

THE LADDER



July 1962

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purpose of the

Daughters of **BILITIS**

A WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROMOTING
THE INTEGRATION OF THE HOMOSEXUAL INTO SOCIETY BY:

- ① Education of the variant, with particular emphasis on the psychological, physiological and sociological aspects, to enable her to understand herself and make her adjustment to society in all its social, civic and economic implications--this to be accomplished by establishing and maintaining as complete a library as possible of both fiction and non-fiction literature on the sex deviant theme; by sponsoring public discussions on pertinent subjects 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.
- ② Education of the public at large through acceptance first of the individual, leading to an eventual breakdown of erroneous taboos and prejudices; through public discussion meetings aforementioned; through dissemination of educational literature on the homosexual theme.
- ③ Participation in research projects by duly authorized and responsible psychologists, sociologists and other such experts directed towards further knowledge of the homosexual.
- ④ Investigation of the penal code as it pertains to the homosexual, proposal of changes to provide an equitable handling of cases involving this minority group, and promotion of these changes through due process of law in the state legislatures.

the Ladder

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COVER BY TRACY LAING

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Daughters of BILITIS 2nd National Convention

POTENTIALS

The Lesbian in Society

JEAN NATHAN, PRESIDENT OF THE LOS ANGELES CHAPTER OF THE DAUGHTERS OF BILITIS, PROUDLY WELCOMED SOME 100 PERSONS WHO ATTENDED THE SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE ORGANIZATION AT THE HOLLYWOOD INN IN HOLLYWOOD, CALIFORNIA, ON JUNE 23.

"WHY THE CONSTANT FEAR OF THE HOMOSEXUAL?" WAS ASKED BY JAYE BELL, NATIONAL PRESIDENT OF DOB, WHO FELT THAT THE PERCENTAGE OF CRIMES DIRECTLY RELATED TO HOMOSEXUALS WAS PLAYED UP BY THE NEWSPAPERS AND THAT ACTUALLY WAS NOT SO. SHE POINTED OUT THAT THE VICE SQUADS AND THE HOMOSEXUAL DETAILS OF THE POLICE DEPARTMENTS IN THE BIG CITIES, EVEN THOUGH THEY ENGAGE IN "PEEPHOLE AND ENTRAPMENT" ACTIVITY RARELY CAME UP WITH CHARGES OTHER THAN SOLICITATION AND VAGRANCY.

"THE BILL OF RIGHTS IN THIS COUNTRY APPLIES TO THE HOMOSEXUAL AS WELL," MISS BELL POINTED OUT AND CITED THIS AS ONE OF THE REASONS FOR ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS DOB - FOR THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO CANNOT AFFORD TO FIGHT FOR THEIR RIGHTS.

MISS BELL POINTED OUT THAT DOB HAS PARTICIPATED IN MANY RESEARCH PROJECTS AND TAKEN PART IN VARIOUS RADIO AND TV PROGRAMS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY IN ORDER TO CLEAR UP MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT THE HOMOSEXUAL MINORITY.

SHE DECLARED THAT THE HOMOSEXUAL COULD NOT REMAIN OUTSIDE OF SOCIETY, THAT THE HOMOSEXUAL NEEDED TO TAKE HIS RIGHTFUL PLACE IN SOCIETY AND COULD NOT FUNCTION FREELY AS AN INDIVIDUAL UNTIL HE DID.

TO FULFILL ITS OWN POTENTIAL SOCIETY MUST LEARN TO WORK WITH ALL TYPES OF PERSONALITIES, MISS BELL DECLARED.

The Concept of the Lesbian A Minority in Reverse

Following is the sociological research paper presented by Mrs. Suzanne Prosin during the morning session of the convention:

For the sake of clarity, I would like to explain my choice of title. The concept of the Lesbian, as a minority in reverse, was derived as a result of earlier studies in minority inter-actions.

By traditional definition, a minority group is one which comes from a different culture and aspires to assimilate into the dominant culture by modification of the original values and acceptance of new values. Here we have a different situation. We have a group of people moving not from difference to like, but moving from membership in the dominant group to minority status.

The subject of the female homosexual has not been perceived as a valid area of sociological inquiry in the past. In order to establish it within this orientation, it becomes necessary to find a definition which will relate it to that specific field. Sociology, as Timesheff so well defines it, is not interested in "Man's body structure or the functioning of his organs or of the mental process as such. It is interested in what happens when man meets man, when human beings form masses or groups; when they co-operate, fight, dominate one another, persuade or initiate others, develop or destroy culture. The unit of sociological study is never an individual, but always at least two individuals somehow related to one another."

According to sociological definition, a minority group in order to be so defined, must fulfill certain criteria. Lesbians can be so defined. They are not only an informal group, but have within themselves a formal group, which serves to express values and concept of the whole. It is you, members of this organization, who are the formal group. Your function is that of projecting the concept of the group

image and, to a degree, instructing and enforcing the group values. You identify yourselves to each other and to the dominants by your membership in this organization. Other members, while not identified with the formal group, identify themselves to you, to each other, and again to a limited extent, to the majority. The majority obviously recognizes you as existent by virtue of legal sanctions, economic sanctions and moral sanctions directed toward the group.

According to Louis Wirth, a minority may be defined as: "A group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who, therefore, regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination. The existence of a minority in a society implies the existence of a corresponding dominant group with higher social status and greater privileges. Minority status carries with it the exclusion from full participation in the life of the society."

For the sociologist, it is a matter of concern, when a group within the society is singled out for unique treatment, and when it perceives itself as the subject of discriminatory action.

Society may be compared with a machine. Only when no part is restricted in function can it be said to be operating at optimum level.

The questions which arise from the relationship of the minority to the majority can be answered when insight is gained as to the nature of the minority.

To date, the Lesbian group, as such, has not been studied. It was for this reason that the pilot study was begun with the anticipation of making some determination as to the values held by this group and the relationship of these values to those held by the dominant group. We must now question which of the original values are retained, which are more strongly held, which are rejected? How different is this group in areas other than those related to sexual practices? How valid is the stereotype held by the majority?

All of these questions cannot be answered by one limited observational study, but it is hoped that it will open doors

for deeper and more realistic insights which can direct future inquiry.

This study was based upon observation and interviews with twenty Lesbian couples who had maintained a unit relationship for a period of more than one year. Some of the participants belonged to DOB; others did not. Some members of the sample group maintained identification with members of the formal group, identifying with some other members of the "in" group and restricting their identification by those of the majority to the interviewer only.

It is appropriate at this time, to express to the members of the Los Angeles Chapter of the Daughters of Bilitis my appreciation and thanks for the assistance which they have given. Without their participation and co-operation this study could not have been done.

The sample group was as representative as possible. It is not as unbiased nor as random a sample as that available in the study of other minorities, but recognizing the social problems involved in identification to an "outsider", it is as representative as possible.

The stereotype of the Lesbian, like the stereotype of other minorities, presents a general physical description and some broad generalizations as to personality traits; it may describe areas in which the individuals are likely to be seen, but beyond that, it concerns itself little with detail. It is as though the individual emerges into public view from a nebulous area and just "is there". The truth is, of course, far from the popular image.

The Lesbian, like all other group members, is rarely a person much related to the stereotype, and represents the same range of social and economic levels as those of the total population. The income range of this subject group ranged from individual incomes of \$2400 to \$24,000 a year. Its members lived in rented apartments in areas where rents are low, in apartments where rents were exceedingly high, owned homes in low cost tract areas, owned homes in typical non-tract suburban areas, owned homes in high priced status areas where the houses were valued at \$40-\$50,000.

However, unlike the dominants, among the subjects it was

not possible to predict on the basis of income, the kind of housing and quality of decor that would be found. Often times there were major contradictions. For example, a couple with an income of \$14,000 lived in a low cost area, in housing less attractive than a couple in the \$5000 bracket. The latter couple showed greater interest in the appearance of the home.

The first couple, despite the difference in academic background which placed them in a professional bracket, and despite the difference in income, was more concerned with living in an area close to other members of the group, an area accessible to many parts of the city and had no interest in the apartment other than as a place in which to eat and sleep. They hired help to perform the domestic tasks and paid for services that the other couple performed for themselves. Observing the homes of the subjects, one can only conclude that the range of interest in decor and maintenance varies just as it does with heterosexual couples. The personalities of the individuals determine the manner in which the home is maintained.

Just as the personality and cultural background affect the choice of furnishings and maintenance, so do they affect the manner in which the couple conduct their social life, the entertaining in the home and the degree of social activity. In other words, there is no typical pattern unique to this group and different from the dominant in these areas.

Just as the homes varied, so did the appearance of the occupants. Yet, it was in this area that there appeared to be more predictability. The women in the upper financial bracket, who owned homes in expensive neighborhoods, and who placed great emphasis on the furnishing and maintenance of their homes, would appear in feminine clothes, with no marked emphasis on role expressed through clothing choice. Interviewing would reveal that neither owned any wearing apparel that could be characterized as anything but feminine tailored casual sportswear, other than a sweater or jacket or shirt worn for a specific activity such as camping, skiing or riding. Day to day appearance would be in conformity with that of the community in which they lived and the work situation.

Professional couples in higher income groups that chose

apartments in low rent area, in which other members of the group lived, in appearance presented far more identification with their role. One or both wore definitely more masculine clothing during leisure time, and the hair styling could vary from the short casual to decidedly masculine.

It would be inaccurate to view these as more than generalizations that could be made about this group, for even within it, there were the one or two couples whose pattern differed from that of all the others in similar economic and social positions.

Two couples, whose financial position placed them in the lower income group, differed completely from the others in this group. Where, just as in the heterosexual group, role is more enforced in the blue collar and lower white collar classes, so is it apparently in the female homosexual group. The variable that distinguished these two couples was, that despite the area in which they lived and the income upon which they lived, both couples were composed of undergraduate or graduate students aspiring to professional positions. Their homes were well cared for, evidencing a great deal of creativity and ingenuity in furnishing and in decoration, with furniture and accessories made by one or both partners. Both partners of one couple were very feminine in appearance; neither partner of the other couple was. However, neither was one or the other as given to masculine-styled clothing and hair styles as the more masculine partner of other units in this economic bracket. In these couples, as in the first couple mentioned, role identification could not be made on the basis of appearance.

Margaret Mead in an article entitled One Aspect of Male and Female stated that..."there are some ways that you can be fairly certain about the differentiation between men and women. Our clothes, for example, are considerably differentiated and there are few women willing to cut their hair as short as most men do."

On the basis of the shortness of hair, as related to role, the twenty couples were viewed in terms of appearance, in terms of difference in length of hair between the two partners, and this was compared with the role identification made by each during the interview.

Most of the subjects seemed to express their role concept in degrees of hair length that ranged from definitely male hair cuts to what could be called very tailored, but feminine short hair stylings for the more masculine partner, and definitely longer and more feminine hair styles for the other. Of the couples whose members perceived themselves as having no difference, in terms of one being more masculine than the other or more feminine than the other, only one couple who expressed this had hair styles that were the same length. This couple wore men's clothing and had typically masculine hair cuts. However, one partner had waves carefully combed in; the other did not. Of the other couples, it was observed that while both people expressed the feeling that there was no difference, the length of hair contradicted the role enacted.

If it is assumed in our culture that it is the more feminine person who acts as hostess, prepares the refreshments and clears away afterwards, and that the more masculine role is expressed by the person who sits back and is served and who makes the move to lift a heavy object for the other person, then the person with the shorter hair, while saying she perceived herself as no different than her partner, was displaying behavior which indicated a difference in degree. The two people who had shorter hair than their partners, wearing more severely tailored capris than their partners, and shirts rather than blouses, both were waited on. It was this partner who would lean forward to light the interviewer's cigarette, a thing the other did not do. The degree of difference in these couples may be much less than that of others; still it was evident that a difference in role existed.

In evaluating the degree of role identification as expressed through choice of clothing, and according to Margaret Mead, clothes are an important differential in determining male and female, the appearance of the couple at the time of interview was considered an important index.

The interviews were set up by appointment, to take place in the respondent's home, so it can be assumed that their manner of dress was based upon their own choice of clothing for the occasion and expressed how they chose to be seen. There was no sense of formality. The conversation leading to the appointment indicated acceptance of the interviewer's acceptance of the situation so that the meeting was on a first name basis. Of the twenty couples, twelve showed a definite difference in choice of clothing and hair style be-

tween the partners. Four couples were similarly dressed and four were dressed in a way that could be said to show no difference in terms of expressing a difference in self-perception of role between the partners.

In the first group, the difference varied from couples with one partner wearing an ultra feminine lounging suit and the other partner in man-tailored fly-front slacks, shirt and short boots, and little make-up with a mannish hair cut, to less extreme degrees of difference.

One couple, while both in pants appeared differently, one partner in levis and a man's shirt, with shorter hair combed back, the other in slacks, woman's shirt in a soft color, hair longer, and more make-up. Another couple were differentiated by one partner wearing a skirt and the other a slack suit with hair styles different and one with make-up and the other none. The difference was often expressed only in the difference between amount of make-up, hair style and the kind of blouse worn with capris, one wearing a shirt, the other a blouse with embroidery or a definitely feminine treatment in cut or styling such as pleats, ruffles or collar treatment. The second group was more subtle in the differentiation, the degree of make-up served as the index with one partner using only a minimum of lip-stick, the other using eye-make-up, a more complete total make-up and more definitely stylized hair treatment. Often the clothing itself differed so slightly as to seem alike, the difference being a rather subtle difference, one a solid color or plaid in a smooth fabric, the other a pastel or bright color, but in a patterned fabric or textured fabric cut with just a little more emphasis on the figure.

Those in the third group were quite literally dressed alike in terms of style, fabrics and cut of clothing. One couple wore men's work pants, sport shirts and had similar male hair cuts and no make-up. The other couple was dressed in skirts and sweaters with equal attention to make-up and similar jewelry. Only the color of the outfits differed and this was a matter of choice based on personal coloring.

This does not, in itself, signify role identification, but it is significant when added to it are the observable interactions between the partners and the interactions between the individuals and the interviewer. If the partner wearing the more tailored clothing also is the one who lights the other

person's cigarette, and is the one who offers to lift the tape recorder to the table, and is the one to suggest to the other that it would be nice if she made some coffee, then, these details, added to that which is brought out in the interview, permit a deduction as to the role concept. However, it is important to recognize that whatever is described as relating to the total subject group, or to the individual couple as a unit, has to be evaluated within the same frame of reference as the description of a group of heterosexual couples selected in the same random pattern. There are variables which determine role expression that operate in either group.

This particular subject unit is composed of people representing a wide range of social, economic, cultural and ethnic origins. It approximates the total heterosexual population in the sense that it is a heterogeneous group composed of members of the dominant white Protestant group, as well as members of racial, religious and ethnic minorities. What is being described is a minority group which includes representation of the total population of the dominant majority, the heterosexual group. Just as there are differences in expression of role within the dominant, so can the expression vary within this group. Certain things are agreed upon as typically feminine tasks. Some characteristics are identified as typically feminine, others as masculine on the basis of the established beliefs of our culture. It is possible to relate the subject group to the degree in which there is delineation of role, in terms of masculine and feminine task, and broadest cultural concept, but it is imperative that it be understood that this is not an attempt to categorize; it is merely descriptive. I find it difficult to accept a concept which would arbitrarily state anything relative to role as expressed in these relationships which did not include recognition of the origins of role concept for the individuals. Thus, while accepting the reality of a very structured husband-wife relationship for one couple in the upper income level, and recognizing that it does not follow the predicted trend on the basis of the diffusion of role to be anticipated on the basis of the dominant group behavior, we cannot say that the Lesbian differs from the heterosexual as more upper income couples tend toward highly structured relationships than could be anticipated on the basis of knowledge of the total population. What hasn't been stated is that this couple is influenced by the national origins of one partner which are highly influential in her concept of roles within a marriage.

Observation serves an important function in a descriptive analysis, but must be recognized as having a degree of subjectiveness. When observation is substantiated by verifiable data a more valid statement emerges. So far, on the basis of observation, it would appear that little can be said of the Lesbians, as a group, that will support the stereotype presented in the literature and accepted by the public.

From the recorded interviews it was possible to assess the group response and by tabulation arrive at some verifiable conclusions regarding patterns of the relationships, description of the members, and their expressed beliefs and attitudes. On the basis of the data two questions were answered conclusively. There was no relationship between position in the family and the fact that the person was homosexual. The results showed that neither the oldest, the youngest, the middle nor the only child appeared in significantly greater proportion in total subject unit.

There was no relationship between the size of the person and the choice of role, nor correlation in terms of role within any given pair.

The range spread was twenty-one to fifty-seven years of age; the median was thirty-five. The majority of subjects were between twenty-five and forty-five, the post adolescent to middle-age, which would indicate that contrary to popular image, this is not a world of "just out of college youngsters" nor that of the older professional woman, that fiction writers describe.

The relationship also covered a wide span. Eight couples formed the extremes. The median was 3.4 years, with four couples in the less than two years range and four in the five to twenty year span. These figures serve to establish that the majority of couples have been together a sufficient period of time to have established a pattern of relationship.

The median income is \$9,772, which means ten couples had incomes of less than that amount and ten had incomes in excess of that amount. The average income for the Los Angeles-Long Beach area was \$7,890 for 1961, based on the general population census of 1960. This represented the earnings of

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D.O.B. Proudly Announces

BLANCHE M. BAKER

MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP FUND

AN IMPORTANT ORDER OF BUSINESS AT THE SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE DAUGHTERS OF BILITIS WAS THE ADOPTION OF A PLAN FOR ADMINISTERING THE BLANCHE M. BAKER MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP FUND WHICH WAS ESTABLISHED IN JANUARY, 1961. THE MACHINERY WAS SET IN MOTION AND THE FIRST AWARDS WILL BE MADE IN AUGUST, 1963.

A CONCENTRATED DRIVE FOR FUNDS WILL BE MADE UNTIL THE END OF THE YEAR, AT WHICH TIME AVAILABLE MONIES WILL BE DIVIDED EQUALLY AMONG DOB'S FOUR CHAPTERS IN SAN FRANCISCO, NEW YORK, LOS ANGELES AND CHICAGO. EACH CHAPTER WILL APPOINT A SCHOLARSHIP COMMITTEE TO PUBLICIZE THE SCHOLARSHIP, RECEIVE AND SCREEN APPLICATIONS AND MAKE THE AWARD IN ITS AREA DURING THE SUMMER OF 1963.

THERE WILL BE TWO CLASSIFICATIONS OF SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS: (1) FOR FURTHERANCE OF HIGHER EDUCATION FOR A FULL TIME STUDENT, EITHER GRADUATE OR UNDERGRADUATE, ATTENDING A RECOGNIZED COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY. SUCH APPLICANTS MUST MAINTAIN AT LEAST A "B" AVERAGE AND SHALL BE MAJORING IN ONE OF THE FOLLOWING FIELDS: ANTHROPOLOGY, EDUCATION, JOURNALISM, LAW, MEDICINE, POLITICAL SCIENCE, PSYCHOLOGY, SOCIAL WELFARE OR SOCIOLOGY. THIS SCHOLARSHIP WILL BE OPEN TO ANY WOMAN OVER 21 YEARS OF AGE. (2) FOR FURTHERANCE OF THE EDUCATION OF THE LESBIAN ENABLING HER TO BETTER HER EARNING POWER. THIS WOULD INCLUDE ANY TYPE OF VOCATIONAL OR TRADE SCHOOL (ART SCHOOL, BUSINESS SCHOOL, ETC.)

FINANCIAL NEED SHALL BE OF PRIME CONCERN IN SELECTION OF APPLICANTS. SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS SHALL BE GIVEN AS GRANTS, BUT ANY MONIES RETURNED BY THE RECIPIENTS WILL AUTOMATICALLY REVERT TO THE SCHOLARSHIP FUND.

DONATIONS TO HELP DOB IN ITS EFFORTS TO FURTHER EDUCATION MAY BE SENT TO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 1232 MARKET ST., SUITE 108, SAN FRANCISCO 2, CALIFORNIA.

Paul Coates Interviews

AS FESTIVITIES OF THE DOB CONVENTION WERE GETTING UNDER WAY, THE PRESIDENT-ELECT OF THE LOS ANGELES CHAPTER WAS INTERVIEWED BY PAUL COATES FOR LATER SHOWING ON THE TV NETWORKS.

INTRODUCED TO SOME TWELVE MILLION VIEWERS AS "TERRY", SHE GAVE A RUN-DOWN OF THE ORGANIZATION, ITS AIMS AND PURPOSES. WHEN SHE ESTIMATED THE MEMBERSHIP BETWEEN 125 AND 150, COATES ASKED IF SHE HADN'T MEANT TO ADD THE WORD "THOUSAND".

COATES SEEMED INTRIGUED THAT SUCH A GROUP WOULD DARE TO PUT ON A CONVENTION. "AREN'T YOU INVITING DISTURBANCE?" HE ASKED AND SEEMED SURPRISED THAT THE ORGANIZATION WAS RECEIVING OFFICIAL RECOGNITION FROM LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS AND PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE. HE WAS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN THE DEBATE ON THE "GAY BAR" SITUATION BETWEEN SIDNEY FEINBERG OF THE ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE CONTROL AND MORRIS LOWENTHAL, ATTORNEY, AT THE 1960 CONVENTION IN SAN FRANCISCO.

IT SEEMED TO COATES THAT THE GAY BAR MIGHT HELP ON THE ONE HAND BY ISOLATING THE HOMOSEXUAL GROUP, BUT MIGHT HURT ON THE OTHER HAND BY ENTICING INNOCENT YOUNGSTERS INTO THE GROUP. TO WHICH TERRY REPLIED FLATLY, "INNOCENT YOUNGSTERS DON'T BELONG IN BARS." COATES CONCEDED THE POINT, AS TERRY STRESSED THAT ONLY THOSE WHO WERE OVER 21 YEARS OF AGE WERE ADMITTED TO DOB FUNCTIONS.

TERRY DESCRIBED HERSELF AS A 38-YEAR-OLD COLLEGE GRADUATE WHO IS PRESENTLY RUNNING A POODLE GROOMING PARLOR. SHE SAID SHE APPEARED ON THE PROGRAM BECAUSE SHE BELIEVED THE ORGANIZATION TO BE STRIVING FOR A WORTHWHILE GOAL AND "BECAUSE I'M THE LEAST VULNERABLE."

DR. FRED J. GOLDSTEIN, LOS ANGELES CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGIST AND SPEAKER AT THE DOB CONVENTION, WAS ALSO INTERVIEWED BY COATES. HE CLAIMED HE WORKED 15 OR 16 HOURS A WEEK FOR THE PAST THREE YEARS WITH HOMOSEXUALS WITH "A FAIR DEGREE OF SUCCESS".

SINCE SO FEW LESBIANS PUT THEIR CARDS ON THE TABLE, DR. GOLDSTEIN ADMITTED THERE WASN'T MUCH INFORMATION ABOUT THEM. HE SAID HE

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The Concept of the Lesbian,
A Minority in Reverse

(Continued from page 13)

1.25 persons per family. In the study group the earnings were based upon 1.87 employed persons per family unit. This would indicate that the cross-section of the general population and this unit are comparable.

Before discussing role concepts, it must be emphasized that while specific tasks may be identified as masculine or feminine; in the Lesbian, as in the heterosexual world, individuals may interchange tasks to suit the family needs. Girls are very conscious of what a wife is expected to do, and what a husband is to do. They learn this when very young through games, such as playing house, by watching their mothers, and through observation and experience in the world around them. Women, it has been found, know better what is expected of them and what limitations exist for them. It is much easier for the woman to know her role than it is for the man to know his. Not only is she more consciously taught, but if she has doubts they can be clarified quite easily. The advertising world may not have a scientific basis for its projection of the national image, but it uses a generally accepted concept. Thus, if we have a man doing housework, we have a man helping a woman with her work. What we are saying is that he does not see housework as his function in the home. In the same way, men are presumed to fix things and have mechanical skills. Women who have these skills refer to them as masculine.

A woman knows that she may openly express emotion. She may shed tears at a movie and others will think her very feminine. She also knows that this is something a man may not do. Men express their strength by not crying. She is aware of her future role earlier in life so that it becomes far more integrated for her.

There appears to be no doubt that in every relationship studied, there existed a role structure which implied that one partner was more feminine or masculine than the other. The degree to which this was expressed might be slight; but in a relationship which the partners identify with the cultural concept of marriage, role definition was expressed. It cannot be stated that these observations are applicable to all Lesbians. It can only be said that on the basis of

this study of twenty couples, for these people this was true. What is true of these twenty couples may be true of a larger population. Only further study of increasing numbers of Lesbian couples would bring verification.

So far little has been said which would support the belief that this group is different in its belief and values from the dominant. The image of the stereotype cannot be supported, for rather than finding a homogeneous group, one finds a population as heterogeneous as that of the heterosexual counterpart.

The couples who said that they recognized no differences in role, demonstrated difference in the division of tasks. One partner did do more of the domestic tasks, although it was often explained in terms of, "she does them better than I; or I just don't, so by default they go to her".

Differentiation in role between the partners varied, as was pointed out earlier, just as it does with heterosexuals. Usually in the latter group one can anticipate that those in the upper income professional groups, who live in areas which demand conformity to "upper group status", will show less division of tasks on the basis of association of the task to the sexual role of the partner. In the Lesbian group the same pattern occurred. It was noted, however, that both groups are composed of people who, due to their cultural background, may differ from the typical. In the Lesbian group, the roles might be strongly enforced in terms of task, but the pattern of conformity to the status would be maintained by minimizing the differences in dress.

According to an article in the Carpenters' Magazine, published by the American Federation of Labor, over forty percent of the men buying suits are accompanied by their wives and defer to their wives' opinion in making the final selection. In the Lesbian group, half of the respondents said that the feminine partner did the shopping for clothes for the family. Seven couples said they shopped together and choices of clothing were based on the partner's approval. It is evident that partners in a marriage dress to please their mates. While the wife is less likely to consult her partner in the selection of her own clothing, still she bases her choice upon her knowledge of her mate's taste.

It was not uncommon to have the person who identified her-

self as the more masculine relate instances in which her partner rejected things she selected for herself on the basis of their being "too butchy". The more feminine partner often mentioned that she had had to gradually introduce less "butchy" looking clothes into her partner's wardrobe. It became evident that, as might be expected, the feminine partner exerted the stronger drive toward conformity to the community standards.

All of the subjects, when asked to describe the "butch" and the "femme", first spoke of dress as an index. All expressed the same feeling that in the "gay world" clothing is important as a means of communicating one's role. When speaking of the importance of clothing as a means of identification, the married person relates this to others, not to herself. In effect she says, "I don't have a problem of this sort, because I know who I am and my partner knows who I am; but, before I was married, or when I first came out, or when I went to the bars to try and meet people it was very important that I wear things that identified me." Many jokingly related instances in which they, themselves, or someone they knew had been a newcomer, unaware of the importance of clothing, and had gone to a "gay bar" dressed in such a manner as to elicit the question, "which are you?".

In marriage, with the passage of time, the partners reach a stage of mutual understanding of each other's functions in the relationship. The need to symbolize the roles decreases. For the Lesbian couple modification in clothing differences occurs. The "femme" who early in the marriage would have shunned levis and a shirt can now wear them if the occasion demands, just as her heterosexual counterpart, who once stood helplessly waiting for her husband to open the door for her, now has no inhibitions about automatically opening the door for herself. The "butch", who early in the marriage was quite concerned with looking the part, now finds this less important, just as her counterpart has modified his behavior and would feel no discomfort if seen doing the family dishes. Each person has passed the point of having to worry about being seen as less masculine or feminine, on the basis of external symbols.

In defining the feminine role there seemed to be a uniform agreement that it was the wife in both the homosexual and heterosexual marriage who "takes care of home-making and the family need". It is the husband who "takes care of" things

relative to the outside world. The more masculine partner usually expressed a feeling of protectiveness. When asked to describe the functions of the husband in the heterosexual world, the same word was used. The words "dependent" and "dependable" were used in the same relationship. It is interesting to note that the majority of the subjects identified the husband and wife roles or the masculine and feminine traits for the heterosexual and for themselves in similar terms. When asked to describe the concept of the "butch" and the "femme", the same words were used. However, among those who rejected the concept of marriage with husband and wife roles, for themselves, there tended to be a description of the "butch" and "femme" as over-exaggerated emulations of the heterosexual counterparts.

The words "emotional" and "non-emotional" were frequently used as defining the difference between the male and the female. "Strength" and "softness" were counter-placed in the same connotation. "Aggressive" and "passive" were used as relative to both personality pattern and sexual behavior in describing the male and female. It appeared that those who had little difficulty in defining their roles as husband and wife or male and female within their relationship, experienced little difficulty in describing their concepts of role in the heterosexual world.

They believed that men should be strong, dependable, capable of mechanical skills, concerned with providing for the family. They believed women should be soft, loving, gentle, capable of giving themselves, domestically oriented, and supportive of the male. But, while stating these things, there would be the expressed confusion as to the reality of this in the contemporary world. Frequently it was stated that it was very difficult to describe male and female, and husband and wife roles, except in terms of what it should be, because of what was seen in everyday life.

It was observed, and the observation verified by the respondents, that the person who is "typically butch" enacts the male role not as the behavior of the "average" male, but in keeping with the male pattern of a former era: The over-emphasis on being gallant and a courtliness in the treatment of women. There is an exaggeration in walk and speech, with again a wide range encompassing the extremes from the very aggressive, rough-talking swaggering person, to the "butch" who emulates the male only in the gallant gesture, a limited

aggressiveness, pride in being forthright and direct, able to control emotion and in slightly more masculine gestures and mannerisms. Most of the people in describing the extreme "butch" expressed rejection of what they termed the over-exaggeration of the least attractive of the qualities of the "straight" male. Many said they went through this stage, but outgrew it.

In comparing the responses to the questions relating to descriptions of the functions and characteristics of the heterosexual husband and wife, the male and female roles for the female homosexual, and their own role as they perceived it, the whole group gave evidence of a pattern of consistency.

For example, if the person saw the husband as strong, in the same sense of being the one who was the protector, she also described the "butch" as the strong person, as protective; and if she was the more masculine partner, described herself as feeling protective toward her partner. She described the tasks related to each role with the same consistency.

In examining the data, it was noted that eighteen of the forty subjects had been previously heterosexually married, and eleven of these women had had one or more children. Noting this, one might question whether the incidence of heterosexual marriages reported by the subjects could have an influence on this pattern of consistency in role definition.

A significant difference between the heterosexual marriage and the Lesbian marriage appears to be the difference expressed in time spent apart. It is common within our culture in the middle and upper class groups for husbands and wives to spend evenings in separate activity, such as the woman participating in P-TA, church functions, an evening of cards with her female friends, and the man spending an evening with other men in organizations such as fraternal lodges, scouting or similar community activities. In the Lesbian group the only time spent apart was the occasional professional event, to which the partner could not be taken, or time spent in school. The only other incidence of separate action was the occasional visit by one partner to her family. Most of the couples found it difficult to recall any consistent pattern of time spent apart. Many described their family as accepting the partner so the visit to the family was again a joint venture. "Togetherness" is very important.

While many laugh about it, none expressed a strong desire for change.

In addition, other similarities appeared also; among these were the group's expression of the concept of fidelity and obligation to the partner. With but two exceptions, all of the couples perceived their relationships as enduring. The expression of this belief is evidenced by the fact that sixteen of the couples maintained joint bank accounts, jointly owned all major possessions, and perceived all debts as joint obligations, just as in the typical heterosexual marriage.

Not only did the majority of the group agree on what constituted marriage, but they also agreed on what tasks were masculine and which were feminine. The tasks which they defined as women's were identical to those listed by the Department of Agriculture in a description of the things the average woman does during the day. The list included all the domestic chores and excluded repairs, household maintenance, heavy cleaning and maintenance of the car.

In defining the tasks in terms of gender there was little confusion. When it came to describing who actually did the work, discrepancies appeared. That is to say, there was general agreement as to which tasks were feminine or masculine, but they also agreed that in day-to-day living tasks associated with a particular gender could be interchanged. This pattern is comparable to that found in the heterosexual marriages in which both people work. Of necessity, many tasks are divided, and role associations become less meaningful.

This study was based on the hypothesis that there would be little difference in the values expressed by the Lesbian group from those of its parent group. It was found that in areas related to marriage the values were no different. They were, in many ways, more strongly projected. The very emphasis on "togetherness", the marked emphasis on fidelity, and the consistent expression of the concept of obligation and responsibility would seem to indicate that a great deal of the value system of the dominant culture had been retained.

This study has answered some questions; it has answered, I believe, quite clearly, the questions as to whether we have,

by scientific definition, a minority group that can be studied in the field of sociology. We have established that there are family units, and that the roles are enforced at least as strongly as they are in the heterosexual world. There is evidence that other values of the heterosexual world are also retained. It is clear that the stereotype projected by literature and held by the public is invalid. The picture of the Lesbian, as an overly masculinized woman, cannot be supported on the basis of the physical appearance of the subject group.

We have learned a great deal from this study of the twenty couples; however, I think it is even more important that we have learned what questions must now be asked. For example, are these findings universally applicable? Would another sample of Lesbian couples show the same similarity to their heterosexual counterpart? And, does this minority group respond to social pressures in the same way as other minority groups?

NEXT ISSUE

IN THE AUGUST ISSUE WILL BE THE BALANCE OF THE REPORT ON DOB'S SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION INCLUDING THE LIVELY AND PROVOCATIVE RELIGIOUS PANEL, THE COMMUNICATIONS PANEL, AN ATTORNEY'S REPORT ON THE MODEL PENAL CODE AND SOME ADVICE FOR THE HOMOPHILE MOVEMENT FROM A SOCIOLOGY PROFESSOR.

9th Annual Conference

THE MATTACHINE SOCIETY, INC. OF SAN FRANCISCO HAS ANNOUNCED PLANS FOR ITS NINTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE TO BE HELD AT THE JACK TAR HOTEL, VAN NESS AND GEARY STS., ON SATURDAY, AUGUST 25TH.

TENTATIVE SPEAKERS ON THE PROGRAM INCLUDE REV. ROBERT W. WOOD, AUTHOR OF CHRIST AND THE HOMOSEXUAL, SPRING VALLEY, NEW YORK; DR. EVELYN HOOKER, RESEARCH PSYCHOLOGIST, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES, AND RICHARD SCHLEGEL, SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCHER, WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE FULL DAY'S ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING LUNCHEON AND DINNER, WILL BE \$13.00 PER PERSON. ADVANCE REGISTRATIONS MAY BE MADE BY WRITING TO MATTACHINE SOCIETY, 693 MISSION ST., SAN FRANCISCO 5, CALIF.

BOOKS

THE CIRCLE OF SEX

A TREATISE BY GAVIN ARTHUR, PAN-GRAPHIC PRESS, 1962

REVIEWED BY TRACY LAING

THE LATE BLANCHE M. BAKER, M.D., CONTRIBUTED AN INTRODUCTION TO GAVIN ARTHUR'S "CIRCLE OF SEX" THAT IS WELL WORTH READING. IN FACT, IT IS THE ONLY THING IN THE BOOK WORTH READING. SHE COMMENTS ON THE REGRETABILITY OF MANY PEOPLE THINKING IN TERMS OF "AN ABSOLUTE DICHOTOMY: MEN ARE MALE AND WOMEN ARE FEMALE." GAVIN ARTHUR ATTEMPTS TO EXPAND THIS IDEA WITH "THE CIRCLE OF SEX" AS A GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF SEX. HE WANTS TO "DO AWAY WITH THE OUTMODDED ARTISTOLELIAN, FAUSTIAN, EITHER-OR THINKING" IN REGARD TO SEX WHICH IS CHARACTERISTIC OF THE WESTERN WORLD. HE ARGUES THAT SEX IS NOT A STRAIGHT LINE RUNNING FROM MALE THROUGH HEMERAPHRODITE TO FEMALE. "THERE IS," SAYS ARTHUR, "A VAST VARIETY IN NATURE." WHILE THIS REVIEWER CANNOT ARGUE WITH THE BASIC PREMISE OF THE BOOK, OFFENSE MUST BE TAKEN AT THE MANNER IN WHICH THE HYPOTHESIS IS ARGUED.

FIRST, THE EQUATION OF CIRCLE AND CONTINUUM IS BOTHERSOME AND INNACURATE. A CIRCLE, IN LOGIC, IS "A FORM OF REASONING IN WHICH THE CONCLUSION IS UNWARRANTABLY ASSUMED IN THE HYPOTHESIS." A CONTINUUM, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS "THAT WHICH IS CONTINUOUS AND SELF-SAME;" THAT "IN WHICH A FUNDAMENTAL COMMON CHARACTER IS DISCERNIBLE." IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT MR. ARTHUR REALLY INTENDS TO MAKE THESE TERMS ANALOGOUS OR SYNONYMOUS. ANY POINT ON A CIRCLE MUST EVENTUALLY COME BACK TO ITS ORIGIN, WHILE A CONTINUUM IS BY ITS NATURE, A CONTINUING PROCESS, NEVER RETURNING UPON ITSELF.

SECOND, WHILE AGREEING THAT THE BASIC PREMISE OF THE BOOK IS OF VALUE, LET US LOOK AT WHAT MR. ARTHUR DOES WITH IT: HE DOES NOTHING WITH IT. HE PRESUPPOSES A KNOWLEDGE ON THE PART OF THE READER THAT COULD NOT POSSIBLY EXIST UNLESS ALL READERS OF "THE CIRCLE OF SEX" ARE COLLEGE GRADUATES HOLDING A MINIMUM OF A MINOR EACH IN THE FIELDS OF LITERATURE, HISTORY, MUSIC, AND PSYCHOLOGY. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO FOLLOW HIS ILLUSTRATIONS UNLESS ONE IS WELL EQUIPPED WITH A SET OF ENCYCLOPEDIAS AND A DICTIONARY, INFINITE TIME AND PATIENCE.

THIRD, HE COMMENTS ON THE "POOR" LESBIAN. THIS IS IN DIRECT OPPOSITION TO THE STATEMENT (PP.21-22) THAT AT LEAST HOMOPHILES SELDOM

BRING UNWANTED CHILDREN INTO THE WORLD." HE CONTINUES, "AND IN MANY CASES THEY HAVE ENRICHED IT BEYOND MEASURE." THE GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE OF THESE TWO SENTENCES (HERE, THE INDIRECT REFERENT MISUSED) ARE ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE MECHANICS OF THE BOOK; THEY ARE GROSSLY INADEQUATE.

FOURTH, SOMEONE AT PAN-GRAPHIC PRESS SHOULD HIRE A GOOD PROOF-READER. THE BOOK IS FOOTNOTED WITH INNACURATE PAGE REFERENCES (E.G. FOOTNOTE 3, REFERRING TO THE JUSTIFICATION OF SUBSTITUTING THE TERMS HOMOGENIC FOR HOMOSEXUAL, AMBIGENIC FOR BISEXUAL, ETC. INDICATES THAT THE READER SHOULD SEE P. 15 FOR FURTHER EXPLANATION. IF THE READER DOES, HE IS CONFRONTED WITH A GHASTLY ANECDOTE ABOUT A LESBIAN. IN ACTUALITY, THE WORD-SWITCH EXPLANATION APPEARS ON P. 23. TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS ABOUND AND THEY TEND TO DISTRACT THE READER'S ATTENTION.

FIFTH, THIS REVIEWER IS ALSO OFFENDED BY MR. GAVIN'S USE OF THE JOURNALISTIC "WE" IN REFERENCE TO HIS WIFE. HE DISCUSSES "OUR" WIFE, AND THE READER CANNOT BUT WONDER, "WHO IS OUR?" THE BOOK IS FRAUGHT WITH MANY "LITTLE STORIES" WHICH INTERFERE WITH THE MAIN STREAM OF THE HYPOTHESIS. NOR CAN MR. ARTHUR'S FAILURE TO DEFINE HIS TERMS BE EXCLUDED FROM CRITICISM. HE USES SUCH LABELS AS "DORIAN" WITH NO CLARIFICATION AND "PIONEER TYPE" WITH THE UNSATISFACTORY EXPLANATION THAT ONE SHOULD REFER TO P. 457 OF ONE OF KINSEY'S BOOKS. MR. ARTHUR WILL LOSE MANY A READER, FOR INDEED, WHICH OF US IS SO FAMILIAR WITH THESE TERMS THAT HE CAN SAGELY NOD AGREEMENT OR HEATEDLY DENY HIS COMPARISONS?

SIXTH, AND MOST OFFENSIVE PERHAPS, IS MR. ARTHUR'S "NAME-DROPPING." HE USES THE NAME OF MALTHUS WITHOUT FIRST NAME OR FOOTNOTE. HE THEN CLEARLY IDENTIFIES WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS NOT ONLY WITH FOOTNOTE BUT ALSO INCIDENTAL COMMENT THAT HE WAS OF SPEAKING ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE GREAT POET. IN THE EPILOGUE, MR. ARTHUR IS PRESUMPTUOUS ENOUGH TO SPECULATE THAT SAINT PAUL WAS "PROBABLY A STIFLED HOMOPHILE WHO HATED HIS OWN NATURE."

"THE CIRCLE OF SEX" IS NOT A BOOK FOR THE LAYMAN. IT IS NOT A BOOK FOR THE UNINITIATED. IT IS NEITHER FACT NOR FICTION, BEING DESCRIBED AT BEST AS A "PSEUDO-PSYCHOLOGICAL" TREATISE. THE COVER DESIGN, HOWEVER, IS DELIGHTFUL. IF ONE LOOKS AT IT LONG ENOUGH, ONE IS STRUCK BY ITS AMAZING RESEMBLANCE TO A MANHOLE COVER. AND "THE CIRCLE OF SEX", LIKE ITS REAL-LIFE COUNTERPART, COVERS A GREAT DEAL OF WASTE MATERIAL.

THE STRANGE WOMEN

BY MIRIAM GARDNER. MONARCH BOOKS, 1962.

REVIEWED BY GENE DAMON

A FEW YEARS AGO, I FIRST READ THE MANUSCRIPT OF THIS NOVEL UNDER ITS ORIGINAL TITLE, "STRANGER'S HARBOR". IT WAS OVER 500 PAGES LONG AND WAS THEN, AND IS NOW, ONE OF THE FINER TREATMENTS OF THE LESBIAN EXPERIENCE.

I USE THE WORD, EXPERIENCE, DELIBERATELY, BECAUSE THIS IS NOT A NOVEL ABOUT EXCLUSIVELY LESBIAN WOMEN LIVING IN A MOAT-SURROUNDED WORLD. RATHER, IT IS ONE FACET OF THE LESBIAN LIFE.

DR. NORA CAINE IS MARRIED TO A CRIPPLED VETERAN, WHILE THE OBJECT OF HER EMOTIONS, JILL, IS ENGAGED TO MACK, NORA'S PSEUDO BROTHER AND DEAR FRIEND.

EACH READER WILL DRAW HIS OR HER OWN CONCLUSIONS, OF COURSE, BUT TO ME, NORA CAINE IS A LESBIAN - MORE, SHE IS ALMOST COMPLETELY DESTROYED IN THIS BOOK.

SINCE THE NOVEL IS MUCH MORE HEAVILY PLOTTED AND THE CHARACTERS MORE FULLY DEVELOPED THAN ANY OTHER PAPERBACK ORIGINAL WITHIN MEMORY, ONE CANNOT BEGIN TO TELL THE STORY BRIEFLY.

EVERYONE WHO PRETENDS TO COLLECT LESBIAN FICTION MUST HAVE THIS BOOK. IT CONTAINS A WIDESPREAD ASPECT OF LESBIANISM SELDOM EVEN TOUCHED ON IN A "GAY" NOVEL, THE PLIGHT OF WOMEN WHO ARE NEITHER WHOLLY ALIVE WITH ONE SEX OR WITH THE OTHER. IT INCIDENTALLY CONTAINS A RATHER BEAUTIFUL HISTORY OF AN AFFAIR HANDLED SENSUALLY, BUT WITH TASTE. THAT LAST QUALITY IS RARE IN ANY NOVEL.

LADDER READERS ARE FAMILIAR WITH MIRIAM GARDNER'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MAGAZINE. THOSE WHO REMEMBER "HOUSE ON THE BORDERLAND" AND THE RESPONSE TO IT, WILL ESPECIALLY WANT TO READ THIS BOOK. IT FULLY REVEALS THE PLIGHT OF THE "STRANGER'S HARBOR."

BOTH BOOKS REVIEWED ARE AVAILABLE FROM THE DOB BOOK SERVICE. THE CIRCLE OF SEX IS \$2.50 PLUS 20¢ HANDLING. THE STRANGE WOMEN IS 35¢ PLUS 10¢ HANDLING. IN CALIFORNIA ADD 4% SALES TAX. SEND CHECK OR MONEY ORDER TO DAUGHTERS OF BILITIS, 1232 MARKET ST., SUITE 108, SAN FRANCISCO 2, CALIFORNIA.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15)

HAD TREATED SIX FEMALES AND HAD BEEN ABLE TO ALTER THEIR DEVIATION. HE CLAIMED THAT IT WAS MOST COMMON IN THE FEMALE TO "STRONGLY RESIST PSYCHO-THERAPEUTIC INTERVENTION".

ASKED THE CAUSES OF HOMOSEXUALITY, HE STATED THERE WAS LITTLE EVIDENCE OF THEIR BEING A CONSTITUTIONAL BASIS FOR HOMOSEXUALITY, THAT PEOPLE DIFFER IN THEIR SEX DRIVE, BUT THE DIRECTION OF THE DRIVE IS "LEARNED" - VERY EARLY IN LIFE IN THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE FAMILY.

DR. GOLDSTEIN DESCRIBED THE FEMALE HOMOSEXUAL AS HAVING A FEAR AND UNDERLYING HATRED OF MEN. HE SAID THAT ACTING LIKE OR DRESSING LIKE MEN WAS THE WAY MANY HANDLED THEIR HOSTILITIES - "YOU IMITATE WHAT YOU HATE". THERE IS A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF SELF-HATE IN ANY MINORITY GROUP, HE ADDED.

WHEN ASKED BY COATES IF A LESBIAN ASSOCIATION SUCH AS DOB WAS A HEALTHY THING FOR SOCIETY OR IF IT WAS HARMFUL, THE DOCTOR SAID THAT IT WAS A GOOD THING IN THAT THE LESBIANS WERE LESS ALIENATED FROM THEMSELVES AND THE SOCIETY THEY LIVE IN. IT IS A START IN ACCEPTANCE AND BRINGING THE SUBJECT OUT INTO THE OPEN, HE SAID.

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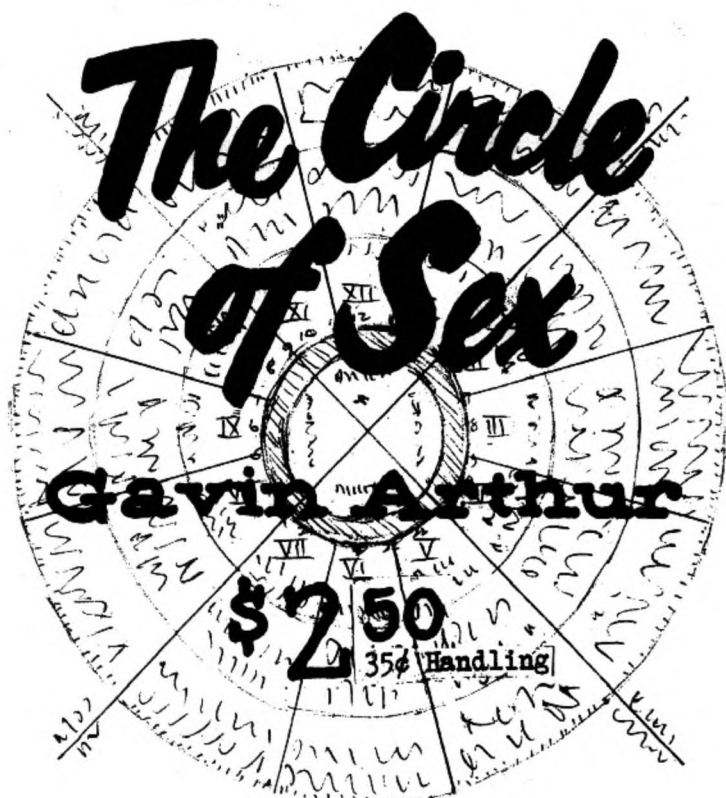
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