

MATTACHINE: A SERIALIZED STORY IN GAY HISTORY
EPISODE 7: "PEOPLE LIKE OTHER PEOPLE"



A podcast dedicated to exploring the overlooked, forgotten,
or often-untold stories in gay history.

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Dedicated to Albert Williams

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

A fight has persisted through the last century in gay liberation. It was a fight between German reformers of the first queer rights organizations. It was a fight between Henry Gerber and Manuel boyFrank in our first episode. It will later be a fight between the Gay Liberation Front and ACT UP and the politics of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force and Log Cabin Republicans. This same fight tears the Mattachine apart.

At the first convention of the Mattachine, in last week's episode, Mattachinos took sides: culturalist or assimilationist. The culturalist side believes in declaring the gay community a legal minority with rights and its own culture. This culture exists because gay people see the world differently than straight people – by the way we think, our beliefs, our traditions, our ideology and relationships work differently because our relationships aren't based on the need to reproduce. The assimilationist side believes in merging into major society, essentially saying that gay people are exactly like anyone else aside from who we take to bed. This side wants to assimilate to society because they don't want to be separated from people even more, especially by working within a secretive organization founded by former communists, who are being hunted by the FBI.

Alliances form. At the first convention of the Mattachine, the new constitution to decide which side the organization will chose could not be finished. The Mattachine can't move forward without a constitution – without knowing what they are fighting for. They don't know if they will remain anonymous or go public, as the FBI closes in on their hunt for communist homosexuals.

While waiting for the next convention in six weeks, it becomes clear to Mattachine leadership that the San Francisco group's new treasurer, **David Finn**, is in contact with the Attorney General, and "that he had been closely associated with the FBI for many years and would consider it his duty to report the activities of the Convention" if they do not "reaffirm" the new principles of the Mattachine. Pressure builds to give in to the assimilationist side, because reaffirming a separate homosexual culture means confirming the principles of the communist founders. Harry Hay jokes that people in the Mattachine are as scared of promoting a gay culture almost as much as they fear communists.

Chuck Rowland writes to fellow culturalist **Gerry Brissette**:

"The fact that a homosexual culture exists in no way implies that we do not want, are not working for, integration. But integration does not imply dissolution. In fact, it can't. If society accepts us, are we, therefore, any less homosexual? If Negroes are completely accepted are they, therefore, whiter? Do they abandon their music, their art?"

Welcome to *Mattachine*.

May 23, 1953.

Hal Call steps off the plane in Los Angeles and drives to Jim Kepner's home in Echo Park. Hal is serving as secretary of the San Francisco group, and stands firmly against communist and culturist rhetoric. He's spent six weeks preparing for the second convention of the Mattachine with his close friend David Finn – the member threatening to contact the FBI. They brought a plan to assimilate the Mattachine to greater society. **Jim Kepner** will never forget seeing Hal trudge up the hill fuming. Jim, you might recall, took more of a neutral stance at the convention, though his recollections of that day imply he's more of a culturalist himself. Jim and a bipartisan Preamble Committee meet very early over at **Dorr Legg's** place, in Dorr's musty living room. You might remember Dorr as the guy who worked at ONE Magazine, whom Hal had reached out to for information on the anonymous Mattachine Foundation. This committee discusses their plan for the wording of the Mattachine constitution's preamble, that paragraph with the pesky phrase "an ethical homosexual culture" that many assimilationists disagree with. The assimilationists actually decide to present the preamble today, at the second convention, almost exactly as the Founders had presented it at the first convention six weeks ago. But with a twist.

That afternoon, Jim and Hal head back to the First Universalist Church for the second convention. Once again, everyone is there, dressed sharp for the occasion. Hal Call approaches David Finn outside. Jim Kepner recognizes Finn. *"I had seen him often during my shipyard days in '43...but some strange repulsion kept me from approaching him."*

3PM. Ken Burns drops the gavel on the stand, bringing the Mattachine to order. **Reverend Wallace de Ortega Maxey** begins the convention with a prayer.

Discussion ensues on the main topic at hand: the constitution. Will they remain an anonymous membership in order to protect members from the government, and encourage a gay minority addendum to the US constitution? Or will they assimilate to greater heteronormative society as people no different from anyone else aside from who they sleep with? They debate over the restructuring of the Mattachine's organization, how local chapters will form safely under the power of a board. But a game is being played within the argument. It can be seen only by the politically savvy. The political game is the removal of Harry Hay's ruling Foundation. The removal of these men as members entirely. Harry, Rudi, Bob, Chuck, Dale, Konrad, and James – the original Founders of the Mattachine – are stacked high on a trembling house of cards.

They break for dinner, and return to pick up the fight once more. Chuck Rowland and Gerry Brissette, firm culturalists, try to have the discussions tabled again as they see the assimilationists winning everyone over. When the constitution's article comes up about who will approve new chapters throughout the country, many with Gerry in the East Bay want the Foundation to approve them.

Ken Burns bangs his gavel. *“Out of order! Our relationship to the Foundation is a policy matter and not a constitutional matter.”*

Shouts erupt, objecting Ken’s ruling. Without the power to approve new Mattachine groups, the Foundation’s power will dissolve.

Gerry Brissette presents an amendment that would give money from membership dues to the Foundation for their work, to which Ken rules yet again, *“Our relationship with the Mattachine Foundation is a policy matter and not a constitutional matter.”*

Which means, quite simply, the creators of the Mattachine lose power.

Eight hours into the debate, a constitution is adopted. There is still no preamble, no new name for the Mattachine, and no officers elected. But everyone is exhausted.

Member: *“Motion to adjourn for the day.”*

Ken Burns: *“Motion denied.”*

They take a brief recess. It’s an hour to midnight when the members of the Mattachine gather on the convention floor to approve a preamble.

Jim Kepner and the Preamble Committee present their work:

Jim Kepner: *“We, the members of _____, in full awareness of our social obligations hold it necessary that a highly ethical homosexual culture be integrated into society; and, whereas, the present laws of many lands are discriminatory and limit the best expression of this culture; and, whereas we are resolved that these people shall find equality; and, whereas we desire to spread knowledge of the aims and aspirations of this through mutual education of its membership and of society, we, therefore, hereby resolve...”*

Jim is unprepared for the pandemonium that follows. The preamble tears the Mattachine apart, assimilationists taking a hard stand against the “highly ethical homosexual culture.” Shouting fills the church hall.

Hal Call stands up to address the convention. The Preamble Committee has given the culturalists exactly what they wanted: that line about culture. And now, for his assimilationists, Hal Call presents a statement to be attached to the preamble:

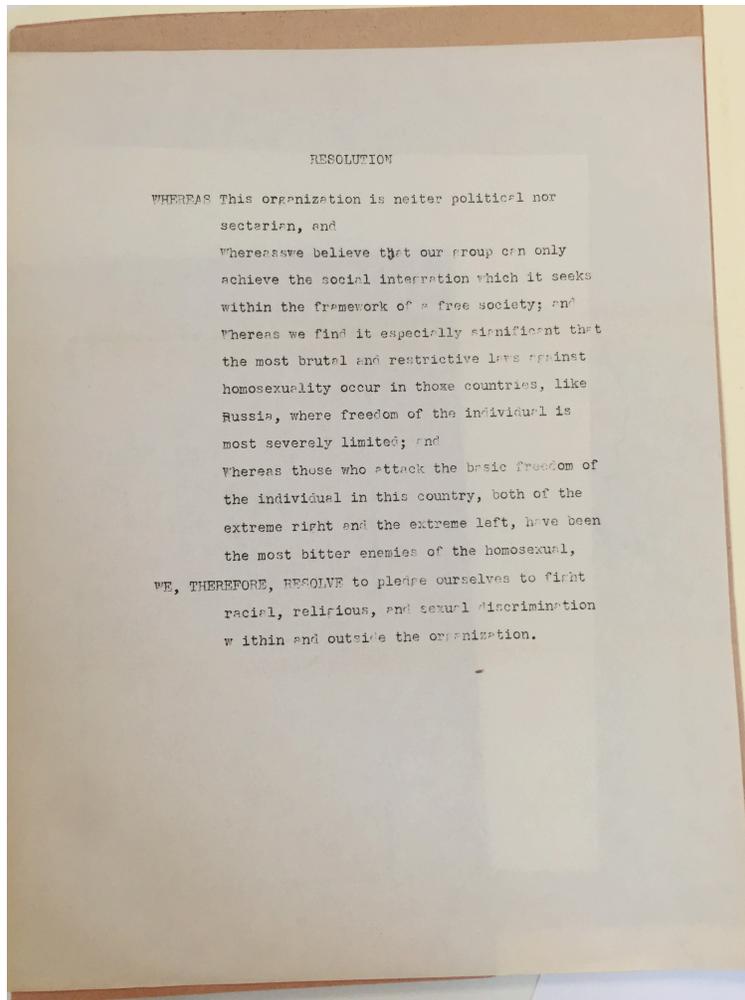
Hal Call: *“Whereas we believe that our group can only achieve the social integration which it seeks within the framework of a free society, and*

*Whereas we find it especially significant that the most brutal and restrictive laws against homosexuality occur in those countries, **like Russia**, where freedom of the individual is most severely limited, and*

*Whereas those who attack the basic freedom of the individual in this country, both of the extreme right and the **extreme left**, have been the most bitter enemies of the homosexual,*

*We, therefore, resolve to pledge ourselves to fight racial, religious, and sexual discrimination **within** and outside the organization.”*

Notice the statements that would subtly, and certainly, set their organization apart from communists: “like Russia,” “extreme left,” “fight...within...the organization.”



From the ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

And then **Hal adds**, to be certain those statements did not go unnoticed, *"With this article in our preamble, no communist could honestly accept it."* And this includes communist sympathizers. So not only is the original Foundation now powerless, but the people of the Foundation, who created the organization, are ousted from the Mattachine.

Marilyn "Boopsie" Rieger, secretary of the convention, stands. Her letter to the Foundation one month earlier requesting answers about their secrecy had been given a generic response, as you might recall. She distributes a new letter now, denouncing the very nature of the Foundation, which has been secrecy and promotion of homosexuals as a minority.

Boopsie: *"We are organizing a minority which is emphasizing the fact that we are homosexual and pointing out our differences rather than our similarities by limiting our integration only within the homosexual population and by moving underground, in secrecy and with fear. For an organization to exist in secrecy is to invite its persecution... only by coming out into the open... by integrating, not as homosexuals, but as people, as men and women, whose homosexuality is irrelevant to our ideals, our principles, our hopes and aspirations—that we will rid the world of its misconcepts of homosexuality and homosexuals."*

David Finn agrees, reminding the crowd of possible communist influence within the Foundation.

Chuck Rowland feels they're playing the communist card not because they have anything on anyone, but because the Foundation is saying daring things. *"That's what communists do: they create waves, they make scenes, they're unpleasant, they don't balance their coffee cups on their knees politely."*

Hal Call moves for his not-so-subtly anti-communist proposal to be "unanimously adopted as a resolution" unattached to the preamble. They take a vote. Seven vote against.

Ken Burns just wants to get this fight over with before it keeps them there all night, so he quickly announces a unanimous vote.

They return to the preamble.

Ken Burns: *Motion for the term "culture" to be removed in favor of the term "people."*
The convention again explodes in shouts.

East Bay member: *"The term 'culture' conveys a sense of togetherness and a sense of oneness. It conveys the idea that we all have a common destiny. It refers to the idea that we are a group. We are a special group whether we like it or not."*

Boopsie: *"We are trying to put across the idea that we are people like other people...."*

Another member: *"In the beginning I objected to the word 'culture' on these grounds. When asked whether I am a homosexual, I answered by asking when? Then it was pointed out to me that I am homosexual not only when I am indulgent in a sexual expression, I am homosexual many other times. Perhaps there is something inherent in homosexuality that gives me a different response to the world that I live in. Or perhaps there is something inherent to my adjustment to homosexuality in contemporary society that determines my method of expression. But, at any rate, I am homosexual a good deal of the time and I draw from, I exist in, and I hope I may contribute to an area of expression and activity which may be defined by the name 'culture.'"*

All of this fighting, traveling across the state to gather, the long nights, the endless letters, the nitpicking of a single word in the preamble of a constitution must be done, because, as **Chuck Rowland** will later explain, “the only way they were ever going to get along in society was by being nice, quiet, polite little boys that our maiden aunts would have approved of. We were not going to get along in the world by going out and flaunting our homosexuality. There were people of goodwill, who would help us, but we could not do anything naughty like having picket signs or parades.”

So paperwork, right now, is the only way. And it’s by this reasoning that many people want to reel in the “culture of homosexuality.”

Member: *Motion to hold off on the preamble and continue working on it—*

Ken Burns: *Out of order!*

This is the Foundation’s final chance to leave their mark on the Mattachine, the organization they created on the hillside by Harry’s house.

The vote is called, 26 to 25. The ‘highly ethical homosexual culture’ is defeated.

The convention will now have to hash out every mention of the word ‘culture’ in the amendments, which the Foundation has enough support in fighting through the night. It’s late, past midnight, and since Hal Call’s statement protecting the society against communist influence has already been accepted, the convention almost entirely accepts the preamble as is – with the word “culture.” Because now it doesn’t really matter.

The debate reaches a stopping point for the exhausted delegates. As people gather their things to leave, one delegate brings up a point of order, questioning the legality of Call’s statement accepted through “a unanimous adoption” when it was actually only accepted by a majority.

Member: *Seven voted against.*

No one will hear the argument, and everyone quickly votes to adjourn until tomorrow.

Sunday morning. Around 10AM.

The Mattachine Foundation shows up at Harry Hay’s house again. They’re together for what feels like the final time. **Bob Hull** explains that a congressional committee is soon coming west to California to investigate left nonprofit foundations. It’s clear Red-baiting, the government looking to take down communists. “*We can’t hold this thing!*” They’re all either former communists or at least fellow travelers. The Mattachine is falling apart. Elsewhere across town, committees are meeting to choose a new name and move on. Harry realizes that they are no longer unanimous under “The Call.” He feels that his friends have become opportunistic by not supporting him.

2:40PM. Ken Burns calls the convention to order. Chuck takes the stage once again. He announces that the Foundation had met that morning. Many of the Founders are still anonymous to members, and Chuck says he speaks for them.

Chuck Rowland: *“For a while in the last month, many of the Foundation members were of the honest opinion that this group could not function without the Mattachine Foundation as a group to coordinate, advise and assist the various area councils. With this in mind, as I expressed to several of you last night, I was opposed to the idea of a state organization. But the state organization was formed and I am convinced now that my opinion was incorrect...”*

He goes on to explain that the Founders are a little upset that the new constitution didn't try to include the Foundation in the Society.

Chuck: *“It is our honest opinion that with the state organization, there is really no function that the Foundation could perform that you people in the new organization could not perform. For this reason we have voted unanimously to dissolve the Foundation and to give you the name Mattachine and to turn over to you, as soon as it can be done legally, the funds, the mailing lists, all the facilities and properties of the Foundation for the new Society.”*

The convention hall sits in shock. The Founders all stand and show themselves to the convention, to acknowledge their support of the decision. Harry, Rudi, Bob, Chuck, Dale, Konrad, and James look around at their constituents who have now taken control of their organization.

Harry Hay will later equate it to the Wizard of Oz revealing himself to Dorothy: “The Foundation's miracles were suddenly revealed to be no supernatural marvels at all.”

Applause erupts. And, of course, debate ensues.

Dorr Legg recommends the Founders remain leaders of the new society. Hal Call reminds them that allowing these people to remain part of the society will leave them all vulnerable to HUAC investigations, and they will all be deemed fellow travelers. He suggests allowing the Foundation members to remain members, though not a part of any foundation or council. Harry will have no part in that. A heated debate ensues over the danger or benefits of keeping the Mattachine name after being printed by the Red-baiting press, ending with a **Foundation member announcing**, *“I feel that there is no more stigma that is attached to the name Mattachine than there is attached to anything that includes the word homosexual!”*

A winning majority vote to keep the Mattachine name is taken, and applause fills the church. A statement is read officially dissolving the Mattachine Foundation, and declaring the newly formed Mattachine Society.

A motion is approved to thank the Foundation for their “efforts in our behalf.”

The convention finally elects officers, including chair of the convention Ken Burns as chairman of the new Mattachine Society, **Harriet Stanley** as vice chair, David Finn as Legislative Committee Chair, Dorr Legg as treasurer, Marilyn Rieger as secretary, Hal Call as chapter secretary, and **Martin Block**, founding editor of ONE Magazine, as publications chairman.

There is little support in electing the original Founders. Most people assume that grudges would fade over the years, but **Jim Kepner** will later write that “The process left wounds that would last thirty years and, at the end of that weekend, nothing was completed except the unravelment of the Founders’ dreams.”

It’s disappointing to the former communists like Harry Hay. He was in the closet when he was a communist, and after rejecting the Communist Party in favor of his homosexuality, the homosexuals rejected him due to his communism.

That evening, another member proposes a challenge to Hal Call’s anti-communist resolution attached to the preamble and the seven dissenting votes. Most of the delegates from out of town have left already, and **Ken Burns shouts** “*Out of order!*” Declaring this a ‘*shady trick*’ to pull on the fellow delegates who are already gone. The issue is put aside.

Ken Burns then closes the convention.

Ken Burns: *“At times, I know, we all wondered if we were ever going to get through with anything. We got to the end of our ropes, at times. But, in the end, when everything dies down when we look back I think we will find that we have really something we can be proud of.”*

All members will now be known to the entire organization, but only officers' names will be public information. Jim Kepner and Dale Jennings leave the Mattachine to work with ONE, Incorporated's ONE Magazine. Harry and Chuck feel as if the assimilationist conservatives they invited into their society have walked away with their baby. Dorr Legg will recall that *"When it was all over, the original people just ran into the hills."* Lovers break up, friends swear at each other and never speak again. Harry Hay vanishes, and the former Founders begin to believe that he hates them. **Chuck:** *"This guy who we had been through hell and paradise with suddenly was not available."* Rudi will never speak to any of them again, except for Harry, though they'll break up this year. Rudi will become a well-known avant-garde fashion designer, and will be featured on the cover of *Time* magazine in 1967. *Time* will call him "the most way-out, far-ahead designer in the U.S." Chuck also thinks that this breakup of the Mattachine is what will indirectly cause Bob Hull's later suicide. Chuck loses touch with everyone in the Mattachine for years.



WHAT ARE CHAPTERS?

Chapters are the basic membership organizational unit. They sponsor and conduct discussion groups, raise funds through dues and other activities in order to accomplish various projects in furtherance of the aims of the society.

WHAT IS THE SOCIETY'S ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE?

In addition to chapters and discussion groups, an area council is set up to coordinate activities of chapters in each principal locality. It is composed of representatives from each chapter concerned. Above this, a coordinating council has been formed to guide and channel activities of the several areas of the society. Its officers are the officers of the general convention, who are democratically elected by direct vote of chapter delegates. The number of delegates from each chapter is determined on the basis of chapter membership.

CAN I REMAIN ANONYMOUS?

Yes. No one is required to give his full name to the society. No membership lists are kept, not because the activities of the society are subversive or illegal, but solely because we realize that in view of widespread prejudice yet to be overcome, the general welfare of some persons could be damaged were it commonly known that they were either sympathetic or active participants in an organization of this kind. (Historically, we are reminded that the early Christians--now held in highest esteem--were required to maintain anonymity for their own preservation.)

HOW MAY I OBTAIN FURTHER INFORMATION?

Write to the society at any of these addresses:

THE MATTACHINE SOCIETY
Postoffice Box 1925,
Los Angeles 53, Calif.

BAY CITIES CHAPTERS,
Postoffice Box 851
Oakland 4, Calif.

SAN FRANCISCO CHAPTER
Postoffice Box 259
San Francisco 1, Calif.

For information regarding ONE magazine, write:

ONE, INCORPORATED
Postoffice Box 5716
Los Angeles 55, Calif.

For information regarding current literature on the subject write:

CORY BOOK SERVICE
237 East 56th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

(Be sure to include postal zones in all addresses above)

This information sheet prepared by Publications Committee of San Francisco Chapter, and is not an official publication of the Mattachine Society.

From the ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

Harry Hay had founded a minority, who at least agreed somewhat with communist ideals. He wanted the Mattachine to find out what gays were and had been, and, most importantly, what they stood for.

Harry Hay: "The original society was based upon this feeling of idealism, a great transcendent dream of what being gay was all about. I had proposed from the very beginning that it would be Mattachine's job to find out who we gays were (and had been over the millennia) and what we were for, and, on such bases, to find ways to make our contributions to our parent hetero society. It would be upon such contributions that we would renegotiate the relationships of gays to the hetero majority. But such bargaining was always to be between gays and straights as groups, never as individual gays making deals behind the scenes. The Mattachine after 1953 was primarily concerned with legal change, with being seen as respectable—rather than self-respecting. They wanted to be dignified by professional 'authorities' and prestigious people, rather than by the more compelling dignity of group worth."

Harry hands all speaking engagements over to the new Mattachine, and publishes only under his pen name, the one he signed to “The Call,” Eann MacDonald. It isn’t ironic just because the creator of the organization is singled out. It’s ironic because his own pledge to “unconditionally guard the anonymity of all members of the Mattachine,” is the thing that took Harry Hay down. As the FBI closes in, it’s for the safety of everyone in Harry’s life that he goes away.

Two days after the convention, boxes arrive for Harriet Stanley, the Mattachine Society’s new vice chair. The boxes are full of Harry’s correspondence in organizing the Mattachine, probably some of the very letters I’ve read here. The last letter is from Harry to Harriet. It explains the danger of assimilating.

Harry: “It is a contract between an individual and the engulfing majority whereby the individual tailors himself, regardless of his personal independent requirements, to be acceptable to the community’s arbitrary conditions.”

Three days after that, there’s a knock on David Finn’s office door in San Francisco. He opens the door to see two FBI agents.

Agent 1: You’ve confirmed the Mattachine is definitely not subversive.

David Finn: Yes, and I would be glad to cooperate with the FBI in the future.

They enter the room.

Agent 1: What do you know about ONE Magazine?

David Finn: Nothing, except for having read a couple of issues.

Agent 1: What is ONE Magazine’s tie to the Mattachine Foundation?

David Finn: I don’t think it has any.

Agent 2: We’re aware you’re active in Mattachine activities.

David Finn writes to Ken Burns: “It seemed at that point to be as cooperative and as positive without saying any more than was necessary. I had to explain that the Society was formed because there was a suspicion (unproven, but since it was there we wanted none of it) that some Mattachine Foundation persons were at least sympathetic to communist doctrines. I told them of the resolution and its approximate wording and our general feelings toward communism.”

He tells the agents that the Mattachine Society “was not a homosexual organization but it was composed also of other persons having understanding of the problems and a desire to assist us.”

The agents interrogate him about who in the FBI might be gay. They ask him why he isn’t registered as “an admitted deviate.” David gives them copies of the Mattachine constitution and explains the work to purge communists out. Though the records are redacted, the FBI finds much help from members in the San Francisco area. FBI Director Hoover isn’t convinced. He forwards the reports to the Justice Department Criminal Division for possible prosecution under Eisenhower’s Executive Order 10450. As discussed in our episode 5, this is a security program that focuses on adulterers, drunks, parents of illegitimate children, and homosexuals as national security threats. But mostly just homosexuals.

The FBI spends the rest of 1953 investigating the leaders of the Mattachine, names all now released to the public. They retain a copy of the questionnaire the Mattachine sent to candidates for office in LA, the one that compelled journalist Paul Coates to write his article in our episode 3. An informant tells the FBI about the new Mattachine leader, Ken Burns, applying for a PO box for the organization. They report Ken's place of work and his personal references. The Bureau searches Ken Burns in the Retail Merchants Credit association, the LAPD records, the LA Sheriff's Office, the voting registrar, and everywhere he had ever lived.

The Mattachine Foundation, Inc., December 1952 -- Page 2

illegal entrapment of homosexuals. Such a file will be of immense value in cases appealed to the higher courts.

Society
The ~~Foundation~~ has organized a Publications ~~Committee~~ *Committee* to distribute printed information on the activities of the ~~Foundation~~ and its affiliates and to supply scientific, social and legal information on the subject of homosexuality to interested persons. ~~The Publications Committee operates a book service to supply all the latest and best books, pamphlets and treatises on the subject of homosexuality.~~ At present, and as fast as funds are available, the Committee ~~is sending~~ complimentary copies of Donald Webster Corey's book, The Homosexual in America, to ~~the~~ *DDM* municipal judges in the City of Los Angeles.

Has mailed

While we feel these activities are considerable for our short existence, we look forward to a great future of socially responsible and productive activity. But we need your assistance. Please fill out the attached questionnaire and return it to the above address. We welcome your reactions to this letter and suggestions and information you feel would be helpful to us.

Very cordially yours,
Corey
THE MATTACHINE FOUNDATION, ~~INC.~~

Romayne Cox
(Miss) Romayne Cox *Buy 1925*
Secretary Treasurer

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From the ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

The FBI learns that the Mattachine is meeting at the Red Cross Blood Center on South Vermont Street in LA to donate blood on August 7, 1953, as a way to show that the organization gives back to the community. The Special Agent in Charge in Los Angeles notes that the FBI will collect the names of those who gave blood with credit to the Mattachine Society, and they will keep a list of these homosexual members.

They also investigate the name signed on a letter from the Mattachine Society to a correspondent, **Mrs. Henry Hay**. But the Bureau still doesn't put together that this is actually Harry Hay using his mother's name. Had they figured out who she truly is, they would realize that they've been investigating Harry Hay since 1943 as a communist. But now, Harry Hay has officially severed ties from the Mattachine. He's gone.

Soon a new leader will sit on top of the Mattachine's delicate house of cards in a position that historian James Sears says, "would impact gay history."
Next week on *Mattachine*.

Ken Burns
1123 W. 42nd St.
Los Angeles, Calif.

July 24, 1953

Dear Ken:

On Friday, August 7, 1953, between 6:00 and 8:00 P.M., Members and friends of the Mattachine Society are meeting en masse at the Red Cross Blood Center, 1130 So. Vermont, to donate blood in the name of the Mattachine Society.

With this Blood Bank program in effect, the Mattachine Society will certainly be recognized as an organization that realizes its social obligations and serves its fellow man.

It will also offer the security of having blood available to all members of the Society and all donors who are not members of the Society, if the need arises.

If you have never given blood, may I personally assure you, it does not hurt a bit, and the personal satisfaction you will derive from contributing to the community at large and to mankind cannot be expressed in words.

If you want more information concerning the program, please feel free to call me at Prospect 2155 between 8:30 A.M. -4:30 P.M. or at HOLLYWOOD 5-6738 after 6:00 P.M.

You should not eat anything for three (3) hours previous to the time of donation.

In the name of the Mattachine Society...in the name of humanity please join us at the Blood Bank on Friday, August 7, 1953 between 6:00 and 8:00 P.M.

Sincerely,
MATTACHINE SOCIETY
Marilyn P. Rieger
MARILYN P. RIEGER
Chairman
Blood Bank Program

From the ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.