PART II: ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVISTS

Until gays and lesbians could have a voice of their own to put forth their own collective ideas, to give aid and comfort to each other, and to effectively challenge misinformation, they were victims of what others said and thought about them. To be their own advocates, they had to become public, but how could any group that reported on and even advocated what in essence was an illegal activity survive? Homosexuality was denounced by the medical profession as pathological, by religious groups as immoral and sinful, by the laws and courts as criminal, and by society in general as a perversion. Inevitably and unfortunately, many if not most of those who were labeled as homosexuals felt ashamed of what they were doing. To change this situation ultimately entailed a many-pronged attack; and in retrospect, there were radical societal changes in the latter half of the twentieth century. Few who began the organizational efforts in 1950 would have predicted such change.

The early proponents for change simply wanted to have their voices heard and their sexual activities decriminalized. Although, as pointed out earlier, informal social groups had long existed, probably most of them were known to police and law enforcement officials who more or less tolerated their existence. There was, however, never any guarantee that this would always be the case; often out of the blue the police would one day suddenly intervene and charge individuals with crimes against nature or, more likely, with lesser crimes such as indecent behavior, creating a public nuisance, or any number of greater or lesser crimes dependent not so much on what an individual did or was doing but what particular law enforcement officials decided to call them. The whole process was not only demoralizing to the gays and lesbians involved but highly dependent on police corruption and lying. Entrapment was common; the policeman's word was usually believed, so much so that most of those arrested simply pleaded guilty to minor charges such as lewd vagrancy, hoping against hope that they might be simply fined and their arrest would escape the notice of the public. Since the sexual activities involved were between consenting individuals, police had to resort to
entrapped and other dubious procedures to make the arrests. The methods were corrupting to police forces because their judgment could be influenced not only by bribery but by their own basic attitudes. Some law enforcement officials went on what can only be called moralistic crusades, while others adopted a more "live and let live" attitude. However, even this was a gray area because when officialdom felt the need to make arrests, they had to decide whom to arrest. Some were victimized more often than others.

Not everyone who engaged in same-sex activities was arrested, but it is also true that not all of those who were arrested regarded themselves as homosexuals. Laud Humphreys, in his pioneering study of what was called the "tea room trade," i.e., sex in public toilets, found that a significant number of the men he observed regarded themselves as heterosexual, were married, had children, and simply found this an easy way to achieve orgasm, cheaper than going to a prostitute, better than solitary masturbation, and much less involved than the bargaining that many had to do with their spouses who for one reason or another were regarded by them as unresponsive to their sexual needs.

The complexity of the issues makes for a difficult organizing task of how to present the biographies of the individuals in this book. One way is to simply do so alphabetically, and let the reader decide. This is the policy that was adopted in Part I. In this section, however, rather than continue the alphabetical listing, it seemed wiser to try to cluster individuals, but this poses problems because some individuals seem to fall into more than one group. Still it seems that, at least in the early stages, organization was the key, and thus this section is devoted to the many individuals involved in organizing activities. Yet people involved in organizations also did other things. Because organization is such a large category, not all those involved in organization are included here because their contribution in other areas seems even more important. Readers should look upon the book's parts as a helpful organizing principle, not the only known contribution of the individual to the gay and lesbian cause.

A second point also must be made. Contradictions in the biographies in some cases remain unresolved, particularly regarding who did what and when in any particular group. This is natural because different individuals (and their biographers) saw their roles in different ways than did others. No attempt was made by the editors to change these sometimes conflicting claims or views except when such easily verified questions about dates or events were corrected. These differences became greater as the movement grew and individuals who had basic differences found they could go their own way or establish their own organizations. Many of the differences early made their appearance in organizational strategies, which the reader should note.
The two major centers of early organizational activities were in California, namely in Los Angeles and San Francisco. Although New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, and other metropolitan cities attracted large numbers of gays and lesbians and informal groupings, it was in Los Angeles that the original Mattachine Society appeared and where ONE, Inc. got its start. Although both of these organizations included males and females, and a few women were in important positions, many women felt they were misunderstood by the men. The common complaint often heard was that the men involved looked upon the women as best suited to making and serving coffee at meetings. It was in San Francisco that the Daughters of Bilitis began, and for all of its national history, San Francisco has remained the headquarters.

This section includes biographies of Harry Hay, who conceived the idea of a secret society; Dale Jennings, whose arrest and trial resulted in a dismissal of the charges and brought an influx of new members to the struggling Mattachine; W. Dorr Legg and Don Slater, who wanted something more than the Mattachine Society offered and went on to found a more public organization, ONE, Inc., which became the dominant organization in Los Angeles and its magazine, for a time, was the voice of the gay and lesbian movement. Some individuals were not organizational founders but are important because they were simply there, always when they were needed. Jim Schneider is the organizational man who strove to keep competing groups and personalities in Los Angeles working together, not always successfully. Billy Glover, who unintentionally split the ONE organization, is also included in this section. Another person who was always there was Jim Kepner. He was active in the organizations but was more important as a writer, a collector of data, an archivist, and an idea man. Also included in the Los Angeles contingent in this section is Stella Rush, a woman activist in ONE as well as in the DOB who often wrote under the name of Sten Russell. Her co-worker and life partner Helen Sandoz has been written up by Stella herself. Important also were the lawyers who cooperated with ONE and other groups. Several did so, but in this book Herb Selwyn is representative.

San Francisco soon disputed with Los Angeles for the title of the most important gay activist center in the country. One of the reasons for this was the presence of Hal Call, who was instrumental in moving the Mattachine Society headquarters to San Francisco. Call is another one whose category might be debated; he was seemingly everywhere and doing many things, but because of his importance in the San Francisco-based Mattachine we have included him in this section. Also putting San Francisco on the map were Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin, the founders of Daughters of Bilitis who began publication of *The Ladder*. The two seemed to be everywhere in the gay
and lesbian movement, but because of the importance of DOB we have included them in this section. Also important on the San Francisco scene was Billye Talmadge, as were Cleo Glenn (Bonner) and Pat Walker, whose activities are covered in briefer biographies.

A different kind of organization person was Bob Basker who might be regarded as the traveling salesman for the movement during the 1960s and 1970s, assuming activist roles in Chicago, New York City, south Florida, and even in Cuba before settling in San Francisco. Shirley Willer similarly established a number of DOB chapters in the country, but her plans for radically changing DOB failed, and the organization more or less ceased to exist. Not mentioned in this section are Frank Kameny, Jack Nichols, and several others who were everywhere and are included in the next part of the book.

REFERENCE

Harry Hay (1912-  

Vern L. Bullough

Harry Hay is the Johnny Appleseed of the American gay movement, brimming with ideas, planting seeds for new projects and organizations, and then moving on. He is an unusual combination of the dreamer, the planner, the mystic, and the activist, who has devoted his life to trying to bring about change in the status quo. It was his determination to change things and his success in establishing the Mattachine Society that entitle him to be regarded as the founder of the modern American gay movement. He is, however, not the kind of person willing to devote himself to the administrative minutiae necessary to building a long-term organization. He has always been much too restless, too much the individualist marching to his own drum, to be an organization man.

His early dissatisfaction with the status quo led him to association with the Industrial Workers of the World and eventually to joining the Communist Party (CP), something that many radicals of his generation did. This identification with and eventual formal affiliation with the CP, however, was not as easy for Harry as for some others because he had been initiated as a young teenager into gay culture and identified with it, and the CP itself was antihomosexual.

It was his experience with communist organizing activities among minorities that led him eventually to consider organizing homosexuals. For Harry, homosexuals were the “androgynous minority,” a term later abandoned since it ignored the existence of lesbians. Harry argued that homosexuals met the four Stalinist principles for definition of a minority in that they had a common language, a common territory, a common economy, and a common psychology and culture, although his definition of these terms was quite different than those Stalin had conceived.
In spite of his various plans and organizational activity, Harry never held leadership for long in the organizations in which he was involved. His was the work of agitator, the organizer, the idea person, and in a sense the gadfly, the burr under the saddle. He has always been a kind of mystical utopian; the early Mattachine Society reflected this, as did his later efforts such as the Circle of Loving Companions and the Radical Faeries. Increasingly he also emphasized the need for a separatist gay identity instead of being assimilated into mainstream America.

His rugged independence often got him into trouble with mainstream gay organizations. In the 1986 Los Angeles Gay Pride parade, for example, he insisted on wearing a sign on his back reading “NAMBLA [North American Man/Boy Love Association] walks with me,” an action he took because he remembered his pleasure in coming out as a teenager with a man who initiated him to the gay world. Getting him to agree to simply wear a sign rather than carry a banner took considerable negotiation by the parade organizers, who wanted to distance the gay and lesbian movement from pedophilia, yet wanted Harry to participate.

Like most communists of the 1930s and 1940s, he left the CP, but he continued to regard himself as a leftist and progressive, struggling to help those whom he felt did not receive a fair shake in life—African Americans, Native Americans, women, and, of course, gays and lesbians.

Henry Hay Jr., as he was officially named, was born on Easter Sunday, April 7, 1912, in Worthing, an exclusive seaside resort near London, England, the son of Margaret Neall and Henry Hay. His mother had met his father in South Africa where his father, usually called Harry (as was his son), managed the Witwatersrand deep mine for Cecil Rhodes. Shortly after their marriage in 1911 the couple moved to what is now Ghana, where Harry was to open a new mine. Since there was no real hospital available there, the pregnant Margaret was sent to England to have her baby. Shortly after young Harry was born, his father moved to Chile to help develop a new Anaconda copper mine. There Harry, his mother, and his recently born sister joined him in 1914. They lived there until 1916, when his father lost part of a leg in a mining accident. The family then moved to California where Harry spent most of the rest of his life.

Harry’s family was well-to-do, but his father believed in discipline and work, demanding that even his children work. Harry, however, did not conform as a child to what his father thought a boy should be and, in Harry’s words, his father was fearful that he had “spawned” a big sissy. Harry says he was much more interested in music and literature than most boys his age and spent much time in the library. As a precocious eleven-year-old he had run across Edward Carpenter’s The Intermediate Sex (1912); while reading
it, he realized for the first time that love was possible with a person of the same sex. He later wrote:

Suddenly my world was transformed into a whole wonderful, different place because my night-dream and day-dream fantasies from then on would always include HIM—the one who was going to be everything to me, as I naturally would be to him. (Timmons, 1990, p. 29)

Harry matured early. When he entered Los Angeles High School at twelve, he was already six feet, two inches (eventually he passed the six feet three mark). At the end of his first year, Harry’s father sent him off for the summer to work in the hay field of a relative in western Nevada in order to be toughened up and become a real man. Three things in that summer had great influence on young Harry. First was meeting and talking with Wobblies, miners who belonged to the Industrial Workers of the World and who worked off and on in mines and as farm laborers. This experience made him a socialist determined to change the working conditions of the ordinary man. Second, while there, he was also invited to an Indian findago where he was blessed by a medicine man known as Jack Wilson whose Indian name was Wovoka. Wovoka had founded a mystical Indian religion known as the Ghost Dance religion. Harry felt certain he had been invited because the Indians recognized he was different, i.e., homosexual, and he later continued to believe that there was a kind of mystical brotherhood of gays and that Wovoka, the holy man, might well be one.

A third experience took place on his return trip to Los Angeles. Instead of traveling by train, Harry, through the influence of his IWW co-workers, and his own height and brawniness from the summer work, managed to get a union card, which allowed him to work on a tramp steamer going to Los Angeles from San Francisco. Even before the ship departed, Harry had his first sexual experience with an adult, a fellow “merchant marine” who told him they were members of a “silent brotherhood” that reached around the world, emphasizing Harry’s own feeling of a mystical union with fellow gays. Harry later reported that as a child of fourteen, “I molested an adult until I found out what I needed to know” (Timmons, 1990, p. 36).

After his graduation from high school in the class of 1929, he briefly became an apprentice in a downtown Los Angeles law firm. He often visited Pershing Square during his free time (already known as a place for pickups) where Harry allowed himself to be picked up by a number of partners. One of his contacts told him about Henry Gerber who in the 1920s in Chicago had tried to set up homosexual groups but was closed down by the authorities after a few short weeks. Harry never forgot this.
Although Harry's father had been willing to send him to college if he would study engineering or become an oil geologist, Harry, after a year in the law office, decided to go to Stanford and study international law even if his father refused to pay for it. At Stanford, he soon became active in the drama group and at the same time began exploring the San Francisco gay scene. In his sophomore year he declared his homosexuality to nearly every student he knew, and this action cut him off from most of his peers, although at least one became a lover for a brief time. Unfortunately for Harry, his attention-drawing action led Stanford officials to question some of his friends about "his complex." As pressures mounted on Harry, he fell ill and left Stanford for the ranch he had worked at in Nevada. He never went back to Stanford. Returning to Los Angeles in 1932, he became very active in gay life and met many of the more famous closeted gays, although some were fearful of being seen with him because they felt he was too obvious or flamboyant and was therefore a threat to their desire for anonymity.

Although he still lived in the parental home, he led an independent life, supporting himself by acting or working at studio-related jobs, wrote poetry that occasionally got published, sang either solo or in groups, and cruised in his spare time. He later recalled that he sometimes had two or three mostly anonymous contacts a day, although he also established some long-term friendships as well. One of his friends was Will Geer who introduced Harry to the left-wing community of Los Angeles and eventually to the Communist Party. Increasingly Harry became a hard-core activist in the radical community, often joining with Geer in what was known as agitprop, acting out scenes at picket lines to keep spirits of the strikers high, or doing planned demonstrations or scenes at large meetings to keep audience attention focused. The final step in his radicalization occurred during the San Francisco general strike of July 1934, which he and Will Geer traveled north to join. On his return to Los Angeles, Harry became even more active in Communist Party activities although he had not yet formally joined.

The problem for Harry was that the Communist Party was hostile to homosexuality. As he moved more and more in party circles, he realized that the active sex life which he carried on without the party officially knowing about it posed a dilemma for him. Although other homosexuals and lesbians had ignored the communist prohibition and joined the party, Harry, the utopian idealist, felt unable to do so. The conflicts between his gayness and his left-wing ideology led him to seek psychiatric help, and out of one such session came a decision to marry and to leave the gay life. In 1938 he and Anita Platky, a fellow activist, were married. They set up housekeeping in the Silver Lake district, the first time Harry had ever formally moved out of his parents' house. One of the first actions the couple took was to officially join
the Communist Party. Although they never had children of their own, they eventually adopted two girls.

In spite of the best of intentions, Harry soon found himself again cruising and in conflict with the communist ideology about homosexuality and his own belief in the correctness of being gay as well. He never discussed such matters with his wife, however. Several times he came close to leaving both the party and Anita over a more-than-casual love affair with another man, but each time he drew back. Later, in recollecting this aspect of his life, he regarded much of the 1940s as a lost decade: "I missed the forties, because I was being married and a Communist." Increasingly he threw himself into party work, for a brief time in New York City but mainly in Los Angeles, where he became known as an extremely effective teacher of communist ideology as well as more topical and party-approved courses such folk music.

The conflict between his gayness, the party, and his family came to a head during the Wallace campaign of 1948. Henry Wallace, Franklin Roosevelt's vice president during his third term, had been replaced on the ticket by Harry Truman in 1944 when Roosevelt sought his fourth term, and it was Truman who succeeded to the presidency on Roosevelt's death. Wallace had eventually broken with the Democrats as had many other "progressive groups" because of what was regarded as a rightward shift in the party. The discontent led to the formation of the Progressive Party and the nomination of Wallace as its presidential candidate in the 1948 election. Communists exercised a great deal of influence on the Progressive Party, although Wallace himself was not a communist. To publicize the campaign and gain support, there were attempts to organize special interest citizens' groups for Wallace. Some of these groups had hundreds or thousands of members; others were little more than letterhead committees with a handful of members. It was not the endorsements and publicity that counted for the Progressive Party and not the total membership. One of the paper organizations that appeared was the Harry Hay-originated Bachelors for Wallace. The committee is important not for what it accomplished, which was very little if anything, but because it set off a train of thinking in Harry's mind that resulted both in the formation of the Mattachine Society in 1950 and in his divorce from Anita in 1951. Harry was also expelled, at his request, from the Communist Party, because he no longer felt that he could cope with the communist prohibition of homosexuality and his own sexual orientation. His wife also resigned, although on her part it was because of a growing disillusion with the party.

The excitement generated in the discussion about the potential Bachelors for Wallace committee motivated Harry to refine and develop the concept of a gay organization. He started by drawing up a potential plank for the Progressive Party platform on homosexuality and from there began to develop
an idea for a postelection organization to fight for homosexual rights. Nothing came of this on-paper concept, which went through several drafts until two years later when he met Rudi Gernreich, a man who later became a prominent fashion designer, and with whom Harry Hay fell in love. The two had met on July 8, 1950, and Gernreich was very excited about Henry’s plan. Within a week, the two had begun to plan how to bring such an organization about. They circulated petitions for such an organization and made individual contacts with little response until November 1950, when the two were joined by Robert Hull, Charles Dennison Rowland, and Dale Jennings in the formation of the Mattachine Society. Both Hull and Rowland had also been communists but less concerned about the party’s prohibition of homosexuals than Harry.

The term Mattachine was Harry’s. He had hit upon it while doing research on the historical development of folk music for his classes. The Mattachine Society had been an all-male society that had grown out of the medieval “Feast of Fools,” and which, among other things, developed a special dance form. In Harry’s euphoric description the Mattachine troupes conveyed vital information to the oppressed of the countryside in late medieval France and elsewhere. It was his hope that modern homosexual men, living in disguise in the twentieth-century heterosexual world, could do the same thing for the current generation of oppressed queers.

The solution to building an organization, the Mattachine founders believed, was to keep the actual organization secret but carry its message to the gay public through public discussion groups on topics of interest to homosexuals, such as the Kinsey report and its data on the existence of a significant number of gays. Hay, fearful of police intervention as had been the case with Gerber’s early Illinois organization but also enamored of romantic ideas about earlier male societies, and perhaps also influenced by the communist experience of secret cells, had insisted on secrecy. This was also the time that the government itself began to mount campaigns against homosexuals as being subversive, and if the organization was to grow he felt it had to protect its members. The original five members constituted themselves as the steering committee which they called the Fifth Order. The very romantic Hay wanted to call the steering committee the Parsifal Group after the Wagnerian operatic knight who searched for the Holy Grail, but agreed to the Fifth Order. The first open discussion of the group was held in December 1950 with about eighteen people in attendance, both men and women, and other meetings were soon held. The public meetings served as recruiting grounds for future Mattachine members, and the Fifth Order carefully selected other individuals to join with them in the society itself. Two other individuals, Konrad Stevens and James Gruber, joined the Fifth Order in April of 1951, as others soon did, including Ruth Bernhard, who became the first
and most active woman. A Mattachine mission statement was drawn up stating that the purpose of the society was (1) to unify homosexuals isolated from their own kind and unable to adjust to the dominant culture, (2) to educate and improve and add to the information about homosexuality through further research, and (3) to lead those who are regarded as socially deviant to achieve the goal of unification and education.

In an initiation ceremony developed by Harry, members stood in a circle with hands joined, intoned a solemn oath, and pledged to work for a reborn social force of immense and simple purpose aimed at equality of security and production—all to proper musical accompaniment. The ideal Mattachine group was regarded as about twenty with new groups splitting off as old ones grew. Sometimes as many as 150 people attended a public meeting and those in the Fifth Order invited the most enthusiastic participants to join the Mattachine Society itself. The Fifth Order produced a simple guidebook on how to lead a discussion group with suggested topics. Social events were also held for members that featured same-sex dancing, among other activities, at that time something that was forbidden by the Los Angeles police but which could be carried out by a private group.

The society grew slowly until it took up the case of Dale Jennings. Jennings, a founder of Mattachine, had been arrested for "lewd and dissolute" conduct by a vice officer whom Jennings had ignored and who insisted on following him home and who pushed his way into Jennings' house. While Dale went to get coffee, more vice officers raided and charged him. Rather than copping a plea, as happened regularly at that time, Jennings decided to fight it with the help of the Mattachine Society, urged on by Harry. Jennings admitted that he was a homosexual but that he was not lewd nor dissolute and that the policeman was lying. Rather than appearing publicly as an organization, the Fifth Order set up the Citizens Committee to Outlaw Entrapment to defend him. This strategy received the backing of a significant portion of the gay community. In the trial, the jury deadlocked, in part because the police had been caught in a lie, and the case was dismissed. There was an immediate jump in attendance of discussion groups and new groups, known as circles of friends, were established in Whittier, Laguna, Capistrano, San Diego, Bakersfield, Fresno, Monterey, and San Francisco. Since no central membership records were kept, membership is hard to estimate, but it might have ranged from 2,000 to 5,000.

Although the Mattachine remained a secret organization, it was recognized that there was a need for a more public dissemination of information, and discussion on this issue led to the formation of a magazine, *ONE*, and a separate organization. Since the term *homosexual* could not be listed in the telephone book or even mentioned very publicly, the title *ONE* was picked from the writings of Thomas Carlyle who had written that "A mystic broth-
erhood makes all men one,” an obvious extension of the mythic fraternity of the Mattachine Society. The Mattachine foundation provided ONE with its mailing list and its first subscriptions.

As the success of the Mattachine grew, it became difficult to avoid public notice. It was a period of virulent anticommunism, and Harry Hay had been publicly named as a Marxist teacher in one of the Los Angeles newspapers. Fearful of the consequences of this on the Mattachine, Harry agreed to retire from public association with the Mattachine Society and Foundation. The press, however, had begun to suspect that something was happening in the gay community, and not too long after a separate story on the Mattachine Society itself was published in the Los Angeles Daily Mirror, the evening paper owned by the Los Angeles Times. The article stated that homosexuals in the Los Angeles area (the first time the paper had used the term) had a voting block of 150,000 to 200,000 people and thus had to be regarded as important. The writer of the story had apparently tried to contact some Mattachine members, but the only publicly identified person was the group’s attorney. The writer then stated that the attorney was a well-known subversive, i.e., an unfriendly witness before the House Un-American Activities Committee, and indirectly implied the potential menace in such an organization. Although the article was not necessarily hostile, it certainly was not friendly and the reaction was quick. There was a demand that the Mattachine go completely public since remaining secret caused all kinds of speculation. Many members had apparently long felt that a homosexual organization should be public, although its mailing list and members might be kept secret. At a convention called to discuss the issue over two weekends in April and May of 1953, there was a determined effort by some to get rid of the so-called communists in the leadership and the red-baiting was intense. The result was a restructuring of the society, with the original Fifth Order resigning and handing over the name to the members. The result was the end of what Harry called the First Mattachine, and the appearance of the Second Mattachine, a much-sanitized organization which spread throughout the country over the next two decades. The new Mattachine moved its headquarters to San Francisco and became what Harry called a “white glove” assimilationist group.

**THE AFTERMATH**

Harry dropped out of sight, cut off both from the mainstream gay community and from his former friends in the Communist Party. He joined with his new lover Jorn Kangren in establishing a millinery shop in Los Angeles. His communist past, however, was not forgotten and when the House Un-
American Activities Committee appeared in Los Angeles in May 1955. Harry was summoned to appear. Rather than refusing to testify as many had done, he told about his family and his life, and when the inevitable question was asked as to whether he was a communist, he said no, adding that he had resigned four years before. For some reason, his answer incensed the chief counsel of the committee who, in attempting to stand up, knocked over the desk behind which he sat, and this in turn led to the court reporter's transcript ending up in a jumble on the floor. In the ensuing commotion and laughter, Harry was dismissed without having to say more.

After this appearance he again went into hibernation, feeling rejected by both gays and communists. He spent much of the time studying and researching homosexuality. One result of this research was published in the *ONE Institute Quarterly* in 1963, namely the report of the U.S. surgeon general who had observed *mujerados* or "made women" among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. He also traveled extensively around the United States, camping out, look for surviving remnants of *mujerados* or similar groups.

After breaking with Jorn, he had a brief relationship with Jim Kepner, one of the old Mattachine members who had kept his contacts with the gay community and wrote extensively on it and for it. After this ended, he established a relationship with John Burnside who had invented and manufactured a kaleidoscope-like machine which did not rely on the traditional glass chips to color the view. The two moved in together and Harry founded the Circle of Loving Companions, a gay collective that emphasized love of comrades. Although it occasionally had several members for long stretches, the only long-term members were Harry and John Burnside. Harry periodically made public appearances to join or help publicize other organizations, such as the Council on Religion and the Homosexual, the Committee to Fight the Exclusion of Homosexuals from the Armed Forces, and the Southern California Gay Liberation Front. He also became active in the American Indian movement through the Committee for Traditional Indian Land and Life. In 1970 the two moved to northern New Mexico where they continued to manufacture kaleidoscopes and Harry pursued his investigations of homosexual roles among Indian societies. Unfortunately, the factory they had established burned in 1973, along with its inventory and most of its records. Their insurance company refused to pay on the grounds that since the factory was located on an Indian reservation and outside of state jurisdiction, they had no obligation to do so. Harry's attempts to establish a gay liberation stronghold in New Mexico also came to naught.

Turning inward again, Harry established the Radical Faeries, a group that he regarded as a flowering of the Circle of Loving Companions. It was a gay spiritual movement that rejected "heteroimitation" and redefined gay iden-
tity. He felt it essential for gays and lesbians to define themselves in their own terms instead of in reaction to the heterosexual world. There were many similarities in organization with the original Mattachine except instead of the Fifth Order it had a triad, originally composed of Harry, Don Kilhefner, and Mitch Walker. The new group debuted at the 1978 annual conference of the Gay Academic Union in Los Angeles and then later held a retreat attended by several hundred at the Sri Ram Ashram, a spiritual center near Benson, Arizona. A second retreat the next year attracted an even larger group and the result was an effort to incorporate and spread.

The founding of the new group also marked the return of Harry to Los Angeles. Inevitably there soon appeared disagreement among the founders and there was a split into two separate gay facerie organizations. A facerie-owned farm came about with the purchase of a Magdalene Farm in 1987, near Grant's Pass, Oregon, but Harry had very little official connection with it.

Harry has continued to push his vision of a gay community, different than the heterosexual one with all gays coming together. He planted seeds for gay organization far and wide and some grew into trees, although not always in the way that Harry had expected or anticipated. Although the world has changed, Harry has not. He remains a gay visionary who has kept his faith with himself, although not always with his followers or his friends.

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