Vern L. Bullough, RN, PhD
Editor

Before Stonewall
Activists for Gay
and Lesbian Rights
in Historical Context

Pre-publication
REVIEWS,
COMMENTARIES,
EVALUATIONS . . .

"Before Stonewall" is a collection of
short biographies of early gay
and lesbian activists. The book serves
as both primary and secondary source
material. While its editor, Vern Bul-
lough, skillfully places these life stories
in context, with his usual wide histori-
cal grasp, and some biographers (e.g.,
Tripp) provide full discussion of their
subjects (in this case, Kinsey) with fasci-
nating detail, much of the volume con-
tains intimate accounts by friends and
lovers of these early pioneers.

Most striking to the twenty-first cen-
tury reader is the vivid picture of Amer-
ican gay life forty and fifty years ago.
We learn about a bartender’s arrest at a
restaurant’s opening night for a ‘two-
month unpaid parking ticket’ (Char-
lotte Coleman), an almost-fatal beating
administered at the whim of an arrest-
ing officer because his victim was
dressed ‘butch’ (Billye Tallmadge), and
the immense importance of a lesbian
publication such as The Ladder in a
world where there were no gay ima-
ges (Barbara Grier). Tidbits such as
the account of Betty Friedan deliber-
ately discontinuing lesbian couple
memberships in NOW (Del Martin),
or conscious imitation of Stokely Car-
michael’s ‘Black is Beautiful’ in coin-
ing the slogan ‘Gay is Good’ (Kam-
eny) are not found in other studies of
gay history, and set this volume apart
from the rest."

Helen Rodnite Lemay, PhD
Professor of History
and Distinguished Teaching Professor,
Stony Brook University
"Before Stonewall: Activists for Gay and Lesbian Rights in Historical Context" is a book for everyone. Here the story of an all-but-forgotten era and people is presented beautifully through four dozen mini-biographies without sacrificing the message of group organization and larger themes. General readers and younger queers will discover, in accessible terms, the contributions of such fascinating individuals as Jim Kepner, Barbara Grier, José Sarria, and the still-anonymous "Lisa Ben" (anagram for lesbian) to the twentieth-century struggle for gay and lesbian rights.

This is a celebration of the movement's successes that made Stonewall possible, with the focus simultaneously on individual courage and organized action, especially through homophile organizations ONE, Inc., Mattachine Society, and the Daughters of Bilitis. The book is by no means confined to those groups or to the 1950s, though; as editor Bullough says of Salt Lake City resident Berry Berryman, "Her life emphasizes how rich and varied were the lives of gays and lesbians before it became possible to be publicly recognized as such." Before Stonewall also reminds all of us that change depends upon human action, and the stories within can inspire us to that action in our time.

Vicki L. Eaklor, PhD
Hagar Professor of Humanities
and Professor of History,
Alfred University

"Before Stonewall provides a welcome and much-needed introduction to the lives and contributions of many of the key figures in the history of the American lesbian and gay movement. Full of intriguing information and insights about forgotten gay pioneers and straight allies as well as some of the movement's most famous leaders, this volume should become a standard reference work for those interested in the queer past."

George Chauncey, PhD
Professor of History and Director, Lesbian and Gay Studies Project,
The University of Chicago

"This is a marvelous book, with multiple insights into the strategies and techniques that were used by pioneering activists to challenge heterosexism and begin the struggle for gay and lesbian equality. Included here are the individual stories of the most effective early leaders in one of the great social movements of the twentieth century. They are presented with all of their accomplishments, defeats, dedication, and eccentricities. Many of these activists gave up the chance for material wealth, while focusing their energies on making the world a less prejudiced place. Both heterosexual and homosexual, these pioneers were united in the conviction that change can occur with direct action and individual perseverance. This book is a collection of fascinating stories, brought together by one of the most respected scholars in the field of sexuality."

Walter L. Williams, PhD
Professor of Anthropology and Gender Studies,
University of Southern California,
Los Angeles
"Before Stonewall" is a poignant verbal photo album for those of us who are Family. When lesbians stand tall today, we do so on the shoulders of those who went before, with far tougher challenges. Our foremothers, forefathers, and foreaunts demonstrated again and again the courage possible in ordinary people. Vern Bullough has painstakingly collected the details, written as tributes by many LGBRT scholars. The text is uncluttered and easy to devour. This is food for the heart."

Louise Crew,
Author of
The Gay Academic

Harrington Park Press®
An Imprint of The Haworth Press, Inc.
New York • London • Oxford
NOTES FOR PROFESSIONAL LIBRARIANS
AND LIBRARY USERS

This is an original book title published by Harrington Park Press®, an imprint of The Haworth Press, Inc. Unless otherwise noted in specific chapters with attribution, materials in this book have not been previously published elsewhere in any format or language.

CONSERVATION AND PRESERVATION NOTES

All books published by The Haworth Press, Inc. and its imprints are printed on certified pH neutral, acid free book grade paper. This paper meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences-Permanence of Paper for Printed Material, ANSI Z39.48-1984.
Before Stonewall
Activists for Gay
and Lesbian Rights
in Historical Context
HAWORTH Gay & Lesbian Studies
John P. De Cecco, PhD
Editor in Chief

One of the Boys: Masculinity, Homophobia, and Modern Manhood by David Plummer
Homosexual Rites of Passage: A Road to Visibility and Validation by Marie Moïlère
Male Lust: Pleasure, Power, and Transformation edited by Kerwin Kay, Jill Nagle, and Baruch Gould
Tricks and Treats: Sex Workers Write About Their Clients edited by Matt Bernstein Sycamore
A Sea of Stories: The Shaping Power of Narrative in Gay and Lesbian Cultures—
A Festschrift for John P. De Cecco edited by Sonya Jones
Out of the Twilight: Fathers of Gay Men Speak by Andrew R. Gottlieb
The Mentor: A Memoir of Friendship and Gay Identity by Jay Quinn
Male to Male: Sexual Feeling Across the Boundaries of Identity by Edward J. Teijirian
Straight Talk About Gays in the Workplace, Second Edition by Liz Winfield
and Susan Spielman
The Bear Book II: Further Readings in the History and Evolution of a Gay Male Subculture edited by Les Wright
Gay Men at Midlife: Age Before Beauty by Alan L. Ellis
Being Gay and Lesbian in a Catholic High School: Beyond the Uniform by Michael Maher
The Man Who Was a Woman and Other Queer Tales from Hindu Lore by Devdutt Pattanaik
How Homophobia Hurts Children: Nurturing Diversity at Home, at School, and in the Community by Jean M. Baker
The Harvey Milk Institute Guide to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Internet Research edited by Alan Ellis, Liz Highleyman, Kevin Schaub, and Melissa White
From Drags to Riches: The Untold Story of Charles Pierce by John Wallraff
Lytton Strachey and the Search for Modern Sexual Identity: The Last Eminent Victorian by Julie Anne Tiddeo
Sons Talk About Their Gay Fathers: Life Curves by Andrew R. Gottlieb
Before Stonewall
Activists for Gay and Lesbian Rights in Historical Context

Vern L. Bullough, RN, PhD
Editor

Judith M. Saunders, RN, PhD
Sharon Valente, RN, PhD
Associate Editors

C. Todd White, PhD (cand.)
Assistant Editor

Harrington Park Press®
An Imprint of The Haworth Press, Inc.
New York • London • Oxford
CONTENTS

About the Editor x
Contributors xi
Preface xv
Introduction 1

PART I: PRE-1950 11

Alfred C. Kinsey (1894-1956)
  C. A. Tripp 13

  Jim Kepner 24
  Stephen O. Murray

Edward Irenaeus Prime-Stevenson (Xavier Mayne)
  (1868-1942) 35
  John Lauritsen

Prescott Townsend (1894-1973): Bohemian Blueblood—
  A Different Kind of Pioneer 41
  Charles Shively

Jeannette Howard Foster (1895-1981)
  Virginia Elwood-Akers 48

Pearl M. Hart (1890-1975)
  Karen C. Sendziak 56

Lisa Ben (1921-) 63
  Florine Fleischman
  with Susan Bullough

Berry Berryman (1901-1972)
  Vern L. Bullough 66
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harry Hay</td>
<td>1912-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vern L. Bullough</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dale Jennings (1917-2000); ONE's Outspoken Advocate</td>
<td>1917-2000</td>
<td>C. Todd White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Slater (1923-1997)</td>
<td>1923-1997</td>
<td>Joseph Hansen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jim Schneider (1932- ); ONE's Guardian Angel</td>
<td>1932-</td>
<td>C. Todd White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Edward (Billy) Glover (1932- )</td>
<td>1932-</td>
<td>Vern L. Bullough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jim Kepner (1923-1997)</td>
<td>1923-1997</td>
<td>Lewis Gannett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>William A. Percy III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stella Rush a.k.a. Sten Russell (1925- )</td>
<td>1925-</td>
<td>Judith M. Saunders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helen Sandoz a.k.a Helen Sanders a.k.a. Ben Cat (1920-1987)</td>
<td>1920-1987</td>
<td>Stella Rush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herb Selwyn (1925- )</td>
<td>1925-</td>
<td>Vern L. Bullough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hal Call (1917-2000); Mr. Mattachine</td>
<td>1917-2000</td>
<td>James T. Sears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Del Martin (1921- )</td>
<td>1921-</td>
<td>Phyllis Lyon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phyllis Lyon (1924- )</td>
<td>1924-</td>
<td>Del Martin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
    William Fennie

Cleo Glenn (Bonner) (Dates Unknown)
    Phyllis Lyon
    Del Martin

Pat Walker (1938-1999)
    Del Martin
    with assistance from Leslie Warren

Bob Basker (1918-2001): Selling the Movement
    James T. Sears

Shirley Willer (1922-1999)
    Del Martin
    Phyllis Lyon

PART III: MOVERS AND SHAKERS
ON THE NATIONAL SCENE

Franklin E. Kameny (1925-1995)
    David K. Johnson

    James T. Sears

Lige Clarke (1942-1975)
    Jack Nichols

Barbara Gittings (1932-1985): Independent Spirit
    Kay Tobin Lahusen

Barbara Grier (1933-1975): Climbing the Ladder
    Victoria A. Brownworth

    Wayne R. Dynes

Randolfe Wicker (1938-1991)
    Jack Nichols
PART IV: OTHER VOICES AND THEIR INFLUENCE  301

Allen Ginsberg (1926-1997): On His Own Terms  
Gwen Brewer  
304

Walter H. Breen (J. Z. Eglinton) (1928-1993)  
Donald Mader  
312

Warren Johansson (1934-1994)  
William A. Percy III  
322

Donald Webster Cory (1913-1986)  
Stephen O. Murray  
333

Evelyn Gentry Hooker (1907-1996)  
Sharon Valente  
344

George Weinberg (1935- )  
Jack Nichols  
351

Vern L. Bullough (1928- ): Making the Pen Mightier Than the Sword  
John P. De Cecco  
361

Christine Jorgensen (1926-1989)  
Vern L. Bullough  
369

Virginia Prince (1913- )  
Vern L. Bullough  
372

José Sarria (1923- )  
Vern L. Bullough  
376

Charlotte Coleman (1923- )  
Roberta Bobba  
380
Reed Erickson (1917-1992): How One Transsexed Man Supported ONE
*Holly Devor*

Troy Perry (1940- )
*Lee Arnold*

Morris Kight (1919- ): Community Activist
*Felice Picano*

Index
ABOUT THE EDITOR

Vern L. Bullough, RN, PhD, is a Distinguished Professor Emeritus from SUNY. Currently, he is serving as Adjunct Professor of Nursing at the University of Southern California. For ten years, he served as Dean of Natural and Social Sciences at SUNY Buffalo, and prior to that, he was a professor at California State University, Northridge, for twenty years. He is the author, co-author, or editor of fifty books, including Sexual Variance in Society and History, Women and Prostitution, A Short History of Homosexuality, Science in the Bedroom, and Encyclopedia of Birth Control. He was one of the founders of the Center for Sex Research at California State University, Northridge, and of the gay caucuses in the American Historical Association and the American Sociological Association.

Professor Bullough wrote the ACLU policy on gay and lesbian rights in the 1960s for the ACLU of Southern California, which was the first affiliate to bear court cases for gay and lesbian rights and served as a model for the national ACLU. He contributed to various groundbreaking gay journals such as One, Tangents, and Ladder. He served as Vice President of the Institute for the Study of Human Resources for One, Inc, and for a time ran a gay hotline out of his house that was eventually taken over by the ACLU of Southern California. He was a charter member of the original Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays, which had been founded in Los Angeles and later went national. Two of his children, a daughter and a son, both adopted, are gay. His late wife, Bonnie Bullough, was co-author or first author on many of his books. Her mother, who was a lesbian, was the motivating factor in the Bulloughs’ studies of homosexuality and lesbianism, and a biography of her mother’s longtime companion is included in the book. Professor Bullough has received numerous awards for his activism and scholarship from the gay, lesbian, and transgender communities as well as from his colleagues. He is past President of the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex and is the recipient of its award for distinguished research.
CONTRIBUTORS

Lee Arnold is Director of the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. He is also a writer and researcher. Previous works include biographical essays, travel writing, and book reviews.

Roberta Bobba is in her seventies and has lived in San Francisco and the Bay Area for over sixty-six years. Her close friendship with Charlotte Coleman has covered a forty-year period in which both women have been active in the gay movement.

Gwen Brewer, PhD, is Professor Emeritus of English at California State University, Northridge.

Victoria A. Brownworth has authored and edited numerous books including the award-winning collections Too Queer: Essays from a Radical Life and Coming Out of Cancer: Writings from the Lesbian Cancer Epidemic. She is a columnist for several publications, including Curve, Bay Area Reporter, Lambda Book Report, and the Baltimore Sun. She lives in Philadelphia where she teaches writing and film at the University of the Arts.

Susan Bullough drives an eighteen-wheel truck, plays rugby, is a semiprofessional drummer, and is the daughter of the editor of this book.

John P. De Cecco, PhD, is Professor of Psychology and Human Sexuality Studies at San Francisco State University. He is the long-time editor of the Journal of Homosexuality and is editor of the Harrington Park Press program in which this book appears.

Holly Devor, PhD, is Professor of Sociology at the University of Victoria, in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada.

Wayne R. Dynes, PhD, is Professor of Art at Hunter College, City University of New York. He is perhaps best known as the editor of the Encyclopedia of Homosexuality.
Virginia Elwood-Akers is a librarian at California State University, Northridge. She presently is preparing an index to materials in the Bonnie and Vern Bullough collection at that university.

William Fennie is a writer and translator, as well as author of Some Kind of Courage: Scenes from the Life of Billye Talmadge.

Florine (Flo) Fleischman was a licensed minister in the Metropolitan Community Church. In 1984 she left the MCC to found the New Hope Christian Church of Van Nuys. In 1995 she retired from the ministry and became a board member and eventually president of ONE Institute/Gay and Lesbian Archives. She was a close friend of the late Jim Kepner.

Lewis Gannett is a professional writer who has published two novels, The Living One and Magazine Beach.

Joseph Hansen is one of the most widely read gay authors of the latter part of the twentieth century. Among his almost forty books are the twelve Dave Brandstetter detective novels. His autobiographical novel Living Upstairs won the 1994 Lambda Award.

Jim Kepner, now deceased, has his biography included in this book.

David K. Johnson, PhD, is Adjunct Lecturer in the History Department at Northwestern University. His writings on gay and lesbian history have appeared in the Washington Blade, Washington History, and the anthology Creating a Place for Ourselves: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Community Histories. His book The Lavender Scare: Homosexuality and the National Security State, 1950-1975, is forthcoming from the University of Chicago Press.

Kay Tobin Lahusen, the first openly gay photojournalist, joined Daughters of Bilitis in 1961. In 1964 she began photographing lesbians for covers of The Ladder, a breakthrough in gay publishing for the first national lesbian magazine. She marched in the 1960s’ gay picket lines and took pictures also. In the early 1970s she helped found Gay Activists Alliance; wrote and photographed for Gay, a New York newsweekly; and co-authored The Gay Crusaders, the pioneer book of gay biographical sketches. Her current photo exhibit is “Opening the Closet Door: Photos of the Early Gay Rights Movement.” She lives with veteran activist Barbara Gittings.
**John Lauritsen** is an independent scholar and author of, among other books, *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement (1864-1935)* and *A Freethinker’s Primer of Male Love*.

**Phyllis Lyon** is an author, sexologist, lesbian feminist, and civil rights activist. Her biography is included in this book.

**Donald Mader, MDiv, PhD candidate**, is an assistant at Pauluskerk in Rotterdam, The Netherlands.

**Del Martin** is a lesbian feminist who, despite claims to the contrary, knows the homophile movement still lives. Her biography is included in this book.

**Jesse G. Monteagudo** is a freelance writer who lives in South Florida with his domestic partner of over fifteen years. His biweekly columns, “The Book Nook” and “Jesse’s Journal,” appear in over a dozen print and online publications. He is in the process of writing his first book.

**Stephen O. Murray** earned a PhD in Sociology from the University of Toronto and is one of the major researchers into all aspects of homosexuality. He is the author or co-author of a dozen books, including *American Gay and Homosexualities*.


**William A. Percy III** is Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Massachusetts, Boston. He served as associate editor of *The Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. He is the author of *Outing: Shattering the Conspiracy of Silence* (with Warren Johansson) and *Pederasty and Pedagogy in Ancient Greece*.

**Felice Picano** is the author of some twenty volumes of fiction, poetry, memoirs, etc., and is considered a founder of modern gay literature. Among other accomplishments, he founded two publishing companies: the SeaHorse Press and Gay Presses of New York. His most recent novel, *Onyx*, was published in 2001 by Alyson Publications.
Stella Rush, a longtime activist, has her biography included in this book.

Judith M. Saunders, RN, PhD, is an associate editor of this book.

James T. Sears, PhD, is the award-winning author or editor of twelve books, among them Growing Up Gay in the South (The Haworth Press, 1991). His book Rebels, Rubyfruit, and Rhinestones, the second volume of a projected multivolume work on queer southern life, was published in 2001 by Rutgers University Press.

Karen C. Sendziak holds an AB degree from the University of Chicago and is employed as a legal assistant. She has been affiliated with Gerber/Hart Library in Chicago for over fourteen years, and is currently the Curator of the Archives and the organizational historian.

Charles Shively, PhD, is Professor in American Studies at the University of Massachusetts, Boston.

C. A. Tripp, PhD, a research psychologist, was an associate of Kinsey at Indiana University and is probably best known as the author of The Homosexual Matrix (1975).

Sharon Valente, RN, PhD, is Assistant Professor of Nursing at the University of Southern California where she teaches a course on human sexuality.

C. Todd White is completing his PhD at the University of Southern California in the Department of Anthropology.

Leslie Warren is an advocate for women and a lifelong friend of Pat Walker.