

In a review in DAILY QUEER NEWS of Todd White's book PRE-GAY L.A., reviewer David Williams asked an important question: did the 1965 division and civil war of ONE into two organizations hurt the community. Billy Glover, a member of Don Slater's faction and now the only surviving member of ONE at the time, answers this question in an email dated 5/22/2009 by saying:

"As a generic question an answer may not be clear, but it is clear in this case. The Dorr Legg/Venice group part of ONE died when Dorr died (1994), and from the time of the split he did a few local educational events that were important and tried but failed to do a national effort to get academic education of all aspects of homosexuality. "Queer" studies in a few universities may be connected, but they are not doing a good job and few universities are willing to hire lgbt people to actually do a competent and ethical job."

Although I respect Billy Glover for the many contributions he has made to the movement over the years (including his thoughtful email exchanges), in this case I must point out that he is absolutely wrong in every single part of the above statement. I knew Dorr Legg, Don Slater, and Jim Kepner, and each of them were very kind and supportive to me. I have no personal animus against any of them. Because I am grateful to all of them, it pains me greatly when I hear any of their names insulted and belittled. They each devoted their entire life to building a movement, and many of the accomplishments that have occurred in recent decades were due to the pioneering efforts they made.

If someone tried to belittle the contributions of Don Slater I would attack that, but since Billy has made repeated slurs against Dorr Legg I am forced to speak up. Dorr made incredibly important contributions, which I wrote about in my book GAY AND LESBIAN RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY (Greenwood Press, 2003, with Yolanda Retter). To give just one example, it was the quiet lobbying of Dorr Legg and his friend Vern Bullough, who convinced the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) to reject their prior policy that "sex crimes" were not civil liberties issues. From the time that the ACLU first started defending gay men who were entrapped by police, in the mid 1960s, until today, the ACLU has been a crucial ally in the fight for LGBT rights. Though it is a non-gay organization, today its national executive director, Anthony Romero, is an openly gay man. That reality would not have occurred if it had not been for the pioneering efforts of Legg and Bullough at ONE.

Where I most disagree with Billy is his contention that the movement was not harmed by the splitup of ONE in 1965. Billy rightly compliments Don Slater's accomplishments after 1965: especially for organizing a motorcade and court cases to protest the U.S. armed forces discrimination against homosexuals, and for picketing the Los Angeles Times, writing numerous letters to the editor for that newspaper, and later serving as an advisor to persuade them to take a more fair and balanced view toward homosexuality. But, in noting that Don's magazine TANGENTS failed, Billy negates his whole thesis. As good and talented an editor as Don was, I

believe that if ONE had not split he would have been able to continue building ONE Magazine for many years in the future.

The point I want to make is that, though we should be grateful for the accomplishments that both Don and Dorr made after 1965, they could have made many more accomplishments if they had remained united into ONE strong organization. They spent so much time and energy in fighting each other, in a draining court battle that went on for years, that there was little time and energy left for doing the kind of work that they and their followers had devoted their life to doing.

I am pointing out all this, not because I wish to attack Billy Glover, but because I think it is so important that we should have a clear understanding of our history. The real lessons of ONE's civil war is that there really are no winners in war. This has important implications for every volunteer organization today. With no sense of history, activists have no grounding on which to see the great damage that infighting and power plays can have on a movement for social change. What happened in Los Angeles in the 1950s is an amazing tale showing how just regular people with no prior training can start a movement that would change the world. What happened in Los Angeles in the 1960s is a cautionary tale showing how factionalism and secession movements can quickly destroy what years of effort had constructed. What our movement needs to do is to train mediators to make every effort to keep factionalism from doing its dirty deeds. We need a little tolerance for our differences and our diverse talents. When I see so many organizations riddled by vicious attacks, I just want to open the Bible and read to them "Blessed are the peacemakers, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

The end result of the ONE civil war, after all the court suits and countersuits, was a ruling by a judge, who knew nothing about either gay studies or libraries, in which he decided to divide the library in half. That decision made about as much sense as if King Solomon had actually taken his sword and divided the baby in half. The library was needed by the research arm, that is ONE Institute. Since Don Slater was primarily interested in publishing a magazine, I never understood why he put such emphasis on taking and keeping the books and archival files. For decades afterwards, he was weighed down by having to organize and administer a library, when his talents clearly were as an editor. That library was a millstone around his neck. Tony Reyes certainly understood that fact.

Anyone who does research knows that two small libraries are not as good as one large library. When I came to LA I had to travel back and forth between ONE's library and the HIC library, finding a bit of information here, then having to drive across town to cross-check another bit of information. It was, and is, maddening. For many years the HIC materials were not even available to readers, and they languished in boxes in the basement of Don Slater's house.

In any case, after this 1965 split, Los Angeles lost its leadership of the gay movement. It was bullheaded factionalism, for which I blame both sides. Hardly any new volunteers came in, for the simple reason that few people want to volunteer to join an activist group that was spending all its time and energy fighting another faction. In my opinion, what they should have done is to say, "OK, those who want to work on the magazine can do that, and those who want to work on research and education can do that, and then leave each other alone." But over and over in the history of gay activism we see one organization after another flounder over this exact same

kind of factionalism. One side is convinced they are right, and they spend their time trying to push the other side out. Seldom do people say, “Hey, let’s support each other in doing both.” In fact, research shows that there is quite often no one correct way to accomplish something; a multiprong strategy is more effective.

I cannot tell you how many times I, as a historian who know the history of our community, have seen one faction trying to push another faction out of the organization, because ignorant people who do not know our history are determined to have their own way. Almost always, the end result is an organization that is left bloodied and weakened, never to recover.

Volunteer organizations are dependent upon attracting volunteers. People do not want to come into a group of people full of seething resentments and personal vendettas. This has been a great problem in our history. The main challenges facing activist movements are quite often more a lack of cooperation and coordination, than a lack of resources. It was not just the 1965 split that was a problem, but the energy and time expended on fighting the other faction. The ONE civil war was a stab in the heart of activism in LA. One strong united organization is much more powerful than two small ones, especially if they are fighting each other. In my view, ONE’s civil war shows that no one wins in a war. The whole thing should be seen as a tragedy.

Billy Glover’s claim that the organization and people were not affected after 1965 would be stronger if he had mentioned Dorr Legg’s accomplishments after that date. But, ironically, he minimizes Dorr’s activities at ONE Institute, saying only that from 1965 until his death in 1994, Dorr Legg “did a few local educational events that were important.” Here, once again, I am forced to disagree strongly. These “few local events” were a monthly speakers’ series that Dorr organized from the 1960s to the early 1990s, packing in a large audience month after month and year after year to hear lectures from almost every author who was visiting ONE or Los Angeles. Dorr introduced important speakers like transgender pioneer Virginia Prince, Professor Vern Bullough, psychologist Don Kilhefner, and he had me speak on my ethnographic research on socially accepted homosexuality among the Maya Indians in Mexico and the Ponorogo people in Indonesia, immediately after my return from my field research in those nations. Dorr persuaded me to send some of my top USC graduate students to speak as part of ONE’s lecture series, like Manuel Fernandez on gays in Honduras, and Joseph Hawkins on gays in Japan. Speaking of Japanese, Dorr’s partner Johnny Nojima made his own important contributions in videotaping these years of lectures. These videotapes are now a collection at ONE Archives.

In denigrating Dorr Legg’s impact, Billy also does not mention the books that he published. Dorr Legg and his co-editors worked tirelessly for years on the multi-volume ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HOMOSEXUALITY that was published in 1976. This was the founding book of what later became the field of LGBT Studies, and it was of incalculable value to many scholars. Though the book was published by Garland Press, its publication was funded by ISHR, which Dorr founded.

Dorr’s last book was HOMOPHILE STUDIES IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, published in 1994 just a few months before his death at age 89. It is a valuable document in early gay history. See a review of this book, written by Todd White, at <http://gaybookreviews.info>

UCLA Professor Evelyn Hooker once told me that she could not have done her pathbreaking psychological research, in both the 1950s and the 1960s, without the help of Dorr. I have heard similar statements from sociologist Laud Humphreys, historian Wayne Dynes, and many other researchers over the years. Again, I want to make the point that while Dorr did make many accomplishments, it is also important to understand that Dorr, like Don, could have accomplished a lot more if ONE had remained united.

My own direct knowledge of the important work of ONE began in 1979, when Gregory Sprague and I co-founded the Committee on Lesbian and Gay History, as an affiliated society of the American Historical Association. I was beginning to do research on the social acceptance of homosexuality and transgenderism in Native American cultures, and I received a fellowship to become a resident scholar at the UCLA American Indian Studies Center. Soon after I arrived in Los Angeles I visited Legg's ONE Institute, Jim Kepner's National Gay Archives, and Don Slater's Homosexual Information Center. All three of them were extremely helpful to me, and I located sources that I could never have found elsewhere. But I also saw immediately that each of the three groups was struggling to survive. From that point onward I set as a goal to try to bring those libraries and archives together.

Jim Kepner soon asked me to join the board of directors of his National Gay Archives, and three years later I was elected as president of that board, along with June Mazer as vice president. We changed the name to the INTERNATIONAL GAY AND LESBIAN ARCHIVES.

In 1984, the University of Southern California hired me to originate and teach a graduate seminar on Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Studies. I was one of the first professors to be hired by any university specifically to teach LGBT Studies, and it was Jim Kepner and Dorr Legg to whom I turned for advice on developing my syllabus. I know I was not the only young scholar that they helped, so it is simply not true that they had no impact on scholars at universities.

Meanwhile, Dorr asked me to join the board of ISHR, which continued to operate as ONE's educational arm. In 1986 ONE's board established the ONE Institute Center for Advanced Studies, and chose me to be the Director. I decided that the Center's first activity was to sponsor a visit by Gregory Sprague of Chicago's Loyola University who was doing research for a book he was writing on Chicago gay history. He was the first of many residential research scholars that ONE supported.

Dorr's great dream was to build a graduate school. In the early 1980s he got a charter from the State of California, and he convinced me, Pitzer College sociologist Laud Humphreys, and several other scholars to teach classes in this effort. ONE graduates produced important dissertations that were later published, especially Michael Lombardi's many publications on the German gay movement, and Paul Hardman's book *HOMOAFFECTIONALISM* about the Middle East. But by the early 1990s I had convinced Dorr that instead of ONE being a graduate school, a better model was to develop it as a post-graduate research center. My vision, which Dorr totally supported, was to build ONE Institute as our movement's premier Think Tank.

About this time Dorr introduced me to Hal Call, who was visiting from San Francisco. Hal had been a major donor to ISHR, and he also became the major benefactor of my Center. Because Harry Hay had been an important influence on me, when I first met Harry's archrival Hal Call, I did not think I would like him. But, due to Dorr's suggestion, I sat down and talked with Hal, learning his side of the 1953 controversy. There were substantive differences between him and Harry. Call was a journalist, and he wanted to have a mass impact on society. He was afraid that Harry's membership in the Communist Party would discredit the whole movement if that information leaked out. Even more important, though, their goals were different. Harry saw gay people as a separate kind of person, a distinct minority. The vision that Harry wanted to build was a separate gay community, which would become a refuge for those fleeing persecution. Harry made the Mattachine Society a rather secretive organization, modeled on the cells of the Communist Party. Harry wanted us to develop separate institutions which would be supportive.

Hal Call, on the other hand, did not see gays as a separate group, and he wanted sexual liberation for society in general. He wanted an open movement, and he edited *Mattachine Review* as an open periodical that promoted sexual liberation. To my great surprise, I ended up being just as close to Hal as I was to Harry. I absorbed ideas from both of them, and consider both of them to have been my mentors.

Hal's vision was to create special places where men could get together for homosexual behavior, enjoy erotic pleasures and fraternize, and then afterward return to their places in general society. In Hal's view, there was no need for a separate gay community. Engaging in homosexual behavior would be sort of a hobby; some people went to meetings of the Rotary Club and others went to a sex club. Hal wanted homosexually-inclined persons to be integrated throughout society, not isolated among themselves in a gay ghetto. He gave speeches to civic organizations, made appointments with police officials, wrote newspaper articles, and started making documentary films about homosexuality. Once he learned how to make films, being a sexual liberationist he started making erotic films. Then he founded the "Circle J Theater" in San Francisco, and advertised all-male nude films in city newspapers to reach the general population. He wanted to bring as many men with same-sex inclinations to that place, and then to provide reading materials to educate them while they were having fun.

To his surprise this theater became financially successful, and Hal used his profits to finance the Mattachine Society operations in the 1950s and 1960s.. He also invested in some apartment buildings. In the 1980s Dorr asked Hal for a loan of \$50,000 to help ONE. Hal generously sold one of these buildings in order to do that. When ONE was ready to pay the loan back, a few years later, I asked Hal what he planned to do with the money. He said he did not really need it, so I asked him if he would like to establish a scholarship for academics to do research on homosexuality. He liked the idea, so we established the Hal Call Mattachine Scholar Award. For years afterward, I as Director of ONE Institute Center for Advanced Studies served as administrator of this award, and through ISHR we gave grants to numerous scholars.

Another person that Dorr attracted into ONE was attorney David Cameron. For years David served as president of ONE, and when he died he left a generous bequest to ISHR which we established as the David Cameron Legal Research Award. That award funded important legal research by a number of scholars, including one of my graduate students Martin Dupuis who published the first book on same-sex marriage in international law. Though I had never taken any payment for all the years of work I did with ONE, the ISHR board voted to give me one of these David Cameron Awards. I used the money to do research on persecution of gays and lesbians by governments in Asia. With this expertise, in the years since then, I have been called on by United States Immigration Courts to serve as an expert witness in numerous cases involving gay men, lesbians, and transgender people who applied for asylum. When I have testified to the reality of persecution by those governments (mainly China in the 1990s and Malaysia since 1998), that was the crucial testimony that has allowed them to be awarded asylum. Every court victory, in turn, serves as a legal precedent for more court cases. These immigrants literally owe their lives directly to the foresight of Dorr Legg and David Cameron.

The above examples are only a few of the reasons that I strongly disagree with Billy Glover that Dorr Legg accomplished little after the 1965 split. Furthermore, it is not accurate in the least for Billy to say that “The Dorr Legg/Venice group part of ONE died when Dorr died (1994).” I was with Dorr a few days before his death, and he told me that though he felt his mind was as lucid as ever, he could feel his body slipping away. I pledged to him that I would do everything in my power to expand ONE’s role as a Think Tank in the future. I told him that I wanted to try to get ONE affiliated with USC, and he agreed that was a good idea. That was my last meeting with him. I thanked him for being such a good mentor to me, and we talked about ways to get his book out to libraries. He was proud of his newly published book, and of what he had accomplished over the years.

Though Dorr Legg was not perfect by any means, there are not many activists who can list as many accomplishments in their life as he did. From the very beginning of ONE in 1952, when others only wanted to start a magazine, it was Dorr Legg who had the vision of the organization as a research and educational center. He pushed that vision consistently, right up until his final work in support of the ONE Institute Center for Advanced Studies.

It is not true that ONE died with Dorr. The board of directors continued to operate, and ISHR board members Reid Rasmussen and Calvin Cottam came forward in a marvelous way to serve as the main administrators. They both devoted countless hours to ONE and ISHR. In my speech at Dorr Legg’s funeral, I reiterated my determination to make sure that Dorr’s important work would not die. In some respects, Dorr’s work really came to fruition in the years following his death. And the person who continued the vision of ONE as a Think Tank was Dorr’s old partner, Jim Kepner.

It was Jim and Dorr, along with USC Professor Merritt Thompson, who were the real founders of Gay Studies in America. Though Harry Hay, Hal Call, Dale Jennings, and Don Slater were all important thinkers who helped to launch and shape the movement in the early 1950s, it was Jim and Dorr who were most responsible for the founding of ONE Institute as a

research and educational center in 1956. Two years later they established *ONE Institute Quarterly*, America's first academic journal in this new field of study. While Don Slater deserves credit for editing *ONE Magazine*, Dorr and Jim were clearly the guiding lights of ONE Institute. This has been recognized by senior scholars in the field, like Jonathan Ned Katz, Martin Duberman, John D'Emilio, me, and many others.

Jim and Dorr had a falling out in 1961, but it was more over Dorr's imperious personality than over any real policy differences. Jim withdrew from ONE, but he continued writing, thinking, and above all collecting books. Though neither were university-trained historians, they had the sharpest minds and encyclopedic knowledge of anyone I have ever met. Each of them had their quirks, and neither was the easiest person to work with, but I consider myself very lucky to have had both of them as my mentors. So, when Dorr died, it was not surprising that I turned to Jim with my ideas for further development of ONE Institute. Over the years I had discussed the idea on several occasions, with both Dorr and Jim, that ONE and the Archives should really merge. There was always one reason or another why it was not pursued, usually fear of financial uncertainty of the other group, lack of physical space to hold both libraries and offices, and fear of another falling out between Jim and Dorr.

As an officer of both ONE and the Archives, I was highly disturbed about the precarious financial situation of both organizations. In the late 1980s all of us at ONE were worn down by years of legal litigation over the estate where ONE was located. It seemed at times that the board spent more time and attention on our legal claim to the building than we spent on the intellectual reasons for our existence. ISHR's major benefactor Reed Erickson had purchased a large estate, including a large mansion and some other buildings, for ONE. Though Dorr had tried mightily to get Erickson to sign over complete legal ownership to ISHR, Erickson had delayed making the transfer. Then Erickson's health declined and he died. Shortly after his funeral his (heterosexual) adult adopted children claimed that the property was theirs. Then ONE was thrown into its second major court battle. I became determined that ONE had to have a secure location.

Likewise, when I was president of the Archives, we were always on the verge of being thrown out on the street because we were behind on the rent. I spent most of my time begging people for money, just to make the rent and utility payments. Sometimes we had so little money that Jim Kepner was faced with the choice of paying the electric bill or going hungry. To save money he gave up his apartment and started sleeping in the tiny unfinished basement below the storefront where the Archives was located on Hudson Street in Hollywood. This was not only dangerous for Jim, and also dangerous for the library, but it pained me to see a founder of our movement having to live in such a pathetic situation. In the early 1980s I started making monthly payments to provide Jim with enough money to cover his living expenses. I and some of my friends supported him when he was age 61 until he could qualify for Social Security payments when he turned 62. But, knowing Jim as I did, I did not simply give him the money. For years I had been pestering him to write his memoirs, but he was always so busy with the library that he would never get around to it. I told him I would pay him fifty cents a page for him to write his memoirs. Money was the secret word with Jim. With cash as the inducement, he wrote nearly

two thousand pages, which are now a special collection at ONE Archives. I thought that I would edit them and publish it as a book, but that is one of several projects I have not been able to find the time to do. Mostly, though, I just wanted to get Jim a nice place to live.

With both of these memories in mind, I decided to try to get the Archives and ONE a secure location at USC. I went to every administrator at USC who would listen to me, trying to get them to provide a building for a gay research center. Fortunately a gay staff member in the planning department alerted me about a building that was being vacated on Adams Blvd. Before any other department could lay claim to it, I convinced the USC Librarian Dr. Peter Lyman to request it for a gay research center. My two year lobbying effort paid off, and the Deans and the Provost supported this idea. It was debated in the University Board of Trustees, and they went along with it.

Once I had this commitment from the University, I knew that I had to work fast to get a contract signed. When the deal became public, immediately other departments felt resentful that their needs had been bypassed in favor of a new library—and a queer one at that. It was not homophobia, but bureaucratic infighting that motivated them. Space is at a premium on campus.

Having already discussed the idea individually with the members of ONE's board, and gotten their assent, I next approached Jim Kepner and also John O'Brien, who had succeeded me as the Archives' president. Both of them enthusiastically supported the idea. I was particularly grateful to John O'Brien, though when he had first joined the board I did not care for his blunt New York personality. When I was president of the Archives it had been a never ending struggle to raise the monthly rent, but O'Brien had saved the organization from financial disaster by convincing the City of West Hollywood to offer the Archives free space in a city-owned building.

John O'Brien called a special meeting of the Archives board, and I explained the idea. To my surprise, some of their new board members, librarians who had joined after I ended my term, resisted. It was like they were comfortable with their total control over their library, and they did not like the idea of change. John and Jim both cajoled them into agreeing to a joint meeting with ONE's board. I was shocked at the rudeness with which some of them treated Jim Kepner, who was the founder of the Archives and the reason they were all there.

It was a complex meeting. I explained to both boards that they would not have to give up ownership, but they would have to merge. USC only wanted to deal with one group of officers, not competing collections in the same building. USC would offer them exclusive use of a large 14,000 square foot building with a ten-year renewable contract. I could hardly believe it when some suggested they only wanted a five year contract, because they did not trust a straight university. Though I explained the longer the contract, the better for us, but they insisted, so I had to retreat on this issue. At times I felt like I was overseeing a meeting of Israelis and Palestinians, and wondered if we would ever reach agreement. There were petty and spurious arguments. What was it going to be named? Who would have actual ownership of the books in the library? How were decisions going to be made? Someone said we were moving too fast, and suggested we adjourn the meeting and come back a week later. At that point I lost my temper

and banged my fist on the table. I declared that if there was any delay another department at USC would surely grab the building for themselves, and that I was not going to let years of work go down the drain for no good reason. If the people present were not going to take advantage of this golden opportunity, I said, I would write a public letter to all the gay newspapers in the country, naming the names of those who were resisting. “Do you really want to go down in history as the ones who turned down an offer of a free building and prevented the foundation of the world’s largest gay research center?” After a moment of stunned silence, the Archives treasurer Pat Allen called for a vote, and as I glared at them only three dared to raise their hand in a vote against merger.

Once that crucial vote was made, to my surprise everyone seemed to resolve themselves to the matter and then we got down to practical matters about how to proceed. The combined board of directors was to be made up of five people from ONE’s board and five people from the Archives board, plus me (who had been on both boards) as the eleventh member. ONE’s David Cameron was to be the first president, to be followed by John O’Brien as the succeeding president. John, Jim, Reid Rasmussen, and I all made the argument that the combined organization was to be more than a library, and that we wanted to continue the vision of Dorr Legg and Jim Kepner that it was to be a Think Tank research center. The librarians agreed to that. After thrashing around about a name, someone suggested simply combining the names of both organizations. At that moment ONE Institute International Gay and Lesbian Archives was born.

The librarians were very concerned about ownership of the books. This sticking point was worked out by a brilliant solution that ONE Institute would donate its entire library and archival materials to IGLA, and in turn IGLA would become a division of ONE Institute International Gay and Lesbian Archives. Jim Kepner spoke eloquently about the original vision that he and Dorr and Merritt Thompson shared when they founded ONE Institute in 1956. Their four goals were to collect information and build a library, to support research in the library, to make plans to publish the research, and to publicize this research to the public. We took these four goals as the basis for establishing four divisions. The four divisions were:

1. International Gay and Lesbian Archives (The librarians would be in charge of the combined library-archives, and this would be the research base for the Think Tank).
2. ONE Institute Center for Advanced Studies (This was my baby, and I continued unchanged my role as Director of the Center. As it had been doing since it was established in 1986, the Center’s goal was to support researchers to come to ONE and promote research on issues of importance to our community).
3. ONE Institute Press (This was to be the publication arm of the Think Tank. It was headed by Ernie Potvin, skilled editor of the Archives’ Newsletter).
4. ONE Forum and Museum (This public outreach division was designed to be an outgrowth of Dorr Legg’s lecture series, in the form of conferences, speakers, and documentary film showings, combined with Jim Kepner’s exhibitions. Since the beginning of his archives, Jim Kepner had mounted exhibitions on gay history, and had plans for traveling exhibitions).

Once I had the merger of ONE and the Archives under my belt, I next decided to invite the June Mazer Lesbian Collection to join with us. I had worked for years with June Mazer and her spouse Bunny MacCullough when they were on the board of IGLA, and we were close friends. There was a lesbian library in northern California that lost its building, and was in need of a new home. June and Bunny wanted to make it part of IGLA, but the lesbians who ran it were separatists and they did not want to see it merged with a gay men's group. So Bunny and June took it into their house. They literally had hardly anywhere to live with so many books and files, but they collected a loyal band of women to help them. But then, tragically, first June and then Bunny became sick with breast cancer. At a time when I was seeing gay male friends waste away with AIDS, it was a double shock for me to lose both June and Bunny as well. I spoke at both of their funerals. Partly because of my close friendship with them, I and USC Professor Sheila Briggs went to speak to their board. I knew that most of them were separatists, so I did not even suggest merging the Mazer Collection. But I did offer them a separate wing of the USC building.

For my offer I was sharply attacked at that meeting. I made the mistake of using the word "homophobia" and one board member said I should have used the word "lesbophobia" (which I had never heard before). Another said Sheila and I were just collaborationists with a patriarchal institution, and they wanted nothing to do with any association with a woman-hating university. It did not matter to them that Sheila and I both taught in one of the leading feminist programs in the nation. So we left in defeat. However, I later learned that Professor Lillian Faderman, who knew me, argued eloquently in favor of the offer, and she persuaded them to go to tour the USC building. I showed them the separate wing, which they would have complete control over, and pointed out that I was giving more proportional space to them than I was to the much larger combined ONE-IGLA library. While my idea was simply to be inclusive of lesbians, this proposal made a major fight within the Mazer board. After so much strife, I grew to be sorry I had even raised the issue. But, with strong support by veteran activists Yolanda Retter, Jeanne Cordova, and Ivy Betinni, they decided to accept the offer.

Right at this moment the thing I most feared happened. Another USC department wanted our space. It just so happened that in early 1995 Walter Annenberg, the founder of *TV Guide* magazine, gave \$120 million dollars to USC to establish the Annenberg Center for Communication. USC, like any private university, depends upon donors, and a donation of this magnitude trumped everything else. USC needed three buildings for this new center, and our building was one of the three that he wanted. I was sure the University would find a way to get rid of us. But to my surprise, because the contract with the merged ONE-IGLA had just been signed a few weeks before, the University vice president came to me and John O'Brien with a deal. If we would agree to give up this building, they would offer us another building a few blocks away. John, Jim Kepner and I walked over to see it.

We fell in love with this new building immediately. It was bigger than the previous building, it had its own private parking lot, and (the thing that I was most excited about) it had enough vacant land that another large building could be constructed next to it. Thinking about

the need for future expansion of the library and archives, we knew this new building at 909 W. Adams Blvd. was better for our long term needs.

However, there was a big problem. This building was currently occupied by a USC fraternity. It was divided into small rooms where the frat boys lived. And in the middle of the grand room was an enormous fireplace that would have to be removed. I knew this would take a lot of time to do the renovations, plus the cost would be substantial. We expressed our reservations. Then the vice president made an offer, as he called it, “to sweeten the pot.” He pledged that USC would pay \$250,000 toward the renovations, that USC would pay for all the utilities forever more, USC gardeners would take care of all the grounds, and USC would pay for all security of the building.

This was really a generous offer, much more than I expected they would do. But it would mean giving up the immediate benefit of opening the archives soon, versus the long-range benefit of a better building. We brought the board over, and everyone agreed with us that this was better. Besides, I knew that if we did not agree the University might indeed find a way to make us give up the original building. In academia as elsewhere, money talks.

Next I had to break the news to the board of the June Mazer Lesbian Collection. They came down to look at the new building, and I offered them whichever one of the four quadrants they wished. This was too much for part of their board, who smelled a plot to deprive them of their separate wing. This new building did not have separate wings, and it was too close for comfort for them. Despite the best efforts of Dr. Faderman, their board had a big fight, and split right down the middle. At this point Yolanda Retter, Jeanne Cordova, Karen Quimby, Ivy Bettini, and others left the Mazer board, and came to join ONE-IGLA. We voted them all on the ONE-IGLA board, and Jeanne Cordova and I were elected co-presidents.

At this point we needed some good news, and fortunately it came via a gay friend who worked in the USC Housing Office. He let me know about a 17-unit apartment building that USC had closed because of lack of demand. It was too far from campus to be used as a dormitory, but it was only a few blocks from ONE. I managed to convince the Deans to establish the USC Center for Scholars in Residence, with me as the director. Although this Center had nothing to do with Gay Studies in its title, I as director was expected to live there and was authorized to choose who would be invited to be a scholar in residence. USC guaranteed that we could have the building for three years, they would pay all the utilities and upkeep, and would allow the residents to get USC library cards and campus privileges. I wanted to bring in the best and the brightest writers and thinkers from all over the world. This was a gift from heaven. My first priority was to reserve a free apartment for Jim Kepner, who at last would have a nice place to live.

For the first time in decades, Jim was in a secure financial situation. His social security check was enough to cover his food and other needs, and he was able to live without constant financial worry. He used his time productively, and while resident at USC he researched and wrote many important articles as well as his valuable book *ROUGH NEWS, DARING VIEWS* on pioneering gay journalism.

I offered John O'Brien and Yolanda Retter free apartments, on condition that they quit their jobs and devote themselves full time to the collection. Both of them threw themselves into the work with total commitment. I have never seen two people work harder.

To give support to ONE's new Lesbian Legacy Collection (LLC), we converted two of the apartments into a space for that archives. Though many of the books were in storage, we opened the lesbian collection as the first segment of ONE to be in operation at USC. Yolanda not only administered the LLC, but she also completed the research and writing of her dissertation on the history of the Los Angeles lesbian community. She was awarded a Ph.D. in American Studies from the University of New Mexico.

I sent out announcements about this new USC research center to the *Journal of Homosexuality*, and to the many LGBT academic organizations. Soon I started receiving applications from all over the world. The most surprising was from Professor Igor Kon, a very prominent scholar at the Russian Academy of Sciences. At that time Russia was going through economic turmoil, and there was no money in Russia to support research. So I contacted Hal Call, and he generously agreed to pay for the airfare and a monthly allowance to get Professor Kon from Moscow to Los Angeles. While in residence at USC, and an affiliated scholar of ONE Institute Center for Advanced Studies, Dr. Kon wrote several articles, plus after he returned home he submitted the first book on homosexuality to be published in Russia. Professor James Sears of the University of South Carolina, author of many books including *Growing Up Gay in the South* came, and he and I published a book *Overcoming Heterosexism and Homophobia: Strategies That Work* (Columbia University Press, 1997). Professor Holly Devor, from Victoria University in Canada, finished her book *FTM: Female To Male Transsexuals*, and I later served as her referee on her promotion to full professor. Holly also transitioned to become Aaron Devor, and he became the world's first transsexual University Dean.

Professor Mark Blasius from the City University of New York, wrote two books while he was a ONE Institute affiliated scholar. Nobody at USC batted an eye when I brought in a MTF transgender philosopher from Canada, and in fact she helped me plan a course that I later began teaching on Transgender Studies. We also had professors from Australia, Belgium, Israel, Brazil, and other nations, as well as several graduate students writing their dissertations. Many of these were funded by the Hal Call Mattachine Scholar Awards, as administered by ISHR. It was such an exciting time, and at last I felt that Dorr Legg's and Jim Kepner's vision of a Think Tank research center was becoming real. Sometimes Harry Hay and John Burnside would drop by, and as they, Jim, and other senior thinkers were engaging in heavy philosophical discussions I felt a great sense of gratitude in being able to listen to such invigorating conversations. Sometimes, just seeing an undergraduate student sitting by the pool, talking to Yolanda or Jim, I felt all the work was worth it. I expected we were going onward and upward from here.

And yet, just as Dorr had to learn to deal with setbacks and frustration, so did I. First, in 1996 I was disappointed when the USC Housing Office announced that they would have to take the apartment building back at the end of our three year contract. USC's reputation was rising, and the University had experienced a sudden rise in student applications. Nearly two thousand more students were admitted for fall 1997, and places had to be found for them to live. I could hardly object after USC had been so generous to offer us the entire apartment complex free of charge for three years, but I did persuade them to allow ONE's Lesbian Legacy Collection to continue holding its part of the complex until the main building renovations could be finished. I felt confident that, with all of the incredible publication going on at the Center, surely I would be able to persuade a wealthy gay donor to purchase another apartment building nearby. I began a concerted campaign to accomplish this, wining and dining several visitors who expressed interest. Alas, I was not successful in this effort, and we had to end that program in August 1997.

Learning about the end of the Center in late 1996, I decided to shift focus and put my attention into developing another division, ONE Institute Press. The last book published by the Press was Dorr Legg's 1994 *Homophile Studies in Theory and Practice* and I was wondering how we could publish books when all our money was going into the renovations of the building. Jim Kepner suggested we should revive *ONE Institute Quarterly* but I wanted to rename it to parallel the name of the archives. In 1996 a gay USC reference librarian John Wablinger, convinced me that the newly developed internet was a way to publish electronically, and we managed to persuade USC to give us free webspace to begin an online journal. I became editor of the *International Gay and Lesbian Review*, the world's first academic journal in any discipline to be published entirely on the internet. Jim Kepner wrote many excellent reviews, several of my USC graduate students ably assisted me, and it grew rapidly. It can be accessed for free at <http://gaybookreviews.info>

A big problem occurred in 1997 when Don Slater suddenly died. Don's long suffering partner Tony Reyes had been having to live for many years with his house filled to the rafters with the boxed materials of the Homosexual Information Center. Tony had been involved in ONE since the 1950s, and he loyally supported Don during the 1965 split, but he did not like having all those boxes of books and papers taking up his living space. Once Don died, Tony let it be known that if all those boxes were not removed immediately he was going to throw them in a dumpster. If it had not been for the prompt action of John O'Brien, Jim Schneider, Jim Kepner, Joseph Hawkins, and several other volunteers from ONE, there is a chance that all of those priceless materials would have been lost. The renovations of the building at USC were nowhere near being finished, and so many of those materials had to be placed into storage. Those additional charges were straining at our budget.

Only a few months later, another shock hit us all when Jim Kepner suddenly fell ill in October 1997. After my term as ONE's president was over, I nominated Rev. Flo Fleischman to succeed me. Flo, John O'Brien and I waited anxiously in the hospital waiting room. The doctor told us that Jim's intestine had ruptured, and that he had only a day or so to live. Just the day before he was doing fine, planning to teach a new seminar in gay history, and now he was barely

hanging on. After staying all night at the hospital, with Flo and John, the next day I had to drive to San Diego where I was scheduled to give a speech to the Creating Change annual conference of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. I spoke about the history of ONE Institute, the important role that it had played, and our vision for it as a Think Tank. I dedicated my speech to Jim Kepner. When I raced back to LA to get to the hospital, I learned that Jim had died exactly at the time when I was giving my speech. With Dorr's death at age 89, at least we had time to prepare for that, but in the case of 72 year old Jim, we had no warning at all. John, Flo and I were all emotionally devastated.

1998 and 1999 were not good years for any of us. When I was lifting a heavy box of books to take to ONE, I tore a ligament in my left hand. It was so painful I could not sleep. Since I am left-handed, trying to write was excruciating. Eventually I had to have three bones removed from my hand. The surgery was not especially painful, but it wiped me out for months. I had no energy at all. It happened to be time for my sabbatical from USC, which I spent mostly asleep.

When I managed to get into ONE I was becoming dismayed at how long it was taking to complete the renovations. When USC presented us with \$250,000 in 1995 I was grateful, but I knew that was not enough. I recommended that we renovate only the main room, which was big enough to hold the library books and would be open to the public, and do only minimal work on the side rooms. We could fill those side rooms with file cabinets, close the doors, and wait until we had more money later to do that work. Almost everyone on the board disagreed with me. The librarians complained that they could not work if they had to go in and out of all those small rooms. Others said that doing work later, after the books were in place, would fill the building with dust. The activists on the board confidently promised that they could raise more money from the community. Having felt disillusioned due to the lack of support from the community so far, I shook my head in disgust as I was outvoted.

Over the next few years, just as I feared, no major contributions of money came in from the community. The largest donations came from ISHR, and even their loyal board members were getting impatient at the lack of progress. I alienated some of those people because I pressed them so hard for more donations to finish the building renovations. If it were not for the daily backbreaking work that John O'Brien did, in personally knocking down walls and doing other types of construction work that he had never done before, and the contributions of Jim Schneider who even paid some workers from his office supply store to work at ONE, the work would not have gotten as far as it did. But it was not enough. Nerves frayed, arguments started on the board, and John O'Brien was unceremoniously voted off the board. Despite all his years of work for the organization, he was voted off by people who had done much less for the organization than he had. I knew that John was in over his head, and that he had not raised as much money as he thought he could, but I did not like the way they just tossed him out like a used tissue paper.

At this point I was really resentful that the gay community had not come forward with more donations to support both the building renovations and the Center for Advanced Studies. But, having no other options, I went back to USC and begged for more money. I knew USC had given a lot more money than any other university to Gay Studies, so I was not surprised when

doors slammed in my face where ever I turned. To my surprise, though, the new USC Librarian, Jerry Campbell, a former Methodist minister from Texas who I feared would toss me out without a penny, committed \$50,000 from his strapped library budget. I knew that library operations suffered because of his commitment to help ONE, and there was resentment against him because of his support to us.

It was that \$50,000, though, which finally allowed us to finish the renovations. A whole slew of dedicated volunteers—people like Jim Schneider, Pat Allen, Yolanda Retter, Mark Thompson, Lynn Sipe, Todd White, and many others—came together in late 2000 and early 2001 to get the place opened. People worked their butts off. And, we got a lucky break. A former student of mine who happened to know the librarian at West Los Angeles City College, found out that they were replacing all their library bookshelves. We got all their original shelves, saving us about \$16,000 in shelf purchases.

But where I made my main contribution in 2000 and 2001 was in developing ONE's fourth division: a museum. Back in the 1960s, before I became a professor, I worked for the Georgia Historical Commission in museum development. I also worked on the Museum of the Cherokees and the DeKalb County History Museum. With the help of a generous donation by my friend Jim Hooker, and volunteer help by Mary Worthington and several of my USC students, I designed a museum on the second floor of the ONE building at USC.

At last, in May 2001, we opened the ONE Institute International Gay and Lesbian Archives at USC. Hundreds of people turned out for our Grand Opening. In her speech Yolanda Retter pointed out something that none of the rest of us had realized until that day. The day of ONE's dedication was the exact date in 1935 when a mob of Nazis in Berlin had attacked Magnus Hirschfeld's Institute for Sexual Research, and in their book burnings destroyed the world's first research center on sexual minorities.

And now here we were, rising Phoenix-like from the ashes, on the very same day sixty-six years later.

In my speech at the Grand Opening, I thanked the many volunteers who had worked so hard over the years to get the building finished. And I also paid homage to those founders of our movement, who were present there, including Lisa Ben (who began America's first lesbian newsletter in 1947) and Fred Frisbee (in whose house the organization that became ONE was first planned in 1952). But most of all I dedicated my speech to the memory of the three people who were most important in establishing the organization that we were opening at USC. The three names that are listed under the word "Founders" at the front entrance:

Jim Kepner, Dorr Legg, Don Slater

Surely no one who enters that building at USC, which has researchers coming from all over the world, and which is now the world's largest library and archives in LGBT Studies, would ever think that their group "died with them."

One other point I need to make: I have no idea why Billy Glover thinks that "Queer studies" are only "in a few universities" or why he thinks they "are not doing a good job and few universities are willing to hire lgbt people to actually do a competent and ethical job." On the contrary, LGBT Studies, Queer Studies, Sexuality Studies, or whatever term it is called by, is one of the most vibrant and alive areas of focus in academia today. To give a personal example, next January, at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, I have been invited to speak at the celebration of the Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender History, which I founded thirty years ago. Hundreds of historians are expected to attend.

In fields as diverse as English literature to Biology, there are large and established queer professional caucuses. So many books are being published in the field that no one can keep up with them all. Practically every academic journal in the social sciences and letters has articles on this or that LGBT topic. All of these authors, researchers, teachers, and academics are, in a sense, the grandchildren of ONE.

Not only has the work of the Founders not died, but it is continuing to evolve. Just within the past year we can see much evidence of this. Three brief examples: Through the hard work of ONE's current president Joseph Hawkins, in 2008 the City of West Hollywood generously provided additional space for a new ONE Museum that has now opened in the heart of the gay community.

In 2008 the board of directors of ISHR voted to turn over the remainder of their endowment to the Williams Institute for Sexual Orientation and the Law, at the UCLA School of Law. Thus, this money is continuing to have an effect on promoting gay and lesbian rights around the world. The Williams Institute is one of the most important and effective Think Tanks of our movement. They will present the Dorr Legg Award and the Jim Kepner Award in alternate years to young scholars working on public policy questions relating to sexual orientation. This is a fitting and proper continuation of the work that both of these important pioneers did during their decades of dedicated work on behalf of our community.

But most importantly, the Founders' work lives on in the faces that we see every day, from the time we turn on the television news to see Barney Frank being interviewed on 'Meet the Press,' or Ellen DeGeneres chatting away happily on her talk show. It lives on in the debates going on in State legislatures about marriage, or in the United States Congress about the military. It lives on in millions of same-sex sexual acts being looked at, right this moment, on thousands of computer screens that are connected to thousands of internet sites in every country of the world. . It lives on in the job offers from Fortune 500 companies, which routinely include domestic partner benefits and non-discrimination statements. But most importantly it lives on in the bright and shining faces of those young people with confident smiling faces who never again will have to grow up thinking they are the only person in the world who feels the way they do. Look at the smiling faces all around us, every day.

For all these reasons, then, I cannot agree with any statement that claims that any part of ONE has died. Just look at the smiling faces.