

Frank Kameny:  
Standing Up for Gay Rights in Government and  
Society

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*“We intend to tolerate no slights, no disparaging innuendos, no jeers, no jibes or taunts, no disparaging remarks of any kind against homosexuality or against homosexuals. In a pluralistic society we are entitled not only to our way of life, but also to respect for it by our government as an equal to all other ways of life.”*

-Frank Kameny, “We Throw Down the Gauntlet”, August 19, 1969<sup>1</sup>

On February 9, 1950, Wisconsin Senator Joseph R. McCarthy stood in front of a crowd in Wheeling, West Virginia and made a speech in which he accused the State Department of knowingly employing dangerous Communists and other “security risks”.<sup>2</sup> This statement marked the start of the Red Scare, a wave of anti-Communist hysteria that swept over the nation and resulted in hundreds of people losing their government jobs due to accusations of association with Communists. During the Red Scare, however, there was also another group that experienced mass discrimination within the government: homosexuals. This largely forgotten event came to be known as the Lavender Scare, a period when thousands of homosexuals were dismissed from their positions within the government.<sup>3</sup> Most homosexuals did not fight against this discrimination, but after losing his job, gay rights activist Frank Kameny did.<sup>4</sup> Frank Kameny’s dismissal from the Army Map Service in 1957 inspired his emergence as one of the early leaders of the gay rights movement, leading him to stand against the government and society to gain

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<sup>1</sup> Frank Kameny, “We Throw Down the Gauntlet” (lecture, Federal Plaza, New York, NY, August 19, 1969), accessed October 16, 2016, <http://www.kamenypapers.org/gauntlet.htm>.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph R. McCarthy, “Enemies from Within” (lecture, Women’s Republican Club, Wheeling, West Virginia, February 9, 1950), accessed November 27, 2016, <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6456>.

<sup>3</sup> David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 1.

<sup>4</sup> Rainbow History Project, “*Gay is Good*”: *Gay and Lesbian Organizing in DC, 1961-1975*, Rainbow History Project Digital Collections, accessed February 11, 2017, <http://rainbowhistory.omeka.net/exhibits/show/gayisgood/organizing-nationwide>.

equal rights for homosexuals, change societal perceptions about homosexuality, and pave the way for future LGBT activism.<sup>5</sup>

Frank Kameny had only held his job as an astronomer for the Army Map Service for five months when an investigator from the Civil Service Commission came to question him about his sexuality.<sup>6</sup> He refused to answer any questions about his personal life, believing that it was not the government's concern, but that fall, in 1957, he was fired on the accusation that he was a homosexual.<sup>7</sup> Kameny's dismissal from federal employment due to his sexuality was hardly unique, but what was unusual was his determination to fight back.<sup>8</sup> Interpreting the government's actions "as a declaration of war against me and my fellow gays", Kameny appealed his case to the Army Map Service, Civil Service Commission, and other congressional committees.<sup>9</sup> When these appeals failed, Kameny filed complaints with the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia and the U.S. Court of Appeals. Both appeals were rejected.<sup>10</sup> Undiscouraged, Kameny decided to take his case to the Supreme Court, writing his own petition after being deserted by his lawyer, despite having no legal training. Kameny spent several months writing his petition

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<sup>5</sup> Brookhaven National Laboratory, "Frank Kameny," Brookhaven National Laboratory, accessed November 29, 2016, <https://www.bnl.gov/bera/activities/globe/kameny.htm>.

<sup>6</sup> Kameny had been arrested in San Francisco several years earlier for immoral conduct. Though the charges were dismissed, the Civil Service Commission found out and used it as evidence against him.

<sup>7</sup> U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, *Franklin Edward Kameny V. Honorable Wilber M. Brucker, Secretary of the Army, Et Al., Appellee* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Catalog, 1960), accessed November 13, 2016, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/28360662>.

<sup>8</sup> Mary McPartland, "Frank Kameny: From Astronomer to Activist," The Ultimate History Project, accessed October 16, 2016, <http://www.ultimatehistoryproject.com/frank-kameny-gay-activist.html>.

<sup>9</sup> Philip Gambone, "Kameny, Frank," *American National Biography Online* (April 2014): 1, accessed December 22, 2016, <http://www.anb.org/articles/15/15-01354.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Franklin Edward Kameny, *Petition for a Writ of Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit*, ed. Charles Francis (Washington, DC: Kameny Papers Project, 1961), 1, accessed October 16, 2016, [https://mattachinesocietywashingtondc.files.wordpress.com/2015/01/kamenypetition\\_for\\_a\\_writ\\_of\\_certiorari\\_d3.pdf](https://mattachinesocietywashingtondc.files.wordpress.com/2015/01/kamenypetition_for_a_writ_of_certiorari_d3.pdf).

and studying the Supreme Court rules before finally filing his petition for a writ of certiorari with the Supreme Court on January 27, 1961.<sup>11</sup>

This petition revealed a shift in Kameny's thinking that would affect the rest of his life and the gay rights movement. Rather than focusing as he previously had on his own problems, this petition centered around the prejudice that all homosexuals faced as a minority group and called for the correction of the government's discriminatory behavior. Kameny pointed out how government policies regarding homosexuality conflicted with the rights guaranteed to all American citizens by the Constitution<sup>12</sup> and that the government's premise was contradictory to protective government action towards other controversial minorities in society, such as African Americans.<sup>13</sup> Kameny also argued that sexual preference was irrelevant to government employment and that the only basis for employment should be qualification and quality of performance.<sup>14</sup> Throughout the petition, Kameny kept his stance that, due to unequal treatment and the government's denial of their Constitutional rights, homosexuals were second-class citizens.<sup>15</sup>

Despite Kameny's powerful arguments, the Supreme Court declined to hear his case on March 17, 1961.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, this petition marked a major milestone in the gay rights

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<sup>11</sup> Michael G. Long, *Gay Is Good: The Life and Letters of Gay Rights Pioneer Frank Kameny* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2014), 1.

<sup>12</sup> Kameny argued that the government's ban on gay employees was especially in contradiction of the First, Ninth, and Tenth Amendments to the Constitution.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, 11-14. Kameny particularly cited the government's intervention during the integration of Little Rock Central High School, which occurred just a few months before he filed his petition. He noted that while the government would speak out in favor of that minority, despite public opposition, they refused to do so for the gay minority.

<sup>14</sup> Frank Kameny, "Letter from Frank Kameny to President Lyndon B. Johnson," *The Kameny Papers*, October 23, 1965, accessed December 30, 2016, <http://www.kamenypapers.com/images/LBJ-10-23-65--1.jpg>.

<sup>15</sup> Kameny, *Petition for a Writ of Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit*.

<sup>16</sup> Brookhaven National Laboratory, "Frank Kameny."

movement, as it was the first time that a homosexual had stood up to government discrimination through legal channels in the U.S. The petition was a precursor to future gay rights court cases and briefs regarding employment of homosexuals, along with other issues concerning LGBT equality.<sup>17</sup> It also affected Kameny's activism, as the experience and knowledge that he gained through these legal battles and writing his petition would allow him to help with future gay rights legal cases, many of which would bring victories to the gay community.<sup>18</sup> Writing the petition to the Supreme Court strengthened Kameny's stance that the issue of federal employment for homosexuals was not about criminality, morality, or national security, but a matter of civil rights. This position would affect his activism and the tactics he used for the rest of his life.<sup>19</sup>

After the rejection of the Supreme Court, Kameny began to try to find new ways to advocate for civil rights for gay citizens. Recognizing that "given the realities and problems of fighting the government on my own, the time had come to fight collectively," Kameny began trying to form an organization in Washington along with his new friend Jack Nichols. On November 15, 1961, after months of preparation, Kameny and Nichols attended the first official meeting of the Mattachine Society of Washington, D.C. (MSW), the first homophile organization in Washington, D.C.<sup>20</sup> The group elected Kameny as their president and adopted their own Constitution, deciding to commit themselves to act by any lawful means in order to protect and stand up for homosexuals, educate the public about homosexuality, and "secure for homosexuals

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<sup>17</sup> Long, *Gay Is Good: The Life and Letters of Gay Rights Pioneer Frank Kameny*, 13.

<sup>18</sup> Ryan Reft, "Sexual Equality: Los Angeles, the Military Industrial Complex, and the Gay Liberation Movement," KCETLink, December 11, 2015, accessed October 17, 2016, <https://www.kcet.org/departures-columns/sexual-equality-los-angeles-the-military-industrial-complex-and-the-gay>.

<sup>19</sup> Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government*, 181-182.

<sup>20</sup> Long, *Gay Is Good: The Life and Letters of Gay Rights Pioneer Frank Kameny*, 18-21. There were several Mattachine Societies around the U.S. The first Mattachine Society was founded by Harry Hay in Los Angeles in 1952, nine years before Kameny helped start the Mattachine Society of Washington, D.C.

the basic rights and liberties established by the word and the spirit of the Constitution of the United States.”<sup>21</sup>

At the time of the formation of the Mattachine Society of Washington, D.C., the homophile movement was “a very unassertive, apologetic, defensive kind of structure.”<sup>22</sup> There were several homophile organizations, but they focused on public education about homosexuality rather than political activism, leading them to rely on scientific figures to validate and support their cause. This was problematic, as there were few medical and psychiatric professionals that held sympathetic views of homosexuals, causing early homophile organizations to sometimes invite speakers that were proponents of the theory that homosexuality was a sickness. Gay rights activist Barbara Gittings<sup>23</sup> explained, “It was necessary to have people of respectability come and address our meetings instead of ignoring us. It made us feel like that gave us some respectability too.”<sup>24</sup> The constant fear of rejection from family, friends, employers, and society caused early homophile organizations to remain quiet and prevented them from making the strides that Kameny and the Washington Mattachine Society would make within the next few years.<sup>25</sup>

The Mattachine Society of Washington, D.C., under the leadership of Frank Kameny, took a very different approach than the current homophile movement. Kameny did not accept the

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<sup>21</sup> Frank Kameny, "Kameny, Franklin E.- Papers of John F. Kennedy," John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, May 15, 1961, accessed January 29, 2017, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKWHCNF-1418-002.aspx>.

<sup>22</sup> Eric Marcus, "Episode 05- Frank Kameny," Making Gay History, accessed January 1, 2017, <http://makinggayhistory.com/podcast/episode-1-5/>.

<sup>23</sup> Barbara Gittings was also a major figure in the early gay rights movement. She was good friends with Kameny and would help him with many of his campaigns, most notably his war against the American Psychiatric Association.

<sup>24</sup> Lillian Faderman, *The Gay Revolution: The Story of the Struggle* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2015), 1.

<sup>25</sup> Marcus, “Episode 05- Frank Kameny.”

prevalent methods, as he argued that gay activists needed to adopt a direct action strategy, similar to the approach of the black civil rights movement.<sup>26</sup> Under Kameny's guidance, the Mattachine Society of Washington, D.C. directed its actions at the government, beginning with a letter-writing campaign to government officials that they thought might listen to their cause, but these efforts produced no results.<sup>27</sup> However, through its campaign against discriminatory government policies regarding homosexuals, the MSW was able to gain the support of the National Capital Area Civil Liberties Union.<sup>28</sup> With the help of the NCA-CLU, Kameny and the homophile movement were able to win their first court victories in the area of homosexual federal employment policies.<sup>29</sup>

Kameny spent several years working with the NCA-CLU to litigate the dismissals of homosexuals from federal employment, hoping to make the same strides that the black civil rights movement made through court cases. However, he found a new path for the homophile movement after attending the March on Washington and observing how much impact a march could produce. Kameny increased his calls for the homophile movement follow the black example, become militant, and stand up for their rights.<sup>30</sup> On April 17, 1965, ten homosexuals, led by Frank Kameny and Jack Nichols, picketed the White House, demanding equal rights for homosexual citizens during the first public demonstration by the homophile movement (See

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<sup>26</sup> Neil Miller, *Out of the Past: Gay and Lesbian History from 1869 to the Present* (New York, NY: Alyson Books, 2006), 312-313.

<sup>27</sup> Rainbow History Project, "*Gay is Good*": *Gay and Lesbian Organizing in DC, 1961-1975*.

<sup>28</sup> Kameny was one of the charter members of The National Capital Area Civil Liberties Union (NCA-CLU), an affiliate of the ACLU, which allowed him and the Mattachine Society to influence its direction and involvement in gay rights.

<sup>29</sup> John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 155-157.

<sup>30</sup> Linda Hirshman, *Victory: The Triumphant Gay Revolution* (New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 2012), 1.

Appendix A).<sup>31</sup> This event vanquished many of the fears that the homosexuals had concerning directly confronting the government and public.<sup>32</sup> The first picketing of the White House launched a series of demonstrations by the Mattachine Society of Washington, D.C., with each one drawing more people, as the MSW was careful to alert the media in order to spread the news of the growing homophile movement.<sup>33</sup> Soon the demonstrations spread across the East Coast, to major cities such as New York City and Philadelphia, where they became a yearly event known as the Annual Reminders.<sup>34</sup> Kameny played a major role in the organization of these events, acting as “the prime moving force in these demonstrations” and heavily promoting direct action in order to attract public attention to the gay rights movement and the injustice they faced.<sup>35</sup>

After starting a militant movement in Washington, Frank Kameny began trying to unify the homophile movement and spread militant tactics to other parts of the country. Kameny started promoting an active approach by giving speeches to more conservative and fearful homophile organizations.<sup>36</sup> Kameny also suggested that eastern homophile organizations have regular meetings, which led to the formation of the East Coast Homophile Organization (ECHO), a coalition of many prominent homosexual groups on the east coast. This was critical in solidifying the militant section of the homophile movement and allowed for the sharing of ideas and increased cooperation between the organizations and their leaders.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Kirsten Appleton, “What It Was Like at the First Gay Rights Demonstration Outside White House 50 Years Ago,” *ABC News*, April 17, 2015, 1, accessed February 11, 2017, <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/gay-rights-demonstration-white-house-50-years-ago/story?id=30379792>.

<sup>32</sup> Mike Rogers and Charles Francis, “History Must Never Be Erased” (MP3 podcast), April 17, 2015, <https://mattachinesocietywashingtondc.org/2015/04/22/history-must-never-be-erased/> (accessed January 29, 2017).

<sup>33</sup> D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States*, 164-165.

<sup>34</sup> Bonnie J. Morris, "History of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Social Movements," American Psychological Association, accessed November 25, 2016, <http://www.apa.org/pi/lgbt/resources/history.aspx>.

<sup>35</sup> Long, *Gay Is Good: The Life and Letters of Gay Rights Pioneer Frank Kameny*, 93.

<sup>36</sup> Faderman, *The Gay Revolution: The Story of the Struggle*, 138- 145.

<sup>37</sup> Johnson, *The Lavender Scare*, 161-162.

Despite the strides that the militant wing of the gay rights movement made, there was still a large faction that clung to the timid policies of the movement's past. Many felt that they should still be relying on scientific professionals to endorse them and allow them to keep a respectable image. Frank Kameny recognized that the theory that homosexuality was a sickness was majorly dividing the movement, as well as inhibiting the progress that they were making on the issue of federal employment, as the government used it as an excuse to not employ homosexuals.<sup>38</sup> The medical model of homosexuality also permeated the view of gays that the public held and prevented public support for the homophile movement.<sup>39</sup> It even negatively affected the views that homosexuals had of themselves, as they also believed themselves to be sick, preventing them from standing up for their rights.<sup>40</sup> Kameny knew that this had to change. He had long opposed the theory, stating that, "*We* are the experts on ourselves and *we* will tell the experts they have nothing to tell us!"<sup>41</sup> To bolster the self-esteem of homosexuals and change the attitude of society, Kameny started popularizing the phrase "Gay Is Good."<sup>42</sup> He also began speaking out against the medical model of homosexuality and improving the self-image of homosexuals at ECHO conferences, MSW meetings, and other congregations of homosexuals.<sup>43</sup> As Kameny's stance was extended throughout the movement, attitudes toward the belief that gay was a sickness started to change.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States*, 162-163.

<sup>39</sup> Frank Kameny and Barbara Gittings, "Gay, Proud, and Healthy," The Kameny Papers, accessed November 25, 2016, <http://www.kamenypapers.org/correspondence/gayproudandhealthy.jpg>.

<sup>40</sup> McPartland, "Frank Kameny: From Astronomer to Activist."

<sup>41</sup> Marcus, "Episode 05- Frank Kameny."

<sup>42</sup> Long, *Gay Is Good: The Life and Letters of Gay Rights Pioneer Frank Kameny*, 156-161. Kameny found the inspiration for "Gay Is Good" from Stokely Carmichael's "Black Is Beautiful." He would use the phrase for the rest of his life.

<sup>43</sup> Faderman, *The Gay Revolution*, 138- 145.

<sup>44</sup> Dr. Kim Earhart, emailed to author, Conway, AR, May 5, 2017.

Kameny took advantage of the evolving ideas on the medical model of homosexuality to spearhead a movement against the American Psychiatric Association and its classification of homosexuality as a mental illness.<sup>45</sup> He and fellow activists tried for years to convince the APA to change their classification, attending conferences, speaking on panels with mental health experts, and creating exhibits about homosexuality to educate the APA and the public, but their efforts were hindered by the prejudice against gays that most psychiatrists held (See Appendix B).<sup>46</sup> However, by 1973, after years of work by gay rights leaders, the APA seemed to be changing. The efforts of gay rights activists, a general increase in liberalism, and the realization by individual psychiatrists that there was no credible evidence to prove that homosexuality was a mental illness led the APA to come to the conclusion that homosexuals were just as sane as heterosexuals.<sup>47</sup> Finally, on December 15, 1973, the American Psychiatric Association declared that homosexuality was not a mental disorder, therefore, “‘curing’ us all, instantaneously, en masse, in one fell swoop, by semantics and by vote, instead of by therapy,” as Kameny wrote in a letter to the Mattachine Society.<sup>48</sup> This completely changed the lives of gay men and women. Not only was the government no longer able to use the APA classification as an excuse to discriminate against them, but homosexuals were now able to hold more positive self-images, allowing them to live healthier and happier lives.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> LGBT History Month, "Frank Kameny," LGBT History Month, accessed October 16, 2016, <http://www.lgbthistorymonth.com/frank-kameny?tab=biography>.

<sup>46</sup> Faderman, *The Gay Revolution*, 280- 293.

<sup>47</sup> Hirshman, *Victory: The Triumphant Gay Revolution*, 138- 139.

<sup>48</sup> Franklin E. Kameny, "VICTORY!!!! We have been 'cured'!", The Kameny Papers, December 15, 1973, accessed November 24, 2016, <http://www.kamenypapers.org/correspondence/American%20Psychiatric%20Association%20Letter%2072dpi.jpg>.

<sup>49</sup> Hirshman, *Victory: The Triumphant Gay Revolution*, 138- 139.

Frank Kameny's work in early gay rights focused the movement and established unity, allowing it to progress and establish more equal conditions for the LGBT population. The public demonstrations that he promoted and his determination to improve the self-image of homosexuals made it possible for the Stonewall riots of 1969 and later LGBT protests to take place.<sup>50</sup> The continued activism by Kameny and others have led to more societal acceptance and increased government action to improve life for homosexuals.<sup>51</sup> Kameny and the gay rights movement experienced major victories in 1975, when the U.S. government ended its ban on homosexual employees, and in 1995, when President Bill Clinton barred the federal government from denying security clearances to homosexuals due to their sexual orientation.<sup>52</sup> In 2010, the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" Act, which required gay military members to hide their sexuality, was repealed by President Barack Obama, marking another gain for the homosexual population and for Frank Kameny, who witnessed the moment firsthand (See Appendix C).<sup>53</sup> On June 26, 2015, one of the most celebrated events for the LGBT population occurred when the Supreme Court ruled that gay marriage would be made legal in all U.S. states.<sup>54</sup> Sadly, Kameny was not able to see this triumph, as he died on October 11, 2011, on National Coming Out Day.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> The Stonewall riots are often referred to as a major turning point in the gay rights movement. This event continued Kameny's work in bringing gay rights to public attention and empowering homosexuals to fight against discrimination.

<sup>51</sup> McPartland, "Frank Kameny: From Astronomer to Activist."

<sup>52</sup> Knight-Ridder News Service, "Gays no longer barred from security clearance," *Baltimore Sun*, August 5, 1995, accessed March 24, 2017, [http://articles.baltimoresun.com/1995-08-05/news/1995217006\\_1\\_homosexuals-gays-and-lesbians-federal-employees](http://articles.baltimoresun.com/1995-08-05/news/1995217006_1_homosexuals-gays-and-lesbians-federal-employees).

<sup>53</sup> Sheryl Gay Stolberg, "Obama Signs Away 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell,'" *New York Times*, December 22, 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/23/us/politics/23military.html> (accessed January 29, 2017).

<sup>54</sup> Ariane de Vogue and Jeremy Diamond, "Supreme Court rules in favor of same-sex marriage nationwide," *CNN*, June 27, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/06/26/politics/supreme-court-same-sex-marriage-ruling/> (accessed January 29, 2017).

<sup>55</sup> Gambone, "Kameny, Frank."

Frank Kameny revolutionized gay activism in the United States and improved the lives of all homosexual American citizens, acting as “a trailblazer on the path to equal rights for all.”<sup>56</sup> His stand against the government through the first legal case regarding gay rights made major strides for the gay community and paved the way for later cases to improve employment for homosexuals, eventually leading to the establishment of equal employment based only on merit and disregarding sexual preference.<sup>57</sup> Kameny also recognized the importance of unifying the gay rights movement through confrontational strategies, changing the momentum of the movement and increasing progress.<sup>58</sup> Realizing the importance that the classification of homosexuality had on the movement, society, and homosexuals themselves, Kameny organized activists to change the American Psychiatric Association’s classification of homosexuality as a mental disorder, improving society’s perceptions of gay men and women and allowing for increased future activism.<sup>59</sup> Frank Kameny’s stand against the government and society’s discriminatory views of homosexuality changed the way that homosexuals were treated and viewed by the U.S. government, the public, and themselves. His efforts in early gay activism made it possible for the much improved conditions that the gay population live in today and continue to fuel the ongoing struggle for LGBT rights.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Avril Lighty, “Remembering the Legacy of LGBT Leader Frank Kameny,” CivilRights.org, October 12, 2011, accessed March 27, 2017, <http://www.civilrights.org/archives/2011/10/1254-kameny.html?referrer=https://www.google.com/>. Wade Henderson, the president and CEO of The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, gave this description of Frank Kameny and his legacy in a statement that he made after Kameny’s death.

<sup>57</sup> David K. Johnson, interviewed by Raj Ayyar, January 1, 2004. accessed February 11, 2017, <http://gaytoday.com/interview/010104in.asp>.

<sup>58</sup> Long, *Gay Is Good: The Life and Letters of Gay Rights Pioneer Frank Kameny*.

<sup>59</sup> Dr. Kim Earhart, emailed to author, Conway, AR, May 5, 2017.

<sup>60</sup> Long, *Gay Is Good: The Life and Letters of Gay Rights Pioneer Frank Kameny*.

## Appendix A



Jack Nichols and Frank Kameny lead a group of seven other men and women in the first picket for gay rights in front of the White House in 1965. This public protest would inspire many more and would eventually spread across the East Coast and cause the start of the Annual Reminders, a yearly protest in Philadelphia by members of the homophile movement. These demonstrations were revolutionary and the first time the gay rights movement had dared to directly confront the public, marking the start of a new era in gay rights activism.

Capehart, Jonathan. "Frank Kameny: American Hero," *Washington Post*, Oct. 12, 2011, accessed February 10, 2017. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-partisan/post/frank-kameny-american-hero/2011/03/04/gIQA2DRfL\\_blog.html?utm\\_term=.65ec08be3d28](https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-partisan/post/frank-kameny-american-hero/2011/03/04/gIQA2DRfL_blog.html?utm_term=.65ec08be3d28).

## Appendix B



Frank Kameny is documented along with Barbara Gittings and Dr. John Fryer, disguised as Dr. H. Anonymous, at an American Psychiatric Association conference in 1972, where the three held a discussion on why homosexuality was not a mental disorder. This particular discussion played a major role in convincing the APA to change their label of homosexuality, which they would do only a year later. The APA's decision to change the classification of homosexuality as a mental disorder made a major impact on the gay community, as it changed the negative societal perceptions of homosexuals and allowed them to make further advances in gaining equality to heterosexuals.

Zongker, Brett and Jessica Gresko. "Frank Kameny, 86; activist in D.C. gay rights movement," *Boston Globe*, Oct. 13, 2011, accessed February 20, 2017, [http://archive.boston.com/bostonglobe/obituaries/articles/2011/10/13/frank\\_kameny\\_86\\_activist\\_in\\_dc\\_gay\\_rights\\_movement](http://archive.boston.com/bostonglobe/obituaries/articles/2011/10/13/frank_kameny_86_activist_in_dc_gay_rights_movement).

## Appendix C



Frank Kameny is shown shaking hands with President Barack Obama right after the repeal of the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” Act in 2010. This was a major victory for the homosexual community, showing an increase in acceptance by the government and society, as it allows gay men and women to serve in the military without hiding their sexuality. Frank Kameny was honored at the ceremony as both a veteran and especially a gay rights activist, whose work in previous decades helped make this major victory possible.

CNN Wire Staff. “Gay rights pioneer Kameny dead at 86.” *CNN*, Oct. 11, 2011. Accessed February 12, 2017. <http://www.cnn.com/2011/10/11/living/kameny-obit/>.

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Kirsten Appleton, ABC News journalist, interviewed and wrote an article on Paul Kuntzler, who was at the first picketing of the White House by a homosexual organization. Kuntzler recalls the reactions to the demonstration and how revolutionary it was for the gay rights movement. Appleton's article emphasizes the change that the demonstration in front of the White House made on the movement and society.

Kameny, Frank. "Letter from Frank Kameny to President Lyndon B. Johnson." *The Kameny Papers*. October 23, 1965. Accessed December 30, 2016. <http://www.kamenypapers.com/images/LBJ-10-23-65--1.jpg>.

Frank Kameny, one of the early leaders of the gay rights movement, wrote this letter to President Lyndon B. Johnson on the day of one of the first pickets by members of the Mattachine Society of Washington, D.C.. In the letter, Kameny explained that they were picketing the White House due to the unfair treatment of homosexuals by the government and gave a list of grievances that caused their protest. Kameny eloquently clarifies why the government's treatment of homosexuals was wrong and compares it to the prejudice that other minorities have faced throughout history in order to make it easier for the reader to comprehend the injustice that homosexuals face.

Kameny, Frank. "Kameny, Franklin E.- Papers of John F. Kennedy." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum*. May 15, 1961. Accessed January 29, 2017. <https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKWHCNF-1418-002.aspx>.

"Kameny, Franklin E.- Papers of John F. Kennedy" is a collection of letters written by Frank Kameny to John F. Kennedy and other government officials. The letters revolve around the issue of homosexual employment in the federal government and ask for the help of these high-positioned government leaders. Kameny's letters rationally explain the issues regarding homosexual rights and why the government should begin protecting them, rather than discriminating against them.

Kameny, Frank. "We Throw Down the Gauntlet." *Lecture, Federal Plaza, New York, NY*, August 19, 1969. Accessed October 16, 2016. <http://www.kamenypapers.org/gauntlet.htm>.

“We Throw Down the Gauntlet” is the transcript of a speech that Frank Kameny gave to the U.S. Department of Defense in New York City. In “We Throw Down the Gauntlet”, Kameny defended the right of homosexuals to gain security clearances, just like heterosexuals, and made it clear that the gay activism movement was gaining momentum. Kameny explains the reasons behind the growth of the gay equality movement and his speech contains several powerful statements.

Kameny, Frank, and Barbara Gittings. “Gay, Proud, and Healthy.” The Kameny Papers. Accessed November 25, 2016.  
<http://www.kamenypapers.org/correspondence/gayproudandhealthy.jpg>.

“Gay, Proud, and Healthy” is an essay that was written by Frank Kameny and Barbara Gittings, two gay rights leaders. *Gay, Proud, and Healthy* argues that the American Psychiatric Association’s classification of homosexuality as a mental disorder came from the personal prejudice against homosexuals experienced by psychiatrists, rather than professional experimentation and opinion. Kameny and Gittings’ article clarifies the APA’s reasoning for keeping the classification of homosexuality as a mental disorder, as well as why and how gay rights activists were going to try to change that categorization.

Kameny, Franklin E. “VICTORY!!!! We have been 'cured!'” The Kameny Papers. December 15, 1973. Accessed November 24, 2016.  
<http://www.kamenypapers.org/correspondence/American%20Psychiatric%20Association%20Letter%2072dpi.jpg>.

Frank Kameny wrote this letter to the people that supported his successful trip to the American Psychiatric Association’s meeting in Honolulu, Hawaii. Kameny thanks the people that supported his trip and described how homosexuals had been “cured” by the APA’s new classification of homosexuality as normal, rather than a sickness. Kameny’s letter explains the effects that this new classification would have on the gay population, as well as the exact description of homosexuality by the APA.

Kameny, Franklin Edward. *Petition for a Writ of Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit*. Edited by Charles Francis. Washington, DC: Kameny Papers Project, 1961. Accessed October 16, 2016.  
[https://mattachinesocietywashingtondc.files.wordpress.com/2015/01/kamenypetition\\_for\\_a\\_writ\\_of\\_certiorari\\_d3.pdf](https://mattachinesocietywashingtondc.files.wordpress.com/2015/01/kamenypetition_for_a_writ_of_certiorari_d3.pdf).

*Petition for a Writ of Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit* is a copy of Frank Kameny's petition to the United States Court of Appeals, edited and published by the Kameny Papers Project, an organization that is trying to collect documents and newspaper articles that are connected to the life and work of Frank Kameny. This petition is regarded as the first case relating to homosexuality to have been brought to the Supreme Court, making it a major landmark in LGBT activism. Kameny's petition explains the events leading up to Kameny being fired from his government position and why his sexuality did not constitute enough reason for his dismissal, as well as pointing out that thousands of other homosexuals were also being unfairly discriminated against. Kameny also makes an argument in the petition for why the ban on employing homosexuals within the government should be considered unconstitutional and abolished.

Marcus, Eric. "Episode 05- Frank Kameny." *Making Gay History*. Accessed January 1, 2017. <http://makinggayhistory.com/podcast/episode-1-5/>.

Eric Marcus, author of many nonfiction books about LGBT history and people, created the "Making Gay History" website. This website contains the recording and the transcript of an interview that Marcus conducted with Frank Kameny on June 3, 1989, as well as a short biography and other information on Kameny. The interview that Marcus held with Kameny shows Kameny's own perspective and opinions on the gay rights activism that he was involved with.

McCarthy, Joseph R. "Enemies from Within." Lecture, Women's Republican Club, Wheeling, West Virginia, February 9, 1950. Accessed November 27, 2016. <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6456>.

"Enemies from Within" is a speech that was given by Senator Joseph McCarthy in 1950 in Wheeling, West Virginia. McCarthy declared that Communism and Soviet spies carried a serious threat to the U.S. government, as he claimed that he had a list of 205 (later changed to 57) employees of the State Department that had been members of the Communist Party. McCarthy's speech marked the beginning of an age of "McCarthyism", a time of desperate hunts for Communists and other "loyalty risks" (such as homosexuals) in government, launching both the Red Scare and the Lavender Scare.

U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit. *Franklin Edward Kameny V. Honorable Wilber M. Brucker, Secretary of the Army, Et Al., Appellee*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives Catalog, 1960. Accessed November 13, 2016. <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/28360662>.

The official records regarding Frank Kameny's dismissal from the Army Map Service and his appeal to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit are contained in this Courts of Appeals file. These records describe the circumstances surrounding the termination of Kameny's employment, Kameny's responses as he was questioned, and his reactions to being fired from his job with the Army Map Service. These documents provide an unbiased view on the events surrounding Kameny's dismissal and includes detailed information and arguments from Kameny's case.

### **Secondary Sources:**

Brookhaven National Laboratory. "Frank Kameny." Brookhaven National Laboratory. Accessed November 29, 2016. <https://www.bnl.gov/bera/activities/globe/kameny.htm>.

"Frank Kameny" is a short biography on Frank Kameny that was written by the Brookhaven National Laboratory, a multipurpose research institution funded by the U.S. Department of Energy's Office of Science. The article describes the various roles that Kameny filled during his life, the reasons for his actions, and how they were connected to later LGBT activism. It describes some of the most important events that Kameny was involved with and also contains several excellent quotes.

Capehart, Jonathan. "Frank Kameny: American Hero." *Washington Post*, Oct. 12, 2011. Accessed February 10, 2017. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-partisan/post/frank-kameny-american-hero/2011/03/04/gIQA2DRfL\\_blog.html?utm\\_term=.65ec08be3d28](https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-partisan/post/frank-kameny-american-hero/2011/03/04/gIQA2DRfL_blog.html?utm_term=.65ec08be3d28).

"Frank Kameny: American Hero" was written by Jonathan Capehart, a writer for the *Washington Post*. The article chronicles the major effects that Kameny caused in the gay rights movement as well as directly relating his activism to modern victories for the homosexual community. Capehart's article emphasizes the long-lasting change that Frank Kameny's actions have produced in the United States and also contains several excellent visual sources.

CNN Wire Staff. "Gay rights pioneer Kameny dead at 86." *CNN*, Oct. 11, 2011. Accessed February 12, 2017. <http://www.cnn.com/2011/10/11/living/kameny-obit/>.

The staff of CNN, a prominent news site, wrote "Gay rights pioneer Kameny dead at 86." The article was written shortly after his death and chronicled his life and achievements, noting some of the most important parts of his life in activism. It especially emphasizes how Kameny's work in the early homophile movement made it possible for more recent triumphs in LGBT equality and also provides several pictures.

D'Emilio, John. *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970*. 1983. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

John D’Emilio is a professor of history, women's studies, and gender studies at the University of Illinois at Chicago, and has also written several books, many of which have won awards. *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities* examines the events leading to the rise of gay activism and dispels the common belief that LGBT activism began with the Stonewall riots. D’Emilio reveals the relationships and interactions between the gay rights movement and other civil rights movements, as well as analyzes the various subgroups within the movement.

de Vogue, Ariane and Jeremy Diamond. “Supreme Court rules in favor of same-sex marriage nationwide,” *CNN*, June 27, 2015. <http://www.cnn.com/2015/06/26/politics/supreme-court-same-sex-marriage-ruling/> (accessed January 29, 2017).

CNN reporters Ariane de Vogue and Jeremy Diamond collaborated on “Supreme Court rules in favor of same-sex marriage nationwide.” Their article describes the Supreme Court’s decision and the reactions of the public and government officials. Diamond and de Vogue explain the history leading up to the major event and the impact that it will have.

Earhart, Dr. Kim. Emailed to author. Conway, AR, May 5, 2017.

Dr. Kim Earhart, a professor and the History and Pride Center coordinator at Mt. San Antonio College in California, gave this interview on Frank Kameny and the gay rights movement. In the interview, she explains how Frank Kameny’s actions caused people to recognize homosexuals as people, rather than people suffering from a dangerous sickness, which led to increased activism and rights for the LGBT population. Earhart’s descriptions help the reader understand how Kameny’s actions to improve how homosexuals were viewed led to future LGBT activism, such as the Stonewall riots.

Faderman, Lillian. *The Gay Revolution: The Story of the Struggle*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2015.

Lillian Faderman is an internationally known scholar and author of many lesbian and ethnic histories. In *The Gay Revolution: The Story of the Struggle*, Faderman recounts LGBT history and rights in the U.S. from the 1950s to the current day. Her book describes the events leading up to Frank Kameny’s involvement in the movement, the actions that Kameny took, and the impact that he had on gay rights activism after the height of his own work.

Gambone, Philip. “Kameny, Frank.” *American National Biography Online* (April 2014): 1. Accessed December 22, 2016. <http://www.anb.org/articles/15/15-01354.html>.

Philip Gambone, the author of “Kameny, Frank”, has taught writing at the University of Massachusetts, Boston College, and Harvard College and has also written many fiction and nonfiction books and articles. “Kameny, Frank” is a short biography on the life and work of Frank Kameny. It provides useful insight into the early life and career of Frank Kameny, as well as his activism and legacy that he left.

Hirshman, Linda. *Victory: The Triumphant Gay Revolution*. New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 2012.

Linda Hirshman is the author of multiple books and newspaper articles and is also a professor and lawyer. Her book, *Victory: The Triumphant Gay Revolution*, is a historical account of the struggles and victories in the gay rights movement. It describes the connections and relationships between the gay rights movement and other civil rights movement, as well as the impact that the early movement has made on today’s modern world.

Johnson, David K., interviewed by Raj Ayyar. January 1, 2004. Accessed February 11, 2017. <http://gaytoday.com/interview/010104in.asp>.

Raj Ayyar, a notable LGBT studies professor, journalist, and author, conducted an interview with David K. Johnson, a professor and author, on the topic of the early gay rights movement and the treatment of homosexuals by the government. Johnson covers the effects of the Lavender Scare and Cold War era politicians on the gay community in the United States, as well as how the homosexual population reacted. Ayyar’s interview with Johnson explains the critical role that Frank Kameny played in the early gay rights movement.

Johnson, David K. *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004.

David K. Johnson, an associate professor in the history department at the University of South Florida and author of multiple books, wrote *The Lavender Scare*. *The Lavender Scare* explains the beginnings of the discrimination of gays within government, analyzes the actions of the people involved with politics and activism during this time period, and studies the effects of the Lavender Scare. Johnson’s book describes the conditions of the time period in Washington, D.C. during Kameny’s dismissal from his government job and his subsequent turn to activism, as well as information on Kameny’s Supreme Court case and leadership within various homophile organizations.

Knight-Ridder News Service, “Gays no longer barred from security clearance,” *Baltimore Sun*, August 5, 1995, accessed March 24, 2017, [http://articles.baltimoresun.com/1995-08-05/news/1995217006\\_1\\_homosexuals-gays-and-lesbians-federal-employees](http://articles.baltimoresun.com/1995-08-05/news/1995217006_1_homosexuals-gays-and-lesbians-federal-employees).

The Knight-Ridder News Service was a media company that specialized in newspapers and wrote for the *Baltimore Sun*. “Gays no longer barred from security clearance” describes and explains President Bill Clinton’s decision to sign an executive order to prevent government agencies from denying security clearances to gay men and women based on their sexuality. The article explains this action and the history of discrimination against homosexuals in the government, as well as the rights they gained.

Lighty, Avril. “Remembering the Legacy of LGBT Leader Frank Kameny.” CivilRights.org. October 12, 2011. Accessed March 27, 2017. <http://www.civilrights.org/archives/2011/10/1254-kameny.html?referrer=https://www.google.com/>.

“Remembering the Legacy of LGBT Leader Frank Kameny” was written by Avril Lighty, a writer for CivilRights.org, a project of The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, which is one of the nation’s leading civil and human rights coalitions. The article was published after Frank Kameny’s death in order to commemorate his life and legacy and contains information about the lasting effects that have stemmed from his activism. Lighty’s article also contains many quotes from current gay and human rights activists and leaders, giving insight to how much impact and inspiration Kameny’s work created.

Long, Michael G. *Gay Is Good: The Life and Letters of Gay Rights Pioneer Frank Kameny*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2014.

Michael G. Long, who edited and compiled the letters and documents in *Gay is Good*, is a professor of religious studies and peace and conflict studies, and has also contributed to other historical biographies and made speeches in many notable venues. *Gay is Good* is a compilation of letters and documents concerning Frank Kameny, along with information that summarizes the events and circumstances surrounding the document that follows. Long’s collection of documents provide insight into Kameny’s personal and professional relationships and his role within the gay rights movement.

LGBT History Month. “Frank Kameny.” LGBT History Month. Accessed October 16, 2016. <http://www.lgbthistorymonth.com/frank-kameny?tab=biography>.

The LGBT History Month website contains information on many notable figures and events that have been involved with LGBT activism, including Frank Kameny. Their page on Frank Kameny includes a biography of his life and work in activism, as well as a short video about his accomplishments and a list of other resources and links about Kameny. “Frank Kameny” contains an overview of his main works and accomplishments and the list of resources provides books and websites with even more details and information on Kameny.

McPartland, Mary. “Frank Kameny: From Astronomer to Activist.” The Ultimate History Project. Accessed October 16, 2016. <http://www.ultimatehistoryproject.com/frank-kameny-gay-activist.html>.

“Frank Kameny: From Astronomer to Activist” is a short biography on Frank Kameny was written by Mary McPartland, a historian that received her PhD in history from George Washington University in Washington, D.C. “Frank Kameny: From Astronomer to Activist” emphasizes the importance of Kameny’s activism, especially his work to promote the acceptance of homosexuals in the military and other branches of the government. McPartland’s article explains how Kameny helped pave the way for other LGBT equality activism and how it was connected to the Stonewall riots.

Miller, Neil. *Out of the Past: Gay and Lesbian History from 1869 to the Present*. New York, NY: Alyson Books, 2006.

Neil Miller, professor of journalism at Tufts University and author of five nonfiction books, wrote *Out of the Past: Gay and Lesbian History from 1869 to the Present*. Miller follows the history of the LGBT population from 1869 to the present, recounting everything from the invention of the term “gay” to the modern gay rights movement. The book describes the time period surrounding Kameny’s role in gay activism, as well as Kameny’s involvement with the Mattachine Society of Washington, D.C.

Morris, Bonnie J. “History of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Social Movements.” American Psychological Association. Accessed November 25, 2016.  
<http://www.apa.org/pi/lgbt/resources/history.aspx>.

Bonnie J. Morris, author of this article on LGBT movements, is a women’s history professor and author of fifteen books. Her article examines the history of LGBT movements in both Europe and the U.S. throughout various time periods. “History of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Social Movements” places emphasis on the early activism in the United States and the catalysts for the formation of these movements and homophile organizations.

Rainbow History Project. “*Gay is Good*”: *Gay and Lesbian Organizing in DC, 1961-1975*. Rainbow History Project Digital Collections. Accessed February 11, 2017.  
<http://rainbowhistory.omeka.net/exhibits/show/gayisgood/organizing-nationwide>.

The Rainbow History Project, an organization that is devoted to preserving knowledge of LGBT history and culture in the Washington, D.C. area, collected the information for the “*Gay is Good*”: *Gay and Lesbian Organizing in DC, 1961-1975* collection. The collection contains facts about early gay rights struggles in Washington, D.C., the Mattachine Society, Frank Kameny, and historical context. “*Gay is Good*”: *Gay and Lesbian Organizing in DC, 1961-1975* contains a plethora of information concerning early gay activism in the D.C. area and its connections to the movement in other areas as well as many excellent photographs.

Reft, Ryan. "Sexual Equality: Los Angeles, the Military Industrial Complex, and the Gay Liberation Movement." KCETLink. December 11, 2015. Accessed October 17, 2016. <https://www.kcet.org/departures-columns/sexual-equality-los-angeles-the-military-industrial-complex-and-the-gay>.

Ryan Reft, author of "Sexual Equality: Los Angeles, the Military Industrial Complex, and the Gay Liberation Movement," is a historian at the Library of Congress and his work has appeared in various journals. Reft describes the effects of World War II on the LGBT community and the changes regarding to homosexuals in the military, as well as Frank Kameny's role in those events. This background information on homosexuals in the military help the reader understand why Kameny's actions were necessary and how they changed the previous conditions.

Rogers, Mike, and Charles Francis. "History Must Never Be Erased" (MP3 podcast). April 17, 2015. <https://mattachinesocietywashingtondc.org/2015/04/22/history-must-never-be-erased/> (accessed January 29, 2017).

"History Must Never Be Erased" is a podcast interview between host Mike Rogers and Charles Francis, the president of the new Mattachine Society of Washington, D.C. Rogers and Francis discuss the first picketing of the White House by the Mattachine Society, the culture of the time period, and the events that have led to today's conditions for the LGBT population. The interview emphasizes the impact that Kameny and the picketings had on the gay rights movement and also contains audio clips of interviews with gay rights leaders Frank Kameny and Barbara Gittings.

Stolberg, Sheryl Gay. "Obama Signs Away 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell,'" *New York Times*, December 22, 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/23/us/politics/23military.html> (accessed January 29, 2017).

"Obama Signs Away 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell'" was written by Sheryl Gay Stolberg, the Mid-Atlantic bureau chief for The New York Times. The article describes the events during and surrounding the repeal of the act. Stolberg's article mentions Frank Kameny presence at the repealing of the act and his promotion of homosexual equality within the military.

Zongker, Brett and Jessica Gresko, "Frank Kameny, 86; activist in D.C. gay rights movement," *Boston Globe*, Oct. 13, 2011, accessed February 20, 2017, [http://archive.boston.com/bostonglobe/obituaries/articles/2011/10/13/frank\\_kameny\\_86\\_activist\\_in\\_dc\\_gay\\_rights\\_movement](http://archive.boston.com/bostonglobe/obituaries/articles/2011/10/13/frank_kameny_86_activist_in_dc_gay_rights_movement).

"Frank Kameny, 86; activist in D.C. gay rights movement" was written by Brett Zongker and Jessica Gresko, two journalists for the Boston Globe. Zongker and Gresko's article recalls his life, work in activism, and the progress that he witnessed, as well as the achievements and awards that he garnered due to his hard work. The article describes many of the most important moments of his life and also provides a few pictures.