



mattachine REVIEW

AUGUST 1961

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Cover Drawing by Horst Irgens from *Male Models* (International Edition); Vol. 1, No. 2; Copenhagen.



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FOR WANT OF A CHANCE . . .

One of the most pressing domestic problems today is employment. And among those experiencing the most pressing squeeze in the vice are sex offenders, veterans with less than honorable discharges, and others just released from correctional institutions.

Mattachine Society's forthcoming Eighth Annual Conference at San Francisco on Sept. 2 (Saturday) will bring this problem into a sharper focus, with commentary and suggestions from a number of experts. And, it is hoped, with reports of significant accomplishments from some agencies responsible for helping these people who are handicapped jobwise.

But a lot needs to be done in examining and defining the problem, with a view to pinpointing exactly those pressures, policies, attitudes and resistances which make it so difficult for the unemployed sex variant or offender to be accepted on a job, and to hold it once it may be revealed that the individual has a "police record" background.

So many questionnaires and investigations reveal information which is so often gathered and presented so as to make the person unacceptable on all but the most menial tasks. A prevailing attitude among so many employers is that anyone who has had a scrape with the law in civilian life or who has been discovered to have homosexual tendencies while in the armed forces is a fiend, a second class citizen, and/or certainly no one to be employed.

Can we afford this attitude which results in such a waste of manpower? Can we cast aside this body of creative talent, technical skills and administrative capacities on the basis of these old notions? And can we continue to be guilty of giving only the most meager lip service to the humanitarian concept of rehabilitation for these people?

Telling an offender, or these veterans who are stigmatized with any of a number of "bad" discharges to "go get a job and straighten yourself out" is one thing, and so easy for various authorities to pronounce. But his getting a bare subsistence kind of job is quite another. Too often the despair, discouragement, rejection and the poverty itself combine to thrust these many deserving people right back into the web of law, courts, correction and so on all over again.

We say these people deserve a chance—but how can they get it? That's what Mattachine hopes to explore at its annual meeting this year. Be there and offer your ideas, won't you?

LET'S GO SLOW ON FREE-WHEELING LEGISLATION

Congressman John E. Moss of California (3rd. Dist., Sacramento Valley) says go slow on current anti-pornography bills now up for consideration as they would specifically apply to the District of Columbia, the area for which Congress acts virtually as a city board of supervisors.

As reported by Edward H. Dickson, Washington correspondent for McClatchy newspapers of California (the "Bees" of Sacramento, Modesto and Fresno), Mr. Moss is described as stating his House colleagues were erratic as left-handed shortstops when they approved legislation aimed at tightening the law against "pornographic" literature for the District.

Not that Moss favors the publication of such literary efforts—he distinctly does not—but he claims the present law is sufficient and the proposed new one is vague and ambiguous if not outright unconstitutional.

The proposed measure would prohibit, among other things, the publication of any printed matter devoted mainly to "scandals, lechery, intrigues between men and women, and immoral conduct of persons."

The objective may be fine and dandy, the Congressman states, but the fine print in the bill for one thing does not spell out what "scandal" is. Would it, he asks, be a scandal if a newspaper printed an expose of the padding of expense accounts by federal employees or corruption in the police department?

As to "intrigues between men and women," he inquires whether this would prohibit the publication of news about the Parent-Teacher Association, of the meetings of various women's bridge clubs. He goes on to imply that it might be illegal to distribute the works of William Shakespeare because there was plenty of intrigue involving fellows like Hamlet and Macbeth.

"Basic weakness of the legislation," Mr. Moss states, "is that the law could be interpreted according to the whims of the arresting police officers and the prosecuting attorneys, some of whom are not distinguished as literary critics."

Mr. Moss also views with alarm the broad seizure powers the bill provides for. He maintains that if a newspaper printed a large number of articles on sex crimes its presses could be seized, as could the operation of a magazine which printed a condensation of the famous reports of Dr. Kinsey and his staff on sex behavior. The congressman also claims that an automobile owner delivering one of the more sensational New York tabloid newspapers to a friend could go to jail and his car could be confiscated under provisions of the bill, if the paper contained headlines and news about "scandals, intrigues, lechery," etc., as described in the proposed legislation. It could be pointed out that few tabloid newspapers have none of the material which the bill would define as illegal.

Creative Homosexuality



by JOHN SHELDON, Ph.D.

Nowadays the pressure of life seems to be too much for many people. Not only do we have to worry about The Bomb and overpopulation and lung cancer and earning a living, but we also have to worry about our social position, prestige, the race for status. Instead of seeking the good life on terms meaningful to ourselves we seek success, at whatever price we must pay. It is interesting to learn that many other animals have the same kind of problem. For instance, rats.

Psychologists had been studying rats for years, to find out how they learn and what sort of drives they have. Unfortunately none of them bothered to ask the rats what they thought about all this. The psychologists knew very little about how rats actually lead their lives when they are not being studied by psychologists.

Then came the Second World War and somebody in the government became painfully aware that rats, the free-living cousins of the lab rats, were destroying many millions of dollars worth of scarce food and supplies every year. Something had to be done but nobody knew just how. It was time to start studying rat behavior from the rat's point of view, and a team of biologists was assigned to see what they could find out about rats—how they could be controlled.

These biologists never did find a modern Pied Piper, but they did find that the social life of the rat is complex and difficult. One of the biologists, Dr. John Calhoun, has been studying rats ever since at the laboratories of the National Institute of Mental Health near Washington. The result is some of the most important work ever done on how animals behave in relation to each other, how animal societies develop, and how the individual animal fits into his society.

Most of this work has not yet been published, but once in a while Dr. Calhoun lets out a little of what he has learned. His most recent* report tells about what happened when he kept dozens of rats in a large room with food and water and nest boxes.

Perhaps the most interesting result was that a definite social structure developed, with some rats associating with certain other rats and driving away rats that were not members of their own circle. Typically a particularly aggressive male would select part of the room as his headquarters and gather around himself a harem of females. Any strange male that came near would be driven off. The males formed a social ladder, with some dominant over all others and the ones at the bottom of the ladder picked on by everybody. The female and the young rats were left alone.

This worked all right for a while, but when the number of rats increased the strain of being picked on became too much for the unfortunate males near the bottom of the ladder. Then, right there in the government laboratories just a few miles from Congress and J. Edgar Hoover and the Unamerican Activities Committee, the unthinkable happened.

In Calhoun's own words, "at this density many males became homosexual, were mostly characterized by a low velocity (Calhoun's word for social position), but were infrequently attacked by their dominant associates. Expression of homosexuality constitutes the development of another class outside the dominance hierarchy, in the same sense that juveniles and females form such a class. Members of all such classes, by avoiding sanctions from dominant males, maintain a less reduced velocity than would otherwise be the case. To the extent that creativity is a form of escape from imposed velocity reduction, homosexuality represents a form of creativity."

In other words, to avoid losing out in the race for social position you can drop out of the race and become a homosexual. If you are a rat. Unfortunately Calhoun does not tell us what he means by homosexuality. Did these rats form a little clique of their own, did they make themselves available to dominant males, or what? We will have to wait for his next report to find out, but in the meantime there is much food for speculation here.

Above all, how does this apply to humans? Not at all, as far as I know, not directly anyway. The most obvious parallel is with the berdache system in some Indian tribes, in which some men chose to dress and live as women, do the women's work, and sometimes take husbands. Apparently they were accepted in this role, and usually were treated with some derision but without hostility.

It would be a mistake to try to read much into the results that Calhoun has reported so far, but at any rate we have taken another step toward understanding the whole phenomenon of sexuality and a reputable scientist has found that homosexuality can be creative. For this much let us be grateful.

*Calhoun, John B. 1961. Determinants of social organization exemplified in a single population of domesticated rats. Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences II, 23: 437-442.

SOCIETY

'v.'

the Homosexual

& THE ARTICULATE REACTION

by MARK L. SEWELL

Homosexuality, whatever this variously-defined term may denote to the particular individual, presents one of the major social problems of contemporary American urban society. There has, from time to time, been considerable public and official attention focused upon this phenomenon; the question arises, therefore, why there has been relatively little academic and scientific concern (particularly of a sociological nature) about the matter. It is the aim of the author to present a useful—albeit exploratory—"social problems approach" to the subject on the pages to follow.

It was stated that there seems to be a paucity of systematic sociological research concerning the social problem of homosexuality. This is not to say, by any means, that there is not a great deal of literature about the subject—scholarly and otherwise. However, most of the scientific work that has been conducted to this date is psychologically oriented and centers around such aspects of the problem as causation (generally, protagonists of one side or the other of the nature-nurture "dichotomy"), treatment and cure prognoses and methods, the nature of personal-social "adjustments" and various psychological and pathological implications; in short, the individualistic approach has prevailed. Medical research has begun to pick up momentum too, but a goodly portion of this seems to be concerned with questions of glandular imbalances.

Certain members of the legal and criminological fields have come much closer to contributing data of the type that is pertinent to a social-problems

approach. However, the main portion of this seems to be concerned with definitive aspects of the question. Particularly in England this kind of research has been carried forth. *The Wolfenden Report*¹ was a monumental step in this direction.

Kinsey² has recently conducted the most far-reaching studies as to the nature and extent of social attitudes and practices about the whole gamut of human sexual behavior. Although the scientific validity of some of his work should be (and has been) questioned, he probably has been largely responsible for bringing the subject into the open more than has been done in recent history. He has thus enabled the problem of homosexuality to be more realistically appraised by the public and has opened new vistas for (sociological) research about both sides of the problem. Incidentally, both of these effects have had much to do with the increased ability of the "articulate leaders" (to be discussed below) of the homosexual "minority" to operate.

The phrase "this phenomenon" that was used in the opening paragraph was not done so naively, but is indicative of a major assumption of this study. It would be utter folly to assume, as so many writers on the subject have done, that homosexuality is really a single, homogeneous entity. Neither can it be realistically seen as "a way of life" ("homosexuality")³ as others have expressed it. In the same manner as any other generalized behavioral and attitudinal pattern—eg. neuroses, leadership, crime or love—, homosexuality is impossible to define empirically as a single entity because it is *many entities*. There are *degrees* of behavioral participation ranging from the reputed "latent" homosexual, to the one-time experimenter (the "oncer"), to the occasional participant, to the "bi-sexual" person, all the way to the exclusive homosexual who has never had a heterosexual experience. Homosexuality also exists on all levels of "social visibility,"⁴ but partly because sexual behavior in most forms is relatively concealed in American culture, *most* homosexuality is, likewise, of a *covert* nature. Thus, it is doubly difficult to classify homosexuality empirically, either singly or in large categories.

The demographic aspects of homosexuals are equally as variable. Depending upon one's initial definition, the ages, occupations, socio-econom-

1. In September, 1957, the English Parliament received a report of a sweeping survey of homosexuality and the laws pertaining thereto. The investigating committee was appointed by that body and was headed by Sir John Wolfenden.

2. Alfred C. Kinsey, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*.

3. See, for instance, Harold L. Call's discussion in the transcript of the radio documentary: *The Homosexual in Our Society*, p. 7.

4. See Edwim M. Lemert, *Social Pathology*, pp. 51-53.

ic levels, family backgrounds, geographical and spatial factors will be found to run the gamut of those of the larger society.⁵ Lindesmith and Strauss observe further, that although one can speak loosely of a "sub-culture," there are, in reality, countless different, dissimilar and fluctuating "submerged island-societies" of homosexuals (remembering, of course, that most homosexuals probably are not members of such groups).⁶

It may be interesting to note at this point that estimates of the scope of the problem vary widely. In this, more than anywhere else, the initial definition of homosexuality becomes crucial. Kinsey estimated that approximately thirty-seven percent of all American males, "at some time in their lives, engage in homosexual activity climaxed by orgasm."⁷ Other estimates are "one in every ten" (frequently heard popularly), and *The Sixth Man*, which is the title of a new book (1961) by Jess Stearn. The criteria do vary, however.

Personal, symbolic meanings and adjustments also vary with individual homosexuals. "Homosexuality as a clinical entity does not exist. Its forms are as varied as those of heterosexuality."⁸

To digress for a moment, it should be clear that a statement of position and a set of clear definitions is necessary for conceptualization of this problem. By initially stating that which is not part of the definition and purpose of this approach, the aspects to be emphasized below should take on more meaning. Needless to say, no judgements or positions of "right" or "wrong" should be assumed. It is therefore much simpler to omit any prolonged discussions of "naturalness," etiology, social and personal "harm," etc.

The fact that society (in the abstract) tends to look upon homosexuality as a single, definable phenomenon, and the further fact that this thinking has been codified into systems of laws which seek to regulate sexual (therefore, homosexual) behavior, dictates that any social-problems approach can and must deal with homosexuality *as if* it were a single phenomenon. It is, in fine, this social reaction that must be dealt with as well; it is a "two-way social problem."

5. For a further discussion of the demographic aspects, see Lindesmith and Strauss, *Social Pathology*, particularly pp. 681-682.

6. Lindesmith and Strauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 682-686.

7. Donald Porter Geddes, ed., *An Analysis of the Kinsey Reports on the Human Male and Female*, pp. 269-270.

8. Evelyn Hooker, Ph.D., "Adjustment of the Male Overt Homosexual," *Mattachine Review*, Vol. IV, No. 1, (Jan., 1958), p. 10.

The "Social Problem" of Homosexuality

A "problem" exists *whenever* something is seen *as a problem*, and it may even be purely imaginative (e.g., witches, ghosts and werewolves); but it exists, nevertheless, for those who believe it does. In this respect the rationale behind this paper is clearly expressed by Lemert as the "tendency to look upon problem-defining behavior as an integral part of the data to be studied as well as the 'objective' conditions which strike reformers as being 'problems'."⁹ The larger society, in this light, becomes as much a subject for scrutiny as the homosexual.

With the foregoing rationale in mind, let it be postulated that *homosexuality exists and, although in reality it is many things, it may, for the purpose of a social-problems analysis, be viewed as a single phenomenon or unitary whole*. A corollary postulate would necessarily be that *homosexuality, under every known social condition, has never completely disappeared nor been effectively eliminated, and there is no evidence to suggest that it ever will*. Now from this frame of reference the obvious inference to be drawn must be: *how can the problem be coped with so that the problematical aspects are most effectively reduced or eliminated?* Once this position is granted, the burden of responsibility for solving the problem would seem to rest on the larger society.

It should now be clear that the assumption of the author is that there are really two sides to the same coin; on the one side, society in the abstract and on the other, homosexuality in the abstract.

Before going into the side of the coin that refers to the homosexual, it would be relevant to summarize a few of the reasons that have been offered in explanation for society's perceiving homosexuality as undesirable and as a problem.

There are probably many interrelated factors in the genesis and present state of public knowledge, mis-knowledge and general attitudes about sex in the large (societal moral concepts and norms). In America, and most other "Christian" countries, that very religious background is probably responsible for many of these prevailing ideal-values. Early Christian morality, in turn, assumed many of the prevailing and restrictive Judaic codes. These Hebraic mores were often particularly restrictive regarding all forms of sexual behavior other than procreatively-oriented acts. The common explanation that problems of underpopulation were the bases for many of these codes may contain an element of validity. However, as Dr. Bowman¹⁰ has put it, 9. E. W. Lemert, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

10. For an interesting discussion on this subject, see the radio transcript *The Homosexual in Our Society*, pp. 21, 26-28.

"the law was passed (because these acts were seen as) an abomination against nature and God. It was done with a tremendous emotional impact—the feeling of disgust and horror at the acts was (made) implicit." Furthermore, he points out that these "abominable" sexual acts were relatively few in number; consequently, the males had ample time and energy left for perpetuating the society.

Another explanation attempting to account for some of the antipathy toward homosexuality is that there exists some unconscious unknown fear of it in all humans; this may or may not be socially learned (depending on the theorist). This view, however, does not throw any light on the genesis of the antipathy unless one does posit innate attitudes, of which there is little evidence. Some societies, Denmark, France and Sweden for example,¹¹ do not condemn homosexuality legally (nor, supposedly, socially), which would seem to further reject this notion of an innate, unconscious fear. In fact, the "Puritan Ethic" is almost exclusively an Anglo-American phenomenon, at least in origin.

Notions which are occasionally encountered in homosexual literature to the effect that these antipathies are the result of "jealousy," "compensation" or "repressed and latent desires" deserve only brief mention. Rationalizations of all types are abundant in the folklore of any "minority group."

Possibly the most plausible theory is one which is primarily sociological in nature. *Role-behavior* is an integral part of all human groups. Sex-roles are clearly defined and highly symbolized in most societies, because of the fundamental biological distinction between the sexes. Sex-identification is almost universally learned at an early age, and carried forth in successive stages in the life of an individual. It is an easy matter to see how the notions of "naturalness" and "unnaturalness" arise, therefore. "Many societies recognize still further categories, which include men who act like women, and women who act like men. These in-between persons are sometimes looked upon as biological abnormalities."¹²

In those societies which do not take these "in-between persons" for granted, a higher degree of role-definition may be the rule. Therefore, when one transgresses these fundamental role-boundaries, deep feelings of antipathy are aroused in other members of the group and sanctions are then applied to the deviant to insure conformity in the future. As the traditional social structure breaks down or undergoes drastic changes (e.g., from a

well-defined rural society to a loosely-organized urban pattern), the role-definitions likewise lose many of their compulsive aspects, and deviants—of certain types—are increasingly accepted (re. the rise of "visibility" of some types of homosexuals, particularly formal organizations which will be discussed below). However, the most sacred and ritualistic roles may endure longer than others, and recurrent attempts to "restore order," to "bring back the good old days when men were men and women were women" may result in more or less sporadic application of sanctions against certain deviants (e.g., the cyclic police "vice clean-ups" in many cities). This hypothesis, if somewhat refined, is probably worthy of some thorough research and testing.

Quite apart from the "cause," or genesis, of these beliefs, homosexuality is probably the object of more "putative"¹³ qualities than any other deviation. Common imputations that homosexuals must be promiscuous, are child-molesters, seduce recruits into their ranks, are all effeminate ("I can spot a 'queer' a mile away"), are inextricably linked with other forms of vice and crime and so on ad-infinity are clearly stereotyped notions. Various superstitions can also be found to center around homosexuals. As is the case in all stereotyping, it is an over-generalization, and may or may not be applicable to even a small portion of the object-group.

Frequently, as the result of these stereotyped imputations the antipathies become so intense and often mediate much of the formal treatment of the deviant. It is at this point that the "spurious qualities of the societal reaction"¹⁴ occur; when the punishment just seems way out of proportion to the "crime"—by all standards. It is to be remembered that the individual homosexual must exist in this milieu, and possibly for that reason alone he develops some of the other undesirable qualities (neuroses, etc.), or may even largely live up to his stereotype, as in the "self-fulfilling prophecy." It will be seen below that this is one of the main reasons that the homosexual "articulate leaders" seek to destroy these stereotypes through education and counter-propaganda.

It may add perspective at this point to remember that there is not only one sexual code in American culture. Lindesmith and Strauss have tentatively identified three general sexual codes in this country: the "traditional," the "romantic" and the "predatory-recreational."¹⁵ A discussion of these would be somewhat superfluous since the labels are fairly denotative. But it is interesting to note that the traditional, and to a lesser extent the romantic, codes do prevail and have prevailed in most areas of Western society since

11. See Marvin Cutler, ed., *Homosexuals Today*, section II, for a survey of foreign homosexual activities.

12. Lindesmith and Strauss, *op. cit.*, p. 321-322. Also, for a systematic discussion of "sex-role inversion" see pp. 318-319, same volume.

13. Edwin M. Lemert, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

14. Edwin M. Lemert, *loc. cit.*

15. Lindesmith and Strauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 339-342.

the greater impact of Christianity. Neither of these codes provide much room for "deviant" (ergo, homosexual) behavioral patterns. Tentatively, one might suggest a fourth code, one which appears to be gaining acceptance; that code might be called the "rationalistic-scientific." That is, the growing body of scientific data on actual sexual behavior (as opposed to ideal behavior), increased knowledge about contraception and birth control, dissemination of this knowledge via mass communication media, the "population-explosion," changing marital norms, and generally more liberal *tendencies* may all be contributing to a changing social climate wherein the sexual "variant" might gain acceptance. The growing public controversy about sexual values, and the very existence of such open and organized homosexual groups as the Mattachine Society, One Incorporated and others are evidences for this proposition.

At any rate, most societies have sought to regulate sexual behavior by some method beyond mere informal social control (e.g., shunning and ostracism). Therefore, these sexual values and mores have been codified into systems of laws. As a homosexual spoke of these sanction-patterns and the quasi-criminal status of homosexuals: "A man who feels an attraction towards other men is a social misfit only; once he gives way to that attraction he becomes a criminal."¹⁶ The fact is that many of these laws have run the same historical route as their attendant attitudes, and in many cases are as much in need of periodic re-examination (and possibly more so, for through cultural lag the laws may be out of line with prevailing social attitudes, not to mention "reality" as it is currently perceived).

The Interaction Between Society and the Homosexual

The effects of the application of these codified social sanctions constitute a whole area much in need of sociological (and psychological, medical and legal) research. It may, however, be pertinent to outline a few of these effects and thus set up the background for the reaction aspect (both societal and homosexual) of the second two-sided coin: the action-reaction patterns.

Firstly, concerning sexual conduct in the large, the present state of most of the laws is one that is extremely out of touch with the reality of behavior. Kinsey and others have demonstrated this. A general hypocrisy results from this gap between real and ideal behavior, and the laws may come to be honored more in their breach than in their observance. When laws are in this state, and when periodic and often arbitrary enforcement occurs (e.g., the sporadic "raids" and cleanups, and political maneuvers) the whole system

16. Peter Wildeblood, *Against the Law*, p. 3.

may become a mockery. This, of course, affects the "deviants" as well as the society at large.

Ill-defined laws and more or less secretive application of them tend to foster prejudicial sanctions, so that some groups are caused to suffer more than others of the same nature (i.e., the social status and the "visibility" of the deviants). Also, there tends to develop an inconsistency between the nature of the deviation and the severity of the punishment—individuals are often singled out as "examples." In fine, the "authorities," like the laws which they enforce, may become unresponsive to the desires of the people.

Perhaps, then, the most significant aspects of social control are the formalized control groups themselves. Special interest groups such as churches, P.T.A.s, women's clubs and fraternal organizations are probably "necessary" conservative and balancing forces for general social stability. Political, judicial and law enforcement control agencies may, however, exceed this function, and may even act largely in their own interests. The last San Francisco mayoral election presents a case in point. One aspirant to office, Russell Wolden, sought to gain public support by a campaign of "exposure" with a promise to "clean up" the homosexual problem in this city. He sought, in short, to magnify and exploit public sentiment for his personal ends. Whether he was "sincere" in his efforts or not, does not alter the point.

The assertion by many homosexuals that officials who vigorously strive against them are "jealous," are "suppressed homosexuals" themselves, are "fanatical sadists," are airing personal grievances or are in need of ready-made scapegoats may be dismissed largely as rationalizations and verbal counter attacks in the same manner that like assertions about public attitudes were rejected. There are undoubtedly cases of this type in existence, but a more likely explanation may be found in the needs of certain policemen to fill "arrest quotas," and more generally, to demonstrate to higher officials and to the public that they are *doing something*. Graft and bribery (recall the recent San Francisco "gayola" trials) also tend to flourish in this atmosphere. The crucial point is that persecutory and discriminatory control practices do exist, regardless of the specific reasons, and this alone would point towards a re-examination of the laws and their application.

Looking at the net results of this legal and extra-legal aspect of the problem, a significant one is that these waning social attitudes are often reinforced and perpetuated by the occasional exploitation of them. This may, at first glance, seem to be a contradiction of the position taken previously that when the laws lag behind actual behavior they are ignored or honored in their breach. However, laws are only ignored and spurned up to a statistical point which may be called the "tolerance-limit."¹⁷ At this limit the

17. This is not analogous with Lemert's "tolerance quotient." *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

laws will be revised, abolished or, at best, impossible to enforce. Up to that point there is a general social-legal interactional process going on in which if enough lip-service (ideal) adherence can be maintained the laws will still be applicable to some people. In this regard, the taboo aspects will still tend to foster miseducation and a consequent maintenance of the stereotypes (hence, putative deviation and spurious sanctions).

Up to this tolerance limit there is often a correlative pressure by the more vociferous conservative groups for continued (often, increased) enforcement of the existing laws. This is particularly manifest when there exists an unquestionably smaller and less powerful target-group (i.e., the homosexuals). This self-perpetuating nature of many laws and norms is discussed by Westwood as when "people regard (the) sex-code as something that cannot be changed because it is 'right' and something that is morally 'right' cannot be altered or brought up to date—the sex code has remained as before, producing a disparity between our lives and our rules."¹⁸ This assertion will not appear astonishing to students of social processes, but the prior assertion that there is a recurrent reinforcing of opinion in favor of the laws (a kind of "uneducation" and static "pull") may be argued by some.

Alfred McClung Lee sees this conservative tendency as being pitted against the deviants themselves who clamor for social change (this will be seen as the general thesis of this paper); or, more generally, those who clamor for social change become, *ipso facto*, social deviants.

"When there is orderly and gradual change, the fewest people are hurt by change, (*sic*) the most gain by it, and society remains most healthy. The prevention of well-indicated changes stores up periods of tension and suffering. But the way-breakers for social change, whether gradual or drastic, are social deviants. They are those sufficiently aggressive and heedless to defy the overwhelming social forces making for uniformity and the maintenance of the *status quo*. They are the social manipulators of change just as the successful dominators of society are the social manipulators of stability or against change. And the chief characteristic of such manipulators or agitators of change is that they are—to established and satisfied members of society—unreasonable."¹⁹

Another common "net result" of the application or threatened application of these laws is that they may merely drive the undesired behaviors underground—for a time. The actual effect on behaviors is probably nil, or may even aggravate other behavioral symptoms by forcing the deviants to assume a false pretense and continually wear a mask. Again, they may aggravate

the problem by forcing a reification of subcultural-type relationships. As Lindesmith and Strauss express this phenomenon: "Homosexuals may be so scattered as to have *relatively* little contact with others like themselves. Public (and official) censure, however, tends to cause them to congregate in certain places, especially cosmopolitan centers, where heterogeneity and the size of the population make for more anonymity and tolerance."²⁰

However much this may tend to lower the "visibility" of homosexuality for a time, norms of an aggressive and anti-social nature will invariably spring up in the deviants. Then, in a circular manner, forms of visibility (hence, the problematical aspects) may arise in flamboyant behavior and affected mannerisms, as is observable in the "gay crowds," the various "queens" and open solicitation and promiscuity.

The last "net result" that will be touched upon here may be looked upon as a type of feedback—more directly than the two previous "net results." There are two major aspects to this process; or actually, three. The first is problem-defining behavior; therefore, in a large measure, problem-creating. This was discussed at length earlier in the paper.

The second aspect is that of society's role in the original "creation" of the homosexual. The author accepts the theory that Western civilization and its sex mores—the inconsistencies, hypocrisies, highly competitive nature of sexual participation, etc.—forms the sexual patterns in general, and contributes to sexual deviations in particular. If one further accepts the hypothesis that *poly-sexuality* (re: man's "plastic nature") is the only "natural," inherent propensity, then the inference to be drawn is that whenever sexual behavior becomes channeled into one exclusive, fixed and rigid pattern it is the result of social processes and pressures. This would hold true in all forms of sexual behavior, and by degrees from "choice" to "compulsion."

This leads nicely into the third and most significant aspect of this feedback. By the very act of social disapproval, sanction, pressure, stigmatization and ostracism, society unwittingly tends to crystalize and then reinforce many homosexual traits. As these behavioral patterns become more inflexible the more socially and individually undesirable and damaging factors such as fetishism, neuroses and aggressiveness become entrenched. Original feelings of guilt, shame and suppression and the necessity of playing dual roles and employing rationalizations are seen as maladjustment and "primary deviation." Adjustment is sought by the homosexual by establishing a major role-definition and self-acceptance thereof; the behavioral pattern then truly may become a "way of life," or "secondary deviation."²¹

20. Lindesmith and Strauss, *op. cit.*, p. 681.

21. The concepts of primary and secondary deviation are Lemert's, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76.

18. Gordon Westwood, *Society and the Homosexual*, p. 107.

19. Alfred McClung Lee, ed., *Principles of Sociology*; Lee's Chapter 35, p. 338-339 ("The Person and Social Policy").

The deviants who cannot "find adjustment" and a stable self-concept often continue in various states of neurosis and are probably the ones who most frequently seek psychological aid or "cure." These are probably in the minority, and many homosexuals in this category are undoubtedly in the process of transition to new self-concepts. These are all symbolic psychological processes, and there is probably no direct correlation with degrees of overtness or covertness in the larger social sense.

One possible, though tentative, conclusion which may be drawn from the foregoing discussion is that as society accepts the homosexual in spite of his deviation (leading the homosexual to accept himself, therefore), many of the "real" problems that now seem inherent in the deviation will "automatically disappear. It may even be that the actual incidence of homosexuality will decline. (It would undoubtedly be the case that as society accepts the homosexual, its attitudes toward all forms of sex will tend to be more enlightened.) "Deviation," in this sense, would become merely statistical, not evaluative. "Adjustment," then, works both ways—society "adjusts" to the homosexual, enabling the homosexual to adjust to society and to himself in turn.

The foregoing discussion has skirted the edge of a significant point. That is, of course, that the values, mores and laws of the larger society are ultimately the determinants of *most* behavioral patterns. The homosexual and his subcultures exist within the framework of the larger society and are not only formed in a large measure by that society, but also in reference to it. That is to say, the individual homosexual is more basically and generally a 26-year old, male, "white," American. He is an accountant, his mother's son, a war veteran, a San Franciscan, a stamp-collector and so on.... All of these other roles and relevant behaviors make up the individual, needless to mention. What may not be so readily granted, however, is that the larger society also determines to a great extent his attitudes and behaviors about his deviancies. Albert Ellis puts this in a way that seems to be worthy of quoting here:

".....the enormous extent to which homosexuals in our culture are unconsciously influenced and limited by the ideologies and practices of the culture in which they reside (is implicit). For while all the proponents of homosexuality with whom I have had intercommunication in recent weeks have been quite understandably critical of the persecutory attitudes of heterosexuals, and while they consciously have declared themselves opposed to virtually all heterosexual views and acts towards the 'gay' world, they have also, most ironically, unconsciously espoused and upheld one after another sexual philosophy which can easily be traced to the firmly entrenched biases of heterosexual society.

"Take, for example, the question of sexual promiscuity—I find that the majority of frank homosexuals are, in one degree or another, consciously disturbed about their own promiscuous desires or actual promiscuity—Take, again, the matter of romanticism in sexual relations.—One would hardly expect that homosexuals who are hardly thought by the general public to be pro-puritanical, would have little use for this rather hypocritical romantic philosophy. But, on the contrary, one finds homosexual relations frequently on a super-romantic basis. Moreover, one finds that when such relations are thoroughly non-romantic, then the homosexuals themselves tend to feel extremely uncomfortable about them."²²

Ellis goes on to cite a few more examples of this phenomenon. Monogamic fidelity is evidenced by frequent semi-enduring "homosexual marriages." Fights and jealousies over partners are common. Though, since there are no legal or economic and familial restrictions, they tend to be more impermanent on these grounds. Notions of beauty, good physiques and youth also pervade homosexual "culture." "Old Auntie" is a term often applied to the older, less attractive homosexuals.

This all goes to demonstrate, no doubt, that any individual's chances of thoroughly removing himself from the *underlying* forces of the particular culture of which he is a member are exceptionally slight indeed.

Cory²³ introduces a note of caution here, however. He states that very often the homosexual takes over the (sexual) norms of society only when they may be seen to benefit him clearly in some way. Prejudices such as nudity *between* the sexes, for example, simply do not apply to homosexual relationships. Cory continues:

"On the other hand, (some) homosexuals are motivated (towards)—gaining acceptance for themselves and their groups in society. He reasons (as do members of other minority groups) that to the extent that he can conform to the morals and mores of society, to that extent might he be successful in gaining acceptance within society. Therefore, instead of calling for re-evaluation of these moral concepts, he seeks strenuously to abide by them, feels deeply frustrated by his failure to do so and pretends, particularly in communication with the outgroup, that he is as much a conformist as anyone."²⁴

It should be kept in mind, however, that these "adjustments" often lead to the conflicts which were mentioned above. Obviously, not all heterosexual prejudices can be effectively rationalized by the homosexual.

22. Albert Ellis, "The Influence of Heterosexual Culture," in *Homosexuality, a Cross-Cultural Approach*, Donald W. Cory, ed., pp. 416-417.

23. Donald W. Cory, *Homosexuality, A Cross-Cultural Approach*, p. 423.

24. Cory, *op. cit.*, pp. 424-425.

The Reactions of the Homosexual

The foregoing rather appropriately leads into the "reactions" of the homosexual in the large. Up to this point, most of the discussion has centered around the larger society and its stake and role in this "social-problem." Some investigation was also made of several of the interactional processes between society and the homosexual. Now it is time to ask in what ways the homosexual (in the abstract) reacts to society and to the "social-problem," and how best this can be studied.

The answer to the second part of this question must come first, or rather, several suggestions for possible methods of study will be made. In this sense, this is an exploratory study. When the groundwork is thus laid, some of the aspects of the first part of the question will become explicit. And, hopefully, some answers may be provided.

The first general suggestion is that "homosexuality" can most profitably be studied in the same way that other minority groups have been studied. Although this is not a minority group in the usual sense—particularly as to over-all visibility and reification—it partakes of many aspects of minority group phenomena. This is particularly germane from a social problems viewpoint inasmuch, as Cory points out, as contemporary America has become increasingly concerned with the rights and integration of her various minority groups.

As in many other minority-group studies, the first and most fruitful approach seems to be at the "top," the most crystallized and visible part of the group. This usually indicates the leaders, or spokesmen. In the case of homosexuality, these leaders will here be called the "articulate spokesmen," for articulation is their hallmark and their primary method of operation.

There are several prominent homosexual organizations in the United States today, wherein these largely self-appointed and dedicated men and women operate. On the whole, these operations appear to be a direct and above-board manner and attempt to reach several general (and numerous specific) goals in behalf of the homosexual individual. Functioning within the general context of sexual behavior, the gross result often is to deal with the whole gamut of sex, civil rights, legalism and education. Thus, it often seems to be the case that society in general is the recipient of the fruits of their labors.

The primary emphasis of most of their efforts is directed at the larger society, and more specifically, at the points where society meets and directly influences the variant person (i.e., laws, police, courts, churches, educational institutions, etc.).

Of the several possible choices (or directions) that a minority group can

make concerning the larger society, these articulate leaders appear primarily to have chosen *co-existence*. That is, *integration* in all but one respect in which they seek a *pluralistic* adjustment. To the extent that most homosexuals are already members of the larger society in other respects, a good degree of *assimilation* already exists, so this can not be seen as an end.²⁵

The ultimate goals of these organizations can be summed up in a statement by the editor of the *Mattachine Review* to the effect that *they are organized towards the day when they can disband*. There seems to be a sincere feeling that the guarantees of "democratic equality" and acceptance can and must be realized for the homosexual individual.

The general thesis of these organizations is that realism and enlightenment through increased public (and academic and scientific) knowledge will be the way in which their goals are realized. In their role as a "link" between the homosexual and society, they seek to fulfill primarily a communicative function. It is, of course, through communication and mass media that this increased knowledge can be disseminated.

In their own words (from the format of the monthly *Mattachine Review*):

"*The Mattachine Society, Incorporated* (is) a non-profit, non-partisan organization founded in the *public* interest for the purpose of providing 'true' and accurate information toward the solution of problems of human sex behavior, particularly those of the homosexual *adult*." (emphasis, author's)

Again:

"(*One, Incorporated* is) a non-profit corporation formed to publish a magazine dealing primarily with homosexuality from the scientific, historical and critical points of view books, magazines, pamphlets . . . to sponsor educational programs, lectures and concerts for the aid and benefit of social variants, and to promote among the general public an interest, knowledge and understanding of the problem of variation . . . to sponsor research and promote the integration into society of such persons whose behavior and inclinations vary from current moral and social standards."

And finally:

"(The) 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, 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

25. For a full discussion of these minority group processes, see Brewton Berry, *Race and Ethnic Relations*, especially pp. 181-334.

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."

Upon future study, it would be relevant to make detailed analyses of these and other such organizations, and to observe their relative merits and methods. However, since the Mattachine Society appears to be fairly representative of these organizations (and possibly the more articulate), and further, since the author was given the opportunity to observe and to make a brief study of this organization, it will be discussed briefly below.

As was mentioned above, the primary emphasis of the efforts seems to be directed toward the larger society. That the individual homosexual benefits in a correlative, and also in a more direct, manner will be implicit.

It may be significant that these three organizations were all founded within the last decade (Daughters of Bilitis, 1955; Mattachine Society, 1953 (a continuation of Mattachine Foundation dating from 1950); One, Incorporated, 1952). One might observe, then, that the "social climate" seems to be right. There now seems to be a great deal of national "soul-searching" going on; the public at large has increasingly tolerated, yea, even listened to more diverse and unorthodox viewpoints; controversy on a grand scale is widespread; and science and the academic world is gaining in popular prestige. It is possible, however, to counter with the assertion that through the great proliferation of mass media the public has simply become saturated with every viewpoint imaginable, and thus has become immune; to the point of "tolerating" virtually anything. There is no doubt validity in both positions.

It is also germane to note at this point the increasing tendency by many groups to fight official and semi-official censorship. This, of course, makes the homosexual leaders' job of disseminating information more feasible. The case of Grove Press, Inc. and Readers' Subscription, Inc. vs. Robert K. Christenberry, Postmaster of the City of New York—the famous *Lady Chatterley's Lover* case in 1959—is a case in point.

The homosexual organizations themselves have joined this fight against censorship. In the June 1959 issue of *Mattachine Review*, for example,

appears an article by one John Logan entitled "Higher Postal Rates—to Pay for Censorship?" which is a frontal attack on post office censorship policies. Again, in an advertisement for the *Dorian Book Quarterly*,²⁶ the fourth point reads: "To promote a freedom to read movement and combat attempts at censorship. Here the editors will cooperate with organized community groups everywhere that are active in anti-censorship work...."

Partly as a consequence of this growing controversy and partly as a carry-over from traditional codes, many book publishers will not touch homosexual literature. One result of this has been a rather sharp and recent rise in the "homosexual press."²⁷ Members of the Mattachine Society, for example, operate the Pan-Graphic Press which—on a small scale—publishes numerous books, booklets and pamphlets on many levels and phases of the subject. In addition, as it has been indicated earlier, they publish their monthly *Mattachine Review* which includes fiction, poetry, accounts of individual cases, scientific articles (often reprinted from professional journals), semi-scientific dissertations, editorials, information about meetings and conferences, book reviews and some correspondence to the editors. Interestingly, advertisements are solicited from "...publishers and/or authors of books; magazines; periodicals and booksellers (*sic*) concerned with homosexuality and sexological subjects."

Throughout the author's research on this organization he was impressed by the degree to which the leaders were conscious of their "image." The entire operation seemed extremely businesslike, efficient and above-board. True, there is some bitterness apparent and they are employing counter-propaganda to the hilt. There was even some inter-organizational conflict which seemed to be traceable to a concern for social condonance. The remark that, "One (Inc.) is too militant," was heard and also seen in print. There also appeared to be a small degree of antipathy toward the Lesbian organizations to the effect that they did not have to face as many problems and thus were too conservative. On the whole, however, these groups appear to operate in unison for their common cause.

A paragraph from a "propaganda leaflet" entitled *What Does Mattachine Do?* clearly demonstrates this concern:

"Limitations: certain things are not done and cannot be done by Mattachine or its members. We condone no illegal activity in the organization, no corruption of minors and no exchange of names for personal correspondence. The organization stands for highest standards of group and public behavior

26. The Dorian Book Service is affiliated with the Mattachine Society, and specializes in homosexual literature: book reviews, studies in the field, problems of censorship, aids authors to print, etc.

27. See Marvin Cutler, *Homosexuals Today*; Chap. 1 is devoted exclusively to this "homosexual press."

at all times and seeks to promote responsible citizenship."

Another factor of these organizations that should be studied at some later date is that of membership. Active membership appears to be quite small, but magazine circulation is larger. Conjecture would have it that the vast majority of homosexuals do not know and would not care about the organization as such, although "moral support" would probably be forthcoming from most homosexuals.

When it was stated that the primary emphasis of these organizations seemed to be aimed at society, it should have been noted that one "strategy" seems to be to direct much energy toward the intellectual and educational leaders of society. These social leaders are undoubtedly the most accessible and the most interested in the problem, and they are also enjoying a growth of prestige at this time. The Mattachine Society seeks to aid research projects (e.g., Institute for Sexual Research, Indiana; Institute for the Investigation of Human Ecology, New York; and various colleges). Students are aided in as many ways as possible. A fairly comprehensive library and bookstore are open to all interested parties. And, of course, research findings (and other works) may be published and disseminated insofar as possible.

Much effort, nevertheless seems to be directed at the general public itself. The "...program is based primarily on education: first, directed at the public at large, providing unbiased, factual information about the true aspects of human sexual behavior...."

The literature, of course, also serves several other functions for the homosexual. Just as it happens with other minority groups, they frequently attack and ridicule their adversaries, find rationalizations and create in-group humor via their books and articles.

Extensive use is also made of mass communication media. A notable example is the sixty-minute F.M. radio documentary that was cited above. Recently the Society helped to produce a ninety-minute television documentary film. Homosexual literature is currently being advertised and reviewed in national magazines.²⁸

In view of all this—and much more—the "problem" of homosexuality appears far from insoluble. For until quite recently "homosexuality" (the word and the subject) were unmentionable and taboo. Now, though it is frequently mentioned, it still may be quite "electric." "From silence to discussion, even without enlightenment, is progress, for enlightenment becomes inevitable through discussion and impossible without it."²⁹

Of a somewhat more tangible nature concerning the individual homosexual,

the Mattachine Society provides a limited social service function. It maintains some liaison with health departments, hospitals, mental health groups and clinics, probation offices and correctional institutions. It also helps some individuals solve employment problems, and advises on medical, psychological and legal aid problems. Needless to say, the literature benefits the interested homosexual in a direct manner also.

In conclusion, homosexuals in-the-abstract (the "articulate spokesmen") are reacting to society and to those social sanctions they deem unfair. They are reacting primarily on the level of ideas and communication, and in so doing are seeking to combat miseducation and prejudice. While it was suggested that the burden of responsibility for solving this "social problem" rested with the larger society, it now appears that the homosexual leaders are taking a good part of the initiative toward this end. As Donald W. Cory aptly states: "the homosexual is no longer a pariah without his intellectual defender."

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28. *The Sixth Man*, by Jess Stearn was advertised in a recent issue of *The Reporter*; and reviewed in a recent issue of *Saturday Review*.

29. Donald W. Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

Calling Shots

NEW ORGANIZATIONAL SETUP RATIFIED

Mattachine has long been notorious for reorganizational hassles seemingly without end (see "Readers Write," this issue). But its leaders hope that while the end may never be reached (it seldom is in a living, evolving project), at least the strain of it will be minimized to the utmost in the times ahead.

March 15—July 15, 1961, embraces a period where the entire organizational concept of the Society was revamped. From a voting membership organization it became a foundation type organization with a Board of Directors in charge. Many reasons were cited for the decision on March 15 to dissolve Mattachine Area Councils in New York, Boston, Chicago, Denver and San Francisco. But the plan was to urge establishment of these groups into properly organized corporate bodies in their own states under other names and to absolve the California Mattachine corporation of responsibility. No real dispute as to the wisdom of this move came up. Considerable publicity about it went out to Mattachine membership (via

letters and the quarterly newsletter, *Interim*) and to others interested in the projects through *One* magazine (see "Tangents," May 1961; "Homophile Diaspora: A Tale of Two Cities," June 1961).

In the meantime, Secretary Don Lucas drew up a proposed set of by-laws after the wheels were set in motion by the Chairman's proposal of March 15. A special general membership meeting was called for July 15 at San Francisco to ratify the action. During the period, plans to formally organize other groups, particularly in New York, Boston and Philadelphia, were advanced. These are still in progress and will be reported as they are accomplished. An organizational move in Denver to establish "The Neighbors" was shortlived; it disbanded in July.

New by-laws of the Society were issued in the August issue of *Interim* to the membership (which membership now becomes "supporting" instead of "active"). With this accomplished, the Society cites these advantages in the new setup:

1. Legalliability of the Mattachine Society (a California corporation) is now minimized. With it, the threat of involvement with possible criminal elements is also minimized, since only the California corporation will use the registered name and trade mark of "Mattachine." Other solicited funds, etc., in any locality in an unauthorized manner will be reported to law enforcement agencies in that locality as appropriate.

2. More independent project groups in the field are encouraged, each ful-

filling its own responsibility in its own locality.

3. The "threat" of a national "pressure group" is abolished. However Mattachine continues to seek support nationally as in the past, and is concerned with problems that are national in scope, as well as local in other states outside California. It will continue to make every possible public service available nationally as in the past.

4. Administrative detail, impossible to accomplish satisfactorily in an organization staffed by volunteer workers, will be vastly swept away. Mattachine has been justly criticized for its heavy organizational burden in the past; now this is reduced to the reasonable minimum.

5. Income prospects are now more stabilized, and adoption of a budget is facilitated.

6. Mattachine Society now takes on the aspects of a foundation with a permanent and experienced leadership, which qualifies the organiza-

tion for grants in aid and permits tax exemption status.

TELEVISION PROGRAM IS SCHEDULED AT SAN FRANCISCO

Tuesday, Sept. 12, 9:30 p.m. is the date and time of the hour-long documentary by National Educational Television, "The Rejected," over KQED, channel 9, San Francisco. Featured on this discussion of the homosexual male and his problems of acceptance and understanding are Dr. Margaret Mead, anthropologist; Dr. Carl M. Bowman, psychiatrist; Dr. Erwin Braff of the U.S. Public Health Service; Attorneys Morris Lowenthal and Albert Bendich; District Attorney Thomas Lynch; Bishop James A. Pike of the Episcopal Diocese of Northern California; Rabbi Alvin Fine; Attorney Albert J. Hutchinson, formerly of the Attorney General's staff in California; James Day, manager of KQED and others, including a panel of three

THE ROOTS OF BIAS

Most Christians identify "Pharisees" with "hypocrites" and regard them as generally evil. This is due to faulty religious education. The truth is that Jesus took the Pharisees seriously and felt it was particularly important to express judgement against them *precisely because* they were the most serious and devout Jews of His day. Some Protestant writers recognize this when they say the Pharisees represent the *status quo* of society. More pointedly, they represent *ourselves* at our most respectable. But, as Dr. Olson points out, we conceive of most stories as having a hero and a villain, and we like to identify ourselves with the hero. Therefore, students of the Bible tend to identify themselves with Christ against the Pharisees. Actually, they should be identifying themselves with the Pharisees, against whom stood—and stands—the judgement of Christ.

Rt. Rev. James A. Pike, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of California

members of the Mattachine Society: Harold Call, Donald Lucas and Les Fisher.

The "Sixth Man" minority of modern America is placed in sharp focus as these experts from several fields and divided attitudes approach a subject normally taboo on a mass medium like television. But the expression of those who base their outlook on modern scientific knowledge is repeated in various ways: The homosexual is among us in large numbers; he must understand and accept himself, and in turn, society must understand him, and grant him his place as a human being.

Negotiations are under way to produce the transcript of this program into a booklet to be issued under the same title as that of the program.

NEWSPAPER COLUMNIST TREATS '3RD SEX' THEME

In June and July, Feature Writer Guy Wright, whose daily column appears on the editorial pages of the *San Francisco News-Call Bulletin*, discussed homosexuality and gay bars, pro and con, on four occasions. The fourth and "closing" portion of the discussion explained the why, how and what of the Mattachine Society, and is reproduced following this item.

Mr. Wright's opener was an advocacy of special signs for "gay bars," the places where homosexuals congregate in large cities. This was occasioned by a news report that California Alcoholic Beverage Control Department officials announced an action against a bar frequented by

women alleged to be lesbian. The bar's attorney had been quoted, "None of the customers is shocked by anything that goes on there—only the tourists from the liquor board." Realizing that homosexuals did exist and that they had a right to drink as does any other adult, Mr. Wright stated he believed the situation would be aided if signs were posted on these bars—thereby those who wanted not to associate with them could go elsewhere.

But this idea brought a mixed response. Homosexuals, particularly, wanted none of it: A sign, they said, would label them individually, and this threat of exposure was shattering at best. As might be expected, crackpots responded vociferously (and some of them were advised by Mr. Wright they needed psychoanalytical help). A few well-chosen replies published were from enlightened adults, and still a few more were from homosexuals themselves.

The sign didn't get any widespread endorsement, however. But a letter from the editor of the Mattachine REVIEW apparently caused Mr. Wright to call the Society for an interview which resulted in his wind-up of the topic. The article below speaks for itself, and in presenting it, the REVIEW expresses its sincere gratitude for the fair and forthright way in which it was written. One possible comment to REVIEW readers might concern Mattachine's closing of area councils in other cities—but this has already been explained to our readership. Here is what Mr. Wright said on July 25th. in the *San Francisco News-Call Bulletin*:

mattachine **REVIEW**

Guy WRIGHT

A Self-Help Organization For Men of Third Sex



THE MATTACHINE Society is a self-help organization for homosexuals. It was formed in Los Angeles in 1950, but moved its headquarters to San Francisco in 1957.

Few people knew of its existence until it became a bogus issue in the last mayoralty election, with the mud-slingers picturing it as some kind of Mafia for sex deviates.

Nothing could be further from the truth, and I can think of no better way to bring to a close this column's sporadic discussion of a normally taboo subject than with an honest report on the nature and activities of the Mattachine Society.

"People are suspicious of us. We understand that," said Harold L. Call, a board member of the society and its director of publications.

"We don't seek publicity, but believe me, we aren't trying to build some sinister pressure group," he added.

The society is far too weak for that, in any case. Its national membership never reached 350, and now is dropping. It's down to about 225, mostly in Northern California. Once there were chapters in Boston, New York, Denver and Chicago, but they've all been closed.

"Considering the number of homosexuals (an estimated 90,000 in San Francisco) we must admit we're doing a poor job," Mr. Call said.

Members must be 21 years old. Most are homosexuals, but not all.

Story Behind Name

The name, Mattachine, is from the language of old Provence. It means "little fool" and refers to medieval court jesters, who often were homosexuals.

The Mattachine Society has two basic functions: To help the homosexual accept himself; to educate society to accept him.

It does what it can on an annual budget of \$12,000—made up of donations, dues (\$15 a year) and sale of its monthly magazine, the *Mattachine Review*.

It conducts forums, aids university researchers, co-operates with public health officials and police.

"We aren't police informers. They've

never asked us to divulge our membership list, and we couldn't without losing the confidence of the people we're trying to help," Mr. Call said.

The society expends most of its efforts helping homosexuals understand themselves. Many don't. Many have quite inaccurate beliefs about the how and why of their conditions.

"Many don't even realize that they are homosexuals until they're sent to prison for something else. There they learn all about it," Mr. Call said with an edge of bitterness.

Referral Service

A referral service sends distraught homosexuals to clergymen or psychiatrists. With this help, some have rejoined the ranks of the heterosexuals. Others have been saved from suicide.

When a homosexual gets into trouble with the law (usually on a lewd conduct charge; the incidence of blackmail is exaggerated) the society refers him to an understanding attorney. When he is released, it does what it can to help him find a job and rebuild his life.

A major goal of the society is to wipe out laws that make homosexuality a crime and to substitute the principle that the sex practices of adults, when performed by mutual consent and in private, should not be a criminal matter.

If that shocks you, Mr. Call points out that the principle has been indorsed by the eminent jurist Learned Hand, and is already the law in many countries.

"We realize it will require a great deal of public enlightenment first," Mr. Call said. "But we want to avoid the sort of thing that happened in Santa Monica a few years ago, when some fiend killed a child and hid his body under a pier. The city fathers solved the problem, all right. They made sure it would never happen again. They tore down the pier."

News-Call Bulletin

Feature Page

☆☆ Tuesday, July 25, 1961 Page 21

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50 cents



mattachine REVIEW

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