

Children of the Satyrs: Naming Patterns Of Leather and Levi Clubs

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The organizational names selected by members of the networks of social clubs organized since 1954 by gay and lesbian practitioners of leathersex have received little attention from social science researchers. Their origins are reviewed and relationships to mainstream and subcultural norms explored.

The choice of name made by the founders of any organization reflects both the priorities of their purposes and the limits set by the era in which they live. This is particularly true for social organizations in minority communities, where identification with and solidarity in support of a shared set of political and cultural ideals against a dominant order is expected and reinforced through rituals and customs, often codified in formal bylaws or statements of purpose. The present research explores the naming patterns of the social clubs founded by members of the gay and lesbian communities whose modes of sexual expression are grouped under the collective label "leather/levi/biker," a description based upon the choice of blue denim and black leather as dominant elements of public dress, a combination originally rooted in practical clothing worn by motorcycle riders to prevent windburn. The chronological period of naming in the alternative world is post-1954, the founding date of the first such club known, the *Satyrs* of Los Angeles. The aim of this research is to assess the roles played by these groups in the lives of their members and the construction of a gay and lesbian culture by analyzing the onomastic patterns of meaning underlying the selection of names. Prior to this study, the orientation of most research on language construction and usage within the gay and lesbian communities has been

on examining either the then-current and historical range of subculture slang drawn from male and female homosexual populations or the deliberate public punning of camp humor (e.g., Leonard Ashley's work in the late 1970s). Examination of the naming patterns of organizations and entities within this subculture has thus far been limited to a single previous study by the author which focused on the names of the gay and lesbian press (Ridinger 1995).

Data on the names of the clubs was obtained from several sources: contact listings published in *The Leather Journal*, a monthly periodical devoted to reporting news of the club scene since its first issue in May 1987; coverage of the leather communities published in the oldest national gay and lesbian news magazine, *The ADVOCATE*, founded in 1967; the gay and lesbian newspapers of record published in major American cities, such as Chicago's *Gay Life* and the *Washington Blade*; the available but scant literature of social scientific investigation dealing with this subgroup of the homosexual community (e.g., Hopper and Moore 1983); and interviews with senior members of such regional bodies as the Mid America Conference and the Texas Conference of Clubs. Important contemporary information was also obtained through an analysis of the club and conference newsletter collection of the Leather Archives and Museum in Chicago.

This study draws upon the work of M.A.K. Halliday, especially upon Halliday's concept of an "anti-language" whose formulation and use "creates an alternative reality.... The cornerstone of the new reality is a new social structure." (1976, 575). In an anti-language, "metaphorical modes of expression are the norm (1976, 579), a clear description of much of the imagery chosen by leather and levi clubs, whose social structure fits the definition of an alternative culture or "anti-society." Almost from the beginning, the leather/levi/biker community sought to create structures which would unify it against pressures from within and outside the homosexual community. This trend culminated in the formation of city or regional conferences of clubs, set up originally to coordinate scheduling of functions and biker runs. The oldest of these is the Atlantic Motorcycle Coordinating Council, founded in 1969. While onomastic scholarship has explored a variety of linguistic patterns exhibited by the gay and lesbian communities (e.g., Ashley 1979; 1980; 1982; 1986), the focus of this research has been primarily on language use by individuals, not organizations.

From the sources mentioned above a number of categories with coherent patterns of meaning were found. These include mythology and classical, religion (Christian and pagan), local identification, the military, nature, metals and industry, popular culture and language. A final, miscellaneous, grouping was necessary as is usual in studies of this kind. A complete listing of the categories and names is given in the appendix.

Mythology and Classical

The earliest theme evident in the naming of the clubs is that of mythology, beginning with the first levi and leather gay biker club, the *Satyrs* of Los Angeles, in 1954. Its founding inaugurated all subsequent club organizing activity in the United States, thus the significance of the choice. In classical Greece, the satyrs were the hybrid half human, half horse companions of Dionysos, with rough pelts, tails and horns, renowned for their lechery and licentiousness. By choosing this term, the founders preempted one of the stereotypes of homosexuals prevalent in the 1950s, namely that such people had no control over their sexual drives and were driven to molest children and recruit the innocent. This theme of openly sexual beings proudly and defiantly stating their natures publicly appears again with the *Centaur MC* of Washington, D.C. The mythic quest theme also appears with the *Argonauts* of Green Bay carrying on the idea of a select group on an adventurous journey. Tragic heroes such as *Prometheus* and the blinded king of Thebes, Oedipus (*Oedipus MC*), speak to the cost of the individual struggle for integrity, identity and love. The ancient city of Thebes, where Oedipus's tragedy was played out, gave its name to the *Thebans* of Miami, while the enigmatic god of Delphi found new adherents in Phoenix with the *Sons of Apollo*. The ancient foe of the city of Athens is also represented by the *Spartan MC*.

Roman mythology's contribution as source of imagery is also evident in the use of the names of specific divine figures from the Roman pantheon such as appear in *Vulcan Levi and Leather* of Columbus, Ohio; Cincinnati's *Temple of Hecate*, and *Baccus-Detroit*. The Massachusetts women's club *Urania* takes its name from Plato's goddess of same-sex love, Aphrodite Urania. San Francisco's *Society of Janus* expresses the dual nature of human sexuality through taking the name of the ancient god with two faces, one gazing to the past while the other

looks toward the future. A similar theme of duality, although within a same-sex model, is the *Gemini*. The semi-mythical power of the Roman legions is present as well through the inclusion of one of the *Centurions*, while Petronius' racy epic commentary on sex and social mores was given modern incarnation with *The Satyricons* of Las Vegas.

Mythical creatures present as elements of club heraldry are the gryphon (*Gryphons MC* of Dayton, Ohio and, in a variant spelling, *Griffins MC* of Wilmington, Delaware), the winged horse of Bellerophon (*Pegasus MC*), the dragon (as in *Dragons LLC* [Leather and Levi Club] of Atlanta) and the unicorn, famed for its association with sexuality, as in the *Unicorns* of Madison, Wisconsin and *Unicorn MC* of Cleveland, Ohio. The fabled drowned land described by Plato resurfaces in Georgia's largest city as *Atlantis MC*, while *Tartarus*, the dark region beneath Hades which served as the prison of the Titans who had defied the gods, found new life along the Mississippi in St. Louis. British mythology about the world of the fairies is drawn upon by the *Oberons* of Milwaukee.

Perhaps the most unusual use of a mythological object is found in the name of an international association founded in Montreal in February 1973. In an effort to salvage imagery from a closed local bar, the Neptune, the founders chose to utilize the three-pronged spear of the lord of the oceans as their symbol. By 1994, the red and black logo of *Trident International* was established in cities as varied as Chicago, Washington, Houston, Los Angeles, New York and Providence. An unrelated but similar use of the symbol is found in *Trident Knights* of Charleston, South Carolina, although here the reference is to a group of three cities.

Religion

Christian and non-Christian belief systems have served as sources of images for the clubs. The predominant thread drawn from Christian iconography is that of the denizens of Hell, formerly divine spirits who rose in rebellion and were cast down from Paradise into perpetual exile. Names such as the *Fallen Angels*, *Lost Angels* and *Sons of Satan* mark an appropriation of mainstream symbols in the tradition established by the *Satyrs*. This theme is also inverted to convey a sense of close-knit fellowship and mutual support, as in *Trusted Servants*. Eastern Orthodox Christianity occurs in *Icon* of Detroit, while Roman Catholicism's

numerous organizations of female religious are mirrored by the *Sisters of the Rose*.

Similarly powerful is the theme of the leather world as a place where unrepentant denizens are destined for eternal punishment and damnation, at least in the view of heterosexual culture. This is perhaps best exemplified in the name of the *Chicago Hellfire Club*, founded in 1971. That year also marked the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the suppression of three infamous associations, so described in London in 1721. In the English of the day, the term "Hell Fire Club" was applied to "clubs consisting of reckless and unscrupulous men and women" (Barnhart 1967, 553). The Chicago case is thus an instance where a name incorporated elements from both religion and history to convey a very specific atmosphere of freedom, abandon and challenge to mores of the majority culture as well as to formally proclaim the status of damnation.

The most ancient of all non-Western religious terms and symbols found in the survey were used by the *Atons* of Minneapolis, who chose the name given to the sun disk by the rebel monotheistic pharaoh Akhnaten in the fourteenth century B.C., and the *ankh*, the looped cross symbol of life, for their heraldry. Another belief central to ancient Egyptian religion appears in Florida's *Cosmic Order of Ka*, the ka being approximately equivalent to the Christian soul. An equally ancient (if somewhat more amorphous) concept from Hinduism appears in the name of the Los Angeles group *Avatar*, although the referent used was "the first letter of the Sanskrit alphabet" ("Avatar" 1987, 16).

Local Identification

Prominent features of the local and natural environments form elements of several names, including the *Grand Rapids Rivermen*, Denver's *Rocky Mountaineers*, Utah's *Wasatch Leathermen*, the *Smokey Mountain Bears*, *Three Rivers MC* of Pittsburgh, Albuquerque's *Sandia Leathermen* (named for the mountain which overlooks the city) and the *Desert Leathermen* of Tucson. Prominent features of local economies also are reflected in such names as the *Harbormasters* of Boston and the *Shipmates* of Baltimore.

Given the penchant for and love of outrageous linguistic play within the gay and lesbian communities (known as "camping"), it is not surprising to find the widespread use of local nicknames as an element

in club naming. A notable feature of this practice is that it appears to have been more widely used in the Midwest than elsewhere in the United States, where many groups simply adopted an accepted name of their town or city. Examples are *Second City* of Chicago (preserving a condescending name given to their city in relation to New York at the time of the club's founding in 1965), the *Beer Town Badgers* of Milwaukee (based on the local prominence of the brewing industry), *Glass City Champions* (reflecting the historical association of glass manufacturing with Toledo, Ohio), *Tower City Corps* of Cleveland (a reference to Terminal Tower, a prominent feature of the cityscape and until recently the highest structure in the central business district), the *Mall City Cruisers* of Kalamazoo, Michigan (where the first strip shopping mall in the United States was constructed), and *Motorcity Men of Leather* in Detroit. The *Chicago MOB* 'men of brotherhood' drew its name from the city's notorious gangster era of the 1930s and reflected it in the design of the organization's formal colors which feature a tommy gun above the silhouette of lakefront towers. *Gateway MC* of St. Louis is a reference to a description of this city as "the Gateway to the West" by Thomas Jefferson, set into physical form with the construction of Eero Saarinen's famous Gateway Arch which has come to symbolize the city. *Circle City* of Indianapolis takes its name from Monument Circle, the center of the city's grid of streets. New York's *Empire City MC*, the *Cowtown Leathermen* of Fort Worth, the *Tidewater Bears* of Virginia and the *Music City Bears* of Nashville indicate that the practice was not limited to the central region of the country. State and national nicknames are less widely used, examples being the *Copperstate Leathermen Association* of Arizona and *The Last Frontier* of Anchorage, Alaska. The *Ozbears* drew upon the name of their homeland, Australia. (*Bears* is a frequent generic, considered further under "Nature," below.)

The Military

The myth that military groups possess special expertise in creating organizations characterized by overtones of ultramasculine identity has been part of Western culture since the time of Sumeria. Debate over contemporary exclusionary policies of the armed forces of the United States has illuminated a history of hostility toward openly gay people. Thus, the use of military terminology can be seen as both a borrowing of the trappings of a system which had no place for homosexuals and as

an adoption of established images of authority. The oldest example comes from the army of ancient Rome, where the soldiers in charge of one hundred men were termed the *Centurions*, a name revived in Columbus, Ohio. Traditional terms likewise appear in the *Pocono Warriors* and *Warriors MC*, San Francisco's *Golden Gate Guards*, the *Black Guard* of St. Paul, the *Levi/Leather Brigade* of South Carolina, the *Battalion MC* of Dallas, and the *Leather Corps*. An infamous auxiliary police force used by the British against Irish nationalists in 1920-1921 is the source of the name for the *Regiment of the Black and Tans*. A phrase originally military which has become widely applied in organizational research, *Chain of Command*, appears *per se* in San Antonio and in *C.O.M.M.A.N.D (Corps of Men Making A Noticeable Difference)* of Baltimore which combines the burdens of authority with social service to the gay and lesbian communities.

The image of knighthood has long been a cultural icon of honor, service and integrity, utilized by many mainstream social organizations and fraternal orders such as the Knights of Columbus. This figure appears with the clubs as well, with the *Chicago Knight* [sic] *MC*, the *Valley Knights* of Sacramento, Cleveland's *North Coast Knights* and the *Leather Knights* of Boston. The theme of an independent existence successfully maintained against great odds is most clearly expressed by the various chapters of the *Knights of Malta* in Oregon, Washington and Nevada as well as along the California coast. Perhaps the most explicit statement of the belief that gays and lesbians were entitled to the full civil privileges and legal protections accorded all citizens is seen in the *Knights of the Second Liberty*, a reference to the freedom of speech guaranteed in the Bill of Rights of the Constitution and a challenge to the silence of American society on the subject of homosexuality. The famous medieval order of the *Knights Templar*, abolished by Pope Clement V in 1312 on a multitude of charges, among them heresy and homosexual behavior, was reborn to honor in San Francisco. Another famous order comes from Louisiana, the *Knights d'Orleans*, while the royal house of the *Pendragons* of the Arthurian tales found new roots in Birmingham, Alabama. Perhaps the most famous symbol of knighthood, the sword of King Arthur, was claimed in Cleveland by *Excalibur*, bridging the categories of knighthood and weaponry.

Weapons as a source of name imagery is found with the *Saber MC* of Fort Lauderdale, the *Sabres of Artemis* and Toronto's *Spearhead*. A

firearm familiar to many Americans from history as well as television programs and films set in the nineteenth century frontier West is represented by the *Colt 45's*. Even military decorations have been drawn upon, as witness the use of the famous World War I German medal for valor by the *Blue Max* of Los Angeles and St. Louis. In an ironic cultural reversal, the *Iron Cross*, Germany's highest award for combat valor, lends its name to an organization in Montreal, a city proud of and celebrated for its French heritage.

Over the four decades considered in this study, there was little use of clearly historical referents as naming elements, but when present, they marked a consistent theme of selecting famous warrior groups or individuals from several eras, including the Middle Ages (represented by the *Minnesota Norsemen*, the *Norsemen* and *Vikings MC*), the Age of Discovery (*Conquistadors*), imperial Russia (*Chicago Cossacks*) and the period of westward expansion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, best illustrated by the *Blackhawk MC* of Rock Island, Illinois, whose name is taken from the famous Sauk warrior who refused to surrender tamely to the advancing forces of the United States.

Nature

The image of flame, long a metaphor for the human spirit, courage and indomitability, preserved as a necessity for survival, is millennia old. One of its most famous historic shrines, the Temple of Vesta in Rome, where a sacred fire was tended lest the security of the city be threatened, is recalled in the *Fire Keepers* of Mishawaka, Indiana. A variation on the image is the combination of the color of leather with the phenomenon, an example being *Black Fire*. In the *Firedancers* of Dallas, yet another practice ancient in human history is recalled, public performance of ritual with a fire as focus. The most unusual name in this group draws upon both Greek and Russian mythological birds for the *Firebirds* of Milwaukee and the *Firebird Society of Phoenix*.

The use of wild creatures as sources of symbol and metaphor is a tradition also millennia old; thus, it is not surprising to find examples of this practice here. Among the familiar birds and animals are the eagle (*Aquila MC* and *California Eagles MC*), the unbroken wild horse (*Ohio Broncos* and *Stallions*, both of Cleveland, the *San Antonio Mustangs* and the *Hartford Colts*), wolves (*Wolf Pack* and *Tri State Wolf Pack*), the lion (*Lion's Roar* and Boise's *Lion Regiment*), the tiger (*Iron Tigers MC*),

the wildcat (*Wildcats* of Norfolk, Virginia) and the endangered southern panther (*Panther L/L* of Atlanta), mountain sheep (*Rochester Rams*), the wild duck (*Boston Ducks*), the falcon (*Falcon MC* of Kansas City) and the raven (*Long Island Ravens*). Marine life is represented by the *Stingray MC* of Fort Lauderdale and Corpus Christi's *Silver Dolphins*. A deft combination of fauna with a stereotyped perception of gay social life best exemplified in the popular phrase "they only come out at night" is also found in the Worcester, Massachusetts *Nightcrawlers*. In the late 1980s, a movement emerged within the gay and lesbian communities celebrating men who were exceptionally hairy and/or bearded, who were termed "bears." This led to the appearance of a large number of clubs whose names contained references to this creature. Examples of typical naming patterns in this subgenre include *Great Lakes Bears*, the *Front Range Bears* of Denver, Missouri's *Show Me Bears* and *Ursus* of Dayton, Ohio. The prize for rhyme, however, must be awarded to *Hirsute Pursuit* of Wichita.

Metals and Industry

A distinctive pattern is the use of specific metals in club names, all representing products of modern technology. Iron, steel and silver are the most frequently used (*Iron Cross*, *Iron Tigers* and *Knights On Iron*, the *Steel Barons* of Pittsburgh and the *Silver Spurs* of Dallas), with steel processing technology appearing as well in *Crucible MC* of Pittsburgh. Other industrial terminology is present as a minor pattern, with the *Sundance Cattle Company* of Dallas and *Portland Power and Trust*. (The latter is a conspicuous pun playing on the name of a public utility and reflecting on the bonds of trust formed by power exchanges between individuals as part of the rituals of leathersex.)

Popular Culture

Most of the terms drawn from popular culture used in the names of leather organizations reflect ideal images of masculinity so widely disseminated as to be immediately recognizable. Examples are the use of the mystique surrounding the American cowboy by the *Rodeo Riders* of Chicago and the numerous uses of the phrase "motorcycle club" in the names of groups, again beginning with the *Satyrs* in 1954. This latter represents the use of an artifact as symbol of power and a re-emphasis of the distinct identity claimed by the leather community. A distinctive

combination of regional history with a vehicle widely known in popular mythology is seen in *Spirit of St. Louis*.

The image of the motorcyclist, dressed in leather against windburn and free to roam the roads of America, was made an icon of modern American culture in the film *Easy Rider*, as well as through publicity of various heterosexual organizations such as the notorious *Hell's Angels*. Names from the survey stress the element of independence, as in the *Open Road Riders of Chicagoland*, the *Texas Riders*, *Border Riders* of Vancouver, *Road Riders MC* of Corpus Christi and Chicago's *Lake-riders*.

Language

Deliberate use of puns was not a widespread phenomenon in the choice of an official name, exceptions being *Female Trouble*, *Bottoms Up*, *Moving Violations* and the *Tulsa Knight Owls*. Perhaps the most inventive uses of local placenames as puns come from the *Cin City Cycle Club*, headquartered in Cincinnati, the *OMEN* of Omaha, Nebraska and *WIL Power* of Dallas, where the initials stand for "women in leather." An inventive use of humorous rhyme is also seen in the Iowa bears club *Hirsute Pursuit*, mentioned above, while the seventeenth-century English term for wreckers who led unsuspecting ships to ruin resurfaced with the *Moocussers*.

While the overwhelming majority of names in the sample are English, a few borrowings from other languages are also present. *Somandros*, Los Angeles' first gay SM club, founded in 1982, took its name from a combination of Greek words meaning 'body of men'. *Omikron* of Indianapolis chose as its name the fifteenth letter of the Greek alphabet to commemorate the fifteen men who founded it. (A popular but apocryphal story is that the word is an abbreviation for "Oh, Mary, it could ruin our nylons.") *Neue Regel* 'new order' of Jacksonville, Florida), the *Ledermeisters* of Los Angeles and *Dreizehn* (see below) of Boston mark a Germanic influence, while Spanish appears in three examples, the *Hijos del Sol*, "sons of the sun" in Albuquerque, Orlando's *Conquistadors* and the *Gaucho MC* of Tampa. The lone borrowing from French is Boston's *Entre Nous*, reflecting the close-knit bonds of support and friendship fostered by the leather clubs.

Miscellaneous

Several themes of naming appear only sporadically in the sample. The first of these is composed of the organizations whose names are based upon numerals, with the sample yielding only three. *The 15 Association* of San Francisco derives its name from a club rule which limits their roster to fifteen fraternal members, while the Boston group *Dreizehn*, German for the number thirteen, stems from its founding in 1982 by a body of men of that number. The most unusual entry in this category is the use of a number as abbreviation, by *T.W.O.*, the *Two Wheelers of Omaha*, a reference to their motorcycles.

The claiming of terms intended by the larger society as defamatory but used as a mark of pride by the gay and lesbian communities is perhaps most familiar through association with the activist group *Queer Nation*, with their slogan "We're here, we're queer, get used to it" seizing one of the most pejorative slang terms for homosexuals popular during the 1950s and 1960s. This practice was also followed by the leather and levi clubs, examples being the *Castaways* of Milwaukee, the *Outcasts* and *Texas Renegades*, *Highwaymen TNT* ("Trash n' Travel") of the District of Columbia, the *Corpus Christi Rebels* and the *River City Outlaws* of San Antonio. An older term appears in the *Adventurers Suncoast*. Names drawn from literature also appear in limited fashion. The insouciant character *Petruchio* from *The Taming of the Shrew* lends Shakespearean pedigree to his namesake club in Berkeley. The German account of the tale of Sleeping Beauty contributed the name of its heroine, *Briar Rose*, while one of Longfellow's poems lent its title to *Excelsior* of Cleveland, probably because of its lines "a banner with a strange device" which would have applied to the backpatches of club insignia worn by members of leather and levi clubs at their gatherings.

More unusual in their origin are names drawn from subjects as diverse as witchcraft (*Warlocks MC*), music (the women's group *Sweet Misery*), tattooing (*Illustrated Men*), professions and their training (*Tradesmen* and *Journeyman*) and clothing worn by bikers (*Cincinnati Chaps*, whose name might also have been intended as a pun). Perhaps the clearest view of the intention of the founders of these social groups to form their own society is seen in the direct approach taken by the *Selectmen* of Detroit.

While organizations for men are reasonably numerous, those created by and for women members of the leather community are fewer and of more recent origin; as such they are sparsely reflected in the sample. Examples include the *Sisters of the Rose*, *Arani In Leather*, *Minnesota Leather Den* and the *Knights of Leather* of Minneapolis.

It is significant that the majority of research done in the social sciences involving motorcycle clubs has been conducted almost exclusively from the perspective of criminology as part of the study of social deviance. By the time Hunter Thompson's *Hell's Angels: A Strange and Terrible Saga* appeared in 1967, the gay and lesbian network of leather clubs had been in existence for fourteen years, yet was almost totally unknown outside the homosexual community. While both groups shared the status of social marginality and provided support to their members, only the heterosexual groups received publicity, often through clashes with police, duly reported by both mainstream press and the supermarket tabloids. Over the forty years covered in this study, the basic matrix of mythological themes begun by the Satyrs was elaborated and other threads of meaning added to greatly expand the pool of imagery from which the leather and levi community chose its reflections of identity.

Appendix

Mythology/Classical

Argonauts	Gryphons	Sirens MC
Arktos	Society of Janus	Sons of Apollo
Atlantis MC	Oberons	Tartarus
Baccus-Detroit	Oedipus MC	Temple of Hecate
Bacchus	Pegasus MC	Trident International
Centaur MC	Prometheus	Unicorn MC
Dragons LLC	Sabres of Artemis	Unicorns of Madison
Fire Keepers of Indiana	Satyricons	Urania
Gemini	Satyrs	Vulcan LL
Griffins MC		

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Religion

Arani In Leather	Demos	Rainmakers
Atons	Fallen Angels	Sisters of the Rose
Avatar	Icon	Sons of Satan
Chicago Hellfire Club	Lost Angels	Trusted Servants
Cosmic Order of Ka		

Local Identification

Beer Town Badgers (Milwaukee)	Motorcity Men of Leather
Chicago MOB	Music City Bears (Nashville)
Circle City (Indianapolis)	Northwest Bears (Seattle)
Copperstate Leathermen (Arizona)	Pennsmen (Harrisburgh)
Cowtown Leathermen (Fort Worth)	Rocky Mountaineers (Denver)
Desert Leathermen (Tucson)	Ozbears (Australia)
Empire City MC (New York)	Sandia Leathermen (Albuquerque)
Front Range Bears (Denver)	Second City (Chicago)
Gateway MC (St. Louis)	Shipmates (Baltimore)
Glass City Champions (Toledo)	Show Me Bears (St. Louis)
Grand Rapids Rivermen	Smokey Mountain Bears (Knoxville)
Great Lakes Bears	Tarheels LL (Greensboro, NC)
Harbormasters (Boston)	Three Rivers MC (Pittsburgh)
Hearts of the West (Santa Fe)	Tidewater Bears (Virginia)
Iron City Wrestling Club	Tower City Corps (Cleveland)
Lakeriders (Chicago)	Tradewinds (Chicago)
The Last Frontier (Alaska)	Volunteer Bears (Knoxville)
Mall City Cruisers (Kalamazoo)	Wasatch Leathermen (Utah)
Motor City Bears (Detroit)	Windy City Bondage Club

Military

Battalion MC	Knights d'Orleans
Black Guard	Leather Knights
Blackhawk MC	Leather Corps
Blue Max	Levi/Leather Brigade
C.O.M.M.A.N.D.	Minnesota Norsemen
Centurions	Norsemen
Chain of Command	North Coast Knights
Chicago Knights	Pocono Warriors
Chicago Cossacks	Regiment of the Black and Tans
Colt 45's	Saber MC

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Conquistadors MC	Sabres of Artemis
Excalibur	Spartan MC
Golden Gate Guards	Spearhead
Knights of Malta	Valley Knights
Knights of the Second Liberty	Vikings MC
Knights Templar	Warriors MC

Nature

Aquila MC	Firebirds	Rochester Rams
Boston Ducks	Firekeepers	Silver Dolphins
California Eagles MC	Griffins MC	Stallions
Bear clubs (various)	Gryphons	Tri-State Wolf Pack
Black Fire	Lion's Roar	Unicorns
Firebird Society of Phoenix	Long Island Ravens	Wolf Pack
	Ohio Broncos	

Metals and Industry

Crucible MC	Knights On Iron	Sundance Cattle Company
Iron Cross	Silver Spurs	Portland Power and Trust
Iron Tigers	Steel Barons	

Popular Culture

Border Riders	Rainmakers	Rodeo Riders
Lake Riders	Riders MC	Spirit of St. Louis
Open Road Riders	Road Riders	Texas Riders

Language

Avatar	Gaicho MC	Neue Regel
Bottoms Up	Hijos del Sol	OMEN
Cin City Cycle Club	Hirsuite Pursuit	Omikrons
Conquistadores	Ledermeisters	Somandros
Dreizehn	Moocussers	Tulsa Knight Owls
Entre Nous	Moving Violations	WIL Power
Female Trouble		

Miscellaneous

Alliance	The 15	River City Outlaws
Briar Rose	Highwaymen TNT	Rodeo Riders (Chicago)
Castaways	Illustrated Men	Selectmen (Detroit)
Cincinnati Chaps	Journeyman	Sweet Misery
De Sade Men (New Orleans)	Outcasts	Tradesmen
Dreizehn	Petruchio	Tribe MC
Excelsior MC	Renegades	T.W.O.
		Warlocks MC

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