



American LGBTQ+ liberation from day 1 to Stonewall.

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Season 2, Episode 12: “The Pleasure of a Response,” or,
“How to Handle a Federal Interrogation”

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For this episode, begin with posts starting October 7, 2020. (Click above.)

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

This transcript includes text from real homophile-era publications, letters, organizational documents, et cetera. These texts contain **identifying terms** that may now be out of date.

AUDIO: soft waves on the beach

HOST: Florida, 1962. Young Jack Nichols, of the Mattachine Society of Washington, is visiting his retired grandparents. He sits on the boardwalk looking out at a tan young man on the beach. The guy looks back at him. Jack breaks the gaze, pretending he wasn't looking. Slowly, his eyes drift back to the man, who is still watching him on the boardwalk. Jack stands and walks toward the water, toward the guy's blanket on the sand.

JACK NICHOLS: Hi.

WARREN: Hi! Have a seat.

JACK NICHOLS: I'm Jack.

WARREN: I'm Warren.

HOST: Casually lifting his knee in his cross-legged position, Warren leans back to see his new friend. Jack catches a glimpse into Warren's shorts. He isn't used to this type of direct cruising, but he loves it.

JACK NICHOLS: What brings you to the beach?

WARREN: My tan. I'm workin' on my tan.

JACK NICHOLS: You've got a good one already.

WARREN: Not good enough, I can get much darker than this.

JACK NICHOLS: I've got a ways to go myself. I just got here on vacation.

WARREN: Yeah? How long's your vacation gonna be?

JACK NICHOLS: Two weeks.

HOST: Cheesy dialogue, but it's verbatim out of Jack's autobiography. Warren looks into Jack's eyes as he stands. Suddenly, Warren turns and runs across the sand into the water. When he comes up, he's dripping wet, walking back to the blanket, trunks clinging to his thighs. Jack knows Warren knows exactly what he's doing.

WARREN: Wanna take a walk?

HOST: Over two weeks together, Jack shows Warren his mentor's Supreme Court brief. Frank Kameny has been denied the chance to appeal the lower court's decision before the Supreme

Court, but Jack still carries the papers around as they begin Mattachine work. Explaining it to Warren, he's curious to gauge interest in the movement. Warren says he's in if Jack is in. Jack returns to Washington, writing to Warren, and playing will-they-or-won't-they phone games. Eventually it seems like his guy isn't coming to D.C., and he will have to choose between the guy and the Movement. So Jack Nichols packs his bag and hits the road in search of Warren, leaving Frank Kameny behind.

Act 1

HOST: **1962**, The Hideaway – a small, basement gay bar on a rundown strip of 9th Street theaters. Frank sips his drink as he tells his friend about the growth of the Mattachine Society of Washington, or MSW. He's not completely alone without Jack. The group grows from about a dozen to 30-ish members. They are mostly white men, although women do begin to appear. They discuss in their meetings how they can attract a more racially diverse membership, but very few people of color join. As we'll come to see, being a person of color in social justice work in Washington is hard enough, especially if that person is to join a group of so-called sexual perverts. Most of the active members are young people just out of college looking to do some good. Very few of them have even experienced a federal discharge like Frank. And while only half or so members are active and several leave the group once they meet someone romantically or sexually, the group does continue to grow. Like Dwight Huggins's previous Washington group (which you can hear about in my bonus podcast), the group grows so large they begin meeting in a church, St. Mark's Church on Capitol Hill. As the organization gains strength, they need money to take more action. And Frank's friend at the Hideaway recommends,

HOMOSEXUAL: Whenever money is involved, there are laws. You'd better check.

HOST: D.C. requires a license for charities to collect money. Frank registers the group's name, purpose, and list of officers with a small fee, all of which is sent to the superintendent, C.T. Nottingham. Nottingham immediately moves to deny it. He calls the police — Deputy Chief of Police from the Morals Division, the officer who lost his eye to a teargas shell. And although he doesn't have the individual power to deny the application, he's determined to pick through the MSW's records until he finds something worthy of revoking the charity license. He's not successful. **Sunday, September 16, 1962**. The *Washington Star* reports: "Group Aiding Deviates Issued Charity License."

The Mattachine Society of Washington is gaining strength. A meeting is called in Philadelphia for every Eastern homophile group. Frank has an idea to strengthen all of them — so long as another Mattachine doesn't get in their way.

Across the nation, in San Francisco, Hal Call remains bitter with Frank Kameny. Two years of using the Mattachine name without his permission. Hal stole it first! He writes to Frank that this is a "cause of confusion and distress, but unfortunately we cannot force the change through court action. Our organization does not have the money for that." So, Hal will take Frank down

another way. Hal meets with an FBI special agent to hand over a transcript of a Washington Mattachine's speech at the 8th convention, a speech deemed by *ONE Magazine* as "perhaps the most radical and challenging paper ever presented before an American homophile organization," a speech detailing the Washington Mattachine's plan to wage legal war on the U.S. Department of Defense. The FBI gladly accepts Hal Call's gift.

HOST: "Dear Mr. Wicker—or should I call you Mr. Hayden, or Randolfe, or Charlie?" Frank Kameny writes to Randy Wicker in New York. Frank is hoping to connect with Randy and work together. He's inspired by Randy's bold publicity. Frank and the MSW board plan to buy ad space in the all the Washington papers and write up a press release. None of the papers agree to print anything about this group of homosexuals, except the Star writing about the scandalous granting of their charity license. Bruce Schuyler, the MSW secretary, writes to the men they met with at the Pentagon, thanking them for the meeting (in the previous episode). He says, "We are now rounding up cases to challenge your criteria and policies, administratively, at first, and then in the courts, up to the US Supreme Court, if need be." He says, if anyone is fired by the US government for being a homosexual, we'll encourage them to let us publicize their case. And we are "strongly suggesting to our brother organizations" to join us — publicly — in this battle.

The LCE News in San Francisco announces, "WE MUST FIGHT NOW" Guy Strait writes, "Yes, there is war, a fight in the courts of our country to regain rights. Let those who will, join the fight. Let those faint of heart stand by or at least stand aside."

January 1963. Frank Kameny calls for an alliance of the Mattachine Society of Washington, the Mattachine Society of New York, the Daughters of Bilitis New York chapter, and the Philadelphia Janus Society under the new East Coast Homophile Organizations, ECHO, in order to unite the groups and work together for the same goals. In contrast to the homophiles who seek to work within the established laws, the East Coast organizations establish a much more militant vision. Barbara Gittings and Randy Wicker are thrilled to finally meet another uncompromising homosexual. They schedule their first conference for the upcoming autumn of 1963 in Philadelphia – the same date as the American Psychiatric Association meeting. Perhaps if they're allowed to make their case inside the APA convention, they can sway the opinion on homosexuality as a sickness. Their next order of business: pamphlets. One is called "How to Handle a Federal Interrogation," which Kameny is obviously very familiar with. This pamphlet explains that it is "the patriotic duty of every American citizen" to fight the governments unjust policies against homosexuals, by refusing to answer questions about their sexuality and refusing to resign from their jobs. The other is titled "If You Are Arrested." Many leaders are familiar with the process. These pamphlets are typed up, printed, folded, and handed out to all members and any homosexual who would like one. Gays all over the capitol open their pamphlet "If You Are Arrested," to learn:

1. No one is required to be interrogated
2. You have the right to remain silent on all homosexual issues
3. You can respond and say homosexuality is none of the government's concern
4. Sign nothing, don't take lie detector tests, don't give names

5. Unannounced interrogators at your home or workplace should not be welcomed inside
6. Don't let them persuade you into interrogation.
7. Say NOTHING whatever about homosexuality
8. Don't confirm any information they have
9. Insist on their respect
10. Find a lawyer immediately
11. Do not resign from your job out of intimidation.

These pamphlets are quickly collected by an undercover investigator from the Army sent into a Mattachine meeting. He takes them to the FBI, where they're archived into the Sex Deviates File. The Bureau begins a tireless effort to find out who wrote and printed the pamphlets for the organizations, but the redactions in the FBI file have erased what little info they could find.

Hoover still hasn't responded to the MSW's press release about their society's formation, but it seems inside the offices, agents are searching desperately for these homophiles. Outwardly, the Bureau breaks their gaze, pretending they weren't looking.

February 16, 1963, the MSW secretary Bruce Schuyler writes to Director Hoover, admonishing him for leaving them with "[had] neither the pleasure of a response, nor even the common courtesy of an acknowledgment." He says he expects the same "prompt, proper, full, constructive attention" any other minority group should receive, and that "our problems are real ones," and that "They will not vanish if you look the other way long enough."

As the group grows, information travels more freely between local homosexuals. They cruise in parks, especially Lafayette Square just north of the White House. Word spreads that there's a secret two-way mirror in the men's bathroom where cops wait to arrest homosexuals. Frank gets wind of it. He grabs a plywood board and marches down to the park. With hammer and nails, he boards up the mirror.

The MSW begins an effort to publicize problems like these. Come May, they begin publishing a newsletter, the *Gazette*. Frank's name never appears at all, as he's still hoping to get a job as an astronomer, and despite all his actions, he's managed to keep his name out of the public eye. The *Gazette*'s masthead is all pseudonyms and the articles are all printed without bylines. The Mattachine Society of Washington immediately places Director Hoover on their mailing list.

AUDIO: typewriter

CONGRESSIONAL ADMIN: H.R. 5990 – by Representative Dowdy of Texas – to amend the D.C. Charitable Solicitations Act. Purpose:

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: This bill would provide that prior to issuing a certificate of registration authorizing any organization to solicit charitable contributions in the District of Columbia, the D. C. Commissioners must find and publicly declare that such solicitation will

benefit the health, welfare, and morals of the city. Also, this bill would revoke the certificate of registration which was issued to the Mattachine Society of Washington under the charitable Solicitations Act.

CONGRESSIONAL ADMIN: Reason for the Bill:

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: On August 14, 1962, the Mattachine Society of Washington, an organization formed to protect homosexuals from discrimination, was granted a certificate by the D. C. Department of Licenses and Inspections to solicit funds in Washington. The application stated that the organization wanted to raise funds to help give the homosexual "equal status" with his fellow man. Mr. C. T. Nottingham, Superintendent of the License and Permit Division, stated at the time that his office has no authority to deny a solicitation permit to any organization whose representatives answer all questions on the permit application form.

HOST: Congressman John Dowdy of Texas is already trying to clean up the district — he needs a win. Dowdy almost lost re-election. But he's got a few go-to tricks up his sleeve. As a district attorney, he got one defendant the death sentence by arguing points such as, in his own disgusting words, "This Negro is a lustful animal because he lacks the very elements of mankind." Shortly after, Dowdy got a seat in Congress. He spent a good deal of time going after Playboy, pornography, and more people of color. He figures going after the charity license for an organization of homos will be a slam dunk. He introduces his new bill to the house on **May 1, 1963...**

The same day, May 1st, Vice President Lyndon Johnson gives a public statement in support of equal federal employment for all "national origin minority groups," such as people of Mexican, Puerto Rican, or Native American descent. Though the medical forms required to apply for a federal job still ask, "Have you ever had, or have you now, homosexual tendencies?" Frank Kameny responds directly to the Vice President, **May 4, 1963:**

AUDIO: typewriter

FRANK KAMENY: Just as with Negroes, the capabilities and talents of our other minority citizens stand as a high asset in the ledger book of our national strength. We must see that they are receiving full opportunity to contribute on the basis of individual merit. To see that all minority groups receive the same opportunities for employment and advancement in the federal service as are afforded any of our citizens is part of the challenge to our leadership. We represent the largest minority group in this country, after the Negro—15,000,000 American citizens—

HOST: He then refers to the case of Bruce Scott (A.K.A. MSW Secretary Bruce Schuyler) who, like himself, was forced to resign from a federal job years after an arrest in a park — Lafayette Park — and he went to Frank for help. Kameny had him reapply for the job, get denied again, and ask for an NCACLU attorney to challenge the Civil Service Commission.

FRANK KAMENY: The second case challenging federal policies on the employment of homosexuals has just entered the courts. Others are on their way. The first picketing of the White House, to protest federal policy and practice toward homosexuals, has just occurred (with, let us emphasize, no connections with the Mattachine Society of Washington). It is safe to predict that increasing numbers of increasingly vigorous protests against federal disorientation toward homosexuals will occur.

HOST: There was no major media coverage of the picket he mentioned. It was an independent group's picket of many issues, not just homosexuality.

In **June**, the MSW secretary Schuyler writes to Director Hoover again. In classic Kameny style, if he doesn't get a response to a letter, he sends another and another until he does. This time, the MSW secretary invites Hoover to a lecture by famed homosexual author Donald Webster Cory. It's titled "The Homosexual: Minority Rights, Civil Rights, Human Rights," to be held at the Gramercy Inn on Rhode Island Avenue. A complimentary ticket for Hoover is provided. Public events like these are a great way to give potential members a look inside. Hoover obviously does not attend, but he sends an informant.

"Tonight DONALD WEBSTER CORY," an ad in the *Washington Afro-American* announces, "Author of *The Homosexual in America* in a public lecture: 'The Homosexual: Minority Rights, Civil Rights, Human Rights' at the Gramercy Inn."

AUDIO: phone ringing

WARREN SCARBERRY: [over the phone] Their appearance and mannerism appeared to be homosexuals.

HOST: Hoover's gay informant Warren Scarberry reports after the lecture. Scarberry submits two copies of Webster's book that he bought. One is signed by the author. On top of that, the informant adds five pieces of Mattachine literature.

FBI AGENT: PCI—

HOST: Potential criminal informant—

FBI AGENT: —was advised he was recently contacted by an individual named "RANDY," who claimed to be a leader of a homosexual group in New York City—

HOST: Likely Randy Wicker of the Homosexual League of New York—

FBI AGENT: "RANDY" told PCI he was bringing approximately fifty homosexuals to Washington, D.C., in August, 1963, to picket the White House and they were planning to carry

placards enscribed [sic] with slogans criticizing the government for discriminating against homosexuals in government employment.

HOST: Randy Wicker is seeking homosexuals in D.C. to recruit more people, which the informant agrees to do for Randy so that he may be able to submit more names to the FBI.

MUSIC: tightening

HOST: Frank finds out about the bill introduced to Congress to revoke his charity license. He writes to D.C. commissioners, the ACLU, and the *Washington Post*, all of which oppose the bill as a violation of the first amendment's requirement to protect "unpopular causes." He writes to every House District Committee for hearings and requests for a representative of the MSW to speak. And he waits for a response.

AUDIO: typewriter

HOST: **June 21.**

FRANK KAMENY: To the office of President Kennedy special counsel Ted Sorensen.

Dear Mr. Sorensen:

On March 6, 1963, we wrote to you in regard to administration policy toward homosexuals. In well over three months which have elapsed, we have had neither response nor even acknowledgement.

...You will discover, in regard to this problem, as the South discovered in regard to segregations, that the problem will intensify and will become increasingly intractable with the passage of time, if it is not properly attended to, in a constructive fashion... Differences in opinion on this question are understandable. Refusal by our government even to communicate with us is unforgivable...

The Attorney General recently stated, in regard to the Negro community, that: 'The Negroes in the country cannot be expected, indefinitely, to tolerate the injustices which flow from official and private discrimination. As the years pass, resentment increases. The only cure for resentment is progress.' Our resentment, too, is increasing, and we, too, are losing patience with a total and complete lack of progress...

We are a reasonable group, taking a moderate position, and willing to work in intelligent, knowledgeable cooperation with you, with full cognizance of the political and other subtleties and realities of the situation. There are others who are far more extreme, far less responsible, and certainly not willing to cooperate. They are beginning to stir, and, if something is not done to remedy the present situation, they will take the initiative and will make themselves known, very

publicly, in manners which you will find as unpalatable as the South found the methods of the extremists who were forced into action by Southern recalcitrance.

HOST: After another abusive raid on a gay spot, the Gayety Buffet on 9th Street, Frank writes to the D.C. Chief of Police reporting physical harm committed by officers. But replies only seem to come from allies, like Randy Wicker.

AUDIO: typewriter

RANDY WICKER: Quite honestly I am in a quiet period so far as organizational activity is concerned. My next major effort will be picketing the White House this fall—so far I have 12 to 20 picketers; heterosexuals included—could be a bombshell.

HOST: The *New York Post Magazine* says of Randy Wicker, “He’s a blond-haired, college boy cheerleader.” A men’s magazine reports Wicker is “fighting the corporate image of homophiles.”

As ECHO, the East Coast Homophile alliance grows stronger, Frank politely contacts the American Psychiatric Association ahead of their simultaneous autumn conventions.

AUDIO: typewriter

GEORGE SPEER: Dear Mr. Kameny: Thank you for your letter of July 10 regarding the possible meeting of the East Coast Homophile Organizations in Philadelphia, concurrent [sic] with the Convention of the American Psychological Association. This problem has already been considered by the Convention Committee and it was decided that it is not in the best interests of the APA to meet with you, nor to publicize your meetings. Very truly yours, George S. Speer

HOST: Kameny slams the mailbox shut. Slams the front door behind him, files the letter away. Finally a response, but he might as well have been ignored.

AUDIO: phone rings

FRANK KAMENY: Hello?

AGENT O’BEIRNE: Good afternoon, may I speak with Franklin Kameny?

FRANK KAMENY: Who, may I ask, is calling?

AGENT O’BEIRNE: Franklin Kameny of the Mattachine Society of Washington?

AUDIO: Frank’s footsteps down a hallway from 205A, plus Robert’s footsteps with him

HOST: Frank Kameny and Robert King, editor of the *Gazette*, enter the FBI offices the next afternoon, **August 6th**. Two chairs are waiting for them in a meeting room with the agent who called.

FBI AGENT JOHN W. O'BEIRNE: The presence of Mr. Hoover's name on your mailing list is considered offensive.

HOST: The agents probably took it as a joke nodding to the rumors of Hoover's own sexuality. Kameny deflects.

FRANK KAMENY: Many government officials are on our list. Sending our material is an attempt to influence these officials to become more understanding of the aims of our group—

AGENT O'BEIRNE: This material is disgusting and offensive. Congress makes the laws, so there would appear no need to forward such material to the FBI. The Director vigorously objects—

FRANK KAMENY: We have the legal right to send our newsletter to whomever we wish. Frankly, the Mattachine Society of Washington deserves the support of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, as it is the government's job to protect its citizens. Why is Director Hoover so worried about being publicly associated with homosexuals?

AUDIO: a long pause

ROBERT KING: We don't wish to antagonize. And we would like to invite Mr. Hoover to attend our upcoming convention.

AGENT O'BEIRNE: Mr. Hoover would like you to delete his name from your list.

FRANK KAMENY: Well, as the group's president, I should discuss it with the membership first. After all, we do live in a democratic society.

HOST: Frank smiles. All this time he was worried they were on the FBI's list but Hoover is worried that he's on theirs. They're in the bureau building no more than eight minutes. But after all the ignored letters, to finally dignify them with some type of response is the first step toward taking them seriously. And now Frank knows how serious *they* are, too. The Bureau phoned him directly, which means they must have a file on him. Mattachine officer Gail Johnson writes to the agent, reporting that the MSW will gladly remove Director Hoover from their mailing list—if the FBI destroys their file on the MSW and, thus, Franklin Kameny.

AUDIO: typewriter

AGENT O'BEIRNE: This letter is a blatant attempt to open a controversy with the Bureau. Any further contact with them will be exploited to the Bureau's disadvantage. It is apparent they are attempting to involve government officials in their program for recognition and any further contact by the Bureau will only serve their ulterior motives.

HOST: The Mattachine, of course, never receives a response. Director Hoover remains on their mailing list until his death. Frank arrives home to open more incoming mail. Finally.

AUDIO: typewriter

JAMES T. CLARK: Dear Mr. Kameny: Congressman John Dowdy, Chairman of Subcommittee No. 4, has asked me to advise you that hearings will be held on Thursday, August 8, at 10:00 a.m. in Room 445-A Cannon Office Building, on H. R. 5990. You are hereby invited to testify if you so desire and in order that the witness list may be completed please notify me by Wednesday whether you or someone else will be present to testify. Also, Congressmen Huddleston, Broyhill, and Harsha, have asked me to thank you for your letter to them with respect to this proposed legislation. Sincerely yours, James T. Clark, Clerk.

HOST: So far, Frank has kept his name off the public record—in his potential case at the Supreme Court, in his interactions with the press. Appearing before Congress would out him as an activist to the world and as a homosexual to his mother. Frank writes back immediately confirming his presence as Mattachine president at the hearings. Homosexuals have been spoken *about* in Congress—hear previous episodes. But for the first time, a homosexual is invited to speak before Congress. Frank Kameny will lead the jester into the court and demand fealty from his government.

Act 2

FRANK KAMENY: Mr. Chairman; Members of the Committee: I appear here today as President of the Mattachine Society of Washington. On behalf of that Society, I thank the Committee for this opportunity to testify in opposition to H. R. 5990.

Since this bill is admittedly directed against the Mattachine Society of Washington, I feel that it should be made clear to the Committee just what the Mattachine Society of Washington is and what it is not.

The Mattachine Society of Washington is a civil liberties organization. Homosexuals constitute a minority group no different, as such, from other minority groups in this city and this country. We are working to achieve for the homosexual minority full equality with their fellow citizens. We are a reputable, responsible group, working seriously in an area where much work is needed and where very little is being done.

We are NOT a social organization. Our Constitution states in Article II, Section 2: “It is not a purpose of this organization to act as a social group, or as an agency for personal introductions.” We abide strictly by this prohibition.

We are NOT interested in recruiting heterosexuals into the ranks of the homosexual – an impossibility anyway, despite belief to the contrary...

We have formed to secure for the homosexual the right, as a human being, to develop and achieve his full potential and dignity; and the right, as a citizen, to make his maximum contribution to the society in which he lives...

[fading out]

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: This is a group whose illegal activities are revolting to normal society. Their acts of perversion are banned under the laws of God, the laws of nature, and are in violation of the laws of man. These men will undoubtedly be subject to blackmail for their involvement in homosexual orgies, and living on a diet of semen. They may participate in bestiality. Mr. Kameny’s own record is evidence that this group creates a security problem. He was discharged from the Army Map Service.

HOST: The *Washington Post*, which previously refused to advertise the Mattachine, reports this morning before he hearing that Dowdy’s bill is unconstitutional. It demands the government deem an organization as moral before granting a charity license, and it punishes organizations without trial. However, Dowdy pushes on. Though he tells Kameny he won’t have long to make his case, Frank testifies for four hours over 2 days. They ask him all questions about all sorts of topics, from Biblical teachings to criminal law, gay marriage and nature versus nurture, federal employment of homosexuals, and all the goals and meetings of Mattachine Society of Washington. He invites the congress meetings to attend a meeting and see what they’re all about. Morals officer Deputy Chief of Police Roy Blick watches from the audience.

FRANK KAMENY: Our primary effort, thus far, has been an attempt, by lawful means, to alter present discriminatory policy against the homosexual minority—a minority perhaps almost as large as the Negro minority.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: In my part of the country, I don’t think we run into any of these perverts. A person might call another man an animal or a scoundrel or even a skunk, and not expect to receive anything more than a black eye, but if you called him a “queer” or a “fairy,” a black eye is the least you could expect of it.

FRANK KAMENY: This is precisely the kind of public prejudice that we are trying to dispel.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: So that is the reason—it was so shocking to me that any branch of our Government would condone this idea of giving you a permit to go in to the apartment houses and the homes of this town to solicit funds.

FRANK KAMENY: If I may say—

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: I know I was told before we got into this thing that homosexuality is a rather touchy subject here in the Federal Government, and it would be difficult to get any support for doing anything about it on account of everybody is afraid of it. I don't know whether all of the homosexuals in the country have come to Washington, or what is the reason they are afraid of it.

FRANK KAMENY: No. There is no reason to think the percentage of Texans who are homosexuals is no larger or smaller than any other group elsewhere in the country.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: I haven't heard any of them bragging about it if they are.

FRANK KAMENY: This is a matter on which one doesn't brag but one doesn't have to be ashamed of something for which there is no reason to be ashamed.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: I believe so we can connect up with yesterday's testimony. I believe you testified that you are the president of the Mattachine—is that the way you pronounce it?

FRANK KAMENY: Mattachine Society of Washington.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: How long have you been president of this local chapter?

FRANK KAMENY: I have been president of this group—it is not a local chapter of anything, it is an independent thing—I have been president of this group since its formation on November 15, 1961.

MR. HORTON: Then what is your legal authority to use a copyrighted and registered organization's name? A license cannot be granted fraudulently, and I see no charter from the Mattachine Society to use their name. I have here one of the *Mattachine Reviews*, which is published, I take it, by your national society.

FRANK KAMENY: Not through our group—

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: You stated on page 1 of your statement that you are not a social group, and you quote your constitution, which says, "It is not a purpose of this organization to act as a social group, or as an agency for personal introductions." Aren't your meetings, in fact, introductions which lead to certain groups—

FRANK KAMENY: No; they are no more so than a church meeting on a Sunday morning may well lead to people meeting and ultimately cementing an acquaintanceship.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: You do relate your perversion to a religion?

FRANK KAMENY: No, I do not. I am simply making an analogy where any place where more than one person assembles may lead to acquaintanceship. They are conducted with formal procedure. They are not social affairs. There is no impropriety nor would it ever be tolerated.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: The very fact that your group exists gives homosexuals from other sections of the country a chance to meet the homosexuals in Washington; doesn't it?

FRANK KAMENY: Not through our group. There are ample opportunities elsewhere.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: There is one thing I would be interested in, since the Commissioners have been said to favor your having their implied approval, at least. I would be interested to have a statement from each one of the Commissioners themselves to see if they actually mean that they favor giving the dignity of the District government to your group. How do visitors who come here to Washington contact your chapter?

FRANK KAMENY: I don't believe we have had contacts from visitors coming to Washington except in a few instances where people have been moving down to Washington, they have contacted, say, the New York group and have been told how to get in touch with us.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: How large a chapter do you have?

FRANK KAMENY: It is smaller than we would like it to be, growing rapidly. We have approximately 30 to 40 people.

MR. HORTON: I couldn't hear that. What was it?

FRANK KAMENY: Thirty to forty people.

MR. HORTON: What?

FRANK KAMENY: Thirty to forty.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: It is smaller than you would like it to be?

KAMENY: Yes.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: And, of course, it is your purpose then that you would like to be larger, to promote your perversion so that you have more people in your—

FRANK KAMENY: There are quite enough homosexuals in existence. We are interested in people attracted to our group. As I stated specifically in my statement yesterday, we are not interested in recruiting heterosexuals into homosexuality and in point of fact, this is not possible despite popular opinion to the contrary.

MR. HORTON: You stated earlier that there are a quarter of a million homosexuals in this area. You are telling me that this communication that you send out once a month to the public goes to only possibly a hundred people?

HOST: Kameny has mentioned that their mailing list for the *Gazette* contains about a hundred homosexuals. But Congress can't believe that all the homosexuals in the area, all quarter million of them, aren't already in contact with each other. Congress's problem isn't just that they don't want homosexuals to organize—they assume all homosexuals are already organized and communicating and powerful, like Communists. This *must* be why they use pseudonyms, Congress assumes. They're underground, subversive. Frank tries to explain that to expose their real names would cost them their jobs, and the organization exists to fight for job protection. They're caught in this paradox.

MR. HORTON: I would like to ask the witness his personal knowledge as to the employment of these two officers.

FRANK KAMENY: I am here as president of the society, Mr. Horton.

MR. HORTON: You are also an individual. Do you know the employment of these two individuals?

FRANK KAMENY: Yes, I do.

MR. HORTON: Are they employed in the government?

FRANK KAMENY: I am afraid that I can't give you information as to their employment.

MR. HORTON: Do you know their address? Do they live in the District of Columbia?

FRANK KAMENY: One does and one does not.

MR. HORTON: Will you make available to this committee the address of the officers of this organization?

FRANK KAMENY: That would be prohibited by the constitutional provision I just mentioned.

MR. HORTON: This is prohibited by the constitution?

FRANK KAMENY: This is information about the members and it cannot be disclosed.

MR. HORTON: Mr. Nottingham, is there any requirement that the names of the officers and address of officers be made available for the record?

MR. NOTTINGHAM: No, sir.

FRANK KAMENY: The names of the officers are on the records.

MR. HORTON: But the addresses are not?

MR. NOTTINGHAM: The addresses are not. It is a post office box.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: Is that their true names?

MR. NOTTINGHAM: That is their names.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: I am asking the witness here, is that their true names?

FRANK KAMENY: Those are the names with which they are registered in the society. I know of no others, as president of the society.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: So that isn't their names. You have got dummies registered with the District as officers of your society?

FRANK KAMENY: As president of the society I know our members under the names with which they are registered.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: And that is not their true names?

FRANK KAMENY: They may or they may not be.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: You are unwilling to tell us that that is their true names, that those are their true names?

FRANK KAMENY: As president of the society I know only what our membership records show.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: All right. As an individual do you know whether those are their true names?

FRANK KAMENY: I still cannot discuss matters having to do with the identities of members of this society.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: I think that should make a difference to the District of Columbia in granting a permit, whether you have got some dummies or whether you have got some people.

FRANK KAMENY: The people exist.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: Is that their names?

FRANK KAMENY: Again I know them only as they are registered.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: Then I take it that you are telling us that those are not their true names.

FRANK KAMENY: I am not saying that.

MR. HUDDLESTON: Did you file the application for charter yourself?

FRANK KAMENY: Yes, I did.

MR. HUDDLESTON: And you obtained these other signatures on the application for charter?

FRANK KAMENY: I don't know of any other signature needed.

MR. HUDDLESTON: I mean, these names, you filed it with these names on the application?

FRANK KAMENY: Yes.

MR. HUDDLESTON: And you filed that without knowing whether those were the true names of the people that they purported to represent?

FRANK KAMENY: Those are the names under which they are registered with the society, and as far as any official business of the society is concerned, those are their names.

MR. HUDDLESTON: But as far as you know they may be aliases or completely fictitious?

FRANK KAMENY: It is not impossible but I have no reason to think that they were adopted for purposes of fraud. Therefore, I don't think it is particularly relevant.

MR. HUDDLESTON: I think the very filing of the application for charter with fictitious names on it ipso facto is fraud.

FRANK KAMENY: Not at all.

MR. HUDDLESTON: Because you have represented certain people as officers in your organization and those people are not in fact officers of the organization. Those people don't even exist.

FRANK KAMENY: They do exist. They are very real. While I am not an attorney, I know of no law which prohibits an individual from taking any name he wishes to take as long as he is not doing it for illicit purposes or for reasons of fraud, and I think you would have a very hard job demonstrating any purposes of fraud in this case or anything illicit. Writers take pseudonyms, pen names, and use them quite freely and nobody claims fraud.

AUDIO: typewriter

REPORTER: Capital Is Called Homosexual Hub

HOST: "D.C. Fights Bill Cutting Help for Homosexuals" the Washington *Evening Star* reports. The article includes the name of the homosexuals' president: Franklin E. Kameny. Plenty of media attention follows the hearings, which included extensive personal questions to Frank about incest, his past legal issues, sex, and even semen. They questioned the MSW vice president, asking if she's seen any gay sex at the meetings, or if she's a member of the Daughters of Bilitis. But the upside: the Mattachine's entire statement of purpose and press release were read into the Congressional Record, so now everyone in the government knows who they are.

The D.C. Board of Commissioners schedules another hearing to decide if they should revoke the Mattachine charity license on "false information" due to the pseudonyms. Before the hearing can happen, Frank's lawyer advises them to let it go, give up the license voluntarily. t his NCACLU lawyer finds that they don't even need the license as long as they don't raise more than \$1,500 in a year. Last year, they raised a total of \$125. Ironically, all that free publicity brings in a lot of cash. The MSW sends out a fundraising letter saying our goal is "\$1,499.99"

ECHO, declares Congressman Dowdy the highest contributor to the homophile cause in 1963. He's miffed about it all, and he still takes his bill to the floor.

CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: This Kameny fellow claims 10 percent of the employees in all the departments of Government are qualified for membership in his society!

HOST: His bill passes 301-81. The Senate takes no action on it, though, and it expires. The Philadelphia magazine for the Janus Society, *Drum*, publishes how every representative voted on that bill. More money comes in to ECHO. Kameny's phone number is listed in the book, so his phone rings often with offers of money, volunteers, and other support. Gay federal employees call for advice. He's eager to give it, and get them attorneys. Kameny actually used the fight

against his organization as a way to display the very discrimination the homosexual is up against, so people trust his judgment.

Just over a decade ago, gays were fired and ousted en masse from the State Department. They were left nameless and jobless. McCarthy scared everybody by saying that the government was full of homosexuals in employment. Now, a homosexual is declaring that the government is full of homosexuals in employment—and they deserve to be there.

Amidst all the mainstream hetero press, *ONE Magazine*'s August issue hits the stands with new pencil drawings by Sidney Bronstein. His steamy art and poetry tends to reflect his interest in servicemen, and this month, he made the cover of the issue. (Check out all the *ONE Magazine* covers on Instagram @queerserial.) Frank Kameny directs the Mattachine Society of Washington secretary, Bruce Schuyler, to send an urgent message to the *ONE* editors in LA:

FRANK KAMENY: The Executive Board of the Mattachine Society of Washington has directed me to express unequivocally to you its utter shock and disgust that you would waste valuable space to reproduce an ordinary and artistically and socially unredeeming drawing... The drawing does not have a place in a magazine which is intended to correct the public image of homosexuals.

Our president and vice-president have just done much to dispel of the popular misconceptions of homosexuals by their comportment and their testimony before Subcommittee 4 of the House District of Columbia in hearings on Congressman Dowdy's bill, H.R. 5990.... The hearings were well and objectively reported by the Washington newspapers and by a TV broadcast.

Now along comes your magazine with a drawing which Congressman Dowdy can wave at his colleagues in the House of Representatives and shout: 'What did I tell you? These unnatural people are not interested in educating others except to their own unnatural lusts!' Let me make it perfectly clear: the Congressman has not yet said this, but your drawing certainly now has provided him with the opportunity, if he wants to take it.

AUDIO: typewriter fading

HOST: Meanwhile, at the Bureau, the Identification Division lifts three latent fingerprints from the Mattachine Society of Washington's constitution provided by Warren Scarberry. Hoover writes to the Washington Field Office that these prints do not match the names of the group's treasurer or secretary, provided by Scarberry. The Bureau continues digging. It seems the Mattachine really is registering under false names.

AUDIO: soft waves on a beach, which fade away

AUDIO: doorbell

HOST: Jack Nichols returns. After much time on the road in pursuit of Warren (which Jack will later write a book about), he returns to Frank. The MSW president invites Jack and his friend to move in to his two-story brick house in D.C. if they help him pay the bills and work for Mattachine. It's a big house, plenty of space. But there's barely any furniture. Frank can't afford any. He rented the house while he was briefly employed at a lab, but was laid off again without a security clearance. The work begins immediately and there is no time to stop for simple luxuries like a movie or cruising. As a welcome back to the Mattachine for Jack, Frank books Donald Webster Cory to come speak, the gay author they had bonded over when they first met. But they find his speech a bit dry, as they have become more progressive than the writer who once guided them to activism. (Put a pin in that for later.) For instance, Jack pushes to add to Mattachine's Statement of Purpose that their organization is inclusive of all minority groups.

He writes that the MSW will "cooperate with other minority organizations which are striving for the realization of full civil rights and liberties for all."

Meanwhile at the Bureau's Washington Field Office, an FBI agent receives an anonymous call.

WARREN SCARBERRY: The homosexual may picket the Department of Justice Friday, September 6, 1963—

AUDIO: typewriter

FBI AGENT: —inferring they would protest that the FBI discriminates against homosexuals,

HOST: The agent writes to Director Hoover.

AUDIO: typewriter

FBI AGENT: Will contact informants in the homosexual field.

HOST: New York informants inside their Mattachine report to the FBI that the picket has been moved to October, and will be staged by both MSW and MSNY.

INFORMANT: Approximately 100 members.

HOST: But the protest doesn't seem to be taking shape. A New York informant reports back to the Bureau:

INFORMANT: Was merely brought up at a meeting by one of the members because of the publicity being given to the Negro march on Washington...

HOST: A much larger protest is arriving in Washington in August 1963. After a summer of nearly 800 racial demonstrations and 15,000 arrests across the nation, the government braces for more

than 100,000 demonstrators in D.C. Kameny writes to Kennedy's council that the lessons being taught by people of color are being learned elsewhere. The inclusively minded Mattachine Society of Washington meets to decide how they will take part in supporting that movement, next week on episode 13, the season finale, "Making This Movement Move."