

Radicalis Indulgentiae

(Radical Indulgence)

An Epistle to the Queer of Spirit on Faeries, Sisters and the Path of Queer Liberation

By Eden LaFae

“The Call goes out to gay brothers everywhere -- poet, Sufi, musician, revolutionary, shaman, heretic, community organizer, farmer, artist, healer, city dweller, Buddhist, dancer, magician, political activist, yogi -- whoever you have become since the last time we came together.

The Call goes out to all who know that there is more to us than hetero-imitation. To all who are ready to move on. To all who have broken through and are ready to share those breakthroughs with your fairy brothers. The gathering is to be called, among other names, “A Spiritual Conference for Radical Fairies.”

~ Don Kilhefner ¹

With these words Don Kilhefner, Harry Hay, John Burnside and others issued an invitation in the spring of 1979 calling on gay brothers everywhere to converge at an ashram in the Sonoran desert of southern Arizona “...to share new insights about ourselves; To dance in the moonlight; ... To hold, protect, nurture and caress one another; To talk about the politics of gay enspiritment/the enspiritment of gay politics; To find the healing place inside our hearts;.. To sing, sing, sing; TO EVOKE A GREAT FAIRY CIRCLE.” ² The event, which took place over Labor Day weekend of 1979, would draw over 200 gay men from across the United States and Canada. Contemporary members of the Radical Faeries ³ have come to regard the event as the symbolic birth of the Radical Faeries and a pivotal moment in the course of queer liberation, with profound implications on both queer politics and queer spirituality.

That same spring, in San Francisco, a small group of gay men chose Easter weekend as a fitting occasion to don gender-defiant ensembles centered around a collection of Roman Catholic nun’s habits, accessorized with toy machine guns,

pom-poms and other elements of silliness and absurdity. Taking aim at the claustrophobic conformity of the “Castro Clone” look and the sense of a growing hetero-normative impulse within San Francisco’s gay community, this band of colorful iconoclasts made a lasting impression. Later appearances of the nuns as cheerleaders at gay softball games and other community events contributed to a growing following for this group of gay “drag nuns.” They themselves also began to see the potential to leverage the camp and theatricality of their budding public personae for higher purposes, both political and spiritual. In the fall of 1979, a few of those original drag nuns heeded the Call sent out to join the gathering of “Fairy brothers” in the Sonoran desert. Upon their return to San Francisco, drawing on the inspiration they felt in their shared experiences at the Arizona gathering, they settled on the name *the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence* and chose in their vows for this new Order of Queer Nuns to dedicate themselves “to promulgating universal joy and expiating stigmatic guilt.”^{4,5}

From their very beginnings, the Radical Faeries (RF)⁶ and the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence (SPI) have shared deep philosophical bonds and found frequent common purpose in their efforts to shape the social, political and spiritual discourse of queer men in North America and beyond. For nearly half a century, Faeries and Sisters⁷ have represented what one might call the “queer wing” of the queer liberation movement, and in doing so, have helped to articulate and nurture a vision of queer male identity that celebrates its “otherness,” seen as manifest in unique and innate gifts of being, perceiving and relating. Together they have also helped define and defend sexual liberation and spirituality as core elements of queer liberation. And while Faeries and Sisters have shared much in common over the last forty-plus years, these two frequently overlapping and cross-pollinating tribes also have their differences. They have found divergent paths of service, disparate modes of relating to the broader community and distinctive models of group organization. Indeed, despite (or perhaps paradoxically because of) the promiscuous intermingling among Sisters and Faeries both tribes have developed their own particular cultures and traditions, to the enrichment of both. In this Epistle to the Queer of Spirit, I seek to explore the complex, dynamic and fecund collaboration of Faeries and Sisters in the shaping of the modern queer liberation movement.

Not Like Other Boys

*“A separate people whose time is at hand.
Out of the mists of our long oppression,
We bring love for ourselves and for each other,
and love for the gifts we bear,
So heavy and so painful the fashioning of them,
So long the road given us to travel to bring them...”*
~ Harry Hay⁸

Faerie pioneer Harry Hay was unambiguous in asserting that gay men were a distinct and different people from the dominant heterosexual culture. In a public life that spanned labor organizing in the 1930s to the co-founding the Mattachine Society in the 1950s to his iconic role as the father of the Radical Faerie movement in the 1970s, Hay remained at the vanguard of “radical” queer thought and activism well into the New Millennium. A cornerstone of his philosophy about gay men was a belief that they were a different gender altogether from heterosexual men, as well as from heterosexual women. As was Hay’s habit, he drew on anecdotes from his youth to illustrate what he saw as gay men’s innate “otherness” or as he put it, their “neitherness.” In the essay, “A Separate People Whose Time Has Come,” he relates a childhood tale of hetero boys who bullied him saying that he threw a ball like a girl. But when he told this to the girls in his class, they were equally emphatic, “No, you don’t throw like a girl. You throw like a sissy.” Years later in a “rap session” in the mid-1970s, the memory of that encounter crystallized Hay’s struggle to find the right language to express “neither masculine nor feminine” and hit upon the very word used with such venom against him: fairy. “We gay folk,” he wrote, may be some combination of both the hetero masculine and the hetero feminine “but mostly we are a *combination of neither*.”

“It is from this spiritual neitherness, evident in our capacity to fly free from historical conformities and prejudices, evident in our capacity to invent, even in the very teeth of nullifying rules and regulations, that our contributions come.

“It is from this spiritual neitherness that we draw our capacities as mediators between the seen and the unseen, as berdache priests and shaman seers; as artists and architects; as scientists, teachers and as designers of the possible – mediators between the make-believe and the real, through theater and music and dance and poetry; mediators between the spirit and the flesh; as teachers and healers and counselors and therapists.”⁹

Playing upon this notion of neitherness, members of the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence from their earliest manifestations embraced a distinctly “genderfuck” appearance, with an explicit intention to challenge the hyper-masculinity so often glorified by gay men in San Francisco in the late 1970s. The era of the Castro Clone was also the heyday of South of Market’s Folsom Street fetish culture. These two centers of queer life in San Francisco both reflected an aesthetic that was distinctly hyper-masculine. And into this dimly lit world of stainless steel and black leather, the Sisters injected an unmistakable jolt of the verboten – a distinctly fae presence, that invoked the iconography of the Roman Catholic nun, writ larger than life in incandescent hues, and scintillating in a gaudy display of sequins and rhinestones, leaving a trail of glitter in their wake. “These days, people find it difficult to imagine, but in the early years, we were hardly a welcome presence in these [leather] bars,” says Sister Lilith of the Valley, who founded the Sisters of Erotic Affirmation, an SPI House in Denver, in 1981, later transferring to the San Francisco Motherhouse in 1987. “Nowadays, it can seem like the Sisters are hosting events in SOMA every weekend and probably are – but in the 80s, leather dress codes were strictly enforced, and drag queens were never admitted. It was the Sisters who more or less forced their way into the Eagle, which was breaking a glass ceiling of sorts. At that time, though, a lot of guys in that milieu were none too happy to see us barging into their hot leather scene.”¹⁰

In their over-the-top makeup and costuming, Sisters hardly call to mind traditional notions of femininity. Indeed, unlike more traditional drag performers, most Sisters, then as now, made no effort to project female “realness.” Rarely did they stuff bras or wear prosthetic breasts. In fact, Sisters tend to exaggerate both ends of the gender spectrum – mixing chiffon veils with leather combat boots, feathered eyelashes and rhinestone “beauty marks” posited against a Castro Clone’s thick dark mustache, often darkened with black mascara to heighten the contrast against the clown-white face paint. In their physical manifestation, the Sisters took Harry Hay’s vision of “neitherness” into the streets, back alleys, sex clubs and backrooms of San Francisco’s gay nightlife, serving in some ways as a corps of shock troops for gender nonconformity.

Leathermen and the sexually adventurous were not the only ones to take exception to the Sisters’ vivid embodiment queer “differentness” in those early

days. Gay men outside the leather scene also looked on the Sisters with dismay, disgust and sometimes anger. For those gay men of a more assimilationist point of view, who argued that “we’re just like you” in the court of mainstream public opinion, the Sisters were anathema. It should be noted that the Sisters and the Leather Community very quickly mended fences, and have worked side by side in an enriching collaboration for decades. Undeterred by cultural approbation within the gay community itself, the Sisters embraced the cheeky slogan “ruining it for everyone since 1979,” and continued to reflect the faerie notion that, in fact, we are *not* just like our heterosexual brethren, but rather that we are heirs to unique gifts and a special calling.

Strange Gardens, Dangerous Fruit

*Come forth, o children,
under the stars,
And take your fill of love!
I am above you and in you.
My ecstasy is in yours.
My joy is to see your joy.*

~ Aleister Crowley ¹¹

Early members of the Radical Faeries spoke forcefully about the unique gifts gay men could discover within themselves and about the specialized roles that those who embraced these gifts could perform within the queer community and in the larger world. One such role was as guardians of sexual liberation within the queer movement, and as advocates for a qualitatively different mode of sexual connection. Hay posited that the dominant heterosexual paradigm of sexuality was inherently objectifying. Hay envisioned Faeries as sexual evangelists espousing a different way of engaging eros in a non-objectifying, non-possessive way. He called this the *subject-subject* consciousness. “...in the world of our gay sensibilities, in the subject-subject consciousness by which we have perceived from as far back as any of us can remember, we have not sought *nor wanted to find* our complementary opposites - we sought instead others *like* ourselves. Subject-subject folk do not seek to possess or to manipulate; instead they seek to share, to slip off the impermeable separations of ego and meld collectively into

the lover, or lovers, perceived as subjects,” Hay wrote.¹² Hay was not blind, however, to the capacity of gay men to objectify each other, and he did not shrink from criticizing this dehumanizing tendency he saw often in gay bars, dance clubs and bathhouses. On balance, though, Hay and other Faeries struck an unmistakably sex-positive tone that celebrated queer sexuality as powerful and transformative. Will Roscoe, a friend and Faerie collaborator with Hay wrote that Hay would refer to gay men’s sexuality as “our gateway to spirit.”¹³ Mark Thompson recalled a ritual at the 1979 Arizona gathering in the desert that centered on “enspirited” erotic sharing.

“That night, about seventy of us gathered by the edge of a large swimming pool. ...a group facilitator...arranged us in groups of six. Any clothes still remaining were dropped to the carpet of sleeping bags and blankets beneath us. Slowly we began to explore each others bodies - arms and feet, faces and backs. No one was too fat or too thin, too perfect or too old. ...the strong moonlight revealed a single body of men laying on hands and mouth to hardened cocks and shining bodies. We were calling forth Hermes, bringer of ecstasy; Luna keeper of the moon.”¹⁴

Early Sisters also took up this call to sexual liberation. In fact, the very essence of the Sisters’ vows to “expiate stigmatic guilt and promulgate universal joy” were a rebuke to moralistic demonizing of the erotic spirit in general, and *queer* erotic spirit in particular. Sisters proclaimed their unapologetic delight in queer eros in myriad ways - starting with their own monikers - from Founding Sister Missionary P. Delight (now known as Sister Soami DeLux) and Charter Sister Homo Fellatio to more recent additions such Sister Flora Good-Thyme and Sister Lolita Me Into Temptation. The poet and filmmaker James Broughton, also known as Sister Sermonetta of the Flying Phallus, expressed a like-minded reverence of queer sexuality as a portal to spiritual realms. “The soul expresses itself throughout the body, in its members, organs, nerves and cells, in all actions of desire, daring and droop, wherever you ache and wherever you soar. Every nook and cranny of yourself can flutter and stretch, exude and hum, in experiencing the pleasures and pains of being alive,” he wrote. “The body is a holy place of romp and renewal... Novalis said, ‘There is only one temple in the world, and that is the human body.’ ...The proper activity in a temple is worship. Open your temple to love. Visit other temples.”¹⁵ As much as the Sisters have

celebrated sexuality and revelled in its capacity to transport gay men to realms of spiritual ecstasy, they have equally borne witness to a far different kind of spiritual awakening also inextricably bound to queer male sexuality in the devastation wrought by HIV/AIDS. As the full horror of the epidemic revealed itself in the early 1980s, the Sisters, alongside their Faerie brothers, felt the full measure of fear, suffering and loss that left few, if any, in San Francisco's queer community untouched. From this deep well of pain and sorrow, Sisters and Faeries rose up to fulfil other unique roles in the evolving story of queer liberation and queer spirituality.

Hierophant, Priestess, Magician, Fool

“Everyone who is destined to have a spiritual transformation comes to the journey with a wound as large as God. ...There are few people who become advanced mystics because they simply feel happy on Sunday afternoons.”

~ Andrew Harvey ¹⁶

A significant theme in the Radical Faerie vision of queer identity centers on gay men as spiritual visionaries, destined to fulfill a critical shamanic role. This is often conceived as a gift blossoming lotus-like from a deep mud of suffering, growing up in a homophobic culture. Author Paul Monette remarked, “ ...gay and lesbian people who have fought through their self-hatred and their self-recriminations have a capacity for empathy that is glorious and a capacity to find laughter in things that is like praising God.” ¹⁷ Mark Thompson touched on this interconnection of trauma and spiritual awakening in describing his experience at the 1979 Faerie gathering in Sonora desert.

“I came to Arizona to accept and to reclaim, to shed the wounds of conformity as the snake drops its skin on the desert sand, to understand that variations in the human species extend past color and form and into modes of perception as well, to learn of the creative potentials still locked within my sexuality.

I came to shake the magic rattle, to roll in the dust, to take apart the pieces and reinvent myself, to be able to finally say, ‘I remember now what I want to become.’” ¹⁸

Mitch Walker, considered alongside Harry Hay, John Burnside and Don Kilhefner, as one of the original pioneers of the Radical Faerie tribe wrote poetically about his vision of these special spiritual gifts in *Visionary Love: A Spirit Book of Gay Mythology*. He describes a powerful gay spirit-force which he calls ROIKA, describing it as "...the non rational, nonlinear spirit-essence lying at the source of our gayness."¹⁹ He also describes a related concept which he names LOKA . He writes,

"It's possible for a person to create an identity from within, to find their own truths and to build ontological security based on their own myths. This is a true-self identity, as contrasted with false-self. There is a spirit-essence that underlies and guides the development of true-self, which I have named LOKA. ...This LOKA is the golden magickal starpoint, the hub of the inner spirit world, and all the kosmos as well, what the mystic Ramana Maharshi called 'the very core of one's being, the Center, without which there is nothing whatever.'"²⁰

This concept of LOKA could well describe the process through which many Sisters find their spiritual identity - the essential calling that animates their Sister ministry. A central challenge in the Sisters' process of initiation, beyond the not insignificant task of navigating the interpersonal politics of over a hundred strong and eccentric personalities, lies in the discovery of a Sisterly calling, that is at once intimately authentic and in keeping with the broader philosophy of the entire Order. It is no coincidence that many initiates come to SPI at midlife - a time when so many ponder existential questions and seek to re-examine the most fundamental understandings of identity and purpose. In working through these questions, Sisters bring the fruits of that self-discovery, this discovery of "true-self," to bear in pastoral encounters with other queer community members who themselves may be struggling to find their own unique spiritual gifts and identity.

Both the Faeries and the Sisters have a rich history of this process of developing a personal mythology in the service of finding one's own "true-self" identity. For many, the formation of a separate Faerie identity, like the process of developing a Sister persona, is a way of expressing something unique, essential and true about the person you have discovered yourself to be, or the person you have discovered yourself to be becoming. Harry Hay described this process of

self-discovery at the outset of the 1979 gathering in Arizona as resolving “to tear off the ugly green frog-skin of Hetero-male imitation in which we had wrapped ourselves in order to get through school with a full set of teeth to reveal the beautiful Fairy Prince hidden beneath.”²¹ The development of a Sister persona, which beyond selecting a new name, also often involves identifying symbols and personal mythologies that model these Faerie notions of ROIKA and LOKA. Sister Lilith of the Valley adopts the symbol of the crown to honor queer Queens of the past who survived abuse and harassment inflicted on them for their resistance to gender-conformity. Sr Lilith says the symbol represents to her the nobility of service and a dedication to leadership within the Order and the greater community.²² Sister Shelby Redeemed chose in her name to speak directly to the notion of one’s capacity to reinvent oneself, as well as the ability to overcome one’s challenges.²³ Sister Soami invokes symbolism with her accessories – often wearing white plastic heart-shaped sunglasses, a reminder to see others with the heart – plus they also just look very silly.²⁴

Midwives for the Dying

“Sometimes death feels as close as the walls in this room.”
~ attributed to Graham Greene, by Paul Monette²⁵

No where have the spiritual gifts of Sisters and Faeries been to be put to greater test than in the crucible of the HIV holocaust that engulfed the lives of queer men in 1980s and 1990s, particularly in San Francisco. In an interview in the early 1990s at the height of the AIDS epidemic, author Andrew Ramer spoke to one of the quintessential spiritual roles gay men have embraced in wake of this disease. For him, they have taken on the role of “Midwives for the Dying,” as they have assisted friends and lovers in their final days and hours. “In my mythological vision of how the world is... women are the midwives of birth, and men are the midwives of death. ...it’s been left to gay men to be the guardians of death, who now stand at that door. Because we live between genders, we also live between matter and spirit, between this world and the next. In a very ancient way, we have the capacity to sit with someone when they are dying and shepherd them across. AIDS is especially awakening this memory in us.”²⁶

Without a doubt, few things have had as profound an impact on the development of the Sisters as spiritual intermediaries and a pastoral presence within the queer community as HIV/AIDS. From the beginning, the connection was visceral and real. From Sister Florence Nightmare, also known as Bobby Campbell, who was noted in Randy Shilts' seminal account of AIDS epidemic, *And The Band Played On*,²⁷ as “the posterboy for gay cancer,” to Sister X-Plosion who insisted that the Sisters carry her AIDS-ravaged body in an open casket through the streets of the Castro after her death to protest government neglect of the AIDS epidemic, the Sisters left an indelible mark on the history of AIDS in San Francisco. As a crisis that demanded not just spiritual succor but political savvy and a knack for dramatic displays of street-theatre activism, AIDS challenged the Sisters to embody the interconnectedness of the political, the personal and the spiritual, a notion which had long rested at the foundation of the Radical Faerie development as well.

Many Paths, One Direction

*Between friends, differences in taste or opinion
are irritating in direct proportion
to their triviality.*

~ W. H. Auden²⁸

The Sisters and the Radical Faeries share a long history of engagement in the on-going discourse of queer liberation and queer spirituality. Both grew out of existential questions taken up as early as the first gatherings of Harry Hay's Mattachine Society in Los Angeles in 1950. “Who are we gay people? Where do we come from?... Where have we been? What are we for?”²⁹ As both groups have reflected upon and debated these questions, they have enormously enriched the broader community conversation, not only with words, but also in actions. In the process, they have evolved divergent ways of exploring these questions and different mechanisms for fulfilling a mission of service to the queer community. While always, in the end, brothers in spirit, there have also been, as in any family, moments of misunderstanding and conflict resulting in part from these differences.

The very notions of what constitutes group membership provides a telling point of departure between Faeries and the Sisters. Group affiliation within the Faeries has more to do with an individual sense of belonging. It would be a gross exaggeration to suggest that Faerie group affiliation means that if you feel like you are a Faerie and show up to a Faerie event, then you are, automatically - “*presto, ala kazam!*” - a Faerie. But in comparison with the highly formalized process required for fully professed membership as a Sister of Perpetual Indulgence, the Faeries embrace a more subjective and loose concept of group membership. Differences in traditions related to group affiliation point to broader differences in the *modus operandi* of the two groups. Faeries embrace their work in a more process-focused way that places greater emphasis on bottom-up, consensus-based decision making. Moreover, Faeries bring an approach to self-governance and event organizing that is less formal and linear, and more flexible, diffuse, intuitive and spontaneous.

By contrast, the Sisters have developed highly formalized processes of initiation, self-governance and organizational expansion. The Sisters employ a majority-rule based decision-making process with far greater frequency, and bring a more linear and rational approach to organizing events and actions. Finally, the two groups also differ in the general locus of their energies with the Faeries exhibiting a greater internal focus in service to their fellow Faeries. Faeries have excelled in creating magickal, restorative oases of queerdom - rightly called “sanctuaries,” where Faerie-identified individuals could come together in a communal, cooperative living environment of like-minded souls. While Sisters take vows that include service to their fellow Sisters and the Order, they place far greater focus on service to the community beyond the ranks of SPI. If the Faeries provide a critical safe space for respite, renewal and regeneration, the Sisters in many ways take Faerie-centered notions of non-conformity and queer spiritual enlightenment out into the world as prophets of queer liberation and apostles of indulgent joy.

Idle Hams Are the Devil’s Porkchop

*Comrades come forth
Hurdle the taboos
Joy will be the wonder
Love, the surprise...*

~ James Broughton
(*Sister Sermonetta of the Flying Phallus*)

Any generalizations regarding the Radical Faeries and the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence and their disparate traditions and contributions to the broader discourse on queer consciousness should be considered with a keen appreciation of the profound and pervasive interconnections between the two groups. As noted earlier, several early Sisters took part in the symbolic birth of the Radical Faerie development in the Sonora desert in 1979. And in turn, that experience further energized and propelled the SPI movement forward. Since the Sisters' first manifestation at Easter weekend of 1979, there has always been a significant contingent within SPI that has also identified as Radical Faeries. Similarly, the Radical Faeries have long embraced the Sisters as their own, both as longtime residents within their permanent Sanctuaries; and in countless Faerie gatherings throughout the nation and abroad.

As both the Sisters and Faeries look ahead to the 50th Anniversary of their respective, uniquely queer and fabulous explosions into the consciousness of the queer movement in 1979, both groups have much to celebrate -- if for no other reason than simple survival through the dark years of the plague that claimed the lives of so many Sisters and Faerie brothers. Survival, however, demands that contemporary Sisters and Faeries prove themselves to be worthy heirs of these two historic movements that have shaped the modern queer movement. As two groups that embrace the incongruity of being both highly individualistic collectives and highly collective individualists, the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence and Radical Faeries hold the rare and strange honor of speaking on behalf of a diverse body of eccentric visionaries as we continue to shape the course of queer liberation and spirituality in the new millennium. In doing so, they should not lose sight of the abiding value of love that unites all. "It is not enough to get it up, get it on, and get it over with," proclaimed James Broughton. "In the urgency of our present situation we should look toward connecting imaginatively with the souls of our brothers. How else will we become soul brothers? This does not mean denying sexuality. On the contrary, sexualized feeling as a creative force is a great drive for the flourishing of the spirit. We need lovingness in all our relationships. Love can take sexual drive on a glory ride to the soaring heavens." So mote it be.

When in doubt, twirl!
~James Broughton/Sister Sermonetta

Notes

¹ Kilhefner, D. "A Call to Gay Brothers" in *Radically Gay: Gay Liberation in the Words of its Found, Harry Hay*, Will Roscoe, editor. Boston: Beacon, 1996.

² Ibid.

³ Some of the first written materials related to the Radical Faeries used the more contemporary spelling "fairy" but after 1979 Harry Hay and other early RF forebearers adopted the more archaic spelling "faerie," which remains the more preferred spelling among the contemporary RF community.

⁴ Sister Vish-Knew, Personal Communication, San Francisco, CA, 8 December 2013

⁵ Sister Vish-Knew (formerly Sister Vicious Power Hungry Bitch), was one of the four founding members of the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence.

⁶ Radical Faeries founder Harry Hay explicitly rejected the term "movement" and preferred instead to refer to Radical Faeries as a "development" or "a process for self-development, growth and change; a way of being and becoming."

⁷ For purposes of this piece, "Faeries" will refer collectively to men who have embraced a Radical Faerie identity in the years following the Labor Day 1979 gathering in southern Arizona; and "Sisters" will refer to the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence (SPI), particularly the founding San Francisco Motherhouse of SPI, unless otherwise specified.

⁸ Hay, H. "A Separate People Whose Time Has Come," in *Gay Spirit: Myth and Meaning*, Mark Thompson, editor. New York: St. Martin, 1987.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Sister Lilith of the Valley of the Shadow of Death, Personal Communication, San Francisco, CA, 1 November 2013.

¹¹ Crowley, A. As quoted in "The Gay Tide: A Brief History of Faeries," in *Gay Spirit: Myth and Meaning*, Mark Thompson, editor. New York: St. Martin, 1987.

¹² Hay, H. "A Separate People Whose Time Has Come," in *Gay Spirit: Myth and Meaning*, Mark Thompson, editor. New York: Martin, 1987.

¹³ Roscoe, W. "A Call to Gay Brothers" in *Radically Gay: Gay Liberation in the Words of its Found, Harry Hay*. Boston: Beacon, 1996.

¹⁴ Thompson, M. "This Gay Tribe: A Brief History of the Fairies," in *Gay Soul: Finding the Heart of Gay Spirit and Nature*, Mark Thompson, editor, New York: HarperCollins, 1995.

¹⁵ Broughton, J. "Gaiety of the Soul" in *Gay Soul: Finding the Heart of Gay Spirit and Nature*, Mark Thompson, editor, New York: HarperCollins, 1995.

¹⁶ Harvey, A. "Rebirth Through the Wound," in *Gay Soul: Finding the Heart of Gay Spirit and Nature*, Mark Thompson, editor, New York: HarperCollins, 1995.

¹⁷ Monette, P. "On Becoming," in *Gay Soul: Finding the Heart of Gay Spirit and Nature*, Mark Thompson, editor, New York: HarperCollins, 1995.

¹⁸ Thompson, M. "This Gay Tribe: A Brief History of the Fairies," in *Gay Soul: Finding the Heart of Gay Spirit and Nature*, Mark Thompson, editor, New York: HarperCollins, 1995.

¹⁹ Walker, M. "Visionary Love: the Magickal Gay Spirit-Power," in *Gay Spirit: Myth and Meaning*, Mark Thompson, editor. New York: Martin, 1987.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Hay, H. "Toward the new Frontiers of Fairy Vision," in *Radically Gay: Gay Liberation in the Words of its Found*, Harry Hay, Will Roscoe, editor. Boston: Beacon, 1996.

²² Sister Lilith of the Valley of the Shadow of Death, Personal Communication, San Francisco, CA, 1 November 2013.

²³ Sister Shelby Redeemed, Personal Communication, San Francisco, CA, 1 November 2013

²⁴ Sister Soami DeLux,, Personal Communication, San Francisco, CA, 22 June 2013

²⁵ Graham Greene, as quoted by Paul Monette in "On Becoming," in *Gay Soul: Finding the Heart of Gay Spirit and Nature*, Mark Thompson, editor, New York: HarperCollins, 1995.

²⁶ Ramer, A. "Tribal Wisdom," in *Gay Soul: Finding the Heart of Gay Spirit and Nature*, Mark Thompson, editor, New York: HarperCollins, 1995.

²⁷ Randy Shilts, *And The Band Played On*. New York: Martin, 1987.

²⁸ Auden, W.H. Web. 13 December 2013. <http://www.searchquotes.com/W_H_Auden/Friends/quotes/>

²⁹ Hay, H. "A Separate People Whose Time Has Come," in *Gay Spirit: Myth and Meaning*, Mark Thompson, editor. New York: Martin, 1987.