



American LGBTQ+ liberation from the beginning to Stonewall.
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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 These texts contain **identifying terms** that may now be out of date.

DONALD WEBSTER CORY: “Homosexuals are a minority group, consisting of large numbers of people who belong, participate, and are constantly aware of something that binds them to others and separates them from the larger stream of life; yet a group without a spokesman, without a leader, without a publication, without an organization, without a philosophy of life, without an accepted justification for its own existence.”

—Donald Webster Cory, *The Homosexual in America*, 1951

HOST: **1965.** A great lead smelting fortune is passed down a family tree from a recently deceased businessman to, as far as he knew, his daughter. The businessman’s child almost immediately contacts Christine Jorgensen’s doctor, Harry Benjamin, and he begins *his* transition. The heir to the lead smelting fortune renames himself **Reed Erickson**. Erickson was the first person assigned female at birth to get a master’s degree in engineering at Louisiana State University, later becoming a business owner, manufacturing bleachers — all the while keeping the secret of his true gender. With his father dead, Reed begins his new life. Reed Erickson has never been active in any trans or gay liberation group. But he’s spent his life running with lesbian crowds. (At his all-girls high school, Erickson’s lesbian friends called him Eric.) Now, as a newly wealthy trans man, he begins to pour his money into queer issues. And not just queer issues person to him. Within a year of inheriting the fortune, Reed establishes the Erickson Education Foundation, donating nearly \$72,000 to the new John Hopkins University Gender Identity Clinic and almost as much money to the work of his doctor, Dr. Benjamin. It funds Harry Benjamin’s upcoming, groundbreaking book *The Transsexual Phenomenon* — the first large American publication explaining and advocating for a path through gender transitions. The Erickson Education Foundation is established “to provide assistance and support in areas where human potential was limited by adverse physical, mental or social conditions, or where the scope of research was too new, controversial or imaginative to receive traditionally oriented support.” So the EEF funds counseling, medical conferences, gender clinics, major medical research, and publishes educational pamphlets for trans folks (helping people change their names and find good surgeons). Also, Reed likes to fund dream research, acupuncture, and dolphin communication studies. Reed soon marries a woman and they adopt a leopard kitten, which he takes everywhere he goes. He purchases a nudist colony in Florida and a compound in Mexico he calls the Love Joy Palace, where he experiments with psychedelics. Reed Erickson has plenty of fun with his new fortune, and his life is now immersed in philanthropy, in unique causes he finds important. So when a request for donations to a homophile organization crosses his path, it looks like a natural investment for the Erickson Education Foundation.

Act 1

HOST: *ONE Magazine* has been in print since 1953, the longest-running homophile publication. *ONE*. All caps. O-N-E. *ONE Magazine*'s story on this podcast started way back in season 1, episode 3. Many of the original founders are still working there: Dorr Legg, Don Slater, Tony Reyes. But with all the competing organizations now, they're losing money. And they've kept pretty busy — they have a lot of irons in the fire now. ONE, Incorporated established the ONE Institute of Homophile Studies program in 1956 — it's the first educational institution for homosexuality in the U.S. They published a beautiful book called *Homosexuals Today*, which is a handbook of all the known homophile organizations in the world. (You can look at it on my instagram @queerserial or queerserial.com/s3e4.) As you might recall from season one, they beat the postmaster in a major Supreme Court case. And all the while, they attended Mattachine and Bilitis conventions, and held their own Annual Midwinter Institutes. They build a massive library of queer history, often from the personal donations of queer people. After an eviction from their original Hill Street office — where Dorr Legg was interrogated by the FBI in season 1 — they moved to Venice Boulevard. Over the years, their funds have dropped as subscriptions to newer homophile publications rose. And those readers of the new publications sometimes come upon an essay or two in the *Mattachine Review* pretty blatantly criticizing *ONE Magazine*'s assertive writing. And of course folks in the East Coast organizations don't think *ONE* is assertive enough. But, ONE can't be too assertive with their magazine or they'll be seen as obscene pornography by the government. It's a delicate balancing act. Dorr Legg has dedicated himself to the publication, quitting his day job and living on savings. Some say Dorr has worked so hard and long for ONE, Incorporated without pay that the debt they owe him makes him indispensable at the organization, no matter how unlikable he's become to many people. Original Mattachine founder Harry Hay once said, "I could never look at Dorr without thinking of the carved wooden handle of my grandmother's umbrella."

Dorr is tough, but he's effective. When an urgent message requesting that a ONE, Incorporated representative go to Louisiana for a donation, Dorr Legg borrows a suit and books a plane ticket, paid for by this mysterious potential donor. Dorr is picked up at the airport, but before the man will discuss business, he says,

REED ERICKSON: You have to meet Henry first.

HOST: Dorr enters Reed Erickson's massive home. There lies Henry.

REED ERICKSON: Go on, you can pet his head.

HOST: Henry is Reed's pet leopard.

DORR LEGG: I thought Henry would be your lover!

REED ERICKSON: Ha! No, no I'm straight.

DORR LEGG: You're a straight man looking to give funds to a homophile organization?

REED ERICKSON: We have a lot more in common than you might think.

HOST: Reed explains his story to Dorr. Including that he's one of the first people to medically transition from female to male. Reed Erickson recommends that ONE, Incorporated start a nonprofit arm of their organization so that they can accept large donations. Erickson recommends calling it "The Institute for the Study of Human Resources." They can name him president, and he can begin sending money immediately — starting with \$10,000 to fund a bibliography of homosexuality. Dorr Legg agrees.

REED ERICKSON: Fantastic. Let's start there. After the initial ten thousand to get started, the EEF will send \$1,000 a month to your new nonprofit, how's that sound?

DORR LEGG: Mr. Erickson, I... I expected for our magazine to be the lifeblood of our organization. This is far larger. I imagined that if the publication were to ever fold, the organization would be taken down with it.

REED ERICKSON: Mhm.

DORR LEGG: This donation—these donations would help keep ONE alive even if we were to lose the magazine. How could I say no?

REED ERICKSON: ONE, Inc. is bigger than a magazine, Mr. Legg. It looks to me like your organization has been controversial and creative, and it's a difficult task to convince heterosexual people to fund you if you're challenging them by showing off your classes about queerness and archiving the history of people they don't even understand. A transsexual funding a homosexual organization makes perfect sense to me.

DORR LEGG: I agree.

HOST: *ONE Magazine* is like any other homophile publication's office: full of drama. Early in 1965, as Reed's donations are coming in, there are business meetings abruptly adjourned, contested elections, fighting through *Roberts Rules of Order*, and political games with proxy votes. Really, we've heard that story before, more or less, with the Mattachine. Dorr Legg announces,

DORR LEGG: We will be electing additional members, as Don Slater will be dismissed as a member of this corporation.

HOST: **Don Slater** withdraws from ONE in protest. At the next corporate meeting on March 2nd, the third remaining founder of *ONE* and lover of Don Slater, Tony Reyes, attempts to take the floor, but Dorr Legg is the chair and won't let him speak. Soon after, Dorr storms into an editors' meeting like he's Roseanne Barr in a writers room:

DORR LEGG: I demand the resignation of *ONE Magazine's* editors. Immediately. You have no right to influence or even discuss the corporate policies of ONE, Incorporated here.

HOST: Under Dorr's latest power trip, resignations of longtime employees of *ONE Magazine* pile up.

One night, Don Slater can't sleep. He turns to Tony.

DON SLATER: I have a solution.

HOST: Don Slater drives to Universal City the next morning, just north of Hollywood, to sign a lease for a new office space.

AUDIO NEWSREEL MONTAGE: **Selma** and police brutality, James Baldwin on Selma and slavery, President Johnson says, "The time of justice has now come. No force can hold it back." Black singers at Selma protests. *This is a CBS News report...*

AUDIO: Frank Kameny's radio clicks off. Phone rings.

FRANK KAMENY: Frank Kameny speaking.

JACK NICHOLS: Have you read the *New York Times* yet?

FRANK KAMENY: I was just getting to it—

JACK NICHOLS: Cuban Government Is Alarmed By Increase in Homosexuality

FRANK KAMENY: Huh.

JACK NICHOLS: "HAVANA, April 15 – Homosexuality has become 'an alarming political and social matter' in Cuba, a leading newspaper of Premier Fidel Castro's Government warned today. In an article titled 'Revolution and Vices,' El Mundo of Havana said that sexual deviates were blatant in Cuban cities and had infiltrated intellectual and art life."

FRANK KAMENY: Ha!

JACK NICHOLS: “The article singled out the ballet and suggested it was better to disband some dance troupes than to tolerate them as known centers of immorality.”

AUDIO: Frank groans in the background.

JACK NICHOLS: “Homosexuals are conspicuous in some neighborhoods of Havana, particularly the part of 23d Street known as La Rampa...” [skimming the article] “The article commented: ‘The virility of our peasantry does not permit that abominable vice. But in some of our cities it is rampant. There, homosexuals unite and form a clan.’ The newspaper stressed that the Castro revolution would fight vice until it was banished from ‘our virile country, which is locked in a fight for life or death with Yankee imperialism.’ The article declared that ‘no homosexual represents the revolution, which is a movement of he-men.’ El Mundo said that the revolution would not persecute homosexuals but would break their ‘positions, procedures and influence’ by applying”—get this, Frank—“‘revolutionary social hygiene.’ This was understood as a warning that homosexuals would be rounded up and sent to labor camps.”

FRANK KAMENY: Dear god.

JACK NICHOLS: This is it, Frank. Lige and I think it’s time to picket.

FRANK KAMENY: For Cuba?

JACK NICHOLS: For homosexuals in Cuba.

FRANK KAMENY: Well—

JACK NICHOLS: Are you a nationalist, Frank?

FRANK KAMENY: Of course not.

JACK NICHOLS: Shouldn’t all homosexuals be responsible for each other?

FRANK KAMENY: I see, I see.

JACK NICHOLS: And Randy Wicker says he can be ready to picket in New York by Sunday—

FRANK KAMENY: We can do it first! D.C. before Randy does New York.

JACK NICHOLS: Yes! Lige!

AUDIO: Phone hangs up. Phone rings again.

FRANK KAMENY: Frank Kameny.

RANDY WICKER: It's Randy. Have you read the *Times*?

Music. AUDIO: motorcycle, outdoors

HOST: The next day, **Saturday, April 17, 1965**. **Gail Johnson** pulls up to Lafayette Square on the back of her boyfriend's motorcycle. She's in heels and a dress, just as Kameny requested. Their demonstration will look much different than the one in Washington this morning, organized by the **Students for a Democratic Society** against the war in Vietnam. Thousands marched in the largest demonstration for peace in the nation's history this morning, and many of them are still bustling around as Mattachine members arrive at 4 PM for their own demonstration.

The **Mattachine of Washington's** only lesbian member, **Lilli Vincenz**, arrives for the picket. She believes that this organization is set to change the world with actions like this. Vincenz is a German immigrant with a master's degree from Columbia University. She worked for Walter Reed Military Medical Center in Washington for one week, until her roommate became suspicious of her and reported her as a homosexual. Vincenz was immediately discharged, but finally, she was free. No more secrets. She wrote to Kameny for a place in his society, and today, she watches as her new friends in activism arrive for their very first picket.

Jon Swanson, Paul Kuntzler, and Jack Nichols's co-worker Gene Kleeberg arrive with their handmade signs—pre-approved by Kameny, of course. Judith Kuch, a bisexual woman, arrives with a sign, too. The women are ordered by Kameny to wear dresses and heels, and all men are ordered to wear suits and ties.

FRANK KAMENY: If you're asking for equal employment rights, look employable!

HOST: Perrin Shaffer and Otto Ulrich, who have government security clearances, are allowed to wear sunglasses to help conceal their identities. Seemingly unconcerned with concealing his identity, Lige Clark arrives in a convertible with his boyfriend, Jack Nichols. Lige works for the Office of the Army Chief of Staff, so Jack doesn't want him to picket and risk losing his job. Instead, since he wanted to participate, Lige hand-lettered some of the signs for the event — some of which are now in the Smithsonian. Lige pulls up in front of Lafayette Square, just across from the White House, and helps Jack unload the signs. Lige then pulls away and drives straight to work at the Pentagon.

MUSIC: suspense builds

AUDIO: pacing footsteps

HOST: The Mattachine of Washington's own president, Robert Belanger, doesn't picket. But Kameny leads the militant members of their chapter toward the White House at 4:20PM, where cops have chosen a designated spot on the sidewalk for the picketers. There's no Cuban embassy in the capital, so the homophiles decided the White House will just have to do. Tomorrow, the New York activists will march outside the United Nations. Kameny notified the press of the picketing locations, and before reporters arrive, Kameny puts everyone and their signs in a specific order for passersby to read.

Jack Nichols leads the line – the event was his idea and, even more importantly to Frank, Jack has that “all-American” white cis man look. Behind him is Frank, then Lilli Vincenz, followed by the seven other marchers. No one is allowed to speak to each other or anyone passing by. No one is allowed to smoke. Just walk, and pass out some press releases to tourists. It's the Saturday before Easter, just hours after the massive protest against the war, so tourists stop by throughout the entire hour, watching this small band of homosexuals walk in a circle. Some people look on in disbelief, reading the signs:

JACK NICHOLS: 15 Million U.S. Homosexuals Protest Federal Treatment

FRANK KAMENY: We Want: Federal Employment, Honorable Discharges, Security Clearances

LILLI VINCENZ: Cuba's Government Persecutes Homosexuals, U.S. Government Beat Them to It

MATTACHINO 1: Governor Wallace Met with Negroes, Our Government Won't Meet With Us

MATTACHINO 2: U.S., Cuba, Russia, United to Persecute Homosexuals

MATTACHINO 3: U.S. Claims No Second Class Citizens: What About Homosexuals?

AUDIO: camera taking photographs

HOST: Behind lampposts, cameras flash. One photo captures the line marching against a police officer with his hands on his hips. Later, documents will show that agents also took photos of the license plates of every car that dropped off a picketer.

An exhilarating, but calm hour passes with just a few snickers from tourists.

When the homophiles are done, they pack up their signs. Again, there isn't much press coverage – they couldn't give much notice to reporters. But the *Afro-American* covers the

march. They typically have given more coverage to gay events than most media. Jack Nichols will later say,

JACK NICHOLS: Nothing had happened except that we'd been galvanized, and, to a certain extent, immunized against fear.

MUSIC: joy

AUDIO: typewriter

FRANK KAMENY: Dear Barbara:

NEWS NEWS NEWS NEWS NEWS NEWS NEWS NEWS NEWS NEWS NEWS

HISTORY IN THE MAKING ** HISTORY IN THE MAKING ** HISTORY IN THE MAKING

HOST: Frank arrives home and immediately writes to his friend in Philly, Barbara Gittings, editor of *The Ladder*:

FRANK KAMENY: I'm writing this, very very wearily, and very very contentedly, after returning from home following a ten-person picketing—officially by the Mattachine Society of Washington—of the White House. There were 7 men and 3 women.

While, on two instances (by the same lone person, about a year apart) the White House has been picketed, in our cause, by one person alone, this is the first time that there has been any kind of mass picketing, and the first time by a homophile organization....

Because there were several tens of thousands of students in Washington today to picket against the Vietnam War, we had to schedule our demonstration after they were out of the way. As it came off, it ran from 4:20 to 5:20 PM. We were given a choice spot, directly in front of the White House. The police—both White House police and Metropolitan police—were courteous and helpful. The police had been informed in advance. The newspapers had also been informed in advance....

Fondly,
Frank

HOST: Energized by the event, Frank puts another fresh sheet of paper into his typewriter and composes another letter for John Macy at the Civil Service Commission. He reminds Macy of his 1962 request for a meeting with the CSC, and this time, if he doesn't get it, he'll picket.

The next morning, picketers arrive at the Broadway MSNY offices. Thousands of flyers fresh off the mimeo machine had been handed out through Greenwich Village all weekend by Randy Wicker. 29 people show up, including Allen Ginsberg. Many of them

are nervous, they might be attacked. Most members of the homophile groups just stay home, still against the radical concept of picketing. But Randy Wicker is there, of course. Craig Rodwell, too. They were both at that first little picket at the Whitehall Army Induction center, 2 episodes ago. From the Mattachine Society of New York, new members **Julian Hodges and Dick Leitsch** join, too. From the Daughters of Bilitis, Barbara Gittings and Kay Tobin are there. They all raise their signs and begin to march, their own little Easter parade, across Manhattan to the United Nations.

They walk up Fifth Avenue to 42nd Street, to a park by the UN, where they march for two hours.

Eastern Mattachine Magazine reports on the pickets in DC and New York, saying, “Both demonstrations and their effects can probably best be summed up by a remark overheard at Hammarskjöld Plaza when one woman in a mink stole and an Easter bonnet stood watching the demonstration with another middle-aged lady, then turned and said:

EASTER BONNET LADY: You know, when you’re as disliked as homosexuals, it takes a lot of guts to stand up for your rights.

RANDY WICKER: 15,000,000 U.S. Homosexual Citizens Protest Cuba’s Actions

BARBRA GITTINGS: Labor Camps Today—Ovens Tomorrow?

KAY LAHUSEN: Individual Freedom—Si! Persecution—No!

HOST: The two onlooking ladies walk by and say “It’s about time” and they shake the picketers’ hands.

Meanwhile, while the Eastern homophiles are marching that morning, on the West coast, hundreds of volumes from ONE, Incorporated’s massive library speed up Cahuenga Boulevard in a moving truck—all sorts of rare queer history taken in a heist. And even more importantly, the lovers who drive the truck also hold *ONE Magazine*’s distribution list. They lock up the books—and even some of the office furniture—in a warehouse,

DON SLATER: for the protection of the property of the corporation.

HOST: Original Mattachine founder Harry Hay and his lover, John Burnside, wake to a phone call. When Harry enters the slope-floored storage unit, he’s astonished.

DON SLATER: We didn’t leave them so much as a return address label.

HOST: Don Slater locks up the storage unit and then returns to the empty ONE offices with his lover, Tony Reyes, for the board meeting Don has called. Dorr Legg then arrives

for the meeting to see the two men standing in the empty office, waiting for him. Dorr might not have been surprised. He's already made his own copy of the magazine's distribution list.

So over the next four months, there will ironically be two versions of *ONE Magazine*. The Los Angeles Free Press prints the headline: "ONE Becomes Two; Homosexuals Split." Resignations follow, but not from the original founders, Legg, Slater, or Reyes. Both sides are determined to win. Some members demand their reconciliation or their resignations. Dorr holds a meeting to remove Don from membership in ONE. Don sends a letter to subscribers announcing ONE, Inc.'s move to Cahuenga Boulevard. A lawsuit is filed. On one side, is the original ONE office, on the other is the group who led the heist, now called **The Tangent Group** — named after a regular news column, "Tangents," written by Jim Kepner for *ONE Magazine*. The Tangent Group announces that they are,

DON SLATER: the majority of legally elected board members of ONE.

HOST: They start their own magazine called *Tangents* as the courtroom battle is waged. Both sides badger the same list of subscribers to send money to cover their legal fees. In court, Dorr Legg explains,

DORR LEGG: Your Honor, you must not treat us as equals. This is clearly a case between a banker and a bank-robber.

HOST: Don Slater's attorney and the judge discuss. The attorney says to the judge,

ATTORNEY: You know, Your Honor, this is a bitch-fight. They're suing themselves in a way, because legal title to the name has not been established by either party.

JUDGE: You two old aunties go out in the hall and fight this out.

HOST: They end up splitting the ONE archives, this massive library, down the middle. Some of the multivolume sets are even split up every other volume. Often the wiser, Harry Hay says, "This was a matter of two dinosaurs spitting at each other and not realizing that dinosaurs had become obsolete." Indeed, other homophiles on the East Coast are already planning their next picket, another one at the White House.

SUSANNA VALENTI: "I Hate Men."

HOST: **Susanna Valenti** writes in *The Ladder*.

SUSANNA VALENTI: I inwardly gnashed my teeth when I was denied the supreme joy of playing with dolls as I was dying to do, or worse still, when I saw my sister bedecked in dresses I would have been given half my life to wear. My poor parents, however, only

saw me as their boy. How could they know there was a girl within me? There is a pattern for men to be fitted into, and woe to those who do not want or are not able to conform. One of the theories that tries to explain transvestism is based on this society-made mold into which all male children must be poured. By pushing males into the Masculine Role, society is actually sentencing to oblivion a good percentage of each individual's personality. If a girl wants to wear pants, who is going to stop her from doing so? Let a man walk to the corner store wearing a print blouse and a skirt—and you'll see pandemonium! So as **a TV, a transvestite**, I hate men for being so stupid and allowing themselves to be kept within the bondages of the Masculine ideal. The transvestites are the only ones who are rebelling against this artificial definition of what man is and wants, and we feel proud of being able to show the world an honest inner self.

AUDIO: typewriter

CLARK POLAK: All too often, there is a tendency to be concerned with the rights of homosexuals as long as they somehow appear to be heterosexual, whatever that is,

HOST: the Janus Society writes in their newsletter,

CLARK POLAK: The masculine woman and the feminine man often are looked down upon...but the Janus Society is concerned with the worth of an individual and the manner in which she or he comports himself. What is offensive today we have seen become the style of tomorrow, and even if what is offensive today remains offensive tomorrow to some persons, there is no reason to penalize non-conformist behavior unless there is direct anti-social behavior connected with it.

MUSIC: coffee shop

HOST: Not far from the ECHO plans being laid, in Philadelphia, a chain of casual lunch counters called **Dewey's** suddenly begins to refuse service to anyone who looks queer. One of their locations, on 13th Street near all the bars, is open all night. It's widely known as the spot for late night hustlers, drag queens, and queers in leather to hang out. The 17th Street Dewey's location wants nothing to do with that scene. They start kicking the queers out. Word spreads. A TV station picks up the story on Friday night. The Janus Society, a homophile group in ECHO, the East Coast Homophile Alliance, they keep an eye on Dewey's, and they get an idea. Just over 5 years ago, in February 1960, four African American college students sat in a whites-only North Carolina Woolworth's and ordered coffee. This nonviolent form of protest has caught on quickly. (Thank you, Bayard Rustin.) On **Sunday, April 25, 1965**, 150 protestors show up at Dewey's in Philly. Black, white, gay, lesbian, and transgender people fill the shop and sit in. Police are called. Three protestors who refuse to leave are arrested. **Clark Polak**, the Janus Society President, walks over to the patrol car. Clark says to the arrested protestors that Janus can get them a lawyer if they like. An officer comes over, asks Clark what he's

doing, and arrests him, too. They're all charged with disorderly conduct — and, as promised, Janus gets right to work. 1,500 leaflets are handed out to customers entering Dewey's. The next week, on **Sunday, May 2**, another sit-in is organized. Customers are refused service again. Police are called again. Cops come speak with protestors, read their pamphlets, and then... nothing. No arrests. The queers eat. The cop, reading the pamphlet, explains to his partner that these people know their rights. They are legally allowed to eat here. The cops call their sergeant who calls the lieutenant. But the sergeant comes into Dewey's and basically apologizes to Clark. The officer says they can all stay as long as they like because the police have no authority to ask them to leave. Defeated, Dewey's management ends the discriminatory refusal of service and everything returns to normal. So that's the power of protest? some young activists wonder. Just a quick little peaceful demonstration and one week later, it's all over?

Act 2

AUDIO: typewriter

FRANK KAMENY: Dear Ed....

You have justly earned the title of 'The Father of the Homophile Movement.' I know that you are not without pride in the appellation, and properly so. What you have done in the past is enormously to your credit; we *are* deeply indebted to you. You *can* contribute a great deal more.

HOST: Fourteen years ago, 1951, a book called *The Homosexual in America: A Subjective Approach* inspired many of these activists: Harry Hay, Barbara Gittings, it's the book that Frank Kameny was discussing when Jack Nichols slipped into his circle of friends that first night they met. The book is so progressive and controversial that Chicago libraries kept it locked up in the rare books room so people wouldn't steal it. (People were scared to have their name written on the checkout slip.)

The author, **Donald Webster Cory**, has been active in the homophile scene ever since he published the book in 1951. If you've listened to this show before, you've likely heard me mention his name. Donald Webster Cory has been running the Cory Book Service, a monthly gay book subscription, and he's published an anthology of gay short stories called *Twenty-One Variations on a Theme* — including a story by Christopher Isherwood. Cory also wrote *Homosexuality: A Cross Cultural Approach*, and *The Lesbian in America*. And though he was married to a woman this whole time, his gay stories have been rather autobiographical.

Cory has actually had a whole separate life. He used to work in the cosmetics industry, and he published a book back in '45 called *The Science and Art of Perfumery*. That was published this under his legal name: **Edward Sagarin**. And now, in the mid-60s, Frank

Kameny is reading Donald Webster Cory's newest book, *The Homosexual and His Society: A View from Within*. In this book, Cory/Sagarin claims that there is no such thing as a "well adjusted homosexual." We're all sick. Frank writes to his father figure:

AUDIO: typing, echoing Kameny's "Dear Ed..."

FRANK KAMENY: However, I have watched, increasingly unhappily as—over the past several years—you have fallen by the waysides; as the movement—having, now, a strong life of its own—has moved past you, leaving you behind, as your attitudes and approaches—so well-suited to the early days of the movement—have not kept up with a movement changing so rapidly, internally, in response to external changes which, in significant measure were precipitated by that movement (and by you) that even those in the forefront sometimes cannot keep up. Until now, you have become no longer the vigorous Father of the Homophile Movement, to be revered, respected, and listened to, but the senile Grandfather of the Homophile Movement, to be humored and tolerated, at best: to be ignored and disregarded, usually; and to be ridiculed, at worst.

HOST: In Cory's 1951 book, that first gay book, the psychologist **Albert Ellis** wrote the introduction, disagreeing with Donald Webster Cory. Ellis has held onto the opinion that queers are sick and need curing. As Cory has aged, his views drifted closer to Ellis's: he now disagrees with his own first book, he believes homosexuals are sick, but also, incurable. Neurotic, but able to find some amount of happiness through therapy, but forever sick. Cory/Sagarin now writes that he's been "trapped by a human tragedy to which I could not adjust." In the new 1960 edition of his classic book, Cory writes, "Change toward acceptance of the heterosexual life, rather than suppression of the homosexual one, is aided by a freedom from guilt and fear, and hence becomes far less difficult than I had anticipated in the original text. In as much as this is a subjective study, I am happy to say that I found such change not only possible, but personally rewarding." This Jekyll and Hyde version of Cory and Sagarin shows up at the 1964 Daughters of Bilitis convention to reprimand people who reject the theory that we're all sick. He calls the pride of these lesbians a "defensive, neurotic, disturbed denial" of the sickness theory. Cory declares that they are all sick, all of us queers. And soon after, he announces his bid for president of the Mattachine Society of New York.

AUDIO: writing

FRANK KAMENY: I am writing this without animosity, hostility, or antagonism, and in a feeling of personal friendship—and with great sorrow that events should have taken the turn which they have. However, the clock cannot be turned back; either you keep up with the movement, or you will be dropped by the wayside—as is indeed now in the process of happening.

HOST: Young militants of Mattachine New York, Julian Hodges and Dick Leitsch, who picketed recently, they write to members, encouraging them to vote for more progressive leaders. They write that the old guard of Donald Webster Cory's readers, the self-described sick homosexuals, are pushing for assimilation with heterosexuals. Do not vote for him.

The debate for or against the sickness theory picks up in *The Ladder*. Frank is furious, because homosexuals are not only losing their jobs because they're seen as potential blackmail victims, but now these doctors are saying homosexuals are sick—another reason to lose their jobs. And they're being encouraged by queer Edward Sagarin writing with authority under his prominent gay pen name. He's saying he, and thus his queer community, are medically unstable. Fire away, State Department. *Ladder* editor Barbara Gittings prints Frank Kameny's new six-and-a-half-page essay. It's titled "Does Research Into Homosexuality Matter?"

FRANK KAMENY: This is one of the most important issues—probably THE most important single issue—facing our movement today. We ARE right; those who oppose us are both factually and morally wrong. We are the true authorities on homosexuality, whether we are accepted as such or not. We must DEMAND our rights, boldly, not beg cringingly for mere privileges, and not be satisfied with crumbs tossed to us. I have been deeply gratified to note in the past year a growing spirit of militancy on the part of an increasing number of members of the homophile organizations. We would be foolish not to recognize what the Negro rights movement has shown us is sadly so: that mere persuasion, information and education are not going to gain for us in actual practice the rights and equality which are ours in principle. As little as two years ago, "militancy" was something of a dirty word in the homophile movement. Most people operate not rationally but emotionally on questions of sex in general, and homosexuality in particular, just as they do on racial questions. It is thus necessary for us to adopt a *strongly* positive approach, a *militant* one. It is for us to take the initiative in matters affecting us. It is time that we began to move from endless talk to firm, vigorous action. Questioning our health is recognized as not only destructive to the self-respect, self-esteem, self-confidence, and self-image of the homosexual, but as perhaps the major supportive factor currently behind the negative attitude of society at large.

HOST: A seven-page rebuttal by **Florence Jaffy** follows in *The Ladder*. She advocates for studies to be done in order to better understand homosexuality.

FLORENCE CONRAD JAFFY: I would ask where the Negro civil rights movement would be today, militant or not, if research into racial differences had not long ago supported the Negro's claim to equality of treatment? And where would we be today without Kinsey's two classic volumes on sexual behavior? Ours is a science-oriented society, and scientists are God to most people. In the long run, I do not think it can be seriously doubted that what science says *will* be important for the success of the

homophile movement. There is no reason why we cannot support research and do other things at the same time, especially since the interests of persons in the homophile movement differ. The homophile movement is not like **a new brand of toothpaste** which may be 'sold' to the public by superficial promotion techniques. Kameny's method is ineffective, to say the least... the question of whether or not they are or should be considered 'sick' is not a question capable of being decided by vote.

HOST: Kameny gives it right back in another issue of *The Ladder*, as the debate continues.

FRANK KAMENY: EMPHASIS on research has had its day. Anything, even toothpaste, can be sold thus. The homosexual's problems are political and social—not in essence psychological. They are problems of discrimination and prejudice, of law and custom.

HOST: When the election for new Mattachine New York leaders comes in **May 1965**, Donald Webster Cory announces he will quit if New York adopts the same anti-sickness position as Kameny in Washington's Mattachine.

On election day, members vote in... Julian Hodges and Dick Leitsch as their new young, militant leaders, along with Frank Kameny on the board. Donald Webster Cory, A.K.A. Edward Sagarin, "Father of the Homophile Movement," follows through on his promise. He quits. He's gone. Rumors spread that Julian and Dick steamed open the envelopes the night before the election to change some ballots, but no one really seems to follow up on that. Frank writes to Barbara:

FRANK KAMENY: The vote seemed to represent a clear mandate for our views, and a clear defeat for the conservatives, the 'closet queens,' and Cory's sickniks.

HOST: As the East Coast militants prepare for their second picket at the White House, membership in MSW, DOB, MSNY, and Janus grows yet again. New York's group in particular grows quite a bit: from 100 members up to 445. Kameny is appointed chair for the new Committee on Picketing and Other Lawful Demonstrations, and ECHO announces their next demonstration for **May 29, 1965**.

Jack Nichols stops by every news outlet in town with press releases two days before the next picket. When he walks out of the offices he can hear the people at their desks gasp as they read the release. Some of them follow Jack down the hall to ask questions, others leave the office to pretend to get a drink so they can "have a peek at a real live faggot," Jack writes to Dick Leitsch in New York. "I loved every minute of it."

MUSIC: same as first White House picket

HOST: 10 men and 3 women arrive at the White House at noon in dresses and suits, carrying their signs.

KAY LAHUSEN: Government Should Combat Prejudice, Not Submit to It and Promote It

HOST: Another sign pokes at the president: “White House Refuses Replies To Our Letters. Afraid of Us?”

The press — finally — really latches onto this picket. The *Washington Star*, New York *World-Telegram*, several TV stations, French media, the Associated Press, and the *New York Times* cover the event the next day on May 30. Many publications refer to the homosexuals as a “newly visible” minority... (after thousands of years, finally...) Dozens of papers all over the country describe the homosexuals as “well dressed and well behaved,” seemingly surprised at how “quiet” and “orderly” deviants could be. Frank’s dress code is working.

NYT REPORTER: Homosexuals Stage Protest in Capital

HOST: The Chicago *Sun-Times* reprints a recent piece on homosexuality from the *Washington Post*, which originally ran the piece with a photo of a blurry silhouette. The *Sun-Times* runs their reprint with an image of Jack Nichols, Frank Kameny, and Lilli Vincenz.

Craig Rodwell of New York suggests using this momentum to start an annual picket.

CRAIG RODWELL: We can call it the **Annual Reminder**—the reminder that a group of Americans still don’t have their basic rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

AUDIO: sudden, aggressive knocking on a door

JACK NICHOLS: Dad?

HOST: Jack Nichols, Sr. bursts into Jack and Lige’s house. Shoving by them, he throws up the couch cushions and lifts picture frames off the walls.

JACK NICHOLS: Dad! What’s going on?

JACK SR: Do you know what happens if Hoover finds out what you’ve done?

JACK NICHOLS: He finally responds to the Mattachine Society?

JACK SR: Jesus Christ, Jack, you have no idea what you’re getting into!

JACK NICHOLS: Hoover knows I have every right—

LIGE CLARK: He has every right—

JACK SR: [to Lige] Get out.

JACK NICHOLS: It's okay, Lige. I'm fine.

JACK SR: I am two years from retirement, Jack! Two years. The Director wrecks pensions for retiring agents who are far less damaging security risks. He will ruin me if he finds out, and he will find out.

JACK NICHOLS: I use a pseudonym.

JACK SR: Oh, sure, a lot of good that does everyone else.

HOST: [quietly] Jeff Winters, Lisa Ben, Eann MacDonald.

JACK NICHOLS: If you need a name, tell them I'm **Warren B. Adkins**.

JACK SR: I have spent my life working and keeping you out of trouble and all this time I've put back savings and you are going to make them take this from me.

HOST: Jack Sr. grabs a sheet of paper and writes down a list. Then he—

AUDIO: paper tearing

HOST: —rips it into slips and lays each of them out on the sofa.

JACK SR: You comprehend how a family tree works, right, Jack?

JACK NICHOLS: Your masculinity is exhausting.

JACK SR: I make the money. The money moves down these branches when I die. You make me lose my pension, no one on these branches below gets anything, including you.

JACK NICHOLS: Yeah.

JACK SR: Our branch ends here. So why don't you and I go to some lonely spot in the country and I'll take along my gun, huh. I'll show you how to do some real target practice.

JACK NICHOLS: Get the fuck out.

HOST: I wish I made this scene up. But this is exactly how Jack wrote that it happened.

JACK NICHOLS: Get out of our house now, or J. Edgar Hoover will definitely find out who I am. I never want to see you again.

AUDIO: door slams

HOST: And he never does. Shortly after, Jack's stepfather in Florida sees the Mattachine Society of Washington on the news. There's Jack. He calls the FBI, looking for information about Jack's group. They decline to tell him anything, but word makes its way all the way up to Director Hoover. Jack Nichols, Sr. is questioned, and he tells the bureau everything.

JACK SR: I can give you his address. And he's using a pseudonym: Warren B. Adkins.

HOST: He says he didn't even raise this son from his first marriage. They barely talk.

JACK SR: I do not want to jeopardize my job or family and if asked to do so by the Bureau, I will stop seeing my son. We only have occasional contact because I would like to influence my son to think someday as a normal male.

AUDIO: typewriter

AGENT: Special Agent Nichols's failure to advise the Bureau of this problem involving his son is inexcusable. Agent's actions could develop into a source of great embarrassment to the Bureau.

HOST: Jack Sr. is recommended to be censured, placed on probation, and transferred out of D.C.

AUDIO: typewriter

AGENT: for his flagrant disregard of regulations.

HOST: Hoover initials the recommendation. Jack and Lige move closer to the Pentagon for Lige's job. Perhaps it's Lige's attempt to lure Jack away from Frank a bit — they still spend hours together on the phone doing Mattachine work — or maybe Jack and Lige move to just be at a new address. The FBI searches their files for a Warren Adkins. Jack's pseudonym is all over their documents, from *Eastern Mattachine Magazine*, to the *Gazette*, which they send to Director Hoover himself. Jack's pseudonym is even on a letter from the Mattachine to the President of the United States.

The picket holds more unintended consequences: New York's Bilitis president Shirley Willer and her lover Marion Glass go the national DOB board to discuss their stance against picketing — against it. The majority of the ECHO homophile groups voted in favor of picketing, but Bilitis did not. The Daughters of Bilitis asked ECHO not to pass any policies that contradict the policies of the groups that make up ECHO—which includes DOB.

SHIRLEY WILLER: At this particular point we do not have confidence in the leadership as demonstrated by the Eastern Mattachine groups, who, under present circumstances, would be able to override DOB in any and all cases. And what DOB's participation would amount to is tacit support of the Mattachine program. We would prefer to hold DOB's identity as a separate organization intact and cooperate with the Eastern Mattachine groups in so far as we are able.

HOST: A week after the second White House picket, Shirley and Marion cut ties between Bilitis and ECHO. Frank writes to the DOB president and their board:

FRANK KAMENY: We had nationwide—and worldwide—publicity—in *every favorable sense*. It was shown on TV in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Miami, Indiana, Texas, Seattle, that we know of so far. Articles appeared in the *New York Times*, *New York News*, *Washington Star*, *Chicago Sun-Times*, *Orlando Sentinel*—all factual or sympathetic reports. It was reported by Associated Press, United Press International, Reuters, French News Agency, and others, including the White House Press Corps. The picketing was well and properly done. The 10 men and 3 women participating were well-groomed, and well-dressed—suits, white shirts, and ties, for men; dresses for women were mandatory. We were told that ours was an impressive-looking picket line indeed. We were informed that DOB would picket only when the action was backed by the larger community.

First, this is arrant nonsense! When one has reached the stage where picketing is backed by the larger community, such picketing is no longer necessary. The entire force and thrust of picketing is a protest on issues not yet supported or backed by the larger community, in order to bring issues to the fore, and it help elicit that support.

Second, this is in keeping with a mentality which has pervaded this movement from its beginning—homosexuals must never do anything for themselves; they must never come out into the open. They must work through and behind others. They must never present their own case—let others do so for them. We have outgrown this 'closet queen' type of approach, and it is well that we have.

ECHO, by formal vote, IS sponsoring the June 26 and July 4 demonstrations (the others are still too far ahead for formal action).

As Chairman of the Mattachine Society of Washington's Committee on Picketing and

Other Lawful Demonstrations, I ask you: Will you join in the ECHO sponsorship of these demonstrations? Do you want yourselves listed as supporters? According to Shirley and Marion, the motion mentioned above means that DOB is now withdrawing from ECHO. With the kindest of feelings toward you, I will say that if you do not keep up with the movement, I predict that DOB will go ‘down the drain’ as a meaningful organization—not by overt act of anyone else in the movement, but because that’s just the way movements evolve.

HOST: After three years of demanding meetings with the Civil Service Commission, Frank already has his plans in motion to picket the CSC. John Macy wrote back that it would serve “no useful purpose” for him to meet with Frank. Frank threatened a picket, and now he has to follow through. Frank Kameny cannot cancel this picket.

The CSC is shaken—before the picket can even go on. The court of appeals ruled that the Civil Service Commission cannot fire **Bruce Scott** for immoral or homosexual conduct — as that is not specific enough grounds for firing. The court has ruled that simply being a homosexual isn’t enough to be fired. The Mattachine of Washington considers whether they should still picket the CSC, especially because the CSC is still deciding if they want to appeal this verdict to the Supreme Court. So two days after the Scott ruling, Kameny writes to John Macy at the CSC again to ask once more for his own discharge to be undone. Kameny argues that he also wasn’t told exactly what he had done to be fired, aside from simply being a homosexual. Three days pass, and Kameny writes to Macy again, threatening a picket in four days unless Macy agrees to a meeting. Frank includes a press release draft for such a picket. Macy finally writes again that it would serve “no useful purpose” for him to meet with Kameny. The press release goes out.

June 26, 1965. 18 men and 7 women show up outside the Civil Service Commission. The CSC notifies the FBI. Despite Shirley’s message from DOB, ECHO does picket and the *Washington Post* covers it. Signs outside the CSC read “Chairman Macy Is Guilty of Immoral Conduct” and “Civil Service Commission Refuses to Confer With Homosexuals. Afraid?” Kay Tobin snaps a shot of Lilli Vincenz leading three men in the picket line, a perfect shot for *The Ladder*’s October cover. Maybe, through the magazine, Tobin and Gittings can convince the Daughters of Bilitis to come around to the effectiveness of peaceful demonstrations.

As the picket continues, a man pulls up in a car, watching the marchers outside the CSC headquarters. He decides not to park and turns around. As he pulls away, Frank catches a glimpse of the driver — Chairman John Macy, he’s sure of it.

Frank will write to Macy again, essentially spamming him about how well the picket went. And they’re just getting started...

MUSIC: grand, building, powerful

AUDIO: typewriter

KAY LAHUSEN: **July 4**, the anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, is traditionally the day for a re-statement and re-affirmation of the liberties and rights, with the proclamation of which our country was born in 1776.

July 4 is a day for serious, solemn, and probing thought. It is a day properly to ask: Are we guaranteeing to all of our citizens the rights, the liberties, the freedoms, which took birth and first form in the Declaration of Independence and in the documents (such as the Constitution and its Bill of Rights) which followed upon it? Or are these concepts merely being given lip-service for some of our citizens? We now try to bring our case directly before the public, before our fellow citizens, on a day and at a place which are singularly appropriate. We do so confident that we will have a fair hearing from our fellow American citizens.

AUDIO: chattering around Independence Hall, wind, synchronized steps

HOST: The buses are parked outside **Independence Hall in Philadelphia on July 4, 1965** at 3:30PM. People of the organizations in ECHO come together, totaling 39 members. Suits and ties, dresses and heels, all according to the ECHO rules — even in this 90 degree heat. A member of MSNY is even told **not** to picket because he's dressed too casually. Frank Kameny, Mattachine of Washington and New York, the Janus Society, and Barbara Gittings and Kay Tobin, of *The Ladder*, are all here. **Ernestine Eckstein**, from the New York Daughters of Bilitis, is here, and will become the first lesbian woman of color to march for homosexual rights. Jack Nichols, Craig Rodwell, everyone, it seems, is here. Even... Shirley Willer of the DOB. She is very outspoken about preferring men's clothing, but even she wears a skirt in accordance with the rules. Shirley arrived in her nurse's flats and switched to heels before the picket. The heels are now tearing the flesh off her ankles, and she'll never forget it.

They march, all of the East Coast Homophile Organizations together in one circle outside of Independence Hall. Some of the signs are printed in snappier fonts this time.

RANDY WICKER: Support Homosexual Civil Rights

SHIRLEY WILLER: 15 Million Homosexual Americans Ask For Equality, Opportunity, Dignity

KAY LAHUSEN: Homosexual Bill of Rights

BARBARA GITTINGS: Homosexuals should be judged as individuals.

HOST: An Inalienable Right; The Pursuit of Happiness; For Homosexuals Too?

SICKENED WOMAN: Perverts. You're criminals.

HOST: A woman gets into the circle, but a plainclothes policewoman takes her away.

MAN: Hold your noses, kids. It smells here.

WOMAN: I don't believe this. They're all actors.

HOST: The march continues for an hour and a half, until 5:00PM. There isn't much mainstream press, but *Confidential* magazine does run a feature about the first Annual Reminder, and the other pickets this year, under the headline "Homos On The March."

By the time that issue it hits grocery store checkout lines in October, a far more radical action will hold the country's attention, next week on episode 5, "Homos On The March," or, "Keep Moving, Faggots."

Learn more in the episode credits & at queerserial.com/s3e4