeping than Arcand with ethnic and national sexual stereotypes, matching them perceptively to Secter's cinematic style. Marcorelles then went on prophetically to decipher the rivalry across the linguistic divide of which the Winnipeg-born Jew Secter couldn't have been more oblivious:

A literature of the heart in the best sense: emotions, Anglo-Saxon style, without infinite nuances, but with strong feelings, an unconscious cruelty. The joy of living, of loving, of hurting...frantic egoism. The little beast in you and me.

Winter Kept Us Warm has above all the quality of being Anglo-Saxon to the extreme: its little dose of humour, skin-deep, its tenderness that doesn't dare declare itself, of unconscious cruelty....

Winter Kept Us Warm is beyond everything else a Canadian film: Canadian as one breathes, according to the strange mixture which has created a nation that is comparable to no other, a misaligned door opening on the edge of history. David Secter knows nothing of the NFB, has vaguely heard the name of Michel Brault, is unaware of Groulx and Perrault and Macartney-Filgate. Who cares as long as the Canadian "grace"...remains. This freedom of tone, this camera as tall as a man, stopping on a whim to follow a squirrel, frolicking in the snow among the flakes....²²

Il était une fois dans l'Est had beat out The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz (1974, Ted Kotcheff), as well as other films to represent Canada at Cannes



Figure 4. Il était une fois dans l'Est. The Chez Sandra club on the Main as crucible of marginality. Sandra (right) plots to steal Hosanna's butch boyfriend Cuirette; while castoff waitress Pierrette responds drunkenly to his flirtation. Courtesy La Cinémathèque Québécoise.

in 1974. In response, in Jean Leduc's review in Cinéma Québec, the phobic political undercurrents beneath Arcand's feigned sophistication came out into the open. Leduc started out with a valid question, but then lined up drag queens, intellectuals and Tremblay himself (marginalized to the point of the "infinitesimal") for the firing squad:

In what sense can a work of fiction really represent a national reality with its network of socio-economic-cultural implications...? Did the criterion of representativeness ever play a role at any level? Is the milieu of drag queens on the Main strongly representative of the reality of Canada, of Québec, of Montréal? What infinitesimal proportion of this reality does it represent? In any case is the image Il était une fois dans l'Est offers faithful to this supermicroscopic reality? (I am told that it is not.) And does the reality of drag queens on the Main differ noticeably from the reality of drag queens in London, Hamburg, Berlin and Rome? Il était une fois dans l'Est gives the impression of being focused principally on this reality even if other elements dredged up from other Tremblay theatre play a part. There remains the general feeling from the whole of the film of great despair.

Is this a true image of Québec reality or would it be an image equivalent to those favoured by certain intellectuals who need this security in order to disguise their inability to really grasp Québec reality?²³

Outrageous!, the Canadian sleeper success story of the 1970s, merited three pieces in Cinema Canada, a rave, a pan, and a production story. John Locke's rave began with an anecdote of a New York moviegoer's praise for its non-national generic spectacle value and then led into a dissection of its un-Canadian Canadianness:

"It's the best show you've ever seen." This is not a typical reaction to Canadian films.... Outrageous!...is the best Canadian narrative film I have seen, and forgetting about nationalism for a moment, it is a very good film indeed in 1977 international terms....

The acting is so uniformly excellent that it is positively "un-Canadian".... Outrageous! is un-Canadian in this specific sense: all the performers say their lines in a believeable fashion.... Canadian films often seem to disguise their nationality. Actors and actresses never say "aye." Canadian artifacts like money and license plates never appear.... Outrageous! breaks these conventions usually followed by Canadian films looking for U.S. distribution, and it makes the broken conventions work in its favour....

Thank you Richard Benner whoever you are, I have been waiting for years to see a really good Canadian narrative film.²⁴

These national linkages to our four "really good Canadian narrative" films call for several observations. The fact that the two Québec films were marked negatively national by nationalist critics, that is, as nationally unrepresentative, is an indicator of two things: the ways problematical questions of sexuality and class were postponed or papered over by the nationalist consensus of the intelligentsia and the left; ²⁵ and the ways cinema was assumed to be a privileged medium of national expression in the sixties and pre-Parti Québécois seventies. The struggle to end film censorship during the Quiet Revolution had been in every way a "national" struggle, ²⁶ yet Québec filmmakers were called into line when they diverged from some undefined but sentimentally monolithic fantasy of the young pure laine heterosexual couple. (Paradoxically, Arcand's ideal couple rarely appeared in Québec narrative of the period other than in the softcore hetero stampeders Valérie [1968, Denis Héroux] and Deux femmes en or [1970,



Figure 5. Outrageous! Toronto hairdresser Robin (Craig Russell) impersonating American diva Carol Channing and making it in New York. Courtesy La Cinémathèque Québécoise.

Claude Fournier]—certainly not in his own films!). On the other side, signficantly, both Winter and Outrageous! were tagged as essentially and positively Canadian through the objective outside eyes of a French champion of Québécois nationalist cinema, and an American expatriate critic who saw the film in New York, respectively.

Interestingly, of the four films, only Outrageousi, directed by an American expatriate and resolved intradiegetically in New York, explicitly claims in onscreen textual terms the national as boldly as it does the queer. I am referring not only to the jingoistic flaunting of Toronto's cosmopolitan urban monuments in the very decade when Toronto was bypassing Montréal in size and representative aspirations—alongside the TD Centre and Nathan Phillips Square onscreen are the CN Tower, Union Station and the streetcars. I am referring also to the famous and all too symptomatic jokes about the Canada Council and "making it in New York" (whose absorption by audiences effectively inoculated them against a film about a Canadian impersonating American divas and brain draining to New York). Outrageousi was thus participating in the simultaneous and interconnected awakening of nationalism and cinephilia in English Canada (later crystallized, beginning

in 1983 at the "Perspectives Canada" series at Toronto's Festival of Festivals)—a full generation after Québec had seen the same phenomenon. In comparison with the queer Montréalers' unexamined assumption of national belonging, was Benner protesting a bit too much?

Naming the nation is one thing, but what about naming sex? How do the thematics of sexual marginality that retroactively seem so central enter the critical discourse? As we have seen, the practice and politics of naming in criticism is as tortuous as in the films themselves. Arcand's racist and homophobic slur on A tout prendre's "claim" to the "non-solid" activity of homosexuality is as disingenuous as Claude's coming out is courageous, and as obscured by his irrational panic logic as Claude's claim is by narrative intricacy. Marcorelles' Wildean euphemism about tenderness is as graceful as Winter's oblique sincerity. (One Canadian review of Secter's film explicitly named the "homosexual" thematic only to declare it "not really necessary," just as the New York Times was opining that Jutra was throwing in homosexuality simply to be avant-garde.²⁷) Leduc's pseudo-sociological scapegoating exceeds even Tremblay's characters' gutter vilification-sampled in my epigraph above-of women, queers, and most significantly of themselves. Locke hiply avoids commenting directly on the queer thematics, and, though Outrageous! is actually the first of the four films to use the g-word, the critic prefers "raunchy," "leather" and "unique" to "gay." (But Cinema Canada's accompanying pan makes up for this delicacy with the by now very unhip "homosexual" and decries the addition of all the "lamentable" drag stuff to the source story.28)

It goes without saying that none of the four critics identified the films as queer, gay, or homosexual cinema, and it would be anachronistic to expect otherwise, even in the seventies, all the more so with the avoidance and innuendo that traditionally invested criticism as much as it did the cinema itself. In sum, all reviews referred to the sexual marginalization of the film's diegetic world, either naming to disavow or avoiding to tolerate. But only the Québécois reviewers connected sexuality with the collectivity, negatively in both cases as we have seen, even if the filmmakers conspicuously didn't dare. Needless to say, Benner's grafting of gay pride onto English Canadian nationalism was rather unique for 1977²⁹—something that perhaps only an immigrant director would have dared in the days when the "national" gay newspaper *The Body Politic* was spending more time in court than in the press room, ³⁰ and something no native critic dared to do in any way whatsoever, gay or straight.

By 1977 however, we can finally speak properly of the existence of gay criticism and its engagement with our corpus. One discreetly gay critic, the late Jean Basile, had warmly welcomed A tout prendre in Le devoir31, and the late festival impresario Richard Roud, also discreetly gay, had provided one of Winter's most glowing raves, a coy but retroactively lucid recognition of a "something": "...a [stunning] moment when all of a sudden one realises that one has got it all wrong, that something quite different is happening up there on the screen, but that that something is nevertheless completely convincing and right.³² But only Outrageous!, a dozen years later, was received and assessed—and in fact hotly debated—by a gay critical constituency, both in Toronto and abroad. Interestingly, The Body Politic hated it, printing a long denunciation of the film by Michael Riordan. The piece acknowledged only indirectly the film's momentous historical place as the first Toronto explicitly gay feature by virtue of its generous three-page length and photo spread. Riordan's grounds for his savagery were political:

Will one heterosexual, even one heterosexual parent, march with us because of it, fight on our side, vote us into power, grant us custody, let us teach her/his children what it is to be gay? Will one heterosexual be changed by it—not comforted but changed, challenged, moved to original thought?... What is there in its images for us? Will it make us stronger in any way? What does it contribute to our view of ourselves or of the world? Does it challenge any of the learned misconceptions that weigh us down? Most important, does it move us closer to a fresh non-heterosexist way of dealing with each other?³³

This eloquent invocation of the conventional "positive image" problematic and its instrumentalist conception of social effect reflects a common—and no doubt mobilizing—slant in early feminist and gay liberation criticism. Riordan's failure to recognize other politics of representation was offset by his forceful statement of a political contextualization that is decidedly local: his fury against the enthusiastic embrace of *Outrageous* by the local tabloid *The Toronto Sun*, which more than any other medium had actively led the campaign against both the beleaguered *The Body Politic* and the inclusion of sexual orientation in Ontario's human rights code. Gay criticism was even more deluded then than now about the ideological coherence of right-wing media, and even more conspiratorial about the one-dimensional performativity of media images. Riordan's only reference to the "national"

Stature of the film was indirect, an acknowledgment of the director's New York roots and the film's boffo reception in American media and *Variety*. He also pointedly referred to a gushy notice in an "American" gay paper, not naming Boston's *Gay Community News* as the source of the rave.

GCN, the most prominent American gay and lesbian community paper and that closest in spirit to *The Body Politic*, had indeed run both an uncharacteristically superficial and positive review:

From the gay liberation point of view, the film is far ahead of almost anything that has come before...four star rating. [One wants Benner to give us] even more of his vision, now that he has furthered the image of gays as human beings on film.... In *Outrageous!*, gayness is a normal ordinary feature of life and neither the characters nor director Benner give it a second thought.... It's a bravissimo accomplishment.³⁴

GCN had followed up with a long glowing interview with Russell a few months later, featuring the star's pouting observations that straight audiences were preferring the film to gay audiences.³⁵ However, judging from Russell's reference to a pan in The Chicago Gay News that had particularly stung him, it seems that Riordan's views were not isolated and that the gay reception of Outrageous! was at least mixed. The GCN coverage, like most American notices then as now, mentioned the Canadian label only in passing if at all, and this clearly signified a "non-Hollywood" sensibility rather than an expression of a national culture. The gueer critical debates about Outrageous!, then, all assumed its utmost pertinence to their constituency but the relevance of its "national" origins never entered the picture, regardless of how overstated its "Canadianness" was on the screen. Preoccupied with the pan-national constituency for the emergent gay and lesbian cinema, late seventies gay criticism overlooked other political contexts and frameworks for the new films, local and national, regardless of the fact that the local and the national were the arenas where the politics of sexuality were being hammered out.36

In conclusion, I have shown how these four muffled but haunting voices of the sexual other in the Montréals and Torontos of the sixties and seventies offer symmetrically parallel stories probing the intersection of sexual identity and collective space before and after the critical 1968-69 watershed of gay urban histories in the West. Queer nation? Perhaps. But do the important synchronicities between the two pairs of films add up to Canadian nation, our national cinema? Perhaps only in one sense, in their combined "otherness" in the face of the now canonized American models rooted in their respective decades. The queer-friendly film avant-gardes of sixties New York (Flamina Creatures, 1962-63, Jack Smith) and California (Scorpio Rising, 1963, Kenneth Anger) had celebrated figures of defiant marginality as the prophets of the impending gay revolution, but the flaming creatures of Toronto and Montréal of the sixties are the worried young men in conservative suits and narrow ties learning folk songs and dating girl friends. Interestingly, a ghost from Anger's Scorpio Rising makes an appearance in À tout prendre as the motorcycle leatherman who attacks the heterosexual couple, but this is Claude's masochistic fantasy not a "real" character.37 In the seventies, American models of post-Stonewall "positive image" realism proliferated in both documentary (Word is Out, 1977, Mariposa Film Collective) and fiction (A Very Natural Thing, 1974. Christopher Larkin), the latter of which Riordan had referred to. 38 Both also went unseconded north of the border.

The Toronto and Montréal equivalents now seem to have been our very own politically incorrect flaming creatures, Hosanna and Robin. These two proletarian transvestite hairdressers, I posited in an earlier publication as spectacular bipolar emblems of interfacing queer nationality and schizophrenic "Canadian" cultural identities in the post-Stonewall decade. Acting up and acting out, screaming and singing, Hosanna and Robin were performing delayed-reaction multiple-identitied marginalities on Yonge Street and the Main, while their American cousins were aspiring to a respectable aesthetic of national belonging and centrality. It may seem only that the sixties took a decade to reach north of the border, but it is doubtful that the felicitous synchronicity of this parallel "otherness" of the Montréal and Toronto myths and icons constitutes a "national" consensus, queer or Canadian.

What is visible, rather, in these two sets of magnificently anomalous and uncanonizable films, these four fairy tales of two cities, so full of everything before us and nothing before us and queens both plain and fair, is neither one nation or two nations or two solitudes or four auteurs. Instead, alive on the screen are two queer metropoles and two distinctly lived and felt inhabitations of those metropolitan spaces, two cultural geographies, two geographical cultures of desire. The four films' respective mythologies and materialities of desire and identity are distinct, overdetermined by their distinct authorial sensibilities and cinematic heritages, and their two distinct socio-political cultural and historico-spatial

environments. Among other things they are legible in retrospect also as the origins of two peripatetic historical trajectories in which Montréal queer cinema would one day most characteristically explore the perils of private intimacy (À corps perdu [1988, Léa Pool], Quand l'amour est gai [1994, Laurent Gagliardi], L'Escorte [1996, Denis Langlois]) and Toronto's the assertion of public rights (Urinal [1988, John Greyson], Out: Stories of Lesbian and Gay Youth [1993, David Adkin], Skin Deep [1995, Midi Onodera]). And what better way to view the delirious incoherence of Greyson's Lilies (1996), that Torontonian's English-language film of a Montréal French-language play within a play within a play celebrating a shared queer past in an imagined rural hinterland, except as the merger of these two trajectories?

In any case, the grid of À tout prendre and Il était une fois dans l'Est, Winter Kept Us Warm and Outrageous! reminds us squarely of how cities—their communities both imagined and demographic, their crowds and their outcasts, their infrastructures and their networks, their cultures, their economies, their geographies—have been the motors, crucibles and canvases of our cinemas. So let's bracket the national for a while, please, either queer or Canadian, and in fact let's use these fairy tales of two cities to refocus on the metropolitan and the material, both the subnational and the supranational, the transnational and the postnational, the local and the global, in short, to reclaim the urban.

NOTES

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- Cited dialogue excerpts from the VHS versions of A tout prendre, Winter Kept Us Warm, and Outrageous! and from published scenario, Il était une fois dans l'Est: Un film de André Brassard (Montréal: L'Aurore, 1974), my translation. All other translations are also my own.
- The two "system" formulations belong respectively to Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick ("Nationalisms and Sexualities in the Age of Wilde," in Andrew Parker et al., eds., Nationalisms and Sexualities [New York: Routledge, 1992], 267-319), and Gayle Rubin ("Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality," in Carole S. Vance, ed., Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984], 235-245).
- 3. With regard to the public sector institutional cinema of this period, I have written elsewhere of its deeply buried transgressive undercurrents, and of the single film from this period that approaches any degree of explicitness towards a queer, in this case lesbian, thematic, Some American Feminists (Canada, 1977, Margaret Wescott, Luce Guilbault, Nicole Brossard). If that is an urban fairy tale, it is one of New York, and it is of course no accident that the first queer film to see the light in the NFB desert should be one of exile. See my "Nègres blancs, tapettes et butch: images des lesbiennes et des gais dans le cinéma québécois," Copie zéro 11 (1981): 12-29.
- 4. The Omnibus Bill reforming sexual offenses portions of the criminal code, including the removal of clauses dealing with "buggery" and "gross indecency" (but not the full removal of the State from the bedrooms of the nation) was passed by Parliament on May 14, 1969, giving the modern period of Canadian queer/sexual politics its symbolic start. Six weeks later, Greenwich Village drag queens and other queers rose up against police harassment at the Stonewall Tavern, giving the symbolic start of modern American queer politics a more dramatic and revolutionary flavour, at least in comparison with a partial reform handed down by paternalistic, homophobic politicians in colonial imitation of a British reform law from two years earlier. See Gary Kinsman, The Regulation of Desire: Sexuality in Canada (Montréal: Black Rose, 1987).
- 5. Much of (but not all) Canadian film studies in English and in French assumes the discrete autonomy of the cinemas in the two official languages, and there is a respectable sub-literature on Canadian "regional" cinemas (most productively in Pierre Véronneau, ed., À la recherche d'une identité: renaissance du cinéma d'auteur canadien-anglais [Montréal: Cinémathèque québécoise, 1991]), but to my knowledge very little research has been done identifying the urban contexts of Canadian regional or national cinemas as the determining cultural variables.
- 6. The exceptions come from Québec, of course, and consist of a couple of Anglo-Montréal ambiguities (Montreal Main [1974, Frank Vitale] and The Rubber Gun [1977, Allan Moyle]) and a couple of Trois-Rivières obscurities by Michel Audy (for example, La maison que empêche de voir la ville, 1975). For a comprehensive inventory of the Québec gay films and filmic representations of this period see my "Nègres blancs."

- 7. For a history of "the Mountain," see the late Luther A. Allen, "L'aventure sexuelle clandestine: le cas du mont Royal," in Irène Demczuk and Frank Remiggi, eds., Sortir de l'ombre. Histoires des communautés lesbienne et gaie de Montréal (Montréal: VLB éditeur, 1998), 81-102; for an outsider's cinematic mythology of "the Mountain" see Denys Arcand's Déclin de l'Empire américain (1986).
- The Tremblay plays providing characters and situations for the film are Les Belles-soeurs, Hosanna, La Duchesse de Langeais, À toi pour toujours, ta Marie-Lou, En pièces détachées, and Demain matin, Montréal m'attend.
- 9. Hitchcock's Strangers on a Train and Anger's Scorpio Rising are cited explicitly by Jutra; his fellow Nouvelle vaguiste Truffaut makes a guest appearance, and Jutra's sometime mentor Cocteau is an easily identifiable ancestor of this parabolic tale of a tormented artist. Winter's intertextual relationship with The Wasteland and Ghosts is made explicit in the narrative, and a Harry Belafonte concert at O'Keefe Centre gives Doug the pretext for his first date with Peter, as well as for a telling impulse to stroke the handsome and exotic singer's face on the concert poster, as Peter looks on. Brassard has cited Bergman's Cries and Whispers as an inspiration, but a more significant Genet lineage is apparent in his transgressive characters' frontal theatricality in both his film and stage work. Benner's precise cinematic culture and references beyond the gay lore of All About Eve, etc., obviously shared with Russell, are unknown.
- 10. See my review, "Richard Benner's Too Outrageous!," Cinema Canada 155 (1988): 40.
- 11. The geometry of both Jutra's and Secter's girl friend/boy friend setups are variations of Sedgwick's Girardian triangulation model of male homosociality: "a calculus of power that was structured by the relation of rivalry between the two active members of an erotic triangle." (Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire [New York: Columbia University Press, 1985], 21). Interestingly, a man rather than a woman is the object of rivalry in the case of Secter's two overlapping triangles.
- Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, The Epistemology of the Closet (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 76, 77.
- Sedgwick discusses this "dynamic relation" of shame and identity in "Queer Performativity: Henry James's Art of the Novel," GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies 1.1: 1-16.
- Two familiar sources on gay politics of the sixties and seventies are respectively John D'Emilio, Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973) and Dennis Altman, Coming Out in the Seventies (Boston: Alyson, 1981).
- 15. For a history of a homosocial athletic facility as queer space see John Donald Gustav-Wrathall, Take the Young Stranger by the Hand: Same Sex Relations and the YMCA (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). For a cultural studies-inflected rather than historical account of related phenomena closer to the University of Toronto's Hart House gym itself, see Brian Pronger, The Arena of Masculinity: Sports, Homosexuality and the Meaning of Sex (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), by a Professor of Physical Education at that very institution.
- 16. Such insider/outsider communication is a familiar dynamic in pre-Stonewall film history, which has a continuous record of closeted or not so closeted directors and writers offering two-tiered works simultaneously to the initiated and the uninitiated, from Mädchen in Uniform (Germany, 1931, Leontine Sagan) to Rope (UK, 1948, Alfred Hitchcock, scen. Arthur Laurents), from Ossessione (Italy, 1942, Luchino Visconti) to The Left-Handed Gun (USA, 1958, Arthur Penn, scen. Gore Vidal).

- For a skeletal history of the development of Toronto gay community see Donald W. McLeod, Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada: A Selected Annotated Chronology. 1964-1975 (Toronto: ECW, 1996); for a cinematic view of the Toronto gay community and ghetto c. 1980 see the feature-length documentary Track Two (Canada, 1983, Harry Sutherland et al.); for scholarly accounts of Toronto queer history and geography see John Grube, "'No More Shit': The Struggle for Democratic Gay Space in Toronto," in Gordon Brent Ingram et al., eds., Queers in Space: Communities/Public Places/Sites of Resistance (Seattle: Bay Press, 1997),127-146; Steve Maynard, "Through a Hole in the Lavatory Wall: Homosexual Subcultures, Police Surveillance, and the Dialectics of Discovery, Toronto, 1890-1930," Journal of the History of Sexuality 5.2 (1994), 207-242; Becki L. Ross, The House That Jill Built: A Lesbian Nation in Formation (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995). The websites established by Rich Bébout through the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives are also exceptionally helpful: http://www.clga.ca/archives/what/papers/docs/toronto/tor1971.htm and http://www.clga.ca/archives/what/papers/docs/toronto/morecw.htm.
- 18. In fact Brassard shot II était une fois dans l'Est in the West (of Montréal)—in the then empty Hawaiian Lounge on Stanley Street, which ended its twenty-five year intermittent vocation as a gay-welcoming space in the 1980s when it became a hetero strip club catering to NHL hockey players. For more of the evolution of Montréal queer geography, see Demczuk and Remiggi, especially Ross Higgins, "Les lieux d'appartenance: les bars gais des années 1950," 103-128; Roger Noel, "Libération homosexuelle ou révolution socialiste?"187-206; Frank Remiggi, "Le Village gai de Montréal: entre le ghetto et l'espace identitaire," 267-290. See also Higgins, De la clandestinité à l'affirmation: Pour une histoire de la communauté gaie montréalaise (Montréal: Comeau et Nadeau, 1999); "Murder Will Out: Discourse and Gay Identity Processes in Montreal," in William Leap, ed., Beyond the Lavender Lexicon (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1995), 107-132; "Baths, Bushes, and Belonging: Public Sex and Gay Community in Pre-Stonewall Montreal," in William Leap, ed., Public Sex/Gay Space (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); "A Sense of Belonging: Pre-liberation Space, Symbolics and Leadership in Gay Montreal," Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, 1997.
- 19. The Leap and Ingram anthologies cited above are useful introductions to theories, histories and ethnographies of queer urban space.
- Peter Morris has commented on the odd resistance of A tout prendre to canonization, but does not attribute this to Jutra's discourses of sexual marginality ("In Our Own Eyes: The Canonizing of Canadian Film," Canadian Journal of Film Studies 3.1 [1993]: 27-44). The film made it onto a "best" list recently for the first time (Wyndham Wise, "Take One's Top 20 Canadian Films of All Time," Take One 6.19 [1998]: 18). The film also receives extended treatment in Jim Leach, Claude Jutra, Filmmaker (Montréal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1999), 67-95 and Bill Marshall, Quebec National Cinema (Montréal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2000), 31-37, 50-59, though only the latter adequately problematizes Jutra's queer sensibility. It is not clear whether this listing and these books can effectively re-canonize a work not available on video with English subtitles. Il était une fois dans l'Est is not available on video at all.
- 21. Denys Arcand, "Cinéma et sexualité," Parti pris 9-10-11 (1964): 23. My translation and emphasis.
- 22. Louis Marcorelles, "La semaine de la critique," Cahiers du cinéma 179 (1966): 47-48. My emphasis.
- 23. Jean Leduc, "Il était une fois dans l'Est, The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz: La représentation d'un milieu donné," Cinéma Québec 3.6-7 (1974): 43-44.

- 24. John W. Locke, "A Healthy Case of Craziness," Cinema Canada 41 (1977): 17-18, 20-21.
- 25. For analysis of the papering over of class and cultural difference in the "national" Québec cinema of the 1960s, see Michel Houle, "Some Ideological and Thematic Aspects of the Québec Cinema," in Pierre Véronneau and Piers Handling, ed., Self Portraits: Essays on the Canadian and Quebec Cinemas (Ottawa: Canadian Film Institute, 1980), 159-182; see also legal theorist Carl Stychin's analysis of Québec since the 1970s in his A Nation by Rights: National Cultures, Sexuality Identity Politics and the Discourse of Rights (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), 89-114.
- For the role of the anti-censorship battle in the Quiet Revolution see Jacques Hébert, Obscénité et liberté (Montréal: Éditions du Jour, 1970).
- Joe Medjuck, "Winter Kept Us Warm," Take One 1.1 (1966): 24; Bosley Crowther,
 "Screen: 'Take It All' Opens at the Plaza," New York Times, April 26, 1966.
- Ted Fox, "Richard Benner's Outrageous!," Cinema Canada 41 (1977): 21. Fox is referring
 of course to Benner's source property, Margaret Gibson Gilboord's story "Making It," in
 The Butterfly Ward (Toronto: Oberon, 1976), 96-118.
- 29. Outrageous! even goes to bat for biculturalism, incorporating in its pan-national allegorical frieze a nasty and hyperfeminist Québécois dyke in exile—a full decade before a more elaborated version of the same character in I've Heard the Mermaids Singing (a film that shared Secter's taste for T. S. Eliot-inspired titles). Mermaids is similar to Winter in other ways as well with its post-Stonewall exploration of ambiguous borders between homosociality and homosexuality. Outrageous!'s nasty dyke is a far cry from the brave, strong and sexy lesbian couple in II était.
- 30. In fact, to this day the most comprehensive history of the Toronto "lesbian and gay community" of the 1970s and early 1980s is Ed Jackson and Stan Persky, eds., Flaunting It!: A Decade of Gay Journalism from The Body Politic (Toronto: New Star Books, 1983). See also Bébout's site http://www.clga.ca/archives/what/papers/inven/tbp/tbpint.htm for a documentary source.
- 31. Jean Basile, "A tout prendre, de Jutra, au Festival," Le devoir, 12 août 1963. Basile does not mention Jutra's queer confessional, but certain suggestive keywords and phrases appear: "Narcissus," "adolescent," "too personal," "even exposes himself bravely—here is everything!—in all his complexity." My translation.
- 32. Richard Roud, "The Cannes Festival," Sight and Sound 35.3 (1966): 154.
- Michael Riordan, "Outrageous!: How Can You Argue with Success?" The Body Politic 37 (1977): 15.
- David Holland, "Honest, Beguiling, 'Outrageous!' Step Forward," Gay Community News, August 27, 1977, 8.
- Gregg Howe, "Craig Russell: The Sweet Smell of Success," Gay Community News, April 1 1978, 8-9.
- 36. One of the most detailed and measured "positive image" critiques of Outrageous! also came from abroad—from Richard Dyer, British pioneer of gay film studies whose groundbreaking Gays and Film (BFI) came out in 1977, the same year as the film. Dyer mentioned the Toronto locale only in passing and focused instead on comparing Outrageous! with Word is Out—Stories from Some of Our Lives (USA, 1978, Mariposa Film Group) in terms of discourses of realism, utopia and gender categories ("Out! Out! Out!: A Review of Outrageous! and Word is Out," Gay Left: A Gay Socialist Journal 9 [1979]: 27-30).

- Jutra probably saw Scorpio Rising in a preliminary version, since he had clearly been following Anger's career since its beginning, having echoed Anger's Fireworks (1947) in his own Mouvement perpétuel (1949).
- 38. For a contemporary gay lib perspective on these two films see my "Films by Gays for Gays: A Very Natural Thing, Word is Out, and The Naked Civil Servant" [1977], in Thomas Waugh, The Fruit Machine: Twenty Years of Writings on Queer Cinema (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 14-33; see also Richard Dyer, Now You See It for a discussion of "affirmation" gay cinema of the 1970s.
- Thomas Waugh, "Cultivated Colonies: Notes on Queer Nationhood and the Erotic Image," Canadian Journal of Film Studies 2.2-3 (1993): 145-178.

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