History is Gay

Episode 42: Rainbow Rising: Homo-feels about Homophiles, Part 1

Leigh: Hello and welcome to *History is Gay*. A podcast that examines the underappreciated and overlooked queer ladies, gents, and gentle enbies that have always been there in the unexplored corners of history. Because history has never been as straight as you think.

♪ [Into music plays]♪

Introduction and Announcements

Leigh: Hello, everyone, I'm Leigh, Leigh Pfeffer, your host of *History is Gay* Podcast coming into your ears and into your podcast feeds for another episode. <u>Yay!</u> I am joined today by a wonderful guest host. It's his first time on the show. And we're going to be talking about some cool stuff together. So without further ado, I would like to introduce Tyler Albertario. Hello!

Tyler: Hello, Leigh. It's wonderful to be here. How are you?

Leigh: I'm doing well. How are you? I'm excited that we get to—we get to talk about things today, especially just considering your focus in your work. I'm excited. [laughs]

Tyler: Thank you. I appreciate that. But yes, it's wonderful to be here talking about the history of the homophile movement.

Leigh: Yes, yeah, that's what we're gonna talk about. Today, we're gonna talk about early LGBTQ organizing pre-Stonewall. This is part of our kind of Rainbow Rising series that we never actually turned into a series. It was just one episode that we did ages ago. And now I'm bringing it back. Yeah. So Tyler, before we get into our main topic, and continue with the intro, your name might not be familiar to some folks listening to the episode. So could you introduce yourself, tell us a little bit about yourself and what you do in this work?

Tyler: Sure. My name is Tyler Albertario. I'm an amateur LGBTQ historian, currently working on a bunch of really cool projects. I run a Twitter account where I try to post a little snippet of LGBTQ history every day. It's getting a little tough lately with everything going on in my life. But I do my best. And I produce a lot of great content pertaining to LGBTQ history that I think a lot of people really love and enjoy. And please check me out there.

Leigh: Well, thank you so much for coming on today. And the reason why I've got you as my guest host for today is because you're kind of the perfect person to talk about the homophile movement. You are doing a bunch of research and writing specifically about these organizations and about the ways that they all kind of came together, right? That's how we got in touch with each other.

Tyler: Well, I have written a few articles. I've written about the 1964 ECHO conference, as well as sort of the early days of the Mattachine Society and some events that happened there that we'll be discussing later, in the episode. I reached out to Leigh on Twitter, with the idea of doing an episode centered around specifically the latter incarnation of the homophile movement, sort of the post-1963 onward incarnation of it, and sort of just covering that, but it's sort of evolved over the months.

Leigh: Right. [laughs]

Tyler: It's sort of covering the entire homophile movement, because—because you know, you can't you— can't cover one part without covering the whole thing. So.

Leigh: Right. Well, and it's hard to do, you know, like this is going to be very abbreviated as much as the format of this show could be.

Socio-Historic Context

So we've briefly like mentioned it in a couple of episodes just in passing previously, but you know, we want to talk about the rise in the fall or the birth and the death, however you want to call it of the homophile movement. Which is the state of some of the first widespread LGBTQ plus rights organizing in the United States and elsewhere.

There are plenty of homophile organizations throughout Europe, but we're gonna focus on the United States and talking pre-Stonewall and then like butting up into Stonewall. And you know, why? Why don't we have these same organizations around? What happened? And this is another one that's going to be a two parter episode, because we just have so much to talk about and it's really hard to distill a 20 year movement into one episode.

So this first conversation we're going to have is going to be going into the origins and the rise of the homophile movement. And then in our second episode, we're going to come back and we're going to talk about some shifts

that happen into the 1960s. And the ushering in of radical organizing and the ways that these various disconnected or somewhat disconnected homophile organizations come together and try to do some national organizing. And hear what happens when all these different disparate organizations disagree and what ultimately leads to the functional end of the homophile movement.

Content Warning: Mention of anti-gay medical treatments

In terms of any content warnings, for this episode, we're going to be discussing era typical words and language that is homophobic, transphobic. There's going to be use of terms that are now considered outdated. There's going to be a lot of terms, a lot of use of the term homosexual. There's going to be discussion of anti-gay medicalization and kind of historic, quote unquote "cures" for queerness, which involves some really gnarly practices. So you know, just kind of keep keeping watch for that. So we will, as usual, put into our show notes, the places where you might just want to watch out for trigger warnings or content warnings. And if you don't want to listen to those pieces, you can skip over them.

As usual, we'll end the podcast with our How Gay Were They? segment, our personal ranking about how likely it is that they weren't straight. Let's dive in to our main topic. Let's talk about the birth and death of the homophile movement.

Tyler: Yes, let's.

Leigh: And so before we can get into that, we want to give a little bit as usual, of socio historical context. Tell you where we are, as we're dropping you into this story. We've mentioned it briefly on the podcast before but you have— these are organizations that are very early, active LGBTQ rights organizations, but they are not the first in the U.S. We have the Society for Human Rights, which was started in 1924 by Henry Gerber in Chicago, we've mentioned before.

And at this time, you have the rise of sexology. That seems to be you know, a theme that we come back to a lot on this show is the Alfred Kinsey reports had been published in the early '50s. Bringing to the forefront frank discussions and studies of sexual practices and behavior, including queerness, including homosexuality, bisexuality. Sexual Behavior in the Human Male was published in 1948. And then Sexual Behavior of the Human Female was published in 1953. Do you want to just talk really briefly about the DSM? Because we're going to be bringing it up a little bit later in the

episode?

Tyler: Talk briefly about the DSM. [laughter] Let's, let's see. But yeah, so in 1952, the first edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, otherwise known as the DSM, was published by the American Psychiatric Association, and in it homosexuality was classified as a quote "sexual deviation" within the larger quote "sociopathic personality disturbance" category of personality disorders. This is the first time that homosexuality was officially categorized as a mental illness by the psychiatric establishment.

And it prescribed all kinds of cool you know, quote, unquote, "treatments" and quote unquote, "therapies" that were very, very popular at the time to quote unquote, "cure "homosexuality, like aversion therapy, electroshock therapy, hypnosis, even lobotomies I've read about. It's just, you know—

Leigh: It's really – it's really gruesome.

Tyler: The whole smorgasbord of conversion therapy horrors that we're all currently familiar with. This is when it got its start.

Leigh: Yeah, if you've ever seen the film *Clockwork Orange*, like— like think that kind of style of you know, what's going on in terms of, you know, aversion therapy, right, like showing people like erotic images and getting negative associations with it was really, you know, gross. We also have in 1950, the start of the Lavender Scare, which is— is analogous to the Red Scare. We have, you know, McCarthyism happening, and these witch hunts of communists. And along with that, there is this mass dismissal of queer people, of homosexuals from military and government service. They were considered a threat to national security. We have this quote from David K. Johnson in his book, The Lavender Scare that I thought really well summed it up.

"In 1950, many politicians, journalists and citizens thought that homosexuals posed more of a threat to national security than communists. By November, the quote, "purge of the perverts" resulted in the dismissal of nearly 600 federal civil servants. In the State Department alone, security officials boasted that on average, they were firing one homosexual per day, more than double the rate of those suspected of political disloyalty."

So that's really widespread. There were thousands and thousands of inquiries into people's behavior. And there were congressional hearings that happened in 1950 that were followed by a full Senate investigation, that actually resulted in a report released called *Employment of Homosexuals and*

Other Perverts in Government.

Tyler: And this is the broader context in which all of these early developments in the homophile movement are taking place. This is—this is the environment that McCarthyism and post World War II paranoia has created in the United States to sort of force gay and queer people underground, in a way that had never been seen before, even at the turn of the century. And it's in this environment that organizations like the Mattachine Society were established to try and provide a modicum of light in this situation— in this horrible situation that was going on.

Leigh: Yeah, and it kind of comes to a head in 1952, Congress passed the Immigration and Nationality Act, which banned homosexual immigrants and President Eisenhower passed Executive Order 10450, which made homosexuality grounds for dismissal from federal employment. So just— just being, you know, known as or suspected even of being queer was enough to get you fired from federal employment.

Tyler: It was a decades long fight to get both of these overturned. This was— this was the primary function of the homophile movement throughout its existence or most of its existence rather.

Leigh: Alright, well let's, you know, we've got kind of our context, we've got where we're dropping ourselves into this— this story. So let's talk— let's give a little bit of a definition about what we mean when we say this word homophile. What are we mean when we refer to homophile movement, homophile organizations? It's a, you know, it's a word that we don't see a lot in current use.

Tyler: [laughs] Sure, don't. But essentially, what it was was the activists way of emphasizing the love aspect of gay and queer relationships, the suffix -phile, meaning of course, love, like, if you're a Francophile, you love all things relating to France, if you're an Anglophile, you love all things relating to England. You know—

Leigh: If you're a homophile, you love all things relating to homos.

Tyler: Right! Exactly.

Leigh: That kind of works. Right?

Tyler: That's— that— that is— that is the linguistic logic behind it. And so— so that— that was the reasoning, they wanted to get the public image of gay and queer people off of thinking about sex. So they removed the suffix

-sexual and replaced it with -phile to emphasize love. And the focus, of course, was on, you know, combating discrimination using tools of education and recruiting the scientific community.

Leigh: Yeah. And, you know, they— they did this by creating an atmosphere in their organizations and in their— their goals of focusing on respectability, really, kind of assimilationist tactics. You know, showing, hey, we're just like you, we are members of your community, you know, really, we're exactly like heterosexuals except in the way that we love. And so this is, you know, with that kind of de-emphasis on sexual— on sexuality with the, you know, emphasis of love, it's specifically a departure from language and imagery of like homosexuals being sick or criminal. We actually, going back to what Tyler was mentioning about, we have this quote by Domeninco Rizzo, who's a historian that says:

"Deep seated prejudices and disgraceful stereotypes scared the public and government and triggered repressive mechanics. Prostitutes and blackmailers, sexually promiscuous and the corrupters of youth, inverts who went against the natural order, these images homophile groups maintained, prevented the granting of equality to those whose inclinations for intimate friendship and love were directed towards those of their own sex."

So really trying to kind of distance themselves from these stereotypes that were really taking hold throughout community. And many of these organizations, you'll notice, as we go through them, have like really weird or obscure names, obviously, none of them have gay in the title. And that's very deliberate, you know, don't have gay or homosexual or even homophile. They use these obscure references in order to hint to their career focus for those in the know, but protect their members from consequences from affiliation with like, a known homosexual group. Because we are, you know, working in this atmosphere of the Lavender Scare where you could —you could just go to jail, you could get fired from your job, so many different consequences, you can be rounded up by the FBI, just by association.

Tyler: And it was— it was not until well into the '60s, where you began to even have groups with homophile in the title of their group.

Leigh: Exactly. Yeah. So we're gonna talk about some of the main players and we're kind of go through their, you know, founding and the way that they were organized so that you can be familiar with them and the ways that they kind of changed once we move into how everybody came together. We are going to talk about the Mattachine Society, Daughters of Bilitis, and ONE Incorporated. But I did just really quickly want to mention that there are a

couple of organizations that were predecessors of these kind of big groups that are worth just a really quick mention, they did not last very long, but it's important to you know, kind of see the predecessors. So there's the Veterans Benevolent Association, which was founded in 1945 in New York, and it was a group formed by veterans who actually refused to be apologetic about their queerness and provided counseling and social activities and basically brought people together that had been discharged from military service because of being gay. Then you have the Knights of the Clock, which was founded in 1948 in Los Angeles, and it was formed by an interracial couple— two men, Merton L. Bird and W. Dorr Legg. You will hear those names again later on.

Tyler: Especially Legg's.

Leigh: Yeah, especially Legg. It didn't last very long. It lasted a couple of years, but they provided really important social activities, counseling and referrals. According to scholar Michael Bronski. The Knights were the first gay group to, quote,

"Promote fellowship and understanding between homosexuals themselves specifically between other races and Negros. This is his word. As well as to offer its members aid in securing employment and suitable housing."

Mattachine Foundation/Mattachine Society

So those are kind of the folks who are coming before we have these big main players. So our first group is Mattachine. We've mentioned briefly on the show. before. this name, but this is our opportunity to really go into it.

Tyler: The Mattachine Society– they were founded in Los Angeles on November 11th 1950, by communists and labor activist and organizer Harry Hay. He initially conceived the idea of starting a gay social group in 1948. But he envisioned it as a quote "bachelors for Wallace group" in order to help organize for Henry Wallace, a progressive candidate for president and F.D.R.'S former vice president. They also tried out names like International Bachelors' Fraternal Order for Peace and Social Dignity. Or Bachelors Anonymous.

Word of the Week

Leigh: Which leads us to our Word of the Week

♪[Music plays]
Word of the Week
Gay word of History♪

Yeah so if you are part of the History is Gay Patreon, you may be familiar a little bit with this word; it is one of our patron tiers, but we've never actually talked about it on the show. So let's talk about it a little bit—gives us a good opportunity to go into it with What is Harry Hay trying to say with starting a group called Bachelors for Wallace or Bachelors Anonymous. This is a phrase that originally became popular in the Victorian era in Britain, usually to describe men who like disliked or avoided women basically being like, 'I don't have time for this. I don't—I don't want to deal with this.' In 1843, the Christian Examiner used the phrase for a quote,

"solitary, melancholic and monkish man."

And by the end of the 19th century, it began to evolve to describe men who like didn't want to be trapped by marriage. Right? So you know, kind of like a misogynist— kind of a misogynist association of just like, 'I just want to be a lifelong bachelor, I don't want to be tied down by marriage.'

Tyler: Men going their own way!

Leigh: [imitating an old man voice] There's no reason why I would ever marry a woman. Which then kind of evolved into a euphemism used to describe gay men. Which in this usage, it probably goes back to around, you know, second half of the 20th century. So 1930s, 1950s very close to where we're talking about right now.

Tyler: Which god I would love if MGTOW came around as [loud laughter] Oh my god.

Leigh: Yeah. So usually, you would see a phrase like this in British obituaries. Conventional obituaries, as you may have seen them, you know, usually list like the immediate family of the deceased, it will say like 'So and so is survived by a loving wife, or loving husband and 12 children' or whatever. Usually, if somebody, you know, was potentially queer, the phrase "He never married," was frequently used. Both as a way to say, you know, he was a lifelong bachelor, and he just never married or as a way to code someone who may have been of the career persuasion.

The way that we got the actual 'confirmed bachelor' was jumping off of this like he never married there was a satirical British magazine called Private Eye and they actually used this euphemism this— 'he was a lifelong

confirmed bachelor' in this satirical magazine. And then following that there was a scholar who did a deep dive on some of this language. And she said that she found the phrase 'confirmed bachelor' in probably about like a dozen— maybe a dozen obituaries in the Times newspaper after that, and so she was kind of saying like, I'm not sure exactly how much it actually existed outside of this like Private Eye, but clearly was influenced by this 'he never married' and 'confirmed bachelor.' And then they just kind of ran with that, is now we see it in various contexts. Also, it's weird. We're now starting to see the phrase kind of come back in some of its original phrases.

Tyler: Where?

Leigh: Like, I've seen posts— I've seen posts on Twitter from like cis straight men being like, 'I'm a lifelong bachelor.' 'I'm a confirmed bachelor.' Like you keep on saying that word, I do think it means what do you think it means.

Tyler: [laughs] Oh my god.

Leigh: So it just makes me— it makes me giggle a little bit.

Tyler: So maybe it is—maybe it is replacing MGTOW.

Leigh: Maybe.

♪[Music]
Word of the Week
Gay Word of History♪

So back to Mattachine. Let's get back into it. Like Tyler was mentioning, November 11th 1950. We get Harry Hay, along with his partner Rudi Gernreich. and friends Dale Jennings, Bob Hull and Chuck Rowland, who hold the first official meeting of Mattachine in Los Angeles as Society of Fools.

Tyler: Which— very unfortunate name.

Leigh: Yeah, right. [laughs]

Tyler: I don't know why you would choose that?

Leigh: Well, I think it goes back— it goes into what they ended up renaming themselves as— is Mattachine is this motif of being masked. So they renamed Mattachine in April 1951. A name that comes from masked Medieval and Renaissance French secret societies, that Harry Hay had been

studying during his courses and degrees on like historical music. Basically, you had these members of these societies that were masked and would perform in public and would go out into the countryside and do dances and rituals during the Feast of fools. And they were essentially a tool to be a voice for peasants against the monarchist oppression. It allowed these members to criticize the monarchy.

And so Harry Hay has a quote where he says,

"So we took the name Mattachine because we felt that we 1950s gays were also a masked people."

And you know, another little kind of obscure reference upon obscure reference is the actual *sociétés mattachines*, this mask group, which by the way, these were lifelong secret fraternities of unmarried town— townsman. So multiple reasons

Tyler: Confirmed bachelors.

Leigh: Confirmed bachelors. For them to you know, multiple reasons for them to kind of take this— this mantle. They were called this Society Mattachine named for Mattaccino or Mattaccino, [different pronunciation] a stock Italian character from theater, who was a court jester. Who would like speak truth to the king. Right, like was the one person who could be like— 'Hey, this is actually what's going on.' And so, you know, Mattachine adopted this motif of kind of the masked fool— the masked court jester, as their logo, as their kind of mascot.

Tyler: And I really wanna highlight this particular quote, by Hay on why he began to conceive of the concept of the Mattachine society in the late 1940s. Ouote:

"The country it seemed to me was beginning to move towards fascism and McCarthyism, the Jews wouldn't be used as a scapegoat this time, the painful example of Germany was still too clear to us. The black organizations were already pretty successfully looking out for their own interests. It was obvious McCarthy was setting up the pattern for a new scapegoat, and was going to be us gays. We had to organize. We had to move we had to get started."

Very apropos. Given the current environment, I would say.

Leigh: [sighs] Yep. Yeah. Well, and definitely— there's— there's kind of—we're not at the point at this time of doing a lot of coalition building,

right?

Tyler: Right.

Leigh: It's because everybody's terrified, everybody's really scared that the FBI is going to come and round them up. So it's, you know, it's like, 'Okay, gotta gotta look after ourselves. We got to kind of align ourselves with what we need to do to survive this era.'

Tyler: And thankfully, it's no longer 1950 but you know, if our enemies would have their way, if they had their druthers, we would definitely be heading back there.

Leigh: Right. So the structure of Mattachine was originally organized in a similar structure to the Communist Party— makes sense, considering its founding members were all communists. So there were secret cells, oaths of secrecy, anonymity, and there were five different levels of hierarchy of— of membership. And as you went up, you had like more responsibilities and more anonymity. The— these, you know, founding members that we talked about, Hay, and Jennings and Rowland and Hull, they kind of acted as a centralized leadership, making up this anonymous fifth order.

Tyler: And you better believe the FBI noticed.

Leigh: Yeah, definitely. Basically like...

Tyler: We'll get some more of that later. [laughter] but better believe the FBI took notice.

Leigh: Like, excuse me?

Tyler: This.

Leigh: Yeah. As the organization grew, basically, the levels were like expected to subdivide into new cells. So the goal is to have it so that at no point does anyone in the organization know the identity of everybody in the organization. Because, you know, if somebody gets rounded up by the FBI, that's a way or —or if you have somebody who's infiltrated there, that's a way to not have the entire organization taken down. So as it were, though, like a lot of the rank and file members, you know, knew each other. It was really this fifth order that you know, had the super anonymity.

Tyler: So, after Mattachine was founded, they had a few goals in mind. Number one, unify homosexuals isolated from their own kind. Number two,

educate homosexuals and heterosexuals toward an ethical homosexual culture, paralleling the cultures of the Negro, Mexican and Jewish peoples. Number three, lead the more socially conscious homosexual to provide leadership to the whole mass of social variants. And number four, assist homosexuals who were victimized daily as a result of oppression. Speaking of homosexuals, who are victimized daily as a result of the oppression, it's a very apt segue to the trial of one Dale Jennings.

Leigh: Yeah. So we have one of these founders of the Mattachine. In 1952, he was arrested. After a— an— after an instance of entrapment, where a police officer essentially solicited him, baited him into admitting or experiencing, like homosexual actions. Which was a very, very common tactic at the time. And he was then arrested for solicitation of a police officer, even though it was the police officer who was, you know, making lewd gestures. And he was charged with lewd behavior. And it was at this point that like membership kind of exploded following this arrest, because at the time, the standard course of action for anybody who was a victim of this kind of police brutality, was kind of just to like plead guilty and hope to rebuild.

Right? You know, hope that it went away— hope that you were able to rebuild your life. But Mattachine used this as an opportunity to make change and show 'Hey, this is a good opportunity to show like we are going through this daily victimization and oppression.' Hay, told Jennings, 'look, we're going to make an issue of this thing. We'll say you are a homosexual, but neither lewd nor dissolute, and that cop is lying.'

Tyler: So they went to trial, and Jennings pled not guilty, and he did exactly as Harry Hay suggested, he admitted that he was gay, but he insisted he wasn't guilty of any crime and denied any lewd conduct charges. And guess what? The jury, they voted, if they were deadlocked, but the vote was 11 to one in favor of acquittal. And that was enough for Mattachine to declare victory and declare that a new dawn was approaching for the homosexual in America. And as you mentioned, after the trial, membership just absolutely exploded.

Leigh: Yeah, and I think it's important to mention, too, that like Mattachine did a lot of work to like publicize the case and raise money for it as well. They spoke out about it under kind of a front organization—a front names, so that, you know, Mattachine itself didn't come under fire. They created this Citizens Committee to Outlaw Entrapment. And they raised money for the trial, they sent out leaflets to raise awareness like they would send things out to bars, public restrooms, public parks, like places— places where people were cruising and gay men were kind of existing in the shadows.

We keep referring to Mattachine as just Mattachine. You might be familiar with hearing Mattachine Society, if you've heard of them before. And we've been pretty deliberate about just saying that Mattachine, because there was essentially a kind of a schism in the organization early on. It was founded initially as the Mattachine Foundation from 1950 to 1953, with Hay and Jennings, and then it switched to the Mattachine society in 1953 until 1961. Because there was this ousting of the original, more like communists were radical left leaders.

Tyler: A purge.

Leigh: A purge. There were pressures from outside—on, you know, the communist leadership.

Tyler: The FBI.

Leigh: Yeah. Harry Hay actually had to go before the House Un-American Activities Committee. There was like rising pressure outside the organization and from within. The rank and file members were growing increasingly eager to know who the leadership was, they wanted a more kind of democratic leadership and process. And also there was a lot of Red Scare from within Hal Call, who was part of the San Francisco group of Mattachine that had kind of expanded out from here, he asked the organization to make a quote, "very strong statement concerning our stand on 'subversive elements."

Tyler: I'd also like to highlight this is also around the time that the Communist Party of the United States was purging gay men from within its ranks. So there— there were these cross purges going on as a result of the environment of paranoia and terror that was being created in Washington.

Leigh: Right. And Harry Hay actually, I believe, went to his, like local party and said, 'Hey, I gotta resign from here because I'm going to bring the party down because I'm homosexual.' And they accepted his resignation, but they apparently pretty— pretty—

Tyler: I think they call him a friend of the party.

Leigh: Yeah, they'd like kind of remarkably declared him a lifelong friend of the party, which also just sounds like a really gay euphemism in of itself. [laughter] Especially if you, you know, consider the use of Comrade as a gay euphemism. Anyway, that's another episode. We have this, you know,—there's gonna be this kind of theme that pops up throughout this episode that you have a lot of criticism and critique of the homophile

movement for being somewhat conservative or assimilationist. And that these are the reasons why it was eclipsed by the more radical organizing of the late 1960s, early 1970s. But I have this quote from Vicki Eaklor, who's the author of *Queer America: A People's GLBT History of the United States* that I think gives us a good context to think about she says,

"The Mattachine society was then formed in place of the Foundation, and the organization became more quote, unquote, conservative, at least in comparison to his radical origins and the assimilationist or accommodationist stance, which came to characterize much of the homophile movement."

At the same time, it's difficult to call any group defending homosexuals 'conservative', in the context of Cold War America. And that's, you know, that's something that a lot of these, like early leaders brought up to, you know, some of these—these folks that kind of were chafing against these tactics in the '60s is that, you know, well, but also you weren't there. And you didn't know exactly what it was like in 1953. When you've got the FBI on your back.

Tyler: These debates have been going on forever, folks.

Leigh: Right. So you have— at the 1953 convention of Mattachine, Harry Hay, and the other fifth order members, dramatically reveal their identities and resign, leaving the organization to kind of take up new leadership and a new direction.

Tyler: And speaking of a new leadership, this brings us to the Mattachine Society era, which ran approximately from 1953 to 1967. This new leadership, as Leigh just mentioned, was Hal Call and Ken Burns who are focused, as we explained on a more assimilationist civil rights model. A series of tactics and tone with an emphasis on respectability, and nonconfrontation and nonviolent protest as an official organizational policy, obviously, following the purge of members of the Communist Party that were also members of the Mattachine Society. And the goal of this was public education as opposed to political activism. And beginning in 1955, with the publication of the first issue of the *Mattachine Review*, Hal Call's goal to break what he considered the quote unquote, "conspiracy of silence," unquote, that was imposed on gays and queer people officially began.

Leigh: Yeah, and at this point, we have a little bit of kind of expansion, and you have an LA— the original LA chapter, and a couple of folks had moved up into San Francisco and organizing. But at this point, we reach a whole bunch of different chapters in various cities—beyond just LA and San

Francisco and this kind of singular national group. And what they focused on at this time was, in addition to public education, they provided social services to gays and lesbians, including personal counseling, and also legal counseling.

And this was kind of a big crux of their, their strategy was reaching out to psychiatric, law, and religious professionals to start dialogues about gayness. And about what it means to be gay and how the medical community deals with homosexuality and like legitimizing, you know, 'hey, even even though we may be gay, and you know, quote, unquote, sick, like, we still need all of these rights in society, et cetera.' They didn't quite completely throw off that, like homosexuality is sickness language that wouldn't come until until later. But there were some really significant movements towards, you know, just having psychiatrists talk to gay people who were not patients or who were not incarcerated.

Tyler: Which brings us to the first of the two articles that I authored, which I mentioned earlier about UCLA Professor of Psychology, Dr. Evelyn Hooker, and her study on gay men, in 1953, called the *Adjustment of the Male Latent Homosexual*, published 1957, where she used members of the Mattachine Society as test subjects, and they were the first gay male test subjects in a psychiatric or psychological study of homosexuality that were not incarcerated in a prison, a disciplinary barracks of the armed forces, or a psychiatric institution. And I could go on forever about the study, but— but I'll give, like the Cliff's Notes version of it, here.

So basically, Dr. Hooker was inspired by a student of hers, that later became her friend, this guy named Sam From who, you know, took her in the '40s, to see the gay scene in Los Angeles, essentially. And one night, he was talking with her and said, you know, no one's really ever done a scientific study of the homosexual community, you know, you should really take the initiative to do this. And, you know, after he died in a car crash, she really internalized this idea that she needed to be the one to do this. So she recruited her colleagues at UCLA to sort of devise this all purpose psychological and physiological study of homosexuality for the UCLA Psychology Department.

And so she leveraged her connections with people in Sam From's circle to get connected with the Mattachine Society. And she and her colleagues essentially pitched this study to the Mattachine Society. And they were enthusiastic about the prospect of providing members and associates of theirs as test subjects for her and her colleagues. And it ran into sort of a stumbling block because, you know, one of her colleagues had said something to the effect of there's a possibility that this study could quote

unquote "boomerang" was the word that he used. And what he meant by that was that it could boomerang around and create a sort of definitive biological and or a psychological test for homosexuality that could then be used by the federal government and private corporations to weed out gay and queer people from their ranks.

And it was really a moment of truth for this study. And Evelyn Hooker really had to defend her honor, because the Mattachine Society wanted to have preclearance over, you know, whether or not this study was even published or not, because—because of the possibility of this definitive test that they might find. Because no study like this had ever been conducted. And so Dr. Hooker had to basically go before the Mattachine Society and say that if it ever got out that she agreed to let them have essentially veto power over her study, then nobody in the psychological or any other academic field would ever trust anything she had to say, ever again.

So she basically said to them, Look, you know, whatever the study finds, you know, it finds I'm not gonna, you know, compromise my integrity to, you know, just only publish what's convenient.

Leigh: To—to make a point. Yeah.

Tyler: Right. And so they backed down from their position and provided her and her colleagues with about, you know, 100 test subjects from within the ranks of Mattachine. And over the course of like, I think 10 days, they submitted to a bunch of psychological and blood tests at the UCLA Medical Center. And the results were unlike anything else that had ever been produced, because, you know, they were a unique base of test subjects to use.

And what she found was that essentially, homosexuality was part of the normal range of human sexuality. That homosexuals were not psychologically burdened in any significant way apart from society's reluctance to accept them for who they are. They did not exhibit any sort of quote, unquote, you know, "abnormal psychiatric tendencies." That they were essentially just normal functioning people that did not need to be medicalized in a way that the DSM, and the American Psychiatric Association, had medicalized them only a couple years prior.

And, you know, she presented this in early 1957, late 1956, at a conference in Chicago and like, the conference room almost sort of erupted.

Leigh: Erupted. Yeah.

Tyler: Erupted in outrage, like...

Leigh: There's gonna be a lot of experiences of conferences and conventions erupting in this episode. Yeah.

Tyler: Foreshadowing.

Leigh: Yeah, Dr. Hooker, actually, like she— she did an interview with Eric Marcus, who folks may be familiar from *Making Gay History*, the book and the podcast, she did an interview with him in 1989, about— about the study and kind of recalling those days. And she said,

"In my paper, I presented evidence that gay men can be as well adjusted as straight men, and that some gay men are even better adjusted than some straight men. In other words, as far as the evidence was concerned, there was no difference between the two groups of men in the study, there was just as much pathology in one group as in the other. I think that the net impact of my study was felt in a number of ways. But what means the most to me, I think if I went to a gay gathering of some kind, I was sure to have at least one person come up to me and say, I wanted to meet you, because I wanted to tell you what you saved me from."

So I thought that was just a really significant quote, to add in is like, even, you know, years and years and years later, she was really feeling and seeing the effects of just being like a psychologist who was willing to put all this forth.

Tyler: It's beautiful. And you know, this is—this is a taste of what kind of interfacing with the scientific community that the Mattachine Society did during this period. And, you know, I've listened, I've listened to tapes of, you know, certain conferences that met the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis, who we'll get to later, hosted.

And, you know, a lot of it can be dry, because it's a lot of it, especially later on in the '60s was just doctors sort of repeating the results of other studies that had been conducted in the intervening years between, you know, this study and those conferences, but they were all essentially descended from this study by Dr. Hooker, because she was the first to do it this way. And she couldn't have done it without the help and assistance of the Mattachine Society.

Leigh: Right. Yeah. So we're obviously you know, this is not the— this is not the last we're going to talk about Mattachine but we just want to give kind of an overview of all these these groups. So next group we're gonna talk about is ONE Incorporated. They were founded in 1952 in Los Angeles and grew essentially out of the Mattachine Foundation/Mattachine Society split. So a lot of the you know, founders are folks from the Mattachine Foundation.

Tyler: Also just really quickly, there's also the hidden hand of Henry Gerber, the Society for Human Rights, essentially in this. Because you know, he was in contact years prior with some of the early members to have ONE Inc mainly Manuel boyFrank. Who—they had a very, very long correspondence with each other throughout the '40s where boyFrank sort of pitched him ideas for a successor organization to the Society for Human Rights and at one point was pitching Gerber names and Gerber was saying, 'you know, this—this one's—this one shit. Don't—don't bother with that one. That one's a maybe that's— that one's that one's a maybe, but like, don't—don't do anything Greek or Roman or any of that shit. Like were [laughter] So but no, that's it's fun to read those. But I digress.

Leigh: Yeah. Well, and so what's—what's really significant I think about ONE is that pretty much immediately they started printing a publication, they started printing *ONE magazine*, and they became the first distributed gay publication. So *Mattachine Review* starts in 1955. We've got *ONE magazine* starts 1953. So like a year after they're founded, and the founders are some of the original fifth order members that we talked about. So Harry Hay, Chuck Rowland, Dale Jennings, but we also get Merton Bird and W. Dorr Legg from the Knights of the Clock. And we also get Tony Reyes, Martin Block, Jim Kepner and Don Slater. So so again, we have you know, like a weird, obscure name you know, what about ONE says gayness? It actually comes from a Victorian writer named Thomas Carlyle—he had a poem or a an aphorism that was:

"A mystic bond of brotherhood makes all men one."

Or, you know, the idea of like, one of us was kind of what they were trying to go at. You know, it's kind of unfortunate that it comes from this origin because Thomas Carlyle himself was kind of a shithead. [snorting] He, you know, standard par for the course like Victorian bullshit, right? Like he wrote an essay in 1849 arguing for slavery and indentured servants. Would have been like pro-Nazi. So you know, gross, but we'll just kind of we'll take we'll cherry pick kind of take that little bit and we really liked that quote, and you know, let's—let's talk about like being a brotherhood.

Tyler: I guess I could do so many offensive like early English accents, right.

[laughter]

Leigh: [in a snotty English accent] A mystic bond of brotherhood makes all men one. Except

Tyler: [English accent] Leeches—leeches cure lesbianism. [laughs]

Leigh: Oh, man, that's a— that's my next— that's my next riot grrrl dyke punk album.

Tyler: Oh god.

Leigh: Leeches cure lesbianism.

AD

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END OF AD

ONE was also the first LGBTQ organization to have its own physical central office, which essentially made it like a prototype for like a queer community center. They also openly accepted women into their membership, and there were some women who were really instrumental at the start. And *ONE Magazine* and you know, the organization itself had some fairly radical concepts discussed with the time because they kind of maintained that more militant spirit of the original Mattachine Foundation before there was that change over. There was, you know—relative— it was an amicable split. It wasn't like wherever 'er fuck you guys were going over here,' but it was those founders were like, 'Okay, this organization that we helped found like it's going in a different direction. Let's continue the direction we wanted over in this area'

Tyler: And they collaborated a lot.

Leigh: Yes. Do you want to talk a little bit about the magazine? And what kind of shenanigans they were up to?

Tyler: Oh, do I ever! You mentioned some of the more radical concepts that they published about, namely, in 1933, they did a whole cover piece on 'homosexual marriage, yes or no', or something like that. But mainly, [giggling] what I want to talk about is in 1955, in November of '55, yes, there was an article that they published, where they discussed stuff that's very common talk, even now, really, about how there's a radical camp of the gay community. And then there's a liberal camp of the gay community. And then there's a Tory slash conservative camp, of the gay community. But what they wrote that caught a lot of eyes was this reference that a lot of the Tory members of the community who did not engage with any of the organizations like ONE incorporated and like Mattachine, and who just sort of lived quiet, closeted lives in high positions. What they said in the article was something to the effect of these men inhabit the highest levels of government, including the FBI. It's true.

Leigh: Scandal!

Tyler: Yes. So as we all know, during this time, J. Edgar Hoover—

Leigh: What a fuckhead!

Tyler: The director of the FBI—

Leigh: What a fuckhead.

Tyler: Was <u>raging</u> homosexual, and it was basically an open secret in Washington and in powerful circles, but nobody dared ever actually say anything, because he had blackmail on everybody. [agreeing noises] Right? So Herbert Hoover, through his anonymous sources, quote, unquote, sees this article in *ONE Magazine* and decides that he is single handedly going to try and bring this magazine down. Well, not only bring it down, but he is going to find the pseudo anonymous author of this article. And so he sends two FBI agents to the offices of *ONE Magazine* and the editor at the time is one W. Dorr Legg and he's under the pseudonym Lambert, I think David Lambert or something like that. And he essentially gaslights these two FBI agents, gate—gatekeepers, literally, gatekeepers, gaslights, and girl bosses, these two FBI agents [laughter] into, into getting the fuck out of *ONE Magazine's* office and making them think he recorded them.

Leigh: Right.

Tyler: It was like, gentlemen, would you mind if this interview— if this interview had been recorded? Like was it being recorded? I didn't—I didn't say that it was being recorded.

Leigh: I didn't say that.

Tyler: I didn't say that. I'm saying would you be fine with it being recorded?

Leigh: Hypothetically.

Tyler: Hypothetically: [laughs]

Leigh: Hypothetically, in an imaginary scenario.

Tyler: Right. If I were to be recording two FBI agents that were trying to intimidate me for something that my magazine published.

Leigh: Allegedly published.

Tyler: Allegedly, right. Would you be fine with that? And so they were— so and— so they went back to the FBI office with their tail between their legs because Legg, because —tail between their legs.

Leigh: Tail between their legs.

Tyler: Right, exactly.

Leigh: Tail between their "Legg".

Tyler: Because Dorr wouldn't give any sort of information about who the author of this article was. It was Chuck Rowland, by the way. [laughter] And so Hoover then decides that if he can't figure out who the author of this article is, then he's gonna break down *ONE Magazine*. So he said, he and his his assistant at the time, who he was definitely involved with, they basically send the November 1955 issue of *ONE Magazine* to the FBI as general counsel to see if it violated and the obscenity laws. And the general counsel came back and said, 'Oh, well, you know, this issue doesn't really have anything obscene in it.' So they had to go fishing for another issue of one magazine, they eventually came back with the October 1954 issue. And the general counsel said, 'Okay, this one, this one has obscene content, it discusses certain aspects of sex and blah, blah, blah, blah, blah.' So you know, this, I guess, violates the obscenity laws.

Leigh: Right. Well, and they have a specific obscenity law that they end up pulling out of—

Tyler: It's the Comstock Act

Leigh: It's yeah, it's like, what does the 1865 Comstock Act.

Tyler: The ancient Comstock Act.

Leigh: It's illegal to distribute pornographic material, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah.

Tyler: Right. So it's these ancient Comstock Acts, which were not even really—

Leigh: Being enforced anywhere.

Tyler: Not even really being invoked at the time and would soon after be repealed. So, they seized all copies of this issue from *ONE Magazine* and basically flagged it to be banned from being sent through the mail. So *ONE Magazine* sued them in federal court saying, 'No, this is, Listen, this is not obscene.' And after years and years of litigation— about like two and a half years litigation— they won in the Supreme Court, the Supreme Court ruled

unanimously in ONE, Inc.'s favor in January 1955. ONE, Inc. v. Olesen. And it was the first time that the court had ever sided with any form of gay or queer or LGBTQ interest. And basically said, 'No, discussing homosexuality and printed material is not obscene.' And this totally changed the game for the homephile movement, because now they could send stuff through the mail. And nobody could do anything about it. If it weren't, like, you know, overtly pornographic. Right?

Leigh: Right.

Tyler: So I can't even begin to tell you how revolutionary this was in the homophile movement. And like after this, it's like, night and day in terms of being able to organize.

Leigh: Right, yeah, and allowed these you know, the homophile organizations like post this— it allowed them to expand their mailing lists with contact information in there to connect with each other.

Tyler: You could send out newsletters.

Leigh: Send out newsletters. form chapters in different areas—

Tyler: Right.

Leigh: Because, you know, it was at least legally protected to distribute these. There's also you know, after ONE v. Olesen, right, you get a really, really bold issue published in 1958. Where the headline is, "I'm glad I am a homosexual," which is so startling to see, especially when you're, you know, still dealing with this, you know, the homophile groups kind of at, you know, writ large, not really moving themselves away from this, like gay as sickness model.

Tyler: Homomedicalist, we'll call it.

Leigh: So not only do we have the ONE incorporated and magazine but you get then the ONE Institute of Homophile Studies founded in 1955. It was a place where the goal was for education, research and social services. And for the very first time in the world, they actually introduced a college level course in homophile studies. And not—not just a course, but I think like you could get like a whole like degree—essentially a degree in it. And they sponsored sessions in 1961, on development of a Homosexual Bill of Rights, which will actually return later, as we talk about these conferences of all these different homophile organizations. The magazine runs until 1967, at which point it shifts into archiving. And nowadays, we have the ONE National

Gay and Lesbian archives, which is housed at USC in Los Angeles, California. And we'll mention a link in our blog post. But they've got basically the entire, like organizational history of ONE Inc. And a lot of other homophile groups in the area. All right. We've talked about men enough. [both laughing] A lot of a lot of these organizations, you know, are just a real, real dude session. So let's bring lesbians into the conversation.

Tyler: Yes.

Leigh: [yells] Yeah. Bring on the let's bring on the lesbians.

Tyler: We love—We love some lesbian drama.

Daughters of Bilitis

Leigh: Bring on the lesbians. So, we have Mattachine, then you have ONE, and the kind of third main player that comes into the game is the Daughters of Bilitis, which is the first lesbian organization in the United States. They were founded in San Francisco in 1955. by a group of eight women there were essentially four couples. Among them were rose Bamberger and Rose Sliepen, Noni Frey, and Marcia Foster, a Chicana woman named Mary, we don't have her last name, also, Rose Bamberger was Filipino and perhaps most well known out of this and who are frequently credited as the founders of Daughters of Bilitis, even though they themselves have always been very good about actually saying who the actual founders are; Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin. You might be familiar with them from the early 2000s. They were actually the first same sex couple to be married on the steps of San Francisco City Hall in California to you know, kind of kicked off like Gavin Newsom doing a whole bunch of— doing a whole bunch of gay marriages. Tyler: And— and the first and the first legally married in 2008.

Leigh: And the first—Yep. First legally married. They got they were the first to be like legally married multiple times.

Tyler: The powers that be were sure to make the symmetry on that work. So.

Leigh: So the original idea for Daughters of Bilitis— want to give really, really well do credit— was started by Rose Bamberger, who is a young Filipina immigrant and she conceived of Daughters of Bilitis or DOB, as a social club for lesbians where they could meet in each other's homes and avoid police raids in gay clubs. Basically, it was 'we want a place to dance with each other.' There were you know, different issues facing lesbians at the

time. Gay men were being targeted by the FBI. One of the big things that was really you know, facing the lesbian community was just flat out— just invisibility and lack of resources. And so Rose Bamberger starts this and Phyllis in Del joined shortly after it started informally after a friend of Rose's, invited them and I really loved this quote, there's an interview that Phyllis Lyon did with Marsha Gallo for the book *Different Daughters*, which is the history of the Daughters of Bilitis, where she— she talks about, like the phone call that she received from Rose in September 1955. She says,

"When she said, "Would you like to be part of the group of six of us who are putting together a secret society for lesbians?" We said, yes. Because we would immediately know five more lesbians, and we did, which was amazing!"

Tyler: There are other lesbians?!

Leigh: There are other lesbians? Yeah. So it's, you know, it was really kind of getting at like this isolation. So you have this first meeting with those four couples on September 21st 1955. And I wanted to—I wanted to talk about this, because you hear like Daughters of Bilitis, and again, another weird, obscure name that everybody's like, what the fuck does that mean? So, you know, I think I think our listeners will specifically appreciate this. So the name comes from an 1894 collection of poems by French writer and let's be real, he was a trickster Pierre Louÿs, called *Les Chansons de Bilitis* or the Songs of Bilitis. And Louÿs claimed that he had translated this original poetry from the ancient Greek that it was found on the walls of a tomb in Cyprus, and it was written by a woman named Bilitis who was a lover of Sappho. Obviously— this is all—I mean— is all clever creation by Louÿs, like it's not real. There was no Bilitis who was a lover of Sappho, there were not— he wrote these all. Which is fantastic, right? Like he wrote them all in very, you know, like spot on sapphic style. Even experts, scholars were like fools.

Tyler: Listen, we love, we love we love a good historical con man.

Leigh: We—Yeah. We love—we love—we love a good prank. So Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon apparently, you know, we're, like, vaguely aware of this, but like, didn't quite exactly know what it meant. But, you know, they saw this kind of reference. And they went, 'Oh, that that sounds like it would be good.' Del, Martin and Phyllis Lyon have this quote from the book *Lesbian Women* says,

"We thought that Daughters of Bilitis would sound like any other women's Lodge, you know, like Daughters of the Nile or DAR which is Daughters of the American Revolution. If anyone asked us, we could always say we belonged to a poetry club"

Tyler: Which was not wrong.

Leigh: Which was not untrue. Yeah, there was— there was also like another— there was another quote that I saw that was like, 'if anybody ever asked us or whatever, you know, we could all say that we were like coming together to talk about cats.' And I'm like this gayest gay is shit I've ever read.

Tyler: Poetry club, not wrong, given what they published.

Leigh: Right. Yeah. Absolutely. But it's that— it's that kind of, you know, lamp shading, right is what all these obscure titles are.

Tyler: Right.

Leigh: So— So back to this kind of first meeting in 1955. They all come together, they get together and they agree to create the structure of the Daughters of Bilitis going forward. So they agreed to create like an application card that would make sure that you know, new members are over 21, so that they couldn't open themselves up to being in trouble for like soliciting, you know, minors or, you know, corrupting youth or whatever. And so the— and they specifically said that, like membership was encouraged among, quote, "gay girls of good moral character." And that will be a really important kind of phrase, as we go into talking about kind of schisms in the ways that the homophile movement shifted and changed and ultimately declined.

They focused mostly on like self help and community building for lesbians, and like their member's personal needs. Right, they were combating isolation and the invisibility of gay women more so than like kind of political action, they were really kind of doing things on like an individual level. Vicki Eaklor, who we mentioned before, notes that maintaining Daughters of Bilitis as a strictly lesbian organization, you know, as opposed to like letting in a bunch of men, which there were some men that they had spoken to in the beginning, but it reflected the conviction that the experiences and status of lesbians, though similar to gay men also differ from those of any men.

So really bringing in that feminist bent of like, 'we're lesbians, but we're also really talking about our status as women.' And later there would even be controversy over the fact that Daughters of Bilitis really kind of aligned themselves with Mattachine, and with ONE, as opposed to certain feminist organizations later in the late '60s,

There's this, this four part statement of purpose that they came up with, and which would be printed on the inside cover of every issue of their publication, *The Ladder*, which they would start a year after their founding, that was meant as guiding principles. And we thought it was really important to kind of put the entirety of them in here so you can really understand what was going on. So we're going to go back and forth on them because they're a little long. They have been slightly abbreviated for length. so they advertise the daughters of Bilitis as, quote:

"A women's organization for the purpose of promoting the integration of the homosexual into society by:

Tyler: One: Education of the variant to enable her to understand herself and make her adjustment to society. This can be accomplished by establishing a library on the sex deviant theme, by sponsoring public discussions to be conducted by leading members of the legal, psychiatric, religious and other professions, by advocating a mode of behavior and dress acceptable to society."

Leigh: "Two: Education of the public at large through acceptance, first of the individual, leading to an eventual breakdown of erroneous taboos and prejudices.

Tyler: "Number three: Participation in research projects by duly authorized and responsible psychologists, sociologists, and other such experts directed towards further knowledge of the homosexual."

Leigh: "And four: Investigation of the penal code as it pertains to the homosexual, proposal of changes, and promotion of these changes through due process of law in state legislatures."

So they're focusing on these kind of four different areas, right. I think it's really important that they say like education of the variant, there is no gay or lesbian in that entire statement, but focusing on public discussions, courting the medical and psychiatric community, and also saying, we're going to look at the laws as well.

Tyler: But I want to highlight that last point, because that becomes a sticking point later. Because it becomes— it becomes a big point of contention between sort of the home of medical is camp, and the camp that is working towards overturning these sodomy laws and other laws that are used to target gays and lesbians.

Leigh: So you get multiple chapters that spring up in different cities across the U.S., first off in New York and Los Angeles, and they're soon joined by Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Denver, New Orleans, more places, all around.

Tyler: And, you know, obviously, as you mentioned, there's *The Ladder* magazine, also known as *The Ladder: A Lesbian Review,* later. They began publishing in 1956. And they were the first nationally distributed lesbian magazine, although not the first in general that actually goes to *Vice Versa*, which was published back in 1947. And I think it was local to the LA area, right?

Leigh: I think so. Yeah. It was a it was a woman who, whose actual name is Edith Eyde, but she she published under the pseudonym Lisa Ben as a you know, anagram of lesbian, which is [kissing sound] Mwah!

Tyler: Oh yes, love it!

Leigh: So good. So good. It's fantastic. There's actually a really great *Making Gay History* episode about her with an interview with her and she—she she sings a really gay song on her guitar for Eric Marcus. It's great.

Tyler: There's— there's actually a very, very important movie review in *Vice Versa*. I helped Matt Baume on this like a year ago, he was looking for anything pertaining to this 1930s queer exploitation film called *Children of Loneliness*. [agreeing noises] So *Vice Versa*, as it turned out, had one of the few really extensive reviews of that movie, and it sounds incredible. It sounds incredible that the print of the film is like long lost. There was a whole extensive search in the '80s. For it that was undertaken by like Vito Russo, I think it was. And they couldn't find anything. But it sounds incredible. There's this campy scene where they're in a gay bar, and the two main characters were straight, one of them says the other "Who are these people?" And then the other one goes, "These are the people society abandoned, [Leigh laughs] that they are the children of loneliness."

Leigh: It just makes me think of like, it's like, it's like, somebody decided to make a weird mash-up of *Children's Hour* and the Well of Loneliness.

Tyler: Oh, yes, absolutely. [laughter] But *Vice Versa*, when they, when there was a screening for it, like 10 years later, in 1947, they published a very lengthy review of it, and it's one of like the few surviving accounts of that film.

Leigh: Wow. Ah, man, props to Lisa Ben.

Tyler: I know, right? [laugher] Yes, but— but yes, getting back to the letter they used to send out in unmarked envelopes prior to ONE Inc. v. Olesen. Especially because, you know, you didn't want the Postal Service snooping or the FBI snooping and they contain book reviews, opinion pieces, letters, etc. And a lot of very notable people wrote in including people like Lorraine Hansberry who went on to write *A Raisin in the Sun*, one of the first black and Afro centric Broadway productions.

Leigh: Yeah, we talked a little bit about Lorraine Hansberry in our episode on queer people in the Civil Rights movement. So we kind of went into her relationship with *The Ladder*. She was never an official member of the Daughters of Bilitis but she wrote in to *The Ladder*. She also wrote in, several times under another pseudonym to *ONE Magazine*, I believe as well.

Tyler: Her letters are extraordinary. I really recommend taking a look. But in March 1964, the board of *The Ladder* magazine decided to add the words "A Lesbian Review" to the title on the cover. And this was the first time that the word lesbian could be found on a nationally distributed magazine that was sold to the public.

Leigh: And by this point, like you could, you know, by this point or 1964, because we had ONE v. Olesen, you could like go up to a, you know, newsstand and buy it for like 25 cents. So you know, there were people who were seeing it and seeing the word lesbian out in public.

Tyler: Which showed how much things had changed in the 15 or so years since the start of you know, the first organizing efforts in the early '50s. But of this, you know, Marcia Gallo, who we mentioned earlier, she notes "both overt inclusion of the word lesbian and the portrait of a non-white civil rights activist— The issue with earnest the next scene on the cover, which was who appeared on the march 1964, issue— signaled significant changes in the gay movement strategies of visibility and affiliation."

Leigh: So much like with Mattachine, we do come up against some fractures in the organization, — some schisms. So you know, we mentioned that the organization started out seeking members, you know, some gay girls have good moral character. And you— you know, heard in those principles that specific like— advocating a mode of behavior and dress acceptable to society. And those would be some big sticking points. There's kind of two big initial disagreements. The first is disagreements over acceptable presentation. There were concerns over members presenting to butch because specifically of anti-crossdressing laws of laws that require that you had to have at least three items of clothing of your sex on blah, blah, So they're, you know, they're aiming for middle class respectability.

In October 1955, shortly after they were founded, three women arrive in men's clothing, which made some of the other members uncomfortable. And by November, it was reflected in the minutes of the organization, like the official policy of 'if slacks are worn, they must be women's slacks.' [laughter] Yeah, there's, you know, there's a story of a convention where there's, you know, somebody who has been dressing in a masculine fashion for a very long time, and they kind of convinced her to really femme up for this convention. And they kind of saw that, as you know, a victory of like, look at all of us very feminine gaze, you know. Which has some issues. Now, when we look at it from a 2022 point of view.

One thing that I really wanted to bring in was initial disagreements over the goals of the organization to go public or to stay secret. And this was a kind of schism that really happened kind of along the class lines and the race lines of the initial members of the organization. So you had the the quote unquote, "blue collar" members and women of color founders, including Rose Bamberger, and Mary whose last name has unfortunately been lost to history. They really wanted the organization— to kind of keep it a primarily a social club, a place where they could come together and talk and dance and focus on these like social events. And others, primarily middle class white women wanted, at this point, to kind of mix socializing with public action and start advocating for civil rights and being queer out in public.

The author Melinda Lowe, who actually we're going to be doing an interview episode with her later in this year talking about some of her books. She has a really wonderful article kind of focusing on the women of color founders of Daughters of Bilitis, where she says,

"Rose Bamberger and the other quote, "blue collar" workers were seeking a safe space. Even if white middle class lesbians could become integrated into mainstream society as the Daughters of Bilitis hoped. Those who are marginalized due to their race, class and gender expression would still be excluded. It's not surprising that Rose didn't stick around."

So within that first year, most of those original eight members, including Rose basically left and they founded two other kind of secret lesbian groups that stuck around for a little while. There's Quatrefoil and Hail Akaine. So there's that kind of schism of like, 'yes, sure, it would be great for us to be integrated into mainstream society. But there are so many more barriers, and there's so many more consequences for us.'

Tyler: So it was also around this time that the DOB sort of reorganized and expanded. And this started about a year after the founding, and they were

focused initially on the sort of assimilationist tactics to integrate lesbians into society. Very similar to Mattachine and other homophile orgs that emphasized sort of respectability, but they sort of paired it with this idea of making sure that they were addressed in an adequately an feminine manner, as opposed to the men who could just wear— wear suits all the time, right. So, you know, we might look at this now and sort of chafe at it. But you know, remember this was in the environ of the Lavender Scare and all the police raids that were going on. And you know, police actually showed up at the first DOB convention in San Francisco in 1960, to arrest women who weren't wearing enough women's clothing and who were wearing suits and found everyone inside dressed in heels and dresses.

Leigh: like What do you mean? No homosexuals found here? Oh,we're just talking about poetry.

Tyler: Right? Right exactly. This is a poetry club. What are you talking about.

Leigh: It's a poetry club. New euphemism dropped for lesbian content. 'It's just— it's a poetry club.' Yeah, I mean, I think it's also important to note that, like, you know, we talked a little bit before is that the very specific place that Daughters of Bilitis had in the larger homophile movement, which is, you know, we're also talking about like, our individual struggles as women. And kind of feeling like they were being thrown under the bus or just kind of facing that same invisibility from within the movement.

So September 1959, at a Mattachine convention, so by this point, Daughters of Bilitis, is very familiar with Mattachine and is collaborating with them on articles, etc. And they show up to this convention in Denver. And Del Martin has a really great quote, kind of talking about the status of like lesbians in the movement and talks about how you know, things— things happen, where it kind of felt like daughters of Bilitis was forced to like compete with Mattachine. So I'm going to read this, you know, this whole statement here, because it also is something to add a little bit of complexity to some of the later complaints about Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, from some later members of daughters of Bilitis about how conservative the organization was. So we have this quote, This is what she, she says, she stands up, and she says at this Mattachine convention,

"At every one of these conventions, I intend year after year, I find I must defend the daughters of Bilitis as a separate and distinct women's organization. First of all, what do you men know about lesbians in all of your programs and your magazine review, you speak of the male homosexual and follow this with? 'Oh, yes. And incidentally, there are some female

homosexuals too.' And because they are homosexual, all of this should apply to them as well.

ONE Magazine has done little better. For years, they've relegated the lesbian interest to the column called 'feminine viewpoint.' So it appears to me that quite obviously, neither organization has recognized the fact that lesbians are women, and that this 20th century is the era of emancipation of women. Lesbians are not satisfied to be auxiliary members or second class homosexuals. So if you people do wish to put DOB out of business, you're going to have to learn something about the lesbian. And today, I'd like to give you your first lesson."

So you know, that's pretty strong to see in 1959, especially considering we're going to have a lot of backlash against some of the more conservative elements of the organization.

Tyler: You know, isn't it amazing how the fight for lesbian visibility in the '60s and '70s almost directly parallels the fights for trans visibility from the '90s onward?

Leigh: I mean, not even just the '90s, right, you have maybe early 1970s, where Sylvia Rivera stood up on the stage at Pride. And you know, it was like, 'What the hell like we've been here with you the whole time, and you've just kind of cast us under the rug like, I've been here for the gay movement. Why isn't the gay movement coming here for trans rights?'

Tyler: Right.

Leigh: Another episode. But yeah. So by 1960, we get the membership and letters from these readers in *The Ladder* that are expressing this exasperation with the conformity and assimilation in Daughters of Bilitis and kind of the old guard of the leaders.

Tyler: And this— and this is where you're seeing the effect of ONE Inc.— the ONE Inc. v. Olesen decision. Because you know, all these letters are starting to flow in and all the discontent is building.

Leigh: Right. And something that's also really significant, to kind of pinpoint us in time, is that this is 1961, there was the largest raid on a gay bar in San Francisco. And following this, folks, were really putting out the call to be like more radical and like, actually active. So a lot of people were really feeling this.

Tyler: And this was when the western and the eastern organizations were

first really starting to sort of link up.

Leigh: Yeah, by 1963. various chapters across the country are pressuring the national officers, which is Del Martin, Phyllis Lyon, among others, to allow picketing and protesting, which, according to, I believe it was Eaklor, quote,

"helped to transform activists from female homophiles into lesbian rights activist."

Tyler: Which brings us to...

Leigh: A very, very prominent lesbian rights activist.

Tyler: A very prominent lesbian rights activist and one of my personal favorites, Barbara Gittings. She first became involved in DOB when she attended a meeting in San Francisco in 1956, while on vacation in San Francisco. She's sort of everywhere, she— she pops up in San Francisco

Leigh: [laughs] The omnipresent—omnipresent Barbara Gittings.

Tyler: She pops up in New York pops up— and she lived in Philadelphia— and she pops up everywhere else. She's— she's this librarian and she has all this money to travel around the country and jetset and like, go— pop up at all these lesbian meetings, sometimes in two different places at once, I'm pretty sure but she's— she's everywhere all the time. But you know, by 1961, she becomes the president of the National Daughters of Bilitis and she serves in that role for a couple years and then she goes on to become the editor of *The Ladder* she spearheads the move towards adding the tagline, A Lesbian Review in 1964, remember, and she served as the editor for *The Ladder* from 1963 to '66.

And, you know, by the 19—, the mid 1960s, she began to disagree with some of the more assimilation strategies and purposes of the Daughters of Bilitis. And in particular, as I mentioned earlier, she was very much against the sort of homomedicalist camp. She was very much an activist for civil rights. She wanted demedicalization of homosexuality. She wanted repeal of all sodomy laws and laws, which suppressed homosexuality and implemented any kind of legal penalty for homosexuality for both men and women. She was very forward thinking in this regard. And this mode of thinking is sort of exemplified by this quote of hers:

"Point number one of DOB's purpose was education of the lesbian. I

began to chafe at that later on, and to feel that this was not a valid purpose, it had too much of the ring of 'we're going to teach you to be a nice little girl, so that you can fit into society.' I objected to this toward the middle of the '60s, but I didn't think very critically in those very first years. All I had then was a joiners temperament. This was the group that hit closest to home. So I joined.

And you know, obviously, later on, she would link up with Frank Kameny, and the Mattachine Society, Washington and become a lead figure in the east coast homophile organizations who we'll get to later.

Leigh: Yeah. There's like a full interview with her done by Jonathan Ned Katz, in the very classic tome of a lot of really wonderful LGBTQ history, primary sources called *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the United States*. I've used it as a source on this show many a time, but you can actually I'm pretty sure you could just go online and read the entirety of that interview, which is pretty great. So speaking of Frank Kameny and Barbara Gittings, and we kind of get this new blood of the homophile movement and starting in the mid 1960s, moving into more kind of direct action, and really modeling themselves after the Civil Rights Movement is we get the Mattachine Society of Washington and Frank Kameny.

And we're going to talk a little bit about him and about this branch of Mattachine kind of as our closer to this part of the story and this episode, in particular, and we'll then go into our How Gay Were They? And then we'll come back next episode to dive into all of the juicy details and drama of what happens when a bunch of gay organizations from all over the world get together, [laughter] and fundamentally disagree about how to expand civil rights, which is a fun story that we just couldn't fit into one episode. So Tyler, do you want to introduce us a little bit to Frank Kameny, who we will, you know, I'm sure we'll see a lot more of in this next episode.

Mattachine Society of Washington & Frank Kameny

Tyler: Oh, he's— oh, we certainly will. And, you know, Frank, he's kind of he's kind of a late comer to all this. He was in the army for a lot of the early years of the homophile movement. But, you know, he always knew he was gay. And first of all, he's an astronomer, right. So this is sort of, like, he's sort of like a specialist. And, you know, no one else can really do the work that he does— for the army. But eventually, the Army does figure out that he is gay. And he is discharged from the Army Map Service in 1957. And he decides then and there, that he's going to fight back against the Lavender Scare that is sweeping the country. And so in 1961, he founds with Jack

Nichols, the Mattachine Society: Washington. And he decided, very much contrary to the tack that other chapters in the Mattachine Society were taking, and this became a point of contention, he decided that the Mattachine Society: Washington was going to be a direct action protest group.

Leigh: Yeah, he argued that, like gay activists should be really modeling themselves after the Black Civil Rights movement. And outside of what the other homophile groups were doing. He really insisted that rather than looking to, you know, medical and legal professionals that like gay people ourselves, were the experts on homosexuality, like imagine.

Tyler: Right? I know. And, you know, he was also a very fierce opponent of the homomedicalist approach to homosexuality, that a lot of people in the homophile movement were, not so much advocates of, but basically, were adherence to out of convenience, because that was sort of the path of least resistance at the time, as opposed to fighting for actual legal civil rights, which Kameny and Gittings and their followers wanted to do. And you know, Kameny sort of exemplified this when he told the Mattachine Society of New York in 1864 quote:

"The entire movement is going to stand or fall upon the question of whether homosexuality is a sickness and upon are taking a firm stand on it."

Leigh: I mean, that's, that's really big. I think like Barbara Giitings was talked about in that same interview with JohnNed Katz about like how she had really never seen anybody like Frank Kameny talking that way. And you know, being like 'this is, you know, these are labels. And these are associations that people put on us.'

Tyler: And you know, once those two linked up, it was a done deal.

Leigh: The landscape was forever changed. Really, we probably owe the kind of Russian of radical organizing to the groundwork and the foundation that Frank Kameny and Barbara Gittngs, were starting to do near the tail end of the homophile movement.

Tyler: Absolutely.

Leigh: And with that, I think you're just going to have to listen to the next episode to hear you know, exactly what Kameny and Barbara Gittings were doing. That changed the game for the movement and for gay organizing, in general. We wanted to kind of leave it off on you know, a nice little cliffhanger there to the next parts of the story. [laughs]

Pop-Culture Tie-In

Leigh: So we'll bring that all in with our next episode, but we wanted to talk a little bit about some fun pop culture tie-ins is where can you see a little bit about some of these folks and some of these organizations that we've been talking about if you want to dive deeper? There's the docudrama series *When We Rise* which narrative rises, Cleve Jones auto biography memoir of the early gay rights movements, and Rosie O'Donnell plays Del Martin and Maddie Corman plays Phyllis Lyon. And then we also have like we really briefly mentioned, there's some really wonderful episodes of two other fantastic podcasts.

There's *Making Gay Histor*y that has several episodes. There's episodes on Harry Hay, there's episodes on Barbara Gittngs and Frank Kameny. And there's actually a really, there's a fantastic episode specifically about the Dr. Evelyn Hooker study with Mattachine's involvement. And if you want to get into the real nitty gritty drama story of the origins of Mattachine Foundation, and basically kind of listen to it, as you know, as a drama of like, what's happening with the Lavender Scare, and the FBI, Queer Serial does a really fantastic deep dive of an entire, I think, an entire season of a half— and a half and has wonderful voice actors and actual archival audio from those early days of the Mattachine.

Tyler: It's amazing. Take a listen.

Leigh: Yeah, Devlyn Camp, you're fantastic. At some point, we will collaborate more than like a panel that we did several years ago for the Queer History conference.

Main Takeaways and Conclusions

Leigh: So final thoughts and kind of takeaways, before we leave you for the next episode? What are— what are some of your kind of thoughts as we wrap up this era of the homophile movement and the way that, you know, it's been talked about by historians in the wake of like gay liberation that follows.

Tyler: I think a lot of people really don't understand the homophile era. And I think it's partially a result of this mythological industrial complex that's been built around Stonewall as its own event. [agreeing noises] To the point where people think that nothing of note was happening prior to it.

Leigh: Right. That gay people were invented in 1969.

Tyler: Right. Exactly. And we're here to set the record straight.

Leigh: [laughs] Ornot so straight.

Tyler: Is set the record queer.

Leigh: There you go.

Tyler: So, exactly. We're here to set the record queer about pre-1969, homophile activism.

Leigh: And I think it's really important to like not add value judgments, necessarily to assimilation tactics. You know, we're—we're coming at this from a radically different viewpoint. And so, you know, I think it's really important to consider the time and the political climate. It's very, very important. As you know, Vicki Eaklor, said in that quote, is that, you know, this is Cold War America, this is Red Scare. It is really dangerous to, you know, be saying things like, Fuck you, queer people are different. And we don't need to live in your ideals of homo, you know, homonormativity.

It's much in the same way you have tensions between the tactics of more kind of nonviolent confrontation and direct action in the Black Civil Rights movement, as opposed to more revolutionary tactics talked about by Malcolm X and talked about by Black Panther's leader is you're always kind of, you know, regardless of the movement, you're gonna have this like moment of tension, this era of tension, where it's like, okay, and at what level do we have to do we have to, like, abide by bullshit respectability, because otherwise we feel like we might not make any progress, right?

Like we can, you know, we can rail on the fact that communist leadership was ousted from the Mattachine foundation, but also like realistically, if the government had found out that there was a large, gay organization run by communists, [laughter] I don't think that we would be where we are today. Let's be real. I think it's just really important to not like paint this with like broad brush strokes, there's so much complexity.

Tyler: And also, on the other hand, the communists did find a home at ONE Incorporated.

Leigh: Right. Exactly. There you go.

Tyler: And ONE Incorporated did beat the federal government at their own game. It's complex.

Content Warning: Mention of pederasty/NAMBLA

Leigh: It's complex. Exactly. And I mean, speaking of complexity, too, like, I didn't want to finish this episode without mentioning just a little bit of like—we talked about Harry Hay as one of the founders of Mattachine Foundation. And he is a very controversial figure. I don't think that—you know, like, we need to be really explicit about the fact that he was very, very significant to queer history, and he made a lot of strides. But he also has some very controversial views. Aside from his communism. There was a rash of kind of controversies a trigger warning of him kind of advocating for modern pederasty and advocating for the organization, NAMBA, the National Association of Man-Boy Love.

Tyler: And, you know, we have to be very careful how we talk about this, but like, I think, Hay's NAMBLA advocacy was much more of a united front type of advocacy than somebody like an Allen Ginsberg.

Leigh: Right. Yes. As a you know, because an non-assimilationist point of view of like, well, if we're going to advance LGBTQ rights, we have to accept <u>everybody</u> in the group, unfortunately, right. You know, unfortunately, that was not taken with the kind of specific context of like, okay, but also like, we're in the 1990s. And, like, pederasty has a place in queer history, but it doesn't have a place in queer modernism.

Tyler: See, like, just like, if we could just erase [laughter] 1993 to 1994 from you know, the annals of, of queer discourse I would be a very, very happy person because so much brain rot occurred during those two years.

Leigh: Right. Yeah, I mean, it's you know, it's it's we've always really strived on this podcast to like try to paint as full a picture as possible— and so much like we brought up the fact that we fucking love Magnus Hirschfeld, but also we had some like really shitty, you know, eugenicists points of view, we're gonna bring the same thing up for Harry. Hay. Queer history is not a monolith of good or evil. I mean, we talked about you know, J Edgar Hoover, what a fuckhead. So...

Tyler: Also, Hay was in his 80's at the time.

How Gay were They?

Leigh: Yeah. So, with all of that we're gonna end our show with, as usual, with our How Gay Were They ratings. So Tyler, I don't know if you have. This is your first time on the show. I don't know if you've listened to the show before. But we end every episode with a kitschy How Gay Were They segment where we just kind of rate on totally not arbitrary and weird scale of, you know, queerness and how gay we think X is.

And since I've started doing this show, kind of solo and bringing in guest hosts it's been tradition. If you are if this is your first time to go first, lovingly hazing you as it were.

Tyler: I love it. Let's do it.

Leigh: Let's start off with Mattachine Foundation, Mattachine Society, if you could rate them, how gay were they?

Tyler: Huh? Mattachine Foundation. We're talking about pre-1953 Let's see a lot of communists. [laughs]

Leigh: Red's a great color.

Tyler: But also a lot of formal business suits. So, you know, you give— give take, I'm going to say seven dry martinis.

Leigh: Ooh, that's a it's such a good picture. Very excellent. Very *Mad Men*. What about if you were— if you had to distinguish between Foundation and Society? What would you what would you say?

Tyler: Oh, Society is—Mattachine Society I would say is 11 out of 10 dirty martinis.

Leigh: Oooh. Okay. Good. What about our good friends over at ONE Incorporated?

Tyler: Oh. Oh god you—

Leigh: Although I guess— I guess that's gonna be like the same.

Tyler: Listen, no, no, no, listen, listen. Listen. Listen. The drama of the absolute drama of beating Miss J. Edgar Hoover. at her own game. It's not even on the scale.

Leigh: And there's nothing gayer than spite.

Tyler: There's nothing gayer that has ever happened in the history of the world. And I can't even read them. They're just they're— just they're just—

Leigh: They're just off the scale.

Tyler: They're just off the charts. Exactly.

Leigh: All right, and rounding it out with our Daughters of Bilitis. How gay were the Daughters?

Tyler: Ah the Daughters, the Daughters. It's giving it's giving nine out of 10 Subarus. [laughter] I have to— I have to say even though the feminine dress, some members, some Daughters, we're not—we're not into it. It is giving very sapphic vibes. And as we all know, Bilitis was a Sappo's lover—according to historical content.

Leigh: So yeah, according to completely and totally legit historian, translator Pierre Louÿs.

Tyler: I will say though— I will say though— Phyllis and Del, Phyllis especially, a little un-chill. So—

Leigh: I don't think that she knows how to chill. I don't think so.

Tyler: It's one Subaru—one Subaru deducted. But you know, other than that, I'd have to say very well done.

Leigh: All right, let's see for me— Um, let's see Mattachine Foundation. I'm going to give 8 out of 10 sickles—hammers and sickles, [laughter] you know, not gonna give it a 10 out of 10. 'cause like that, Harry Hay, with some somewhat controversial stance standpoints.

Tyler: Bad taste.

Leigh: Yeah, bad tastes just kind of bad, bad—bad tastes bad vibes. Mattachine Foundation, you know, where we've got a lot of like an assimilationists tactics. We also have the birth of the modern LGBTQ rights movement, and there's a lot to be said there. So we'll give a 10 out of 10—10 out of 10 ties, you know, we'll give nice respectable ties.

Tyler: Oh, okay. All right.

Leigh: ONE Magazine. Let's say— we'll do like a 12 out of 10—12 out of 10 extremely glad homosexuals gracing the Los Angeles newsstands.

Tyler: Right.

Leigh: And for the daughters of Bilitis. See your— your like Subaru thing now makes me want to like look up like —when did Subaru start— where their Subarus. But I will give I will give the Daughters of Bilitis 12 out of 10 sweaters that have been knit out of the hair of the cats present at they're totally innocuous poetry club meetings. [laughter] We'll say that.

Tyler: Love it.

Closing and Where to Find us Online

Leigh: Well, thank you so much Tyler for coming on to talk about all of these folks to do what is not at all an easy task and kind of distill an entire 20 year movement down to an hour and a half or so. Or I guess you know, multiple episodes we're doing. Tyler, could you tell our listeners about where they can find more about you and your writing?

Tyler: Absolutely. I'm on Twitter at @TylerAlbertario [spells it out] T-Y-L-E-R-A-L-B-E-R-T-A-R-I-O Oh, I'm on Medium at talbertario and I'm also on Patreon at Tyler Albertario

Leigh: Awesome. And do you have any fun projects in the pipeline that folks can look out for?

Tyler: [sighs]None that I can talk about at the moment? [laughs]

Leigh: Okay. Fun—fun secrets for the future.

Tyler: Fun secrets for the future. Exactly.

Leigh: As always, I'm Leigh Pfeffer when I'm not nerding out about old timey queer folks, I am usually talking about comics and queer TV over at @aparadoxinflux on Twitter. And, as usual, crying about Xena episodes on my couch. You can join me for that. But you can join me on Twitter to cry about Xena and also talk about queer history. History is Gay podcast can be found on Tumblr @historyisgaypodcast, Twitter and Instagram at historyisgaypod. And you can always drop us a line with questions, suggestions, and just to say hi at historyisgaypodcast@gmail.com

And also if you enjoy the show and want to support us in continuing to make it you can support us on our recently revamped <u>Patreon</u>. As a patron you can get access to our Discord server where we're having some great conversations, we're putting out Sappo's Salon mini episodes, where we will treat you to love letters and poems from queer historical faves. And we actually just did our first pop culture tie-in livewatch— we all watched *Frida*

together. It was really fun. And we're gonna have things like future queer history, trivia nights, exclusive merch and more. You can become a patron by going to the support section on our website, or patreon.com/historyisgay and join the ranks of our patron community along with Peri, Hannah Harm and Prince Paolumu.

Thank you so much for all of your support. We couldn't do this without you. You allow me to have wonderful guests like Tyler here and do research with materials that I wouldn't be able to access had we not had a little bit of a budget. You can also buy awesome merch at our *History is Gay* store. It's on TeePublic now and they're having sales all the time. So click on shop at our website. And lastly, remember to rate, review, and subscribe wherever you get your podcasts. It helps more people find the show and we can expand our awesome community. So Tyler, I know we're gonna see you in part two, but would you like to help me close out the show?

Tyler: Sure.

Leigh: All right. That's it for *History is Gay*. Until next time,

Tyler: Stay queer...

Leigh: And stay curious.

\$ [Outre Music Plays]