



American LGBTQ+ liberation from day 1 to Stonewall.

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Episode released July 15, 2020

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Season 2, Episode 6: “Faces Behind the Names”

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For this episode, begin with posts starting July 14, 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 These texts contain **identifying terms** that may now be out of date.

HOST: **June 1957.** *The Ladder.*

AUDIO: typewriter

BARBARA STEPHENS: “Transvestism—A Cross-Cultural Survey” by Barbara Stephens. Transvestism is the tag that labels the Lesbian... Truly self-confident people have no need to express themselves or barricade themselves by costume.

AUDIO: new typewriter

DAUGHTER: A.C., New York, N.Y. My roommate and I are transvestites. We wear slacks almost always on our off-work hours. We are comfortable in them and we have no problem adjusting to the stares of passersby.

HOST: As far as dresses, heels, and stocking holders:

DAUGHTER: the most uncomfortable contraptions men have invented to restrict the movements of women.

HOST: Despite the Statement of Purpose for the Daughters of Bilitis requiring a dress code of so-called female attire, several women still show up to meetings in blue jeans or slacks. One letter to the Daughters from New York muses on “femmen,” suggesting a new term for these “females in male bodies.” In the pages of *The Ladder*, the members discuss where and when it’s safe to dress this way, and whether or not it’s ethical to do so.

DAUGHTER 2: Of all the intellectual rubbish in the history of mankind, none has been more voluminous than the conventions and taboos of dress... The cult of conformity itself remains to be questioned.... Those who depart from the rules are punished for the ‘crime’ of not behaving.

HOST: Just seven years ago, most of these homosexuals didn’t have a word for themselves. Many of them thought they were the only one in the world with their strange condition, quietly submitting to conformity. But now, more than 5,000 copies of a *ONE Magazine* issue hits the newsstands nationally each month in the late ‘50s. *The Ladder* and the *Mattachine Review* are in the high triple-digits. The pass-along rate of these magazines from one homosexual to another is uncountable. The glimmers of a secret society once barely visible in the pitch black parks and low-lit bars is becoming a wildfire, alerting the entire nation to its existence. Now, no one can deny the existence of a homosexual society. And homophiles are getting hungry for more freedom. They’re starting to get these small tastes of it, like I’m happy to now know fellow homosexuals, but it’s not enough if we have to speak in code. I’m happy to meet homosexuals in a gay bar, but it’s not enough if I have to dress just right to avoid the cops. And because we’ve met and we’ve talked and learned that we deserve to live just as freely as anyone else, now I know that this life is not enough for us. A militant movement forward has become inevitable.

Act 1

HOST: Barbara Gittings is still hard at work organizing her new Bilitis chapter in New York. She's started her own newsletter of east coast DOB activities, which she creates after hours at work. Into the night, Barbara is stenciling, mimeographing, typing, stuffing envelopes, stamping, addressing,

BARBARA GITTINGS: FROM: Barbara Gittings, President of the New York City Daughters of Bilitis.

HOST: She's one of the only women in the organization using her legal name. In the dimly lit office, she stacks up her hundreds of envelopes and turns to see her boss. She looks back at Barbara, confused to see her here so late. A copy of *The Ladder* lies on the desk. Barbara's boss looks down at the cover.

BOSS: You should be more careful, Barbara.

HOST: Her boss served in the military and also quietly keeps relationships with women. A different manager stopping by could have held grave consequences. Barbara is building her mailing list to 300 women. While boldly mailing her own name and lesbian writing to her subscribers, an action so terrifying to many Mattachine men that they would sooner vanish from the movement, Barbara Gittings is still aiming for more daring action. Only a few women are meeting with her chapter in person, gathering in the New York Mattachine offices at 1133 Broadway. Discreetly meeting and signing in under pennames isn't taking their message very far outside of the limited group of upper-class white women who have the privilege to subscribe to a discreetly titled magazine sent to their homes in a brown paper sleeve, but not the imperative to show their faces and demand their rights. One Daughter suggests:

DAUGHTER 3: I have been toying with the idea of a more sensational cover for a limited number of LADDERS for news stand sales only... Think about it... include a second run of an additional line with something like 'The Homosexual Woman's Viewpoint' or some such crap."

HOST: More letters come into DOB co-founder Del Martin in San Francisco urging her to allow them to be more public, especially since *ONE Magazine* just won their Supreme Court case. (Season 1, Episode 10) *The Ladder's* distributor Lucien Press even writes to her:

JOHN JENSEN: Why don't you put a nicely worded subtitle on your covers? Something like 'A Review Devoted To The Female Homosexual in Modern Society.'

HOST: Cops and postal inspectors can tease newsstand salesmen all they want. Gay publications are legal to sell now. Still, the DOB leaders refuse to label their magazine cover as lesbian. They focus on DOB membership growth first.

In the coming winter, Del and Phyllis will take their first plane rides ever, across the country to New York City to see the growing new chapter. Two women named Bea and Millie invite the co-founders to their Gab 'n' Java discussion sessions, held at a member named Gus's Manhattan apartment. The Daughters are looking for their own office space, as the Mattachine Society has just been evicted from theirs...

Months before eviction, Hal Call's resignation letter was passed between the Mattachine board members. A letter from Hal to Tony in New York explained his reasoning for resigning.

AUDIO: furious writing

HAL CALL: Frankly, I have got my fill of faceless nameless crusaders in this cause, particularly when they sound off so loud, make decisions so arbitrarily, and otherwise show up maybe once a month... I am not abandoning Mattachine...but I believe in it, want to serve in it, and frankly, I *need* it. But, I am going to give the carpers a chance to carry a load and let them see what they can do with it for a while.

HOST: He stamps out rumors that he kept secret books, burned Mattachine correspondence, or wrote himself checks from the jester's dwindling coffers. Pan-Graphic Press, he believes, is his selfless effort to keep the organization alive.

AUDIO: furious writing

HAL CALL: At least one-third of the San Francisco membership in Mattachine today has come into the Society here as a result of my introduction and salesmanship. I don't mean to sound like a conceited ass, but it's true, and I can name them if someone won't go heels over head in a tizsy [sic] because a name is mentioned... My conviction is that Mattachine must choose between being an outgoing, selfless effort directed to the public or a social club for many members and friends who are, let's face it, social misfits... Why should we have only 115 members out of a homosexual population of at least a million in the six cities where the Society exists today? I know this prattle is typical of much that is written about Mattachine—words, words, words...

HOST: Hal writes to his friends on the editorial team of *ONE Magazine*:

HAL CALL: I finally got him pinned down and the goal he will seek is (1) refusal to accept my resignation...

AUDIO: writing fades out

HOST: That same day, while Hal is writing his letter to his allies in LA, the Mattachine board votes not to accept Hal's resignation. They call the bluff, as he had called theirs. The *Mattachine Review* is his press's largest customer, and the Mattachine Society can't survive without Hal's

Pan-Graphic Press creating the magazine to promote Mattachine. They're stuck with Hal, and Hal's stuck with them.

AUDIO: writing

HAL CALL: ... and (2) setup of a publications department independent of the rest of the Society, except for general overall policy, which will mean great freedom of action, less interference, and more stability within the responsibility.

HOST: That one would seem difficult to achieve, but the board then appoints young Ron Argall to former President Zwerin's seat. The Mattachine has no option but to keep Hal, and now Hal has his very own puppet running the Mattachine. He'll print what he wants.

AUDIO: typewriter

HAL CALL: The Faces Behind the Names...

HOST: A new series is launched by Hal in the *Mattachine Review* publishing biographies and photos of people working on his magazine, including himself. It's surprisingly well received, considering the *Interim* photo scandal of the previous episode.

MUSIC: 1950s TV special

AUDIO: TV production chatter: Camera 1! Lights. Miss Hurst in 5... 4... 3...

BEARDED MAN: *Showcase* hosted by **Fannie Hurst** on WABD!

HOST: *Showcase* is a program featuring a variety of relevant social issues, and today, **March 10, 1958**, the production will be the first to feature homosexuality with actual homosexuals talking about it. But there will be no faces and there will be no names.

TONY SEGURA: Groups such as the Mattachine Society of New York are making homosexuals more visible now than ever,

HOST: New York Mattachino Tony Segura explains under hood and motorcycle goggles. Homosexuality is still punishable with 20 years prison time in New York, and the Mattachine chapter president does not want to risk it on national television.

FANNIE HURST: We also have with us Dr. Albert Ellis, noted psychologist.

HOST: Albert Ellis presents the counter-argument: homosexuals are neurotic and should seek treatment.

ALBERT ELLIS: Homosexuals must adjust themselves to a heterosexual mode of living.

FANNIE HURST: What stereotypes of homosexuals would you like to dispel on the air today, sir?

TONY SEGURA: The homosexual is a normal man, Miss Hurst. It is against our interests for any homosexual to make a spectacle of himself. One of our headaches is the screaming, feminine-type homosexual... Most of us can't stand them and we have little luck persuading them to conform.

AUDIO: Applause

MUSIC: *Showcase* credits

FANNIE HURST: Join us tomorrow for a similar discussion on female homosexuals. Our guests include a member of a new organization, the Daughters of Bilitis of New York.

AUDIO: hesitant applause fades

HOST: Nothing is known about what happens when the cameras go off. There is no public outcry, but a discussion is held among the WABD executives. The next day—

MUSIC: 1950s TV special

AUDIO: TV production chatter: 15 minutes to air!

BEARDED MAN: *Showcase* hosted by Fannie Hurst on WABD!

HOST: The next day, at the final moment, Fannie Hurst is circled by network executives. She runs to her waiting guests, the DOB member and Helen King – neither of whom wear masks. Meanwhile, other DOB women watch their televisions at home for the debut of their organization. One member writes to *The Ladder*:

AUDIO: writing

DAUGHTER 4: There I sat, pencil poised over a fresh white sheet of paper on my coffee table – my eyes glued to the face of the bearded gentleman who apparently introduces the program, SHOWCASE. He was saying in soft, promising tones that we were about to hear a discussion of a ‘very interesting’ subject. I lifted my pencil higher...

FANNIE HURST: [on television set] Thank you for joining us for another *Showcase*. Unfortunately I must announce that after the high plateau reached yesterday, the station feels we

are a little premature. I have been told by WABD executives that we will not be covering the previously announced topic today, but we should talk about something else – anything else.

DAUGHTER 4: I swear, as I was dropping my ready pencil, I truly did see the stenciled letters swim across my eyes on the screen – VERBOTEN.

FANNIE HURST: [on television set] I sincerely do apologize. My guest today, Helen King, happens to have also written a book about handwriting analysis, which we may find to be a fascinating topic after all.

DAUGHTER 4: So that was kind of that — except for some rather courageous remarks made by Miss Hurst (indirectly) on censorship of valid social questions. To my amusement, at Miss Hurst's prodding, Miss King chose an example of her experiences in her work from a matter that had to do with a homosexual personality. Probably innocent, but I imagine it must have made some executive itch a little.

HOST: As the host and her guest exhaust the topic quickly, she wraps up the show early, having nothing else to talk about.

FANNIE HURST: I apologize once more that our program today has undergone severe censorship. As we have seen in today's impromptu topic, the nuances of the human mind are still being explored. We have yet to move out of that strange, dark jungle of fear. I hope that our fear of living will soon be replaced with enlightened thoughts and human understanding. Until tomorrow, hail but not farewell. Good afternoon.

MUSIC: *Showcase* credits

HOST: So many Mattachine men are unwilling to show their faces, and so many Bilitis women are unable to reach the opportunity. For the women to even join the Mattachine fold is nearly impossible.

DEL MARTIN: The male-oriented gay groups wanted us in as secretaries, coffee makers, and hostesses. Had we been in their organizations then, I think we would have had to fight tooth and toenail to get into any policy-making positions.

HOST: Del and Phyllis fly on their cross-country trip to New York's Bilitis chapter. In their hotel at 7AM, they call up their new friend who intends to donate anonymously to the DOB.

LORRAINE HANSBERRY: [on telephone] It's obvious you're not New Yorkers. We never get up this early!

HOST: Del and Phyl head over to the playwright's apartment in Greenwich Village, where Lorraine Hansberry is working on her final preparations before *A Raisin in the Sun* opens on

Broadway. Gushing to the Bilitis founders that she wishes she could do more publicly for them and *The Ladder*, Hansberry says,

LORRAINE HANSBERRY: I feel I am learning how to think all over again.

HOST: Del and Phyl understand that at this point, many women must choose which cause to fight for – the Civil Rights Movement for people of color is not so welcoming to homosexuals, and vice versa. Very few people are successful at fighting for both. Intimately familiar with this issue, which we now call intersectionality, James Baldwin wrote of his support for his friend Lorraine’s choice:

JAMES BALDWIN: Never before, in the entire history of the American theater, had so much of the truth of black people’s lives been seen on the stage.

HOST: Nevertheless, with her financial and emotional support of the Daughters, Hansberry leaves a record of her sexuality, which reveals the difficult choices she’s making.

Act 2

HOST: Down the streets of New York, Charles Hayden tapes up yellow sheets of paper on storefronts and subways.

HOMOSEXUAL: [quietly] There goes Miss Mattachine.

HOST: Flyers everywhere, all through Greenwich Village, a form of advertising not approached by homosexuals yet. Charles recently arrived in New York City from Baltimore. He just shared a weekend with young Ron Argall, the visiting LA Mattachine leader. Charles read about Mattachine in *ONE Magazine*. He and Ron daydreamed about a national survey of homosexuals in order to learn more about what they are. But for now, we must find homosexuals and protect them. His flyers announce “The Homosexual and the Law,” a free lecture for the public to learn how to beat entrapment arrests, hosted by the Mattachine Society of New York.

The conservative Mattachine leaders are annoyed by this young man’s loud, unapproved publicity for the event. They don’t even know that Charles lied about his age to join Mattachine – he’s about to go to Texas to start college. But it’s difficult to disapprove of Charles’s flyering when over 300 people show up to the August 19th lecture. Only 100 can fit inside, and the Mattachine scrambles to find a larger venue. Tony gets up and addresses the crowd in New York City’s first major public meeting in support of homosexuality. One of the flyers is torn down by an NYPD officer, and vice detectives look for an office for this—

COP: “Mattachine Society of New York.”

HOST: After the big lecture, cops show up at the Mattachine offices to question Tony, Joe, a few members, and even the landlord of the office – several times. When the cops leave, many Mattachinos point the blame to Charles Hayden for the flyers. Others counter – isn't this what we're supposed to be doing? Putting ourselves out there and advertising our cause? Either way, the landlord returns to the Mattachine offices with an eviction notice. Like the early days of the Mattachine Foundation, publicity brings out trouble. But trouble is exactly what many homophiles are looking for.

MUSIC: Denver highway stop

HOST: Back in Denver, a former public school teacher once known as Carl B. Harding in Mattachine publications is writing his largest work yet for the organization. After he's fired from teaching in Oakland for being a homosexual, Carl Harding feels freer to use his real name in his activism now. What else can they do to him? So Elver Barker sets up his Denver Mattachine chapter, while writing his 63-page *Educational Handbook* explaining how to create your own Mattachine chapter. It covers how to publish a newsletter, research homosexual issues, arrange helpful therapy for members, and all other things Mattachine. It's a huge hit, and earns him quite a bit of respect in the Mattachine Society. Driving from California to New York for the next convention, Don Lucas stops off in Denver for dinner with Elver.

[While Don Lucas did stop off the highway to meet Elver Barker for dinner on his way to the convention, the following conversation is built out of letters exchanged between Don and Elver.]

AUDIO: restaurant ambiance

DON LUCAS: There's a convenient stop-off on the Lincoln Highway, but with Eisenhower's new Interstate system, I was worried it might be a confusing new route—

ELVER BARKER: So are things in order for the convention?

DON: Oh yes, that's all done and ready. Once the convention is done, Hal and I have several plans prepared for the national society.

ELVER: And Pan-Graphic, as well.

DON: Yes, to advertise the organization, as it has been effectively doing so.

ELVER: I agree. Hal's business has been good for his movement.

DON: His business has some issues, yes, but those will subside should we have voting power in the convention.

ELVER: Thus your convenient stop in Denver... So whoever is in charge determines our morals.

DON: Or at least what we're fighting for. Elver... when the votes are cast for new leadership at the upcoming convention, I can't help but be curious where your allegiances will lie.

ELVER: A futile concern.

DON: Excuse me?

ELVER: There are too many men trying to get up there for the Society get anything done.

DON: You mean Hal?

ELVER: If the national board isn't receiving a member's dues, but his chapter is collecting them in their local coffers, does that still make a man a Mattachino?

DON: What do you mean? Who?

ELVER: Oh, you really don't know...

DON: What do you know that I don't know? What gets up to Denver?

ELVER: Allegiances don't lie in the presidential vote, Don. The New Yorkers are nominating Kenneth Zwerin as Member of the Year.

DON: They can't, Zwerin isn't a member anymore. He's filing a lawsuit against Mattachine over the photo in *Interim*—

ELVER: Then why are they collecting his membership dues?

DON: If New York has been secretly holding Zwerin's dues—

ELVER: New York has intentions more important than a national Mattachine president, and it's high time we stop giving a damn what those masked members do with their money. It's money poorly spent by them, and hard fought by us on long drives across the country.

DON: Do you think they're planning to break off from us? Start their own magazine?

ELVER: Enough with the in-fighting and the damn magazines. This hyperbolic procrastination masked as melodrama is only stifling the movement. Denver does not accept leaders who permit their undisciplined emotional instability to disrupt our organizational work.

DON: Then let's end it. Will you ask your members to vote against Kenneth Zwerin?

ELVER: It would only bewilder them.

HOST: Another convention, another fight. **August 30, 1958.** At the Barbizon-Plaza Hotel in New York City, Mattachinos arrive in their suits and ties and Niles Crane realness. The hotel refuses to allow guests to socialize interracially, for which Mattachinos immediately threaten a picket on the hotel. Management decides instead to separate homosexuals from heterosexuals, roping off an area for Mattachine members, no matter their race. When the convention begins, author Donald Webster Cory speaks, then some psychologists follow. Kenneth Zwerin of course shows up to speak, insisting homosexuals should trust their lawyers and instead fight the laws. Hal Call holds petitions signed demanding Zwerin's removal from the society. Hal also holds a stack of proxy votes from the West Coast. He spent the final days before the convention hitting the streets of San Francisco to double memberships to Mattachine. New members signed their pledge, handed over their dues, and gave Hal power to vote for them by proxy in New York City. Out of 118 votes at the convention, present and by proxy, Hal holds 92. Intent on removing the masks and bringing the Mattachine Society into public awareness, Hal holds the organization in his hands. *Showcase* host Fannie Hurst takes the podium.

FANNIE HURST: Until last March, I had never heard of the Mattachine Society. I knew nothing of homosexuality. I represent the man and woman on the street. I doubt if my mother ever heard of homosexuality, or would have known what it meant. It seems we have come far when we are even disposed to discuss it. Listening to the legal and psychological discussions here at this convention, I understand the topic is brimming with intellectual issues not heard at the dining room table. We can never hope, until the masses of the people understand. The attitude here is good, but you must reach the people. Until the great, great gadgets of modern communication

throw this message out to the people, with their slow compassions, their slow thinking, in their own idiom, we won't get the understanding necessary. Attitudes being with the people, they must be told through TV, magazines and the newspapers.

MATTACHINO: Miss Hurst, this convention's press release was sent to all New York newspapers, but I heard one editor struck down an article about it on the grounds that it's not fit for a family newspaper.

FANNIE HURST: This just shows the size of the job ahead. It must be a slow process of erosion. I do expect my *Showcase* sponsors to present a second program on homosexuality to replace the previous cancelled discussion. I am doing my best.

HOST: *The Ladder* will describe her discussion as the "emotional highlight of the convention." Despite Fannie Hurst's effort, her second episode on homosexuality will never be produced.

But the Mattachine leaders aren't concerned with audacious publicity for their cause. They're still distraught over who will hold the power to make those decisions. Who will control the publicity and how will members be presented to the world? Behind a mask, or open? And how will they introduce our community to the world? What will they say homosexuals are, what they want? Whoever is in control in the coming years might define us for the foreseeable future. New York leaders brace for schism, their minds set on independence from San Francisco and a competing publication. They're confident they hold the majority. But as Hal calls for the vote for this term's Publications Director, it's clear he will remain in the chair when he slaps down his 92 proxy votes in his own favor. Kenneth Zwerin and his New York allies storm out. With the majority in his own hand, Hal Call pushes his enemies off the Board and out of the Mattachine. And he knows exactly how to work LA's leader Ron Argall, and his own partner Don Lucas, and everyone else now on the board. Finally, the Mattachine Society is completely Hal's to rule... for the final days of the jester's life.

Ron Argall is swept up with Charles Hayden, the young man who posted the brazen fliers that publicized the Mattachine so well they got evicted. Charles's tenacity is wildly attractive to Ron. Upon his return to LA, Ron stops in at the ONE Magazine offices to see his friend Jim Kepner and tell him all about Charles and the West Coast's big win at the Mattachine convention in New York. Jim asks Ron why he thinks Hal won so swiftly. How did Hal gain so many votes, and why were so many of them proxies – votes from people too far away from the convention to attend and voice their own opinions?

AUDIO: typewriter

RON ARGALL: It is a complete fraud.

HOST: Ron writes to Charles Hayden,

RON ARGALL: I cannot at this point advise the various groups to withdraw support from the national organization until I have gotten the evidence.

HOST: Charles responds, suggesting a plan to start their own group. The best way to begin is with homosexuals already in an organization. Ron should steal the Mattachine's national mailing list. Ron then writes to Hal, trying to have a conversation before more he takes that drastic action. But with power fully gained now, Hal ignores Ron's letters.

Act 3

HOST: Visiting home from Texas, Charles Hayden decides if he's going to be militantly gay, he should just tell his parents. Charles shows his father his Mattachine papers. Charles Hayden, Sr. had found his son's diary before. He already knows. He's spoken to a psychiatrist who actually gave him good advice and Charles Sr. accepts his son as homosexual. But looking over this, these Mattachine documents,

HAYDEN SR: I don't think you're ever going to get very far with this. But just do me one favor, will you?

CHARLES HAYDEN: Of course.

HAYDEN SR: Just don't involve my good name.

MUSIC: building drama

AUDIO: typewriter

RON ARGALL: More disgusted every day. Ready to resign,

HOST: Ron writes to Charles, having been ignored by Hal for three months. Charles is fed up, too. He sends Ron's letters detailing Hal's indiscretions up the mountain to Denver, to Elver Barker.

CHARLES HAYDEN: We want to start our own organization.

HOST: Elver passes word to Hal Call that Charles and Ron are plotting.

ELVER BARKER: I am completely opposed.

HOST: Hal is caught, but continues to dismiss Ron anyway. Surveys scatter the country, appearing in the mailbox of every Mattachine member.

AUDIO: typewriter

RON ARGALL: Wicker Research Studies

CHARLES HAYDEN: Do you like lesbians?

RON ARGALL: Does red hair make a person less attractive to you sexually?

CHARLES HAYDEN: Do you like Tallulah Bankhead?

RON ARGALL: Would you like to have children?

CHARLES HAYDEN: Would you want your son to be homosexual?

HOST: Under Charles Hayden's new name, **Randolfe Wicker**, he receives hundreds of responses from Mattachinos. Leadership is furious that their mailing list has been stolen. Hal scathes Charles Hayden, AKA Randy Wicker, through a series of letters. Wicker boldly returns every message without apology. This is not a grab for power, it's an unauthorized study! He calculates his survey results, while the University of Texas gets wind of this influx of mail.

AUDIO: phone ringing

HETERO MAN: You've been accused of being a homosexual. You have 48 hours to take a lie detector test with the Texas Rangers to prove your innocence or you can resign from school with nothing on your record.

HOST: That night, Randy Wicker piles his surveys on a bonfire and watches the evidence go up in flames. Hal takes no action against Ron. He simply waits for membership renewal to come around, knowing Ron will not return. Randy Wicker and Ron Argall make a pact to begin Wicker Research Studies in earnest. As the New York Mattachine crumbles to barely a handful of members with no office after their eviction, Randy and Ron set out for New York, where Wicker will be deemed a "disturbing acquisition" in the homophile community. Hal writes to Elver:

AUDIO: typewriter

HAL CALL: We may lose Los Angeles, New York, Washington, and Boston. So be it. Mattachine won't create any favorable impression in any community until it has representatives who can go to such public agencies and lay our cards on the table before them.... Why did all of this happen? Frankly, because New York officers were failing in their task of informing the police about Mattachine and its work. We got exactly the treatment we asked for.

HOST: New York refuses to be bold and publicly announce their work. He started the *Faces Behind the Names* series in the *Review* because of the *Interim* photo scandal, and New York leadership still insisted on wearing a mask on television.

HAL CALL: If we are going to stage public lecture forums and events such as the recent convention in New York, and issue publications that purport to be the product of responsible thinking adults, then we **MUST FACE THE ABSOLUTELY INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCE**: We shall have to be known and be willing to stand in the spotlight we are casting upon ourselves.

Mattachine is only an idea. It assumes substance only when its members and workers translate this idea into constructive, worthwhile action.

AUDIO: typewriter

ELVER BARKER: It is only by lighting candles that we can dispel the darkness, and the power of our own faith can help destroy the ogre of fear.

HOST: Elver and Hal hatch a plan to take the Mattachine Society to the public.

ELVER BARKER: If our cause is going to succeed I believe the time is coming, and soon, when we must cease to be cowards.

HOST: Meanwhile, the Daughters are organizing a survey of their own. Florence Jaffy sends out a 4-page questionnaire to more than 500 readers of *The Ladder* in order to calculate their demographics. Over the year of **1959**, 160 responses are returned to the Daughters. Florence publishes this first-ever study of lesbians done by lesbians. *The Ladder* announces,

FLORENCE JAFFY: DOB Questionnaire Reveals Some Facts About Lesbians

HOST: She reports higher-than-average levels of education, professional work, and income for these women. Most are registered to vote and own property – quite different than the average 1959 woman. The results certainly reveal positions of privilege held by the readers of *The Ladder*, but the results also show that there is more possibility for privileges when a woman isn't stifled by a relationship with a man. While she has to work harder to gain autonomy in society, a relationship with a woman rather than a man gives them both the freedom to pursue and often achieve their goals. What Florence Jaffy doesn't publish, as she is advised by the Kinsey Institute not to publish, is that most of the women who returned the survey are teachers. Also interesting:

FLORENCE JAFFY: A number of persons indicated specifically that they recognized both 'masculine' and 'feminine' elements in themselves. It is probable that a large majority of persons, Lesbian and otherwise, have such a mixture of elements, but that awareness of this mixture, as well as the mixture itself, varies from person to person.

HOST: The Cold War's heightened policing of gender roles, and hostility of these women endured hostility from men who returned home from World War I. So Lesbians discuss what it might mean to present themselves with masculinity. Police continue to arrest women in the bars for wearing "men's" clothing. The Daughters of Bilitis meetings provide a safer space for them, but still, DOB women often feel endangered by masculine women entering their safe living rooms. Even the slur "dyke" came from semantic roots based on a woman's dress in men's clothing. Historian J. R. Roberts cites the Old English word "dight," meaning "to dress or clothe" and the Anglo-Saxon English "dick," meaning "to deck or adorn" likely led to the mid-19th century's slang "diked" and "diked out." In addition to its obvious sexual roots, dyke became a

slang term, often a slur, for a butch lesbian. Many lesbians do not want to associate with other Lesbians looking like men. And not only to women playing with gender receive hostility, it becomes obvious that many of the Daughters don't respect men, even the homosexual men, because no men have earned their respect. It comes in the obvious exclusions, previously discussed. In a 1955 *Mattachine Review* essay on bisexuality, the author uses nearly 50 male pronouns to refer to bisexuals in general. A bisexual woman who bought the magazine to learn about her sexuality would immediately feel excluded from the topics covered by the *Mattachine*, almost exclusively writing for men. They do not cover women's issues. When Sandy and Stella in LA organize speakers for their DOB chapter meetings, women of several class and race intersections show up – unless the speaker is a man. Then more than half of their regulars don't turn out. So, gender roles have many Lesbians in impossible situations. The homophile men ignore their issues, focusing on the petty fights for power. The cops arrest them if they like dress like men. But if they show up in a bar without presenting some kind of butch/femme queer coding, the lesbians will assume they're a cop and won't talk to them. Even the founders of the Daughters, Del and Phyllis, argue about their roles.

PHYLLIS LYON: We played the roles in public, and then we went home and fought about them.

HOST: The militant Randy Wicker also has written earlier this year in the *Mattachine Review* on

RANDY WICKER: Effeminacy v. Affectation

HOST: As far as gender roles in the gay male community, it's about not tarnishing the image of the other men.

RANDY WICKER: Earmarks of the 'affected' individual are inflection of voice, mincing steps, and broken wrists... deliberately offensive.

HOST: He explains to the *Mattachine* readers that gendered behavior makes sexuality visible, and not only puts gay spaces in danger, but he also thinks,

RANDY WICKER: It is pathetic that *this type of homosexual* should tend to perpetuate the popular stereotype.

HOST: And crossing the gender binary makes people think we're sick.

RANDY WICKER: Society must be allowed to see and learn about a great many average, responsible and reasonably well-adjusted homosexuals.

HOST: Sure, let's all be average. Randy Wicker will later change his mind about all of this. The homophiles are still discussing something still so vague and widely misunderstood: the difference between sexuality and gender. While they might be worried about mincing men and masculine women, the homophile writers are incidentally encouraging what will one day be

called transphobia. Many readers hear it as overcompensation, ridiculous levels of paranoia by requiring the community to hold each other in strict roles – whether demanding men lower their voices or demanding women play the butch/femme binary. It’s all misogyny forced on to every type of queer person in customized ways. A reader writes in to the *Mattachine Review*:

MATTACHINO 2: Well, you’ve said your pious little piece again and I suppose all the queer-haters approve, but I wonder how the homosexuals feel. You tell us that ‘the law as it exists must be respect and obeyed,’ but I say that this is nonsense. Prohibition was destroyed by the millions of decent, liberty-loving American drinkers who simply ignored it, and the present vicious sex laws will eventually be destroyed by the millions of decent, liberty-loving American homosexuals who refuse to have their private lives dictated by a bigoted public. Thoreau wrote on the necessity for civil disobedience. Emerson wrote that anyone trying to enforce the fugitive slave laws should have his head split open with an ax. All through American history there has been the insistence that the individual is superior to the state and that he has the right and ought to resist injustice. We have the right and duty to express our love as we see fit, and I for one intend to fulfill this duty to the best of my ability. The Mattachine Society cannot advocate violation of the law, but you do not have to stoop to such hypocritical humbug...

HOST: Another writes from British Columbia:

MATTACHINO 3: Timid, defensive, apologetic.... This business of proclaiming from the housetops that proper queer people are not neurotic, but rather as averagely apple pie-ish and more normal than the ‘normals’ positively sticks in my craw. Hell, I’m frankly ravingly neurotic and determined to remain that way. I work among ‘normals’ and have relatives that way and not for anything would I like to be like them or be induced in the slightest to try fitting myself into their social milieu.

HOST: A third reader writes:

MATTACHINO 4: ...when people actually have the gall to come right out and ask me whether or not I am homosexual, I have recently found it impossible to refrain from telling the truth, even in the most embarrassing circumstances. At least I have the satisfaction of watching them squirm when it was they who expected me to lie and squirm.

HOST: Less interested in the conservative ideology of the Mattachine Society and, often too, the Daughters of Bilitis, homosexuals continue to frequent their bars, no matter the danger and no matter what their homophile magazines say. In seedy neighborhoods like LA’s Skid Row, bars like Harold’s and the Waldorf allow sexual variants to gather somewhat discreetly. Positioned between these two gay bars, a 24-hour donut and coffee shop called Cooper sees hustlers and drag queens and trans folks passing through to their respective jobs. Main Street is more than a hangout for sex workers of all genders and races. Cooper’s is where gay men, lesbians and transgender people, often Latinx and African American, meet for a drink – outside of the gay bars, so they’re less likely to have trouble with the law. Yet still, LAPD officers pass through

harass pedestrians. On a night in **May 1959**, two cops enter Cooper Do-nuts and demand to see IDs. They announce that LA law requires your faces to back up the name on your ID. And your clothing better match your legal sex or you will be arrested. The officers grab two drag queens, or possibly two trans women, and a gay man, and take them out to the patrol car. One of the cops pushes the three queers into the car and a donut comes flying through the air and hits the officer. He turns around to see trash, donuts, and full coffee cups soaring toward them. Trans people, drag queens, lesbians, and gay men spill out of Cooper Do-nuts, chasing the officers down. The arrested three slip out of the car and run. The cops grab their nightsticks and call for backup. As they fight the angry queer mob forming on LA's Main Street, more cop cars pull up around them and the first riot for queer liberation breaks out.

The homophiles told the world that we exist. But what has it earned for us? Just to be told to lower our voices and wear a mask? The cops will still raid. Homophiles can play the roles and they might be safe, so they dismiss the minority within their minority, causing transgender people to require militant action. They've been a quietly surviving secret minority all this time, too. And if homophiles can't get the job done... Put a pin in that until next week on episode 7, "A Useful Citizen."