

American LGBTQ+ liberation from day 1 to Stonewall. Written & produced by Devlyn Camp Episode released August 5, 2020 <u>queerserial@gmail.com</u>

Season 2, Episode 9: "The Twilight Woman"

Visit <u>www.queerserial.com</u> for resources and additional information. For images to accompany the story, follow the show @queerserial on <u>Instagram</u> & <u>Twitter</u> For this episode, begin with posts starting August 3, 2020. (Click above.)

The original Mattachine Society jester logo is courtesy of ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

This transcript includes text from real homophile-era publications, letters, organizational documents, et cetera. These texts contain **identifying terms** that may now be out of date.

MARGE: She joined the trio of sexual perverts. The majority of the female customers were dressed in mannish costume. Agent recommends the revocation of liquor license for Mary's First and Last Chance Bar on the grounds that it is a resort for sex perverts.

HOST: Just two days before Christmas 1959, the ruling comes down on Mary's First and Last Chance, a lesbian bar in Oakland, California. After the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board orders the revocation of the bar's liquor license on the grounds that it's a "resort for sex perverts," bar owners Mary Azar and Albert Vallerga hire attorney Morris Lowenthal. Lowenthal has previously defended the Black Cat Café. Throughout Lowenthal's appeals process, he defends Mary's First and Last by using the Daughters of Bilitis as an example of the bar's clientele. Look at these upstanding, law-abiding, gendernormative citizens! These women wear skirts and have long hair. On December 23, 1959, the California Supreme Court rules in favor of Mary's First and Last Chance. The court declares the "resort for sexual perverts" law has been unconstitutionally applied in this case. Basically, the court says that just because homosexuals show up in a bar doesn't mean they're all sexual perverts, look how well behaved DOB is! And a bar owner can't be held responsible for determining every customer's sexuality. It's a big win! If you're a homosexual who dresses according to the gender you were assigned at birth. While Morris Lowenthal fought-and will continue to fight-for civil rights, in this case, he inadvertently uses the Daughters of Bilitis against butch lesbians. This win for Mary's First pushes butch women into a lower class than gendernormative lesbians, implying that masculineof-center women are less deserving of the same rights. The court's decision, overall, is a win for both sides. It declares the "resorts for sex perverts" law unconstitutional, but the way the decision is phrased allows for bars to still be shut down for anything cops perceive as crossdressing.

AUDIO: typewriter

HAL CALL: To close the places of congregation will, at best, only increase the policing problem in the parks, on the streets, in the public toilets. Whether the city likes it or not, it will mean that homosexuals will flow in greater numbers in to the more 'elite' bistros of hotels, supper clubs, and other downtown areas. How much better, it would seem to us, is a situation where homosexuals can go safely and be among their own kind, thereby offending the least number of non-homosexuals. And how much better would it be if we could substitute an educational program, conducting classes or lectures in the bars and/or clubs they frequent.

HOST: Hal's Pan-Graphic Press in the Mattachine office, prints a new booklet: Bob Damron's *Address Book*. It's a national gay bar directory of 50 little pages small enough to fit into a shirt pocket. This is a big step up from Hal's 1954 mimeographed list of 35 West Coast bars that people had to sign for in order to ensure secrecy. Now, the bars are mostly thriving as a new decade begins. After Mary's First wins their case, the ABC feels like the gay bars are a bit untouchable, as far as shutting them down just for having gay customers. Handlebar's license is even restored. But the cops are still shaking down bars for payoffs. After last year's mayoral election scandal and the positive publicity the Mattachine Society received for suing candidate

Russell Wolden, bar owners like Uncle Billy at the 585 Club see publicity as their new tool for resistance.

Uncle Billy, William Morrell, calls gay bar owners from downtown and waterfront neighborhoods to join him for a meeting. Uncle Billy has an unusually large network of gay barowning friends. Three of the five who join him in their secret meeting are terrified they'll be exposed for working against the police. But bars don't necessarily need protection if they know they have rights. After Mary's First went to court, they are assured that bars do have... some... type of... sort of rights. Uncle Billy calls Sol Stoumen, owner of the Black Cat, who is still in the appeals process as the ABC has been trying to shut down his bar since 1956. Stoumen joins their cause and arranges an additional meeting: all these gay bar owners, plus the Alcoholic Beverage Control administrator, and Mayor Christopher's own Police Chief Thomas Cahill.

Act 1

MAYOR CHRISTOPHER: You can't have graft without the mayor knowing about it. It has to seep right through the Police Department.

HOST: Allowing for police payola, a fun term for bribing a cop, can bring the city 2 to 3 million dollars per year just through the SFPD. But federal subsidies for San Francisco's redevelopment will start a flow of hundreds of millions of dollars over the decade. Mayor Christopher's campaign against Russell Wolden wasn't just about clean streets. It was also about clean government. Typically, politicians drop their clean government ideals once they win the office, but for Christopher, there's a larger payoff on his city's horizon. So if Mayor Christopher cleans up the city's police force payola, he can more easily call for rich developers, landowners, and corporations for campaign donations. Cleaning the city's government starts the cash flow for city redevelopment. So how can Mayor Christopher show the federal government and rich donors that he's improving the city? High-profile prosecutions.

Meanwhile, Chief Cahill joins the gay bar owners for their meeting. The owners spill. They say ABC supervisory agent Lawrence Cardellini, who worked on the Black Cat case, has been extorting bars – taking payoffs in exchange for protection from the ABC, his own agency. Sergeant Waldo Reesink Jr. has been doing the same, the bar owners say. Chief Cahill obviously does not care about the rights of the gay bars. But this is certainly his and the mayor's opportunity to show their effort for clean government and earn citywide gentrification money. It's sort of like when Target donates hundreds of thousands of dollars to anti-gay action groups, but then they stop so Lady Gaga will sell an exclusive edition of her album in their stores. It's not ethics, it's capitalism. In this case, the city of San Francisco and Mayor Christopher can use the gay bars to get their corporate cash, and incidentally help gay people.

Late February 1960, the trap is set. The DA puts a wire on Handlebar's owner, Leo Orrin. Just as Leo said he would, SFPD Sergeant Waldo Reesink comes into the bar looking for a little payoff in exchange for not raiding the place. Leo pays the sergeant \$120. As the cop comes

walking out of the Handlebar with the marked bills, police investigators arrest him. Two weeks later, the Handlebar catches another cop. Soon after, two more inspectors get the chop for taking payoffs from the 585 Club and Have One Bar. The papers commend Chief Cahill for his hard line against corruption. They call the scandal "gayola."

Herb Caen, San Francisco Chronicle:

HERB CAEN: Russ Wolden, if nobody else, will be interested to learn that the Daughters of Bilitis will hold their nat'l convention here May 27-30. They're the female counterparts of the Mattachine Society—and one of the convention highlights will be an address by Atty. Morris Lowenthal titled 'The Gay Bar in the Courts.' Oh brother. I mean sister. Come to think of it, I don't know what I mean.

AUDIO: typewriter

PHYLLIS LYON: It may seem that we're bugging you about DOB's first national convention and we are. We believe you will be missing a great deal if you pass up this gathering—the first we know of to concentrate on the Lesbian and her problems.

HOST: After their many promotions in *The Ladder*, now reaching more than 750 copies per issue, 200 women register to attend the Daughters of Bilitis convention. Like the Mattachine conventions, all homophiles are invited to attend. Hal Call writes to the DOB, saying he's not sure if any of his members can attend with the convention with it being so openly lesbian.

AUDIO: typewriter

PHYLLIS LYON: If the Mattachine men dress properly and conduct themselves with decorum, then surely they won't be mistaken for lesbians.

AUDIO: phone ringing

BUTCH DAUGHTER: Hello, I'm a subscriber of your magazine and I plan on attending your upcoming conference. I'm just wondering, do we have to wear skirts? I haven't worn a skirt in 17 years.

DAUGHTER: Yes, you have to wear a skirt. Police may be present.

HOST: She buys one skirt and drives up to the convention. Barbara Gittings will later remember this with some annoyance.

BARBARA GITTINGS: Everybody rejoiced over this as though some great victory had been accomplished—the 'feminizing' of this woman.

HOST: The first convention of the Daughters of Bilitis begins in San Francisco on **May 27, 1960** – Memorial Day weekend – on the top floor of the Hotel Whitcomb on Market Street. Women from all over the country arrive for the huge Friday night cocktail party at Del and Phyllis's house, and the Saturday banquet. Hardly any Mattachinos attend. As they enter the hotel on Saturday in their skirts and heels, the Daughters are stopped by SFPD Homosexual Detail Officers **Rudy Nieto** and Dick Castro. The men are there to investigate if any women are wearing men's clothes.

DEL MARTIN: Go ahead, look around. Attend our meetings. Maybe even give me a call tonight, let's talk about it.

HOST: Del writes down her telephone number and walks into the convention.

DEL MARTIN: Phyl, I just gave the police my home phone number. Now why on earth did I do that?

HOST: Through the convention meetings, Phyllis is surprised to see one man attending all the sessions. Later in the 1970s, she'll find out that this is CIA agent Dr. David Rhodes. In a Senate subcommittee investigating covert government investigations, Rhodes will testify about his attempt to interview lesbians at the convention and test some CIA theories. But, big surprise, lesbians at a lesbian convention aren't interested in being questioned by a straight man. He said he "didn't learn much." The cops also attend the Saturday debate on gay bars. Attorney Morris Lowenthal and an ABC lawyer shout at each other through the session. In an even more disappointing turn, the session led by a minister ends up just being a diatribe about how damned these women are. Del and Phyl are attempting to start a dialogue with the church, but this is not their guy. After the Saturday sessions, a banquet is held. The DOB leaders take a moment to honor their favorite SOBs, Sons of Bilitis, including Hal Call, Elver Barker, and Jim Kepner. Helen Sandoz gives a friendly, tongue-in-cheek shout-out:

HELEN SANDOZ: Thank you, DOB; ABC; Vice Squad, professional folk...thank you all for letting us see you and letting you see us.

HOST: The Daughters pick up their maps given to them at the convention and go out to hit the gay bars. The maps are sprinkled with local Daughters' bar recommendations. After a late night out, the convention holds a Sunday business meeting and a dinner for members. Charlotte Coleman, owner of The Front, closes her bar that night for "women only" guests of the convention. And so begins a tradition of Bilitis conventions every other year throughout the 1960s. *ONE Magazine*, Los Angeles:

AUDIO: typewriter

ONE WRITER: For the first time in several generations, just about every New York City gay bar has been shut down.

HOST: They're not alone. In Philadelphia, police raid a mansion where a private screening of a borderline legal film is being held. Cops storm the house midway through the film and take 84 people into custody. The screening was being held as a reason to discuss reopening a Mattachine chapter. In San Francisco, the ABC joins the police in their gayola sting. Just like the bar owners said, they catch the ABC agent Lawrence Cardellini leaving Castaway Bar with \$150 worth of marked bills. More arrests follow at Jack's Waterfront Hangout. The bar owner, who is gay, told Officer Edward Bigarani just two years ago that he planned on converting his bar into a gay establishment. The officer approved of the decision, so long as the police were "taken care of." As profits came in, the required payoff got bigger. When the Waterfront bar owner dishes to the gayola investigators, he reports a total of nearly \$3,000 paid to four officers.

Watching the scandal play out from City Hall, Mayor Christopher sees two problems that he can turn into opportunities. 1: Gay bars are sexual spaces that contradict his family values message. Let's crack down on them. Chief Cahill and the ABC agree.

CHIEF CAHILL: A complete cooperation and close coordination for an attack on San Francisco's homosexual 'problem.'

HOST: 2: If the mayor and his police crack down on the gay bars – which legally will have to be those with gender nonconforming customers – then bar owners will seek protection from police and more officers will try to get payoffs from the bars, which means they'll get exposed by the gayola scandal and make the mayor look like he's working for clean government!

Four months later. A grand jury indicts 5 of the 8 accused police officers. A month of daily stories cover the front pages with photos. As the papers cover the case details, they teach the public about the city's underground queer culture. Mean mug shots of the officers are printed, subsequently swaying public sympathy to the gay bars.

CHIEF CAHILL: I'm mad—and a little sad. I will stand behind any policeman doing his job or who makes an honest mistake in judgment. But this does not involve an honest mistake in judgment.

MAYOR CHRISTOPHER: If you let them get away with a little bit, the next thing you know we'll be like Chicago, where automatically police expect payoffs.

HOST: The San Francisco Examiner reports on a sergeant taking the stand:

SF EXAMINER: Adamantly, as though refusing to tear up a traffic ticket, he held to his protestations of innocence.

REPORTER 2: Like a dead-pan Damon Runyon character spouting from a Kinsey report, he recounted a series of run-ins at the bar.

HOST: The papers stop calling the establishments "resorts for sex perverts" and begin to use "gay bar." Sergeant Reesink accepts a plea bargain and is sentenced to a year in prison. As the case goes on, accused officers attempt to attack their gay bar-owning accusers by describing the vile establishments they run. But other cops say, we couldn't arrest these vile establishment owners because the public is becoming more tolerant of gay bars. Then the defense argues that homosexual men are a danger to children and women. To prove it, they put Martha Sugrue, a patrolman's wife, on the stand. She's pregnant, wearing a maternity dress, and tells the jury that she convinced her husband to take her to Jack's Waterfront Hangout so she could see a gay bar.

MARTHA: I felt very uneasy, and we left without having a drink.

DEFENSE ATTORNEY: I rest my case!

HOST: That's their case: she walked in, felt icky, and left. The prosecution allows for the defense to focus on the moral corruption of gays rather than the financial corruption of the police. The jury finds the four officers not guilty. ABC agent Cardellini doesn't get a felony extortion conviction, but rather three years probation for the misdemeanor of accepting a gratuity. His 20 character witnesses are all ABC agents who allegedly gave their own bribery earnings to the defense fund and testify for him in order to cover their own tracks. And yet... Despite many of the accused getting away with the gayola payoffs they extorted from gay bars, public opinion shifts. Large payoff networks in the SFPD slow to a halt as newspapers mock officers and as the public supports the existence of gay bars in San Francisco. One attorney tells a reporter:

ATTORNEY: These people have to drink some place... A gay bar is a public place, and if *non-homosexuals* don't like it, they can leave.

HOST: The police do not go quietly. The queers of San Francisco have yet to see the largest raid in the history of their city.

Act 2

HOST: June 1960.

PHYLLIS LYON: I believe that four years of a one-woman editorship is enough. New ideas and a fresh slant on the problems involved are necessary if THE LADDER is to continue to be what we wish it to be.

HOST: Hal Call, are you listening? Phyllis introduces the new editor of *The Ladder*, her partner Del. Del's first act as editor: taking on Marijane Meaker, author under many pen names, including Ann Aldrich and Vin Packer. Under Packer, she wrote twenty crime and mystery novels for Fawcett Publication's Gold Medal Books. One of her first: *Spring Fire*.

PULP WOMAN: A story once told in whispers now frankly, honestly written.

HOST: *Spring Fire* was published in 1952. The first paperback original with lesbian themes, setting off a whole new genre. Lesbians all over the country pick up these affordable books in drug stores and bus depots. They're small enough to slip into a pocket and cheap enough to be thrown away, if necessary. They're printed on thin pulp paper. After *Spring Fire*, Marijane suddenly began receiving boxes of mail from lesbians, and Gold Medal wants to publish more. **Gene Damon** reviews 4 lesbian pulp fiction books in 1957 for *The Ladder*. By 1959, there are 34 for her to cover. In 5 years, there will be nearly 350. Many men will begin to write lesbian pulp and assume every stereotype and write every sexist scene imaginable. Even Marijane herself is guilty of sensationalizing and vilifying: under Vin Packer she publishes titles such as *The Evil Friendship* and *Intimate Victims*. But many of Gold Medal's early publications are written by other lesbians. The covers are all so sexy they're camp, in order to sell to more men, but lesbians in search of representation buy them, too, no matter how inauthentic the covers are. Oh, and the endings <u>must</u> leave the lovers torn, and one or both must be determined crazy or sick, if you want the books to be shipped through the mail and sold.

PULP WOMAN 2: Lesbian is an ugly word and I hate it. But that's what I am.

HOST: Spring Fire. Under Ann Aldrich, Meaker wrote We Walk Alone.

PULP WOMAN 3: Of the love that dwells in twilight-the "love that can never be told"

HOST: Del Martin writes about it:

AUDIO: typewriter

DEL MARTIN: You have glassed over the segment of the Lesbian population which we consider to be the 'majority' of the minority group. We refer to those who have made an adjustment to self and society and who are leading constructive, useful lives in the community in which they live."

HOST: Then Del offers her a free year's subscription to *The Ladder*. Naturally, Marijane Meaker feels attacked, so her next book under pen name Ann Aldrich includes a storyline making fun of the Daughters of Bilitis. That book is called *Carol in a Thousand Cities*:

PULP WOMAN 4: The twilight woman—as she sees herself, and as she is seen through the eyes of others.

HOST: Meaker portrays *The Ladder* writers as amateur, man-hating butch/femme lesbian couples. She even argues with Lorraine Hansberry about them. In *The Ladder*, Gene Damon writes,

GENE DAMON: With her witty knife ever in hand, Aldrich slashes to ribbons every story without exception that appeared in THE LADDER during the year 1958 (including two written by this reviewer). In sum total the book is about half for and half against Lesbianism. One wonders how Miss Aldrich feels way up there judging and defiling her people.

HOST: Bibliographer **Jeannette Howard Foster** writes in a *Ladder* articled titled "Ann of 10,000 Words Plus,"

JEANNETTE HOWARD FOSTER: Miss Aldrich doesn't admit to writing fiction herself. Even if her three volumes on gay life in NYC read a good deal like it, they are sufficiently literal reportage to have got her boycotted by several gay bars in that city—the patrons don't care to be used as copy. What these reveal is superlative early training in Writing to Sell, and something like diarrhea of the pen. For my money someone's not sure just who she is. People Who Live in Glass Houses Should Undress in the Dark.

HOST: Aldrich teases DOB in her book, but openly dragging them just teaches her own readership about the lesbian organization and their magazine.

AUDIO: typewriter

DEL MARTIN: Your slap at THE LADDER has boomeranged! Aside from the mail you yourself have received and graciously forwarded, letters and subscriptions have been pouring into the DOB office. One letter addressed simply to 'Daughters of Bilitis, San Francisco, California' reached us. Another queried the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce for our address.

HOST: Then Del reprints her review of *Carol in a Thousand Cities* and offers the book for sale through *The Ladder*'s new book service. **Cleo Bonner** and Helen Cushman begin the DOB Book and Record Service. Cleo shares a duplex – one side with Helen, the other side with her son. Cleo was recruited into DOB at a brunch with Del and Phyl hosted for closeted women. Cleo was the only person to show up. She and Helen start running the book service in order to sell titles like, for \$5, Jeannette Howard Foster's *Sex Variant Women in Literature*, her study of literally thousands of years of lesbian love from Sappho to *The Well of Loneliness*:

JEANETTE HOWARD FOSTER: "autographed by the author"

HOST: and for 35 cents, *Odd Girl Out* by **Ann Bannon, A.K.A. Valerie Taylor**. Put a pin in her for another day.

PULP WOMAN 5: A confession of love—as shocking—and as honest—as SPRING FIRE.

CLEO BONNER: Novels on Lesbian life, well-written and ending happily.

HOST: And pretty soon, they'll release a 45 record of Lisa Ben's songs called *The Gayest Songs* on *Wax*.

MUSIC: Lisa Ben's "Frankie & Johnny" from The Gayest Songs on Wax

Act 3

AUDIO: typewriter

HAL CALL: Sexual Freedom in the Sixties. A growing mass of thinking adults are being stirred to action.

HOST: The Mattachine Society is also wielding the power of their press. Hal Calls starts a new column, "Calling Shots,"

AUDIO: typewriter

HAL CALL: The single basic aim of the *Review* should be to repeal those outmoded laws governing private sex behavior between consenting adults.

HOST: —covering the trends in sex education, court cases, sex work, pornography, obscenity, censorship, privacy at VD clinics, erotic prose, sexually explicit books. The *Mattachine Review* even prints full-page ads for erotic books now, and for former reverend Wallace de Ortega Maxey's new magazine *Sex and Censorship*. Hal publishes more explicit headlines such as,

HAL CALL: "The Hustlers: Exactly How Tough Are They?"

HOST: and,

HAL CALL: "Revolt of the Homosexual"

HOST: Beat poets Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg are talking about the *Mattachine Review*. Ginsberg publishes an original poem in an issue. Hal's Dorian Book Service is sending out more than 200 different books on sexuality to people all over the country. The publication's voice shifts. It's starting to sound a bit more like Henry Gerber's writing from decades before. Hal now writes about religion as a paycheck for priests. Sin in a monetary exchange for forgiveness. And the one sin almost every adult experiences: sex. The more a faith exploits sex outside marriage as sin, the more money that faith makes. The laws of the land are tied to religion's taboos, so they crack down on sexual behavior, including homosexuals, who have to have sex outside marriage. To ignore sexuality as a homosexual rights organization, the magazine would be encouraging the church and thus the laws and our own oppression. 7 years ago, when Hal Call commandeered the Mattachine from Harry Hay and the Foundation, he argued that there was no "ethical homosexual culture," that gay people are just the same as everyone else, experience nothing

different in life, aside from who we take to bed. Now, in 1960, he writes of the Mattachine's new goals for revolution through sexuality:

HAL CALL: This effort can result only in a continually changing set of <u>moral values</u> which will, in time, benefit the total culture...

AUDIO: typewriter

DEL MARTIN: July 1960.

HOST: *The Ladder*.

DEL MARTIN: "The Homosexual Vote"

HOST: They had a sway in the mayoral election last year, Christopher vs. Wolden. When a scandal involving both Mattachine and Bilitis made the papers, people got in touch with the organizations. Mattachine's lawsuit made headlines. The Daughters got people registered to vote just so they could leave both bigoted candidates on the ballot blank. 9,000 people didn't vote for mayor!

AUDIO: typewriter

DEL MARTIN: Is there or could there be a homosexual voting block?

HOST: Another step toward Harry Hay's vision for the queer community: a political platform.

MUSIC: transition

HOST: In Washington, D.C., Frank Kameny is writing his own petition to take his case to the Supreme Court. He cites the Kinsey Reports and Donald Webster Cory's *The Homosexual in America*. And the more he argues his case on paper, Frank sees that this case is not about his personal value as a trusted employee of the government. It's a fight against the mistreatment of all homosexuals as a minority. He also needs funding to get his case to the Supreme Court, he can't go much further on his own, so he writes to every organization he knows of that might believe in what he's standing for.

AUDIO: typewriter

FRANK KAMENY: I am not a belligerent person,

HOST: Frank writes to the Mattachine Society offices in San Francisco and New York, and to *ONE Magazine* in Los Angeles,

FRANK KAMENY: ...nor do I seek wars, but having been forced in to a battle, I am determined that this thing will be fought thru to a successful conclusion, come what may, and that as long as any recourse exists, I will not be deprived of my proper rights, freedoms and liberties, as I see them, or of a career, profession, and livelihood, or of my right to live my life as I choose to live it, so long as I do not interfere with the rights of others to do likewise. This is a test case that will set valuable precedents for homosexuals.

HOST: Frank awaits their reply. His letter arrives in New York as the Mattachine leaders travel to San Francisco for — what no one knows — will be the final convention of the national Mattachine Society.

AUDIO: phone ringing

DON LUCAS: Good morning. Mattachine Society, Don Lucas speaking.

LEWIS CHRISTIE: I can't do it, Don. I can't come in today.

DON LUCAS: Lewis.

LEWIS CHRISTIE: I just cannot come into work today. I can't face it.

DON LUCAS: Come on, I'll keep him occupied today.

LEWIS CHRISTIE: His only reason for bringing me here was solely to get me out of New York.

DON LUCAS: Oh please, Hal needs you at Pan-Graphic, it was never about New York.

LEWIS CHRISTIE: There are five cities with Mattachine area councils, Don. How often does Hal bicker with Chicago, Boston, Denver? If he brought me here for a \$30-a-week job because I can handle running Dorian Book Service, then why is Hal such a slave driver, Don? He's trying to drain New York of good employees.

DON LUCAS: Don't be ridiculous. He also needed someone to rent his extra room.

LEWIS CHRISTIE: Ha!

HOST: Lewis Christie, a recent addition to the San Francisco Pan-Graphic Press staff, writes to his friends in the New York chapter from his rented room in Hal's apartment on Pine Street:

AUDIO: typewriter

LEWIS CHRISTIE: I've come to understand this mechanism of the shared offices on 693 Mission Street. Hal Call delivers all printing as a partner of Pan-Graphic and receives all printing for the Society as Publications Director. Having worked and lived with him for six months, I would not be willing to place his devotion on a par with his salesmanship. I have come to believe that the Society is at a great disadvantage if not already defunct as a creative organization as long as it is held in the PGP offices. I believe Hal's reasons for keeping it so are personal. He is strictly a local yokel who envisions himself as king of the San Francisco queens.

HOST: Lewis is not the only mole inside Pan-Graphic writing to New York leadership. Henry Foster, who sits on the Board of Directors and even found the printing press that runs Pan-Graphic Press, writes to New York complaining of Hal's power, his crossover time between Mattachine and PGP, his hectic relationships with local bar owners, and Hal's demand to show physique movies on the Saturday night of the upcoming convention.

HENRY FOSTER: We should keep to our motto of carrying out the Mattachine principles, in a dignified manner, to educate the public.

AUDIO: dueling typewriters

LEWIS CHRISTIE: The Daily Committee of the Society, which controls the national affairs of the Society between conventions, is composed of members of the Board of Directors who have a vital and vested interest in the financial gains of Pan-Graphic Press. Another is an employee of Pan-Graphic Press. Another has lent a considerable sum of money to Pan-Graphic Press and could very easily lose it should Pan-Graphic lose its principle source of income, the Mattachine Society. This is not at all the democratic, Quaker-like organization I had envisioned. But a strictly one-person organization in which no one dares to express a viewpoint which isn't endorsed by Mr. Call. I think they would be a lot better off if New York members would forget all about San Francisco and form their own organization with or without the name Mattachine. We should open up a branch of New York Mattachine here in San Francisco. Would Ken Zwerin be interested?

HOST: Al deDion in New York receives the letters from his San Francisco informants. He writes to the chairmen of the Mattachine area councils:

AL DEDION: A non-profit organization which allows a conflict of interest between itself and a profit-making organization with which is has close ties can leave, shall we say, a bad taste in people's mouths.

HOST: Al deDion demands an established ethical code. His partner in New York leadership, Curtis Dewees, writes to board members, taking criticism of Hal Call from a different angle:

CURTIS DEWEES: The continued presence of fiction in the *Mattachine Review* deters professionals who would write for the publication if they felt that there was no question about our seriousness of purpose.

HAL CALL: To make a rigid professional journal would not be sound because financial support for such a publication would not be forthcoming. Fictional stories do more to affect social change, to ignore fiction as a mirror which shows and influences the changes in our moral standards is to ignore the facts. More importantly, your scheming letter causes a breakdown in our channels of operation.

HOST: In response to deDion's demand for an ethical code, the San Francisco Area Council writes:

MATTACHINO: These men have resigned from jobs that paid much better in order to be able to devote their partially full-time 40-hour weeks to the Society. In 1959, Pan-Graphic's operating loss was \$60, including the money paid to the owners. At the end of the year, Pan-Graphic owed some \$6,000 and was owed \$2,700. The total Pan-Graphic-Mattachine operation has resulted in serious financial loss to Call and Lucas. Many suggestions have been made for improving the Society's operation, but some of these seem to be motivated more by a grab for power than by a genuine interest in the welfare of the Society. We must have continuing leadership by proven men. Any attempt to discredit these leaders for purpose of personal aggrandizement can only weaken the Society and should be censured by all members.

HOST: Then Hal fires one off to Al deDion in New York:

HAL CALL: For you to be satisfied you apparently will have to be the investigator. Make your grab for power. Come to San Francisco. Find the printer willing to make this magazine. But who will pay for your travel expenses? If we all chipped in, would New York be willing to kick in its share? I hardly think so. But come—to Pan-Graphic—take some extra days before the Labor Day convention, look over the entire sets of records. I will not disagree with the premise that steps to avoid "conflict of interest" are a pertinent concern for the Society. Also to be considered, for instance, is the New York Area Council-Winston Book Service relationship. I want a full accounting of your own book service. We have no feeling that there are any irregularities, but we would like to see the figures.

HOST: Oh, the petty fights. Show me your accounts, show me your mailing lists, show me your birth certificate, but her emails!! Political games, very little actually being done.

New York leader Curtis Dewees writes,

CURTIS DEWEES: Dear Daily Committee: It recently came to my attention that the 1956 issue of *Interim*, which we all recall caused a great deal of trouble with Mr. Zwerin, was printed in the 1957 bound volume of the *Mattachine Review*. At our February 1958 Board meeting, it was voted that all other copies of this issue of *Interim* be destroyed and that no other copies be circulated.

HAL CALL: We felt certain that the New York Area Council would want this particular item in its bound volume, since it was an official publication of the Mattachine Society and regardless of the hell raised over it. You see, we felt sure that New York would have howled just as loudly if at least one of their volumes didn't contain this official publication. The time is rapidly approaching, Curtis, when a final stand on these matters will be taken.

AUDIO: cursive writing

ELVER BARKER: Board of Directors, this organization should make it a special point to patronize businesses owned by our own members as long as their prices are reasonable and the business dealings are conducted in an honest manner. No one has yet presented any evidence that the proprietors of Pan-Graphic Press have not dealt honestly with the Mattachine Society. Therefore, the issue is completely outside the realm of ethics.

HOST: Doesn't part of you long for that smooth transition of power within the Daughters of Bilitis. Well, another mole inside San Francisco writes to Al deDion in New York:

AUDIO: dueling typewriters

DALE LANE: A constitutional proposal has been approved to be put forward at the upcoming convention for the Society to revert into a Corporation that allows a convention that will permit only delegates – getting rid of the proxy system. Presently, the Board of the Directors has about 1/30 of the member voting strength. Under the new amendment, every ten members would have one representative, but the catch here is that each of the nine Board of Directors would be entitled to one vote at the convention, or 1/3 of the power. You see the power play?

AL DEDION: I have never entertained any ideas of getting rid of Hal Call. The work he has done for the Society could never be equaled by us at the present time. Better still, he still has many good potentialities. We wish nothing better than to have him work in the framework of the Society. Still, we in New York will fight tooth and nail against his corporation proposal with all the proxies that we can muster.

HOST: Al deDion sends letters to the entire Mattachine membership, now at a record high of 323 members. He explains why they should reject this new proposal, and also why the Society needs a Mattachine Book Service to replace Pan-Graphic's. deDion requests proxies from each and every member so that he might wield the most power. Quickly after, San Francisco's chapter sends everyone in town another letter, all in caps:

HAL CALL: DID YOU SIGN A PROXY FROM MR. ALBERT DE DION? This proxy will not go to uphold your San Francisco Area Council but in effect will go against it. Please sign this new proxy for immediate termination of the intra-organizational development into factions which spread mistrust, unfounded accusations of malfeasance, etc.

HOST: Shockingly, these letters don't annoy and drive out all the members – including Elver Barker. He quits teaching, leaves Denver, and heads back to the Bay Area to pursue a career in art, painting, while working in the Mattachine offices three days a week. Elver is writing book reviews books for the *Mattachine Review* and insisting on organizing the 7th annual convention. Now inside the San Francisco Mattachine offices, Elver watches as Hal and Don dominate the entire organization.

HAL CALL: [distantly] New York will use the proxy system the same way we did.

DON LUCAS: [distantly] We could get support from the board.

HAL CALL: [distantly] If we were a corporation we'd have the entire support of the board.

HOST: Blocks away, Al deDion and Curtis Dewees quietly arrive early in San Francisco for the convention. They drop their bags in the apartment of one of their informants, Mr. Lane. Lane's place is near the convention's hosting hotel. He has every window in his apartment painted white, allowing light in but no snooping passersby. deDion searches the city for a new press to print Mattachine's magazine. Dewees goes to speak with the Daughters of Bilitis.

AUDIO: gavel

AL DEDION: I have in my hand here a letter from a member of the San Francisco Area Council who definitely states he did not sign a proxy nor did he intend to.

HOST: The Seventh Annual Mattachine Convention begins with a four-hour battle of proxies and credentials. Everyone is there: Boston's Prescott Townsend, Denver's Rolland Howard, Chicago's Willard King, Wallace Maxey, ONE, Inc. President Dorr Legg, Jim Kepner, and even David Finn. Who let him in? Sexologist Dr. Harry Benjamin speaks, and there's a banquet honoring Morris Lowenthal, the attorney who represented the Black Cat. deDion and Dewees hold 59 proxy votes for New York, Hal and Don hold merely 37, plus, they assume, they have the support of Elver Barker, Henry Foster, and Mr. Lane – two of which are New York's moles. The convention invalidates 19 of New York's proxies from other chapters. Henry Foster stands:

HENRY FOSTER: In regards to the proxies held by Hal Call, did they have Mr. Call's name typed in on some of the proxies? On a great number of proxies were no initials indicating that he was actually the bearer of the proxies. Were they all typed on the same typewriter?

HOST: Dorr Legg of ONE, Inc. stands.

DORR LEGG: You have met here today to carry through an agenda and I know that you are all very much concerned that it should be done in the right way. However, it is entirely possible for a body to block its own aims and the purposes of its own meetings through technicalities.

DON LUCAS: Counseling, legal referrals, and correspondence from all over the nation looking for new chapters should be our primary concern. Membership is up 36%. Please, we should lay aside our petty jealousies and bickering and work together. There are so many persons that are counting on us and need our help. Shall we move on? Treasurer, if you will.

CONRAD BOWMAN: Thank you, Mr. Lucas. *Mattachine Review* expenses for the previous year totaled nearly \$5,000. Subscriptions and single-copy newsstand sales bring the *Review* to a nearly \$1,000 profit. 41% of these profits are paid to Pan-Graphic Press.

HOST: Hands raise across the convention hall. New York leader Curtis Dewees stands.

CURTIS DEWEES: The Daily Committee has failed to inform the Board members of decisions such as this one.

CONRAD BOWMAN: Would you elaborate? What other decisions, such as this?

CURTIS DEWEES: Legal referrals.

CONRAD BOWMAN: Legal referrals?

CURTIS DEWEES: We voted on the termination of certain legal referrals. Mr. Hal Call, did you or did you not refer an individual to Mr. Kenneth Zwerin last week for a possible case?

HAL CALL: I did, among other attorneys, because it was a special situation.

CURTIS DEWEES: I would like to make this a matter of record that the policy of the Society was not carried out by one of the directors.

HAL CALL: He didn't retain the case.

CURTIS DEWEES: That is beside the point.

HAL CALL: This is all beside the point, Mr. Dewees! Mr. Bowman is reading the treasury report.

CURTIS DEWEES: Are you not the central focus of the treasury report?

HAL CALL: There is probably no function of the Society so much a target for criticism and yet so much the tangible evidence of the Society's presence. The treasury is reporting a profit because the *Mattachine Review* has been featured with positive coverage in *Sexology*, *Physique Pictorial*, *The Lancet*, a British medical journal, on the radio, and television documentaries from BBC to KPFA.

AL DEDION: Mr. Call, would you provide the monthly cost of the *Review*? Including the number of copies printed and what exactly you mean by "production costs."

HAL CALL: [stammering] I have been attempting to apply my best judgment and my best efforts throughout the years to build the *Review* and—

AL DEDION: Is there any way you see in reducing the cost? The *Reviews* lately have been pretty colorful. Can there be less color and keep the cost down? Can you answer *that* for me, please?

HAL CALL: —if it means color to be added to it to make it a little more attractive, to sell a great deal more, I think it is worthwhile.

MATTACHINO 2: Motion to accept the report-

DALE LANE: Point of order!—

HENRY FOSTER: You didn't see fit to cut off questions on any other report-

DALE LANE: All questions, all discussion must be trashed out or all questions must be resolved before acceptance can be made—

ROLLAND HOWARD: Hal has shown himself to be the most aggressively active, most dynamic, most capable and dedicated man to be found anywhere in the Society. I have seen him in action; his numerous conversations ranging from new hospital or prison discharges to a reporter from *Time* magazine, from the lonely lady supporter to legislators, by telephone and in person. I have seen in these conversations only the characteristic frankness and honestly which, in turn, have inspired confidence and trust on the part of his listeners.

DORR LEGG: In all of the years I've known Hal Call, he has never in any sense lived in an affluent way. If he has made any profits from that, heavens know what he would do with them because he has never lived in an expensive apartment or dressed expensively. He has put his money into the movement. It is great if you can develop some kind of business that supports your other interests. I think that is what Hal is trying to do with the Press.

HOST: Nine hours later, they call it a night. After a late night party hosted by the San Francisco chapter, they reconvene at 10AM for the local group to present a proposal to rebalance power in a corporate structure, in favor of the Board of Directors.

AL DEDION: I don't think most of this is good. I would *like* to look around and say I trust all of the Board of Directors, but then just recall one thing though, who elected them up there, if not the membership? And, I say, let us have confidence in the membership.

MATTACHINO: This is part of a large plan by New York to emasculate the Board of Directors, to decentralize the Society!

BARRY SHEER: We cannot have two governing bodies in the organization.

HOST: By the time the vote is finally called, they're at a stalemate. Neither side can garner a majority. They call lunch. When they return, Don Lucas of San Francisco opens by reading a letter from the host of the very first conventions of the Mattachine Foundation, former reverend Wallace de Ortega Maxey:

DON LUCAS: From longtime member Wallace Maxey:

WALLACE DE ORTEGA MAXEY: It is impossible for me to stand by and see the Mattachine Society being slowly murdered by its so-called loving and sincere members. The rather crude but stiletto-like jabs that are being directed into the main body of the Society are simply the preliminary preparations for the final execution by those who are calmly "knitting," while in their hearts and minds know full well the blade of the executioner has already been decreed to fall. This whole convention procedure reminds me very much, and almost identical in detail, of the "Murder of the Mattachine Foundation," the illegitimate parent of the Mattachine Society. The executioners justified their acts with the "loving concern and pretense" of considering the wonderful future they predicted for the Mattachine child if it were only freed from the demons that had it under control.

HOST: The letter goes on. Mr. Lane moves to accept Maxey's resignation from the Mattachine Society. Rather than discussing the true meaning of Maxey's thoughts, the members bicker over whether the letter is in support of San Francisco and the Board, or New York.

HENRY FOSTER: I have heard consistent rumors that the New Yorkers want to have the national headquarters in the Mattachine, and they may get out of the organization and form their own.

AL DEDION: I'd be glad to answer it because I have heard the rumors, too.

HOST: The New York leader stands.

AL DEDION: We have no interest in holding a national office or taking the *Review*. We have worked in the past three years to do much more to unite the east and west coast organization, even though we have felt, at times, the odds have been against us. However, one competing faction does remain a conflict of interest for our national organization. I move that a three-member committee search for competitive bids for the printing of our *Review*.

HOST: Chicago's Willard King stands.

WILLARD KING: Our Pan-Graphic Press has operated efficiently for the last several years.

CURTIS DEWEES: We have all the confidence in the world in the competency of Pan-Graphic Press. However, I think it is only business-like...

AL DEDION: If I was to want a quote of twenty-five hundred copies of the *Review* black and white, let me see, thirty-two pages and one color, of course, what would your quote be?

HAL CALL: I will have to give you that quote at another time because I will have to have some figures and so forth as a basis for it that I don't have now.

AL DEDION: What was the last month's bill for the *Review* in the month of August for whatever copies you had?

HAL CALL: You had better ask the treasurer because I don't remember the invoice amount.

CONRAD BOWMAN: For September, \$330.76 for 2,300 copies. For August, I believe the figure was in the neighborhood of four hundred forty dollars.

AL DEDION: And who did the collating, stapling, and trimming?

HAL CALL: Volunteer workers. The September issues had twenty-four pages and cover. The August issue had thirty-two pages and cover, cover in three colors.

AL DEDION: I'd like to report some comparable figures that I was able to obtain in the city of San Francisco last week from a printer who said he'd be willing to print the *Mattachine Review* and this is his quote: Sixty pound paper, which I understand is not used—twenty pound inside, fifty pounds outside—thirty-two pages, twenty-five hundred copies. He did cite some color, black and white, and he cited the approximate sum of three hundred fifty dollars.

HOST: Almost \$100 cheaper than the August issue Pan-Graphic printed.

CURTIS DEWEES: [quietly] You left out 'to be assembled.'

AL DEDION: Assembled, stapled and shipped by him, and to be packed out for distributors without extra cost for freight and the rest delivered to our office. I can give you the name and address of the printer in the city. He is just across the street from Pan-Graphic Press.

DON LUCAS: I believe this needs some clarification. I believe these figures included figures that this figure does not include.

HAL CALL: Yes, we are also entitled to make a charge for certain types of art-type composition, art work. That runs generally a little over sixty dollars an issue. Now. That's part of the cost of getting it ready for the camera.

DON LUCAS: Doesn't that figure also include rental of a machine?

HAL CALL: Yes, it's including the rental of the machine it is composed upon which is thirty-six dollars per month.

AL DEDION: Mr. Chairman, I understand the bill for the printing machine is a separate fund. The Council's bill is around eight dollars; the precise bill roughly thirty-two dollars. Now, how could both organizations be billed on the same *Mattachine Review* bill?

HAL CALL: They are not.

DON LUCAS: You have been completely misinformed on that!

AL DEDION: Well, the fact remains. This is my recommendation to the Mattachine Society to reduce its overhead.

DON LUCAS: If you are going to get bids for printing, then you will also have to get bids for the composition—

HENRY FOSTER: No!

CURTIS DEWEES: You had better get together, boys.

AUDIO: Mattachinos laugh

HAL CALL: Mr. Chairman, we are here getting into the technical operation of one of the departments. Answering every question about the step-by-step-by-step what should be produced within a department—

AL DEDION: Motion for competitive bids.

OVERWHELMING VOICES: Aye.

HENRY FOSTER: Motion for all property not owned by the Mattachine Society or leased or rented by the Mattachine Society that belongs to any other commercial firm to removed from the Society office.

MR. LANE AND DEDION: Second.

LEWIS CHRISTIE: What rooms in the Williams Building are rented by Mattachine?

DON LUCAS: 304, 308, and 309.

LEWIS CHRISTIE: And room 304 is also utilized by Pan-Graphic Press. It contains the machine which we pay rent for. Of course, Mattachine Society in turn pays rent for Pan-Graphic Press for the composition of the *Review* and also the commercial compositions of Pan-Graphic Press.

DON LUCAS: I might add that the national office contains the adding machine that belongs to the commercial firm.

HAL CALL: Yes, and the editing is done in Room 305 because that's the office I work in and it saves me a great deal of foot-work and time wasted running back and forth!

AUDIO: Mattachinos laugh

HOST: Denver and Boston vote with Hal Call. Henry Foster and Chicago vote with New York. The only thing that keeps this motion of Pan-Graphic from physically separating from the Mattachine offices is a small number of abstentions, including Elver Barker, who sits back fuming at all the madness.

CURTIS DEWEES: A final thought on Pan-Graphic. On visiting the Daughters of Bilitis this week, I found that their Book and Record Service is a fairly lucrative source of income. I know that Pan-Graphic receives a quarter of its income from its Dorian Book Service, but I believe it's high time for this organization to establish its own. I motion that the Society establish the Mattachine Book Service within six months.

HOST: New York, Chicago, and Boston:

MATTACHINOS: Aye.

HOST: Hal Call and Don Lucas:

HAL AND DON: Nay.

HOST: Denver and Elver Barker abstain. Dorian Book Service is voted cut off from the Mattachine. A Mattachino stands.

MATTACHINO 3: Motion for my San Francisco area council to pull away from and be independent of the National Board of Directors.

DON LUCAS: Out of order! It's 11:30PM. The 7th Annual Convention of the Mattachine Society is adjourned.

HOST: Rolland Howard writes for the Denver Mattachine Newsletter:

AUDIO: an aggressive typewriter

ROLLAND HOWARD: The New York Area Council leadership came to this convention, as to several previous ones, in what appears—despite all my efforts to see it some other way—to be a destructive spirit. Methods used by the New York delegation in pursuing their unannounced objectives were vicious and nasty. The innuendo, the invective, the repetitious insinuation of unfounded charges, the arrogant leers and smirking chortles and belittling sneers and chatter whenever justifying arguments were presented, the private seeking of defection among the other delegations by whatever means would accomplish this purpose, the obvious eagerness in their pursuit of power to the nearly complete neglect of the airs and purposes of the Society. They were a small pack of jackals nipping at the heels of the limping patient.

MUSIC: Lisa Ben's "Cruisin' Down the Boulevard" from The Gayest Songs on Wax

Act 4

HOST: The months following are filled with delays and unanswered letters at the 693 Mission offices, the national Mattachine Society. Their office continues to hold Pan-Graphic Press, as the Daily Committee approves a doubling of Don Lucas's salary in San Francisco and a request for Pan-Graphic to charge the Mattachine "the prevailing rate" for printing the *Review* – now up to \$655 to produce an issue. The \$1,000 convention debt on top of these raises brings the Mattachine's first quarter budget to a \$2,000 deficit. No competitive bids are sought.

Elver Barker sits down at his desk in the 693 Mission offices. He types thank you letters to each of the convention speakers. Working diligently, he indexes the *Mattachine Review*, and starts revisions on his *Education Handbook*. Hal becomes critical of Elver's revisions, like he's critical of everyone else. Elver finds himself alone in the Mattachine offices as volunteers stop returning to work under Hal. And Elver has been watching their king quietly all this time.

A distant memory:

HAL CALL: New York will use the proxy system the same way we did.

DON LUCAS: We could get support from the Board.

HAL CALL: If we were a corporation, we'd have the entire support of the Board.

DON LUCAS: Then we'd be a business.

HAL CALL: True.

DON LUCAS: A constitutional proposal then? Mattachine Corporation. We can put it forward at the 7th Convention.

ELVER BARKER: That would take power away from the membership.

HAL CALL: We'd get a lot more done.

AL DEDION: [echoing] I would *like* to look around and say I trust all of the Board of Directors...

HOST: Elver can't shake this memory, certainly after they'd followed through on it at the convention. He writes to the Board:

AUDIO: typewriter

ELVER BARKER: Revelations at the national office and the convention business sessions have murdered my enthusiasm for doing Mattachine work.

HOST: To the Daily Committee, Elver writes:

AUDIO: typewriter

ELVER BARKER: I do not accept Don's contention that the overlap between the Mattachine Society and Pan-Graphic Press is for the present 'a necessary evil.' When something is admittedly an evil, it is not necessary and should be removed. Behind it all is this battle for political power. Regardless of his otherwise excellent work, it has been shocking to hear Hal's devastating attitude toward our organization which we have taken so much pride in building and to realize unmistakably that Hal's, at least, No. 1 objective in being in the movement for sexual equality is for the ulterior purpose of personal financial gain. Numerous members have been aware of this for a long time, but I could never before believe it. To superficially pass off this whole matter as "pettiness" and "jealousy" and rooted in personality conflicts (which I have been guilty of, too, until I learned the facts) is to be seeing only symptom and evading the cause.

HOST: Elver Barker seals his letter shut, and picks his briefcase up off his empty desk. He walks out of the Mattachine Society offices, down the hall, to the elevator.

AUDIO: cage elevator doors opening

HOST: Hal Call will later read this letter and threaten Elver with a slander suit.

ELEVATOR OPERATOR: Floor?

ELVER BARKER: One, please.

AUDIO: elevator going down, typewriter

ELVER BARKER: There is no compromise between what is right and what is wrong, what is ethical and what is unethical,

HOST: Elver writes in a letter to the entire Mattachine Society,

AUDIO: typewriter continues

ELVER BARKER: It will never get the full cooperation of many individuals and foundations as long as the present interlocked relationship with a private business enterprise exists. The national intra-organizational conflict over the situation will inevitably continue until the bond is broken. But I am grateful to have served in such an ambitious organization, and I promise to never publicly speak a disparaging word against the Mattachine Society.

AUDIO: elevator dings, doors opening

ELEVATOR OPERATOR: First floor.

ELVER BARKER: Thank you.

AUDIO: footsteps, elevator doors closing in the distance behind him

HOST: Several days later, on a cold November night in 1960, Elver is carrying a box of art supplies as Hal Call passes him on the sidewalk.

HAL CALL: Hello, Elver.

ELVER BARKER: I didn't answer,

HOST: Elver will later say,

ELVER BARKER: I went on my way.

HOST: They'll never see each other again. Hal writes to Dorr Legg at ONE, Incorporated.

AUDIO: typewriter

HAL CALL: He didn't speak, but I forced him to. Oddly enough, we don't miss Elver, Curtis, Foster, and Tony—all of whom are Board members we haven't heard from since the convention. Curtis doesn't vote on any issues sent out by circular letters now. There is no direct communication between New York and our National office.... New York is asking the chairman to use his good offices to help cut down the bickering which they fear is destroying the Society. Oh, well. They may be right—but they certainly didn't appreciate what came out of Rolland Howard in Denver's newsletter.

AUDIO: the aggressive typewriter

ROLLAND HOWARD: If our conventions degenerate further into "bitch-fights," on the level of envious children, the Society will die ignominiously and the world will be convinced of the rightness of all the charges it has made against homosexuals who, they will say, could not even agree on their own interests, and we can all go line up at the psychiatrists' offices. Mattachine is not, and should never become, a federation of separate organizations.

MUSIC: montage groove

AUDIO: familiar bar sounds

PRESIDENT KENNEDY: [on a television] —symbolizing an end as well as a beginning signifying renewal as well as change... The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe—the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God.

AUDIO: doors slam open, police sirens

COPS: Now! Everyone line up against the wall. Everyone. Up against the wall. Now.

HOST: Chicago PD raids the C&C Club on the Northwest side of town. Dozens of women are lined up. If they have zippers in the front of their pants, they are ordered to unzip and show their underwear – just to be sure they're wearing <u>women's</u> underwear. Chicago's Mattachine Newsletter reports:

AUDIO: typewriter

FEMALE MATTACHINO: Civic Virtue Triumphs Again. Upon taking office as Chicago's police commissioner several months ago, Orlando Wilson struck a mighty blow against crime and vice in Cook County by outlawing bingo. On February 18 the forces of law and order took another giant step by raiding one of the city's more sedate gay bars and arresting more than fifty women, plus the bartender.

HOST: Chicagoan Del Shearer writes to The Ladder:

AUDIO: typewriter

DEL SHEARER: On February 17, shortly before midnight, the police arrested some 52 people, herded them off to a Chicago jail, and charged them with presence in a disorderly house.... AT the station those women wearing 'fly fronts,' regardless of whether they wore lipstick, long hair, or earrings, were made partially to undress in order to determine whether they wore jockey shorts. Though I do not wish to go into the details of their fifteen-hour detention period, I will say that the conditions of the lockup itself, as well as their treatment, violated more than a few Illinois laws...

JOSÉ SARRIA: Enough of the raids! I'm tired of the raids, aren't you?

AUDIO: Audience applauds

AUDIO: Drag queen José Sarria shouts from the Black Cat stage in San Francisco,

JOSÉ SARRIA: The cops have told me, tell your Black Cat patrons to stay out of the parks, avoid the t-rooms, they're watching. If you know what's good for you, you'll behave, you filthy homosexuals. So we go to the bars. And they raid the bars! They've been trying to shut down our home, the Black Cat, for years and haven't done it yet! Again. They did shut it down, back in the 20s. And the fifties. But not in the sixties! Yet!

AUDIO: audience laughs

PRESIDENT KENNEDY: We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights...

JOSÉ SARRIA: There are more of us then they care to think there are, you know. Though they use us for political wins. And so we said we wouldn't vote for either mayoral candidate, and 9,000 people left the boxes for mayor unchecked. The mayor said, "Shut up!" and we said, "Okay!"

AUDIO: audience laughs

JOSÉ SARRIA: But we keep coming back. Look at all these officers demanding money from gay bars, and then when they walk out with their little Christmas bonus, GAYOLA! Got ya!

AUDIO: audience laughs

JOSÉ SARRIA: Ahh, but Macy's still continues to be a source of revenue for attorneys defending silly queens who insist on going there to shop at the T-room.

AUDIO: audience laughs

JOSÉ SARRIA: I say it's time for a queen who knows what she's doing to lead this powerful community to get the dignity we deserve!

AUDIO: audience applauds

JOSÉ SARRIA: That's why I, José Sarria of the Black Cat, the Nightingale of Montgomery Street, declare my candidacy for Supervisor!

AUDIO: huge applause, gasps

JOSÉ SARRIA: I want all 70,000 of you to register and to vote... There are enough of us to win this fight. If you expect to have others do the things that need being done such as the election of public officials who are not bigots, stopping entrapment, discreetly handling blackmail threats, employment of attorneys to fight civil rights cases, the securing of a list of competent, reasonably priced legal counsel and so forth you are going to be very disappointed when you need help.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY: United there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided there is little we can do...

JOSÉ SARRIA: United we stand or divided they catch us one by one.

AUDIO: audience applauds, "God Save Us Nelly Queens" distantly, typewriter

GOVERNMENT HETERO: In the Supreme Court of the United States. Franklin Edward Kameny, *Petitioner* v. Wilber M. Brucker, Secretary of the Army, et al., *Respondents*. Petition for a writ of certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit.

FRANK KAMENY: "Our government exists to protect and assist *all* of its citizens, not, as in the case of homosexuals, to harm, to victimize, and to destroy them – 10% of our population at the very least—perhaps, at least some 15,000,000 people. Unfortunately, much of that portion of our present-day Federal government has lost sight of this. Insensately single-minded, they pursue their narrow, savage, backward policies, pay no heed to the needless havoc wrought upon the hapless citizens who are their victims. In regard to the homosexual, the government is following —and following abjectly—an example of prejudice of the least admirable kind, with no effort to change its own attitude, much less to stimulate changes of attitude elsewhere. Any decision as to morality and immorality is a matter of a citizen's personal opinion and his individual religious

belief. It is an attempt to tell the citizen how to think and how to believe, tantamount to its establishing certain religious beliefs and to setting up an implicit religious test.

Respondents' case is rotten to the core. The government's regulations, policies, practices and procedures, as applied in the instant case to petitioner specifically, and as applied to homosexuals generally, are a stench in the nostrils of decent people, an affront to human dignity, an improper restraint upon proper freedom and liberty, a disgrace to any civilized society, and a violation of all that this nation stands for. This case is a reflection of ancient primitive, archaic, obsolete taboos and prejudices – an incongruous, anachronistic relic of the Stone Age carried over into the Space Age—and a harmful relic!

PRESIDENT KENNEDY: Now the trumpet summons us again-a call...

HARRY HAY: [echoing, from episode 102] The Call.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY: ...to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle...

AUDIO: typewriter

DEL SHEARER: If we ever hope to win our battle, we must fight. First, we must unshackle ourselves from fear, for it alone is our omnipresent enemy... If the gay element wants its freedom, it has no choice but to fight, for freedom in this country or any country is not a thing given or guaranteed to anyone who does not hold it in highest esteem. I pledge myself to lead the Chicago chapter of the Daughters of Bilitis.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY: And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.