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HETERONORMATIVITY & ITS DISCONTENTS:

**TOWARDS A CULTURAL HISTORY OF METROPOLITAN
GENDER & SEXUAL DISSIDENCE**

by

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PART B

**A thesis submitted to fulfil the requirements of the degree
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APPENDIX 1

THE NSW LAWS AGAINST MEN'S SAME SEX ACTIVITY

1861

Unnatural Offences

Whosoever commits the abominable crime of buggery, or bestiality, with mankind, or with any animal, shall be liable to penal servitude for life or any term not less than five years

Whosoever attempts to commit the said abominable crime, or assaults any person with intent to commit the same, shall be liable to penal servitude for five years.

Whosoever commits an indecent assault upon a male person of whatever age shall be liable to penal servitude for five years.

1883 ACT WHICH GETS INCORPORATED INTO THE NSW CRIMES ACT (1900) AS SECTIONS 79, 80 & 81

Unnatural Offences

79 Whosoever commits the abominable crime of buggery, or bestiality, with mankind, or with any animal, shall be liable to penal servitude for life or any term not less than five years

80 Whosoever attempts to commit the said abominable crime, or assaults any person with intent to commit the same, shall be liable to penal servitude for five years.

81 Whosoever commits an indecent assault upon a male person of whatever age, *with or without the consent of such person*, shall be liable to penal servitude for five years.

Unnatural Offences: after 1951 amendment

79 Whosoever commits the abominable crime of buggery, or bestiality, with mankind, or with any animal, shall be liable to penal servitude for life or any term not less than five years

80 Whosoever attempts to commit the said abominable crime, or assaults any person with intent to commit the same, *with or without the consent of such person*, shall be liable to penal servitude for five years.

81 Whosoever commits an indecent assault upon a male person of whatever age, with or without the consent of such person, shall be liable to penal servitude for five years.

Unnatural Offences: after 1953 amendment

79 Whosoever commits the abominable crime of buggery, or bestiality, with mankind, or with any animal, shall be liable to penal servitude for life or any term not less than five years

80 Whosoever attempts to commit the said abominable crime, or assaults any person with intent to commit the same, *with or without the consent of such person*, shall be liable to penal servitude for five years.

81 Whosoever commits an indecent assault upon a male person of whatever age, with or without the consent of such person, shall be liable to penal servitude for five years.

81a Whosoever, being a male person, in public or private, commits, or is party to the commission of, or procures or attempts to procure the commission by any male person of, any act of indecency with another male person shall be liable to imprisonment for two years

81b (1) *Whosoever, being a male person, in any public place -*

(a) solicits or incites; or

(b) attempts to solicit or incite

in any manner whatsoever any male person to commit or to be a party to the commission of any offence under section 79, 80 or 81a of this Act shall be liable to imprisonment for twelve months.

(2) A person shall not be convicted of an offence under this section upon the testimony of one witness only, unless the testimony is corroborated by some other material evidence implicating the accused in the commission of the offence

(3) This section does not exempt any person from any proceeding from an offence which is punishable at common law, but so that no person shall be punished twice for the same offence.

(4) An offence under this section shall not be prosecuted and punished under the Crimes Prevention Act 1916 What does this imply?

APPENDIX II

THE EVENTS OF 1978

International Gay Solidarity Day

On Friday 23 June, the faithful attended a fund-raising dance at Petersham Town Hall, where Sheila¹ played live women's music to launch Sydney's first International Gay Solidarity Day. The next morning's *Weekend Australian* published the first articles in its "Homosexuality in our Society" series in which Amanda Wilson argued that Australian gays had never shown such militant unity. She attributed this to The National Front, to Anita Bryant's Dade County offensive, to Briggs's Initiative, to Mary Whitehouse's imminent arrival, to the police interrogations after the recent Newcastle murder and to the police's intimidating presence in the Oxford Street bars. Wilson interviewed Garry Bennett who, speaking for GSG, urged people to dress up for the mardi gras, so that they might "come out" more readily. She quoted Bennett, "[w]e've discussed possible violence at the mardu gras (sic) and we are aware that it could happen, but we hope the fact that we have police approval will defer anyone who comes along to disrupt us. Just in case though, we will have legal representatives there as well" (WA Mag 24-25 June 1978 p1). Bennett also discussed the street party's other aims. Setting off at 10.30 pm to catch the disco crowd, it would lure gay men out of the ghetto's "demoralising and alienating" bars² and raise funds for the next National Homosexual Conference.

Their morning demonstration was a spirited affair. A motley crew gathered and there was a lot of animosity. Some people resented the socialist groups, others objected to the women's overalls, others hated the Jewish contingent's Israeli flag, others hated Acceptance, the Catholic support group. And, while some people were excited about the impending mardi gras, others didn't care less. Terry Batterham and John Pierce went ahead on rollerskates, to see what the police were up to.

Acceptance's Volkswagen Combivan led the way: decked in balloons, crepe bunting and a large "GAY RIGHTS ARE HUMAN RIGHTS" sign. Everyone else got behind their big banners: "Gay Solidarity Group REPEAL ALL ANTI-HOMOSEXUAL LAWS END POLICE HARASSMENT OF HOMOSEXUALS", "BAN DISCRIMINATION AGAINST HOMOSEXUALS" and "LESBIANS & HOMOSEXUALS DEMAND THE RIGHT TO WORK". They marched from Town Hall to Martin Place (Figure 9.4) where they sat around the Cenotaph singing and chanting: "Everyone Can Be A Lesbian", "Sing If You're Glad To Be Gay", "Learn To Love Your Homosexuality" and "Bi- Bi- Sexual". Margaret Lyons and Craig Johnston staged a clinch to confound the Special Branch photographers. One woman objected to an "S/M, the sport of men" banner. Another chanted, "remember women raped in war", and, leaping onto the Cenotaph, hurled some commemorative flowers. The police chased her and Sydney saw their "antics" on the television news.

That afternoon, they gathered at Paddington Town Hall to discuss the international movement. Altman spoke on Europe's homosexual groups, Blazey reported on Mary Whitehouse's attack on the blasphemous *Gay News*, Davis spoke on the history of the modern gay movement, Gowland spoke on

Chilean gays, Brian McGahen spoke on Cuban gays, McMann reported on lesbianism in Australia and Lesley Podesta spoke on American and Canadian gay politics. A leatherman reported that one of the woman organisers had "put shit" on his S/M banner and had discriminated against his sexuality.

The modelling event

They dribbled away to their evening meals. Some people went to see Craig Russell's *Outrageous*. Some went home to dress up. Others stayed at home: because they thought that they had already done the real work. Gowland and McMann picked up the hired truck and the sound system. Others, who had been working during the day, or who had decided against demonstrating, came out. They drifted to Taylor Square. They stood around: they chattered with the six or so policemen. Standing on the back of the flat-bed truck, Sally Colechin was stunned by the swelling numbers. She could see that some people were wearing fancy dress: Ken Davis was wearing a country-and-western polka dot dress, Peter Tully was a "Red Indian in war bonnet drag", Kim Skinner was wearing a large picture hat and Ron Austin was in full clown make-up (Figure 9.5). There was a Pope (Figure 9.6) and some radical drag (Figure 9.7). But most people were wearing street clothes to protect themselves against the cold night.

Meanwhile, the police were changing their shifts and Superintendent Reg Douglass, who supervised local marches and demonstrations, was hearing about it for the first time. And Sergeant Ken Miller, who supervised police operations from Darlinghurst Police Station, was learning about the unusually large crowd. Expecting that the regulars would zap the bar queens with their usual chants, would dance the mile and drift away, the organisers were also shocked. But the publicity, the samizdats, the night's anonymity, the novelty, the night's revolutionary potential and/or the seductive bars had brought them out. By 10 pm, a sizeable crowd had gathered outside the courthouse and, at 10.30, after "the Pope" had blessed them, they set off along Oxford Street.

Gowland was driving the truck. Defying Hyde's directives and contravening the Summary Offences Act, he had stuck the morning's inflammatory banner on its side and was blasting Tom Robinson's "Sing If You're Glad To Be Gay", Meg Christian's "Ode to a Gym Teacher" and The Kink's "Lola" into the night. Some people were standing on the flat-bed singing and chanting "stop police attacks on gays, women and blacks" and "out of the bars and into the streets" and cheering when people walked out of Capriccio's and Patches (*Lot's Wife* 30 June 1978). Some people joined them. One man was shrieking: "I'll never hide again". Kate Rowe was running up and down the street, screaming "up the lezzos!"

Expecting a parade, getting an amplified carnival and resenting the banner and the revellers' taunts, the police began to harass them. They instructed Gowland to relay their directions to the revellers, telling him that, if the parade stopped on Oxford Street, they would revoke his permit and disband the procession. Gowland did what they said but, when a gap developed in the crowd, he stopped the truck and waited for the stragglers to catch up. An exasperated policeman knocked

on the truck door, told him "If you don't wind your window down, I'll smash it" and ordered him to move on or get arrested (SSO Feb 1992).

When the truck got to the Hyde Park corner, Gowland started to read supportive telegrams, but the police told him to drive along Liverpool Street. Protesting that this would defy the permit, Gowland turned into College Street and double parked the truck. Colechin, on the flat-bed, heard the police radio for reinforcements. Robyn Plaister, in the crowd, saw a policeman jump into the truck, push Gowland out and rev it up (Figure 9.8). She thought that the people on the back might fall off. Gowland was on the street and police were grabbing his legs. Some people were pulling him away and he melted into the crowd. The police held the truck (Figure 9.9). They disconnected the speaker system and tried to drive it away. 20 or so people blocked their passage. Rowe jumped onto the back of the truck, trying to stop them from taking it. They dragged her off and drove it across the road to Stanley Street, with the revellers on the back. A paddy wagon blocked off the street; a man's body lay on the road; two police pulled at his hair and clothes; people shoved and yelled and pushed; someone knocked off a policeman's cap; the police threw two men into the back of their paddy wagon. The procession and the melee had taken a bare 20 minutes. And, because the crowd could not retreat, Jeff Stanton shouted: "On to Kings Cross". Jeff McCarthy, Ken Davis and others took it up. Margaret Lyons wanted to defy the police; John Witte sensed impending doom and felt as though he should stay with it; Peter Murphy heard that there were hundreds of police in Hyde Park (Murphy forum October 1997).

The police and the angry crowd abandoned the truck. People chanted: "To the Cross! To the Cross!". The loud-hailer had gone and no one could marshal the crowd. Some people headed off towards William Street. They saw a policeman standing on the corner and directing them up William Street. They were chanting "stop police attacks on gays, women and blacks". Pushing forward, some people could see police cars on the street and others could see paddy wagons crossing the overpass. And some of them realised that the police were blocking the side streets and channelling them into Darlington Road. Craig Johnston was enervated.

They took over three traffic lanes as they climbed the William Street hill. A man with a bleeding nose shouted at a car, "This is the blood of a poofster!" Others shouted, "Stop police attacks on gays, women and blacks!" and "Fuck the church! Fuck the state! Let gays alone decide their fate".

Nearing the top of William Street, their noise drew other gay men out of Tina's. Arriving at the top of the hill, they could see that the police had blocked off Bayswater Road and Victoria Street.

They were being channelled into Darlington Road (Figure 9.10). Chanting "ho-ho-homosexual", they skirted a couple of wagons that were parked in the street. Some people were sticking their heads out of the strip-clubs, bars and discos' windows. Others were standing on the awnings. They were urging them on: shouting "good on ya!", "fuck the cops!" and "we love camps!" (Figure 9.11).

But, when the crowd got to the El Alamein fountain, they could see that more paddy wagons were blocking Elizabeth Bay Road (Figure 9.12). Someone cried, "To Green Park!" and some of the organisers went to the police. They asked them if they were going to read the Summary Offences

Act. The police told them to "fuck off" (*NR & Aust* 26 June 1978). They had already cleared the street traffic and they were out to make arrests. Some of them had removed their identification numbers and two detectives were wearing Gay Solidarity badges. Sirens blared. Four paddy wagons bore down on the front. Others drove in from the rear and cut off the crowd's access to the side streets. One woman "saw these headlights, I'll never forget those headlights". Another woman was frightened that someone would get killed.

The police had trapped 200 people and the rest were pressing up against them. In the shuffling and confusion, a cop seized a man from behind. The crowd protested. The police grabbed people "by their hair, feet, tits". They cleared the centre of the road and pressed the marchers against the footpath crowds. People were throwing garbage cans at the wagons. People were shouting "stop police attacks on gays, women and blacks!"

Within minutes, it was a battlefield. People were chanting and shouting; police were dragging people towards the wagons; passers-by, tourists, bikies and the locals were joining in; people were crying, screaming, panicking; people were throwing bits of wood and rubbish (Figure 9.13). The cops threw a young man into a wagon and kept slamming the door on his legs. Several policemen attacked Plaister and dragged her toward a wagon (Figure 9.14). Three women tugged her in the opposite direction. The police opened the door, three other women piled out and fell on top of her. Other women pulled her back into the crowd and she got away. A policeman grabbed a woman's hair and bashed her head against the pavement. The crowd was screaming "pigs!" and "let 'em go!"

A burly cop grabbed Rowe, she lost her glasses, a rubbish bin hit her, people were pulling at her. Blind, she remembers the screaming. Murphy saw a cop kicking someone in the guts. He ran to help, he dragged the person away, he ran into another police man, he was in the air, his glasses fell off, he landed in a paddy wagon. Looking through the window, he could see people trying to rescue others, punch ups, flying garbage cans and boxes. A wagon sped up Victoria Street, braked suddenly. Someone screamed.

Darlinghurst Police Station

By 12.30, 300 people were moving through The Cross and heading for the Darlinghurst Police Station. They were stunned. They wanted to get to their friends. When they got there, the police were blocking the Station entrance. Some people began chanting "let 'em go". Others began shouting abuse and chanting "where're your [identification] numbers!" Some curious, rather than politicised, Patches queens joined them (Figure 9.15).

Three officers tackled a woman: one grabbed her hair and pushed her onto the footpath. She fell unconscious and, grabbing her arm and hair, they pulled her into the station. One man beat his fists against a paddy wagon. The police grabbed him, dragged him into the station garage and beat his head.

A Citroen drove up and the driver abused the crowd. His car mounted the footpath and crashed into a low sandstone wall. Someone shouted, "piss off y' boring straight shit" and others cheered the

damage. People were emptying their pockets, racing off and returning with their household kitties and rent and ringing their friends to bring more. They were collecting \$6 000 bail money

The police were denying John Terry, an activist and legal aid solicitor, access to his clients for two hours (*Aust* 26 June 1978). And Walker, who was a doctor, was arguing with them to let him examine Murphy. They told him that they had sent Murphy to hospital, but he found Murphy in a state of shock. He had bruises on his head, ribs, stomach, arms and legs and his left lower leg was swollen "like a plastic bag full of water".

The police were processing their catch very slowly and threatening to charge Terry and Walker with trespass. They forced the arrestees into overcrowded cells, they denied their requests for blankets, water and access to legal rights. They stuck 24 women into a two person cell and they shoved 29 men into another. Hearing the bashings, Lyons felt the terror winding up inside her. Isolated, interrogated and under age, David Sinclair-Stuart was terrified.

Meanwhile, their lovers and mates stayed outside. Their spirits were high and they were chanting gay liberation songs and slogans. A senior officer threatened them with an iron truncheon. Another cop smashed a woman in the face with his closed fist³.

At about 4 am, they loaded the women into three paddy wagons and carted them off to Central Police Station where they finger-printed them and eventually released them (Figure 9.16).

Meanwhile, Darlinghurst was taking the men's prints and charging them. In the end, they released them all without bail and let the last man out at 8.30 am. All up, they had laid three charges of assault, one of malicious injury (to a policeman's uniform), five of failure to observe a direction, nine of resisting arrest, ten of unseemly words, 18 of hindering police and 19 of unlawful procession.

Organising a resistance

Kate Rowe went home alone. She was cold and damp and she felt lonely and empty. She could sense that her life had changed, that she was part of something bigger. That afternoon, she decided to go to the CAMP headquarters. When she got there, she found some sleepless, enervated and fearful activists preparing a media release and setting up a defence committee. They were drafting 57 questions to present to Premier Wran and Susan Hawke, Leigh Holloway, Murphy and Rowe agreed to take them to him. And they wrote a press release, demanding a Royal Inquiry into the Kings Cross-Darlinghurst police. It charged the police with provoking "a legal, peaceful mardi gras" and inciting the violence. It asserted that they had not told them that they were breaking the law. Accusing them of continually harassing and intimidating homosexuals and bashing Murphy unconscious, it demanded that they drop the charges⁴.

Meanwhile, the riot was getting widespread radio coverage. But the TEN 10 television news was less than sympathetic. It presented Premier Wran who had scant sympathy for the activists:

These sort of things happen. I think that it is unfortunate that a couple of police had to receive hospital attention, as well as some people involved in the demonstration... [the revellers] involved in the incident had a pretty good go and... they had been given the freedom of the streets since [that] morning and I don't suppose that it's expected that

the police have taken exception to a busy thoroughfare in Kings Cross being completely blocked off at midnight (reprinted in *NT* 8 July 1978 p9).

Later that evening, Trixie Lamont, Patch's pre-eminent drag star, told *her* audience about the incidents, urged them to join *her* and Theresa Green at the Central Court of Petty Sessions, Liverpool Street, the next morning and passed the bucket around. Years later David Wilkins, who was in the audience, remembered the bar kids' intense anger and generosity. He recalled, "I was outraged. I took the day off. When I arrived [at the courthouse] Trixie and Theresa were there. They'd actually turned up". They weren't the only ones.

Central Court

When he got there, he found several hundred activists and 70 cops crowding the forecourt. Chief Stipendiary Magistrate Murray Farquahar had ordered the police to keep the demonstrators out and to admit the general public. They had closed the court to anyone associated with the arrests and they had formed a double line across the building's forecourt, blocking the courthouse doors and interrogating anyone who tried to enter Magistrate Reg Bartley's court (Figure 9.17). The banner-carrying demonstrators were angrily and intermittently chanting "open the court to the people". Frustrated by his inability to find witnesses for his case, solicitor John Terry consulted Farquahar, who told him that the police had to admit anyone who had "legitimate business". But when Terry accused Superintendent Douglass of acting arbitrarily, Douglass replied, "that's right, arbitrarily". And, when Terry told the crowd that it could move through the police lines and enter the court in an orderly way, the police continued to deny access. Douglass told the *National Times* that "[Terry] was very close to being charged himself for coercing the people to riot" and the lawyers still had to make special application for Garry Nichols, "a neatly dressed law student", to gain entry. Some of the crowd was turning violent. The International Socialists and the anarchists were taunting the police. The Spartacists were addressing the demonstrators and screaming "drop the charges" and "jail Wran's sadistic cops". Some people started throwing eggs. Some women climbed over the parapet. The police picked them up by their ankles and threw them back into the crowd. People were chanting "assault" and "police brutality". A senior policeman threw another woman down the courthouse steps and "kicked her in mid air". Some defendants had their bail slips ripped from their hands. One woman threw a cup of coffee over some policemen; others splattered them with soft drinks.

At 11.45 am the police told the crowd that they could enter the court and, surging forward and cheering, it began to scuffle with the police, who arrested four men and two women for assaulting police officers, for offensive manners and for swearing. And, although the police and crowd both knocked off for lunch, the police blocked the courtroom door again when the court resumed. The Clerk of Petty Sessions continued to tell them that the police had to let them into the public gallery. After 2.45 pm, the police let them into the court room.

At the end of the day, only one person was tried. Pleading guilty for swearing and resisting arrest, he was fined \$50 and Bartley held the others over for pleas or mention in July or August.

Planning other demonstrations

The organisers felt that they were in the middle of something historic, that their lives would all be changed. Their phones were ringing all the time, the media wanted them: "They were hungry for us...It was like being in the eye of the storm. It was like being in a revolutionary situation. For those of us who were in the middle of it, it was an amazing time.(Gowland, forum October 1997). The tabloids ran riot. The *Daily Mirror* screamed "COURT BATTLE: GAY LIBBERS ATTACK", *The Sun* wailed "GAY MARCH PROTEST AT COURT" and their cartoonists caricatured the men's effeminacy (Figure 9.2)). The next day's *Herald* published the activists' names, addresses and occupations. Some landlords evicted some demonstrators. Some bosses threatened to sack, admonished or monitored others (*Camp* August 1978).

Nevertheless the mardi gras was unleashing a wave of sympathy. The international newsagencies carried the story and telegrams flooded in. 20 people picketed Brisbane's NSW Tourist Bureau and one man was arrested (26 June). 100 picketed the Bureau's Adelaide office (27 June). 400 rallied in Melbourne (30 June). Two *Sydney Morning Herald* staff protested against their management's decision to print the arrestees' names (*Camp* August 1978). CAMP (ACT) told the press that this was a typical homosexual oppression and called for immediate federal and state legislation to prevent sexual discrimination.

Several student papers took up the cause. In Melbourne, *Lot's Wife* published GSG's 57 questions and Victoria's student and academic groups condemned the violence and supported calls for a Royal Commission. Peter Noonan, President of the Australian Union of Students, claimed that the violence was the sort of thing that gays faced every day of their lives. At Sydney University, the Gay Solidarity Defence Committee and ADHOC called on students to zap Don Dunstan, the South Australian Premier and civil libertarian, to get him to say that the police had infringed "gay people's" civil liberties and to force Wran to drop the charges. Another ADHOC newsletter argued that the incidents had exposed the polices' usually covert violence. Notorious for harassing gays, women and blacks, it alleged that the Darlinghurst police had carried out "a military style attack", turned Kings Cross into a battlefield, brutalised women and refused to tell the march that it was illegal (26 July 1978). The Spartacists wanted to mobilise the wharfies, builders' labourers and metalworkers. They felt the SWP was attempting to exclude them from the defence and they condemned the CG as "criminally stupid and sectarian" and the Socialist Youth Alliance (SYA) as weak-kneed opportunists. Meanwhile, the SYA called an open meeting to vote on a motion that condemned the mardi gras "rampage", supported GSG's demands and wanted the SRC to donate \$200 toward the defence fund.

Meanwhile, GSG delegates Kate Rowe, Susan Hawke, Leigh Holloway and Peter Murphy went to Premier Wran with GSG's 57 Questions. They wanted to know, in broad terms, who was responsible

for the police actions and they wanted him to explain some of the police strategies. They wanted to know why the police had refused to read out the Summary Offences Act and to declare the procession illegal; why the police had arrested people indiscriminately and so forcefully; why they had not told the demonstrators that they were under arrest; why they had failed to cite the nature of the charges against the detainees; why they had bashed people and forced the women into an unsuitable cell; why they had lied about Murphy's medical condition and refused to allow a doctor to treat him. The list concluded: "why did the police laugh when it was indicated that these matters would be taken up?" (ibid).

Their meeting was "intense" and "electric" and lasted three minutes. Wran recognised Hawke as the daughter of Bob Hawke, the ACTU leader and, when Murphy said: "I've been bashed up in Darlinghurst Police Station and what are you going to do about it?", Wran replied: "I've done as much as anyone in NSW to make it civilised for you people". And, when Hawke pulled out a pencil, he said "I'm leaving the room if you're taking notes". Wran told them that he had not received the police report. And, although he declined to attend a public meeting, he told them that they "had a bloody good cause". But, while the earlier CAMP deputations had observed "the rules", uttered deferential tones and disavowed any intention of challenging his authority, he probably thought that these people were barely civil. He was probably frightened that Hawke would use his statements in Labor circles, that her imputed lesbianism could damage Hawke's power, that two police officers had been injured, that the police had it in for him and that their demands were electoral dynamite (Murphy, forum October 1997). Perhaps, too, the police had told him that the mardi gras had flaunted Hayes's directives: that they had used a loud speaker, that they had not taken the prescribed route, that they had consistently disobeyed their directives, that they had delivered a "speech" at Hyde Park, that they had had provocative and "unseemly" banners, chants and songs and that they could not be trusted.

Whatever the case, Wran retracted his earlier statements and told the media "I met them with courtesy for a couple of minutes. The statements they made are just not true and I won't be seeing them again. Next time they will be speaking to departmental officers" (*SMH* 28 June 1978). From this time on, the liberationists dealt with Frank Walker, the Attorney General.

The next Saturday, all the media fuss, the samizdats and the gossip brought about 300 people to the Stanley Palmer's Culture Palace, the Darlinghurst drop-in centre. They discussed the police harassment; the polices' presumptive powers; their need to fight for every minority's rights to walk in the streets and the notorious Summary Offences Act. The meeting was volatile. The Spartacists challenged GSG's organising abilities and the anarchists criticised GSG for assuming that their marches could avoid police confrontation, that they could minimise police involvement and confrontation and that they could deflect and control the crowd's defiance, anger and rage⁵.

Others challenged their inflammatory rhetoric. And when the anarchists nearly succeeded in convincing the meeting to authorise an illegal march, Murphy called for another vote. The meeting agreed to seek police permission. It resolved to initiate a broad defence and a homosexual rights

campaign. Identifying the problem as systematic and societal homosexual oppression, it endorsed GSG's campaign management and its five demands and resolved to demonstrate for the right to demonstrate.

The GSG activists could see that the scene queens had accepted the idea of a mardi gras and that it would be a way of uniting large numbers of angry "homosexuals". Rethinking their earlier cynicism of American-style "commercial gay pride marches", they were starting to see that a carnival could mobilise thousands against the fundamentalists' incursions. *Campaign*'s editor was reasoning that the arrests had become "a rallying point for protest against what had been done, is being done and will continue to be done to homosexuals until we get equal rights and protection under the law" (*Camp* August 1978). Dennis Altman was claiming that the movement had "reached a level of potential activity not matched since the Gay Pride Weeks of 1973"⁶. Other activists believed that Wran would call off the police because of an impending by-election and because the homosexual community, legal circles, the media, some sections of the Labor party and feminists had all opposed the June incidents (*HS* 11 July 1978). One anonymous student believed that the police were staging premeditated attacks on Sydney's lesbian and gay male community. He claimed that these had not been isolated incidents, and that they were connected to the struggle for other minority rights. He felt that the events had generated an enormous wave of gay solidarity and were mobilising people (*HS* 4 July 1978). Nevertheless, some old left factions were dismissing the incidents⁷.

Furthermore the mainstream press were covering the incidents. The *National Times* felt that they had been the most serious challenge to the state's administration since Wran's ascendancy, that the police had denied the protesters' civil liberties, that they had abused their own procedures and had contested the court's authority. It reported that some police officers believed that Wran had signalled a "hands off the police" policy (*NT* 8 July 1978). But the most explicit condemnation came from Paul Azzopardi, the secretary of the Bligh state electorate and a Australian Labor Party Council Member. Azzopardi wrote to Wran to express his electorate's condemnation of the police and its demand that "all state legislative intrusion into sexual life cease forthwith". He asked Wran "whether you are controlling the police or the police are controlling you and whether... you support any police poofteh-bashing (sic) that takes place regardless of the circumstances...[Y]our inaction on this incident...will inevitably be linked to ...your notorious co-operation with the vested interests operating illegal casinos to give the impression that your policy is dictated by business interests in Kings Cross, the meeting place of legal and illegal capital" (Letter 4 July 1978).

Demonstration

The Stanley Palmer resolutions came to fruition two weeks later, when 2000 gathered at Martin Place to support the 53 arrestees and to demand the right to march (Figure 9.18). Australia's largest gay rights event to date, it progressed along George Street, Park Street, William Street, Darlinghurst Road, to the El Alamein Fountain and, backtracking, past Green Park, to Taylor

Square. Passing the Saturday morning shoppers, it retraced most of the mardi gras route. Everyone was in high spirits.

When they reached Taylor Square, the GSG representatives gave the police a wreath of pansies. Unaware that four bus loads of police were waiting in side streets, the demonstrators gathered outside the Police Station for a speak-out (Figure 9.19). Some people claimed that there were police agitators in the crowd. They began to disperse. Someone threw a flour bomb at the Police Station wall, others threw them at the police and an ABC cameraperson. Someone grabbed a policeman's hat and hurled it into the crowd. Some others sang, chanted and banged on the Station door. The GSG organisers tried to disband the crowd, calling "we've made our point, on to Hyde Park for a picnic". The cops moved in. The sirens, the buses and the marshals' megaphones made the jumpy crowd panic. Most people withdrew to Oxford Street. Others confronted the police, who arrested 11 women and three men⁸.

Gathering at Hyde Park, 200 people discussed the incident and planned future strategies. The IS and the anarchists wanted to return to Darlinghurst Station and confront the police; they heckled those who spoke against the bomb-throwers; others tried to quell the fury. They dispersed. Later, at the CAMP offices, the anarchists argued that they should be confronting and "destroying" the police while the radicals, moderates and conservatives rejected their suggestions.

Although the march showed that the mardi gras violence had not deterred conservative gays, the anarchists had undermined it. They had forced the crowd into staying; claimed that the police had arrested someone; used the GSG banner to pursue their own agenda and thrown the flower bombs.

Nevertheless, GSG took the blame and felt that it had lost a lot of community support. It acknowledged that it had not had the skill to disperse the crowd and had not had a contingency plan. It also realised that it needed marshals to coordinate its marches and it thought about holding a public meeting to get broader community support and arrange a defence fund.

Meanwhile Lee Franklin, *Campaign's* pseudonymous editor, was initiating an anti-activist bash. He argued that the anarchists had wrecked an impressive march, had undermined GSG's spirit and organisation, had risked people's lives, had played into the tabloids' hands and had scared away a lot of supporters. He wanted GSG to expel them and, calling on GSG to get its "act together and fast", he regretted its collective decision-making processes, its sporadic attendances and its lack of formal structure. He need not have worried too much, Sydney's media did not report the incident. *The Sun-Herald* had told one of its journalists not to file a report unless there were some arrests and another journalist told a gay reporter that "gay demos are no longer news" (*Camp* August 1978)⁹.

Nevertheless GSG continued to profile the incidents. On 20 August 1978, it organised a 15 car motorcade to go from Glebe along Parramatta Road to Parramatta Park with balloons and "DROP THE CHARGES" banners.

More arrests

GSG had wanted their International Gay Solidarity Day events to publicise the 4th National Gay Conference. Rejecting the previous model of campus conferences, the planning committee staged it at the Paddington Town Hall so that they could attract "every lesbian and male homosexual".

Speaking to the conference theme of "Homosexuals At Work", it redefined "work" to include the "wage slaves", paid labour and the work done by house-people, parents and creative people.

Arguing that work-place discrimination kept people in the closet, it called on the Conference to initiate and implement strategies to overcome workplace and societal oppression.

Senator Susan Ryan (Federal Labor) opened the Conference by claiming that her (opposition) party was actively committed to fighting all forms of discrimination and that, when the government became an EEO employer, private-sector conditions would improve. Speaking next, Attorney General Frank Walker (NSW Labor) offered his personal sympathy for the incidents and claimed that Labor's Catholic Right and a hostile Upper House were holding up the inevitable decriminalisation Act. Walker also said that he wanted to add homosexual provisions to the Anti-Discrimination Act and claimed that he was redrafting the Summary Offences Act. Claiming that Askin's Liberals had given the police autonomous powers, he only incited the activists' claim that Wran could not control his police force.

Concerning itself with national issues, the Conference nevertheless resolved (among other things) to attempt to relate to "the oppression of our brothers and sisters in the commercial gay world" by talking with the bar and bathhouse managers about fire safety, ventilation, racist and sexist discrimination, exploitative prices, their staffs' working conditions and their attempts to distribute political literature¹⁰. It also condemned Wran as personally responsible for the police attacks and it voted to use the annual anniversary of the Stonewall Riots (and that year's mardi gras incidents) as its national focus for political mobilisations and as part of the internationally coordinated Solidarity front.

Meanwhile the Women's Abortion Action Campaign (WAAC) and GSG were circulating a leaflet to tell the Conference (and others) that the New Zealand government had introduced anti-abortion laws, that Anita Bryant's campaign had been successful and that Mary Whitehouse would be in Sydney from 24 September to help intimidate Wran's government from passing its proposed legislation. They told the Conference that Canberra was going to let healthcare companies renege on abortion payments and that fundamentalists were marching from Hyde Park to the Domain that afternoon. They were busing people in from country towns to listen to Lance Shilton, The Anglican Dean Of Sydney, Kevin Stewart, the NSW Minister of Health, and Henry Hyde, an American pro-life Congressman. They told the Conference that they had not got a march permit because a police officer had told them that were allowed to march, as long as they stayed on the footpaths¹¹.

Instructing the assembly to walk down Oxford Street, to skirt Hyde Park and to finish up at the Archibald Fountain, they told them that they would repudiate anyone who broke from their ranks

to confront the Right-To-Life, that they must disband at the first sign of trouble and, walking arm-in-arm in small groups, make their own way to the Fountain.

Shepherded by 14 marshals, about 300 demonstrators left Paddington Town Hall. Greg Reading left after the others and noticed that a lot of paddy-wagons and police cars were shadowing them. He could see that they were walking into "a carefully planned and prepared trap, a premeditated act of intimidation... by arbitrary mass-arrest, a round-up that would be executed with clockwork precision and military-style efficiency" (*Camp* October 1978).

There are several versions of the incidents which followed. Superintendent Douglass told *The Herald* that, the gays were trying to disrupt the lawful and peaceful Right-To-Life rally. He claimed that, while most of the demonstrators had begun to disperse, 50 marchers had tried to break through the cordon. Feeling that he had given them sufficient warning, he called for their arrest. The activists disputed his account. And, unbeknown to the police, Ian Molloy was making a tape recording for public access radio station 3CR, Melbourne and Peter Davies was filming the incident for ABC television. Molloy's tape would prove that, when the demonstrators reached Taylor Square, they confronted a phalanx of several hundred policemen (Figure 9.20)¹².

It would also prove that Superintendent Douglass was sitting in a unmarked yellow Falcon. His amplified voice was telling them that they were taking part in an illegal procession. Jean Smith, a marshal, walked to the car and spoke to him for about a minute. Coming back to the crowd, she called on them to disperse. Other marshals told the demonstrators to roll up their banners and leave in medium size groups, to move slowly and not allow the police to provoke them. Eight seconds later, Douglass said "go back the way you came from or you will be arrested". And, after another six seconds, he called, "the police will arrest these demonstrators... Immediately... You are all under arrest...The police will move in and apprehend these people. They are all to be arrested immediately. That is a direction".

The police moved in and began their arrests. They had blocked off the side streets and many people could not get away. Turning to return to Paddington Town Hall, Ken Lovett could see that a bus load of police and another police car had blocked off Napier Street. He let them arrest him and they pushed him into a paddy wagon and took him to Darlinghurst Police Station. A young officer arrested Greg Reading, telling him: "you'll do" (ibid p 13). A law student claimed that plain clothes policemen were photographing the detainees as their mates hustled them into paddy wagons (Figure 9.21).

All up, they arrested 73 people, including seven marshals and a man who was sitting at a bus stop wearing gay liberation badges. But 60 activists had escaped and gathered at the Hyde Park War Memorial. Teaming up with pro-choice feminists and chanting their slogans, they confronted the Right-To-Lifers. The police knocked down several bystanders when they dragged them to the paddy wagons. They manhandled two *Herald* reporters and, snatching one's camera, threatened her with obstruction. They arrested another 31 people. The Central Police Station staff set an

"outrageously high" bail of \$200 for the first offenders and tried to impose \$1 000 bail on the interstate people (Figure 9.22)¹³.

The next day, 100 people picketed the Central Court Of Petty Sessions. 40 policemen surrounded the courtroom entrance and stopped anyone who had not been charged from entering. The magistrate had to order them to allow a witness to contact the activists' defendants (DA 31 August 1978). And, once again *The Herald* published the arrestees' names.

Fighting on

GSG continued to work on several fronts. It held drop-the-charges rallies outside Trades Hall (16 Sept) and Central Court (22 Sept). Dominated by SWP activists, it attributed "gay oppression" to the New Right's agenda and focused on Mary Whitehouse's success against *Gay News*, Anita Bryant's Dade County victory, Senator Briggs's Proposition 6 and Fred Nile's attack on their own activities. GSG had staged the Mardi Gras to alert people to Mary Whitehouse's visit. When she spoke at Sydney University in September, she pulled 30 supporters and 800 demonstrators. Moving on to the Town Hall, another 100 supporters greeted her, 150 police protected her and 250 demonstrators jeered her (*Trib* 27 September 1978).

A fortnight later, GSG heckled Wran when he launched his election campaign at Ryde (3 October). It picketed the Court of Petty Sessions when Judge Berman SM heard the charge against Laurie Steel, the first of the Taylor Square arrestees to go to court (6 October), and cheered when Steel was acquitted after Malloy's tape proved that he, along with the other marchers, had started to leave the area before Douglass gave his "very clear and very direct instruction" to arrest them. It wrote to *The Herald* arguing that it had breached human rights when it published the accused peoples' names ages, occupations and addresses after the Mardi Gras and August arrests. It claimed that, because *The Herald* did not usually publish these details, it was discriminatory and denied the accused their rights. The signatories, Kate Rowe and David Fagan, argued that *The Herald* "had victimised the accused, implied that they were homosexual (when many were not) and sensationalised the incidents" (letter to *SMH* 18 October 1978). In reply, the editor claimed that, since the community wants open courts, serious papers should not censor or suppress names. Only the courts and laws could decide whether names should be suppressed. Publication, the editorial argued, could "save worse befalling" and deter "law breakers" (*SMH* 18 October 1978)¹⁴.

GSG was also organising another demonstration to support the Californians' campaign against the Briggs Initiative, the drop-the-charges campaigns and homosexuals' right to work (Saturday 4 November 1978). But when it tried to get permission to rally at Circular Quay and march past the Saturday morning shoppers, it thought that its troubles would continue. The Chief Superintendent's Office told them that it would have to apply to the Traffic Branch. It did this and, when it could not get a satisfactory answer, it sent out press releases accusing the police of sabotaging its right to organise political campaigns and calling on Wran to instruct his police to issue a march permit. It got the permit. Its supporters gathered at Circular Quay, they marched through the shopping

streets, they rallied at South Hyde Park and they did not incite the police (or collapse law and order). Though they maintained their momentum, this march's calm signalled their success (Davis at Forum, October 1997).

But they still didn't let up. They picketed Wran when he flew into Sydney (12 January 1979). They picketed the Central Court once again while The Council Of Civil Liberties was getting Commissioner Woods to drop the remaining August charges (26 January 1979). And they cheered when Parliament "repealed" the Summary Offences Act, replacing it with a new Public Assemblies Act (1979), which would let organisers *notify* the police that they would assemble in a public place. Then, the police dropped their charges against the 53 Mardi Gras "rioters", without giving any reason other than they had "lost" the documents. Finally, a year after the first mardi gras, GSG's members staged Sydney's second Gay Solidarity Week.

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- 10.65 Acknowledging *Miss New Zealand*, the Mardi Gras legend, and spoofing the republican debate, 1996. Courtesy Geoff Friend Photography.
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- 10.67 Who's Queen satirises the Windsors' "anus horribile", 1995 Reproduced in Templin 1996 p 154.
- 10.68 Philippa Playford remembers the neglected Cowdyke, 1995. Photo Sue Stafford. Reproduced in Sweica et al 1996 p 69.
- 10.69 Cloned Xenas starred in the 1998 parade. Courtesy Artist's Photography.

- 10.70 Malcolm Cole lampooned the European invasion during the Bicentennial parade (1988).
Reproduced in Sweica et al 1996 p 17.
- 10.71 Reminding us of the Aborigines' prior ownership, 1998. Courtesy Geoff Friend Photography.
- 10.72 The Mardi Gras's disdain for a maggoty Prime Minister Howard for not sanctioning its
anniversary parade. *SMH* 28 February 1998.

MANUSCRIPTS

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Bruce Belcher files	Bruce Belcher files at the Australian Gay & Lesbian Archives, Melbourne
ML MSS 3173 8-564C	Dulcie Deamer's unpublished manuscript of <i>The Golden Decade</i>
ML MSS 4620	Craig Johnston archive at the Mitchell Library, Sydney
ML MSS 5977	Sydney Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras Archives at the Mitchell Library, Sydney
ML PP TV	Mitchell Library Performance Programs - Tivoli Variety 1930-1949 (envelopes 1939 and M-Z 1940s).

NEWSPAPERS & MAGAZINES

AD	American Demographics
ADB	Australian Dictionary of Biography
ADHOC	Active Defense Of Homosexuals On Campus (a Sydney University socialist newsletter)
AFR	Australian Financial Review
Age	The Age
AH	Australian Humanist
AJPR	Australian Journal of Psychological Research
AJS	Australian Journal Of Science
AMG	Australasian Medical Gazette
AONSW	Archives Office of New South Wales
AP	Australian Playboy
AS	Australian Star
Aust	The Australian
B	The Bulletin
BB	Becket's Budget
Bf	Bookfellow
Camp	Campaign
CG	Commonwealth Gazette
CI	CAMP Ink
CM	Centennial Magazine
CQ	Capital Q
CT	Canberra Times
DA	Direct Action
DM	Daily Mirror
DT	Daily Telegraph
EN	Evening News
For	Forum

Ga	Galah
GC	Gay Changes
GCN	Gay Community News
GI	Gay Information
Ge	Genre
GO	Girls' Own
GPO	Green Park Observer
Home	The Home
HS	Honi Soit
IA	The Irish-Australian
ICV	Inner City Voice
LH	Lone Hand
LOTL	Lesbians On The Loose
MJA	Medical Journal of Australia
MP	Melbourne Punch
MTr	Melbourne Truth
N	Nation
NR	Nation Review
NT	National Times
NYMN	New York Mattachine Newsletter
NYT	New York Times
OCAL	Oxford Companion To Australian Literature
O	Out (magazine)
OWN	Oxford Weekender News
Oz	Oz (magazine)
PCR	Police Commissioner's Reports (NSW)
PDR	Police Department Report, Criminal Investigation Branch
Peo	People (magazine)
Pix	Pix (magazine)

POL	POL magazine
RG	Refractory Girl
SA	The Sydney Advocate
SB	Spicy Bits
Sc	The Scorpion
SGLMGFG	Sydney Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras Festival Guide
SGLMGGPE	Sydney Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras Guide For Parade Entries
SGLMGPEF	Sydney Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras Parade Entry Form
SGLMGPG	Sydney Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras Parade Guide
SH	Sun-Herald
SM	Sydney Mail
SMH	Sydney Morning Herald
SMH GH	Sydney Morning Herald Good Weekend
SRNSW	State Reports of New South Wales Police Force
SM	Sunday Mirror
SS	The Sydney Star
SSO	The Sydney Star Observer
SSu	Sunday Sun (Sydney)
ST	Sunday Times
Star	The Star
STele	Sunday Telegraph
Sun	The Sun (Sydney)
SW	Smith's Weekly
T	Time (newsmagazine)
TC	Twentieth Century
TCJ	Town & Country Journal
TD	The Digger
Tr	Truth (Sydney)
Trib	Tribune

TT

Table Talk

WA

The Weekend Australian

WN

World News

VIDEOS

Feed Them To The Cannibals 1993 Dir Fiona Cunningham 65 mins VHS Doc Dangerous To Know

The Gay Agenda 1991 Dir The Report 20 mins VHS Doc

Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras Parade 1991 Dir George Nicholl 28 mins VHS Doc (N G Nicholl 228 King Street Newtown 2042)

Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras Parade 1992 Dir George Nicholl 45 mins VHS Doc (N G Nicholl 228 King Street Newtown 2042)

Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras Parade 1993 Dir George Nicholl 60 mins VHS Doc (N G Nicholl 228 King Street Newtown 2042)

Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras Party 1993 Dir George Nicholl 25 mins VHS Doc (N G Nicholl 228 King Street Newtown 2042)

Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras Parade 1994 Dir George Nicholl 60 mins VHS Doc (N G Nicholl 228 King Street Newtown 2042)

A God That Can Dance: Members Of The Uniting Church Make History In The 1998 Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras 1998 Dir Jane Wright et al 14 mins VHS Doc (JLA Productions)

Mardi Gras Uncensored: Behind The Scenes 1993/1994 1994 Camera, Editor & Graphics: Lindsay Day. 28 mins VHS Doc (NRG Concepts PO Box 1888 Strawberry Hills 2012)

The Man In The Irony Mask 1998 Dir Kath Scelpa 28 mins (Scarlett Pictures Pty Ltd)

Sydney Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras 1994 Dir Stephen Jones 100 mins VHS Doc (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Village Roadshow)

Sydney Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras 1995 Dir Mark Fitzpatrick 90 mins VHS Doc (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Village Roadshow)

Sydney Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras 1996 Dir Peter Butler 100 mins VHS Doc (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Village Roadshow)

Sydney Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras Parade 1997 Dir Mark Adamson 77 mins VHS Doc (Warner Vision)

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ENDNOTES

Chapter 1

¹ Concerned about falling birth rates, rising divorce rates and "the war of the sexes", the pioneering sexologists praised enhanced reproductivity, marital intimacy, family stability, men's shifting work and social roles. So that, for example, Freud could theorise a sexual instinct which aims at its own satisfaction, rather than procreation. And so the term "heterosexual" manufactured a new, sex-differentiated ideal of the erotically correct, a norm that worked to affirm the superiority of men over women and heterosexuals over dissidents. And this dyad let doctors talk about the invert, the pervert and then the homosexual as indirect ways of talking about the heterosexual (Katz 1995).

² Marybeth Hamilton (1995) notes that whereas the Victorians valued theatre for its educational influences, the 1920s modernist playwrights saw theatre as the meeting ground of the playwright and his psyche. It was the privileged arena of their individual creativity. We shall see that similar processes were at work in other creative disciplines.

³ We mostly categorise sexuality by the object choice's gender: ie the heterosexual/homosexual dyad. This has subordinated and obscured this object choice's age, race, physical appearance, social status and the history and quality of our relationships. Freud, however, clearly distinguished between the sexual interest's *object* and its *aim*.

⁴ Henning Bech recognised that his predecessors had used three different models to debate the homosexual's relation to the city. A quantitative tradition assumes that the largest cities attract more sexual dissidents, more bars, more diversified institutions and more social forms. Various community-dissolution models focus on the fact that the homosexual's lost village, neighbourhood, family connections have forced him to live in inhuman circumstances or to wallow in the city's mire or achieve his desires and pleasures. A community model theorises that the city hosts a highly complex homosexual "subculture" or "community". Challenging these, Bech has argued that homosexual behaviours, identities, subcultures and communities *are* urban phenomena rather than things which happen to occur in cities.

⁵ We can say, in this regard, that *les justes* abhor male homosexuals because they let themselves to be used as women, the ultimate insult to the patriarchy. Because they allow themselves to be sex objects (as well as sex subjects), *les justes* claim that they dishonour men's dignity and thereby undermine patriarchal society.

⁶ They watch them at breakfast and envy them their pleasure (Halperin 1995). They also know that gay men and lesbians have erotic knowledges and and have theorised submission as power and power as submission.

⁷ William Simon (1996) has argued that mainstream Western cultures now see homophobia as unjust, cruel and irrational and have labelled paedophilia, sadomasochism and oral sex as our significant deviancies, because they

have begun to incite the widely publicised indignation that indicates that they figure in many people's sexual imaginations.

⁸ David Halperin (1995), for example, has elaborated on Foucault's *homosexual ascesis* whereby the queer continually transforms "himself", invents new rights, establishes new sorts of relationships and makes "himself" infinitely more susceptible to pleasure.

⁹ I will use the words "fairy", "queer" or "gay" as a modifier in those cases where class, ethnicity or whatever is the social actor's dominant identification. For example, X is a white (homosexual) middle-class man, to signify closetry or discretion. I shall also use "sub rosa networks", "subaltern gatherings", "enclaves", "subcultures" and "communities" to signal the degree of the gathering's openness and complexity.

I shall also accept my source's speaking position. This means that I shall use the analytical tools, paradigms, analogies and metaphors that "he" brings to "his" inquiry. So that, for example, doctors see homosexuals and heterosexist art critics revile "pansy" artists.

¹⁰ Frances Fitzgerald (1987) has recognised that the coming out metaphor simulates the puritan's conversion narrative (ie of coming out of sin). The gay man or lesbian comes out into self-awareness and self-acceptance (thereby implying that the closeted life is repressed, or that the closet is necessarily denying his true sexuality or pretending to be heterosexual). It presents the true (gay) self as fighting a (straight-desiring) phantom self and, when the self abandons its former ways, accepting its true identity and finding acceptance in psychic wholeness.

¹¹ At the same time, visibility identifies one characteristic of minority experience and obscures particularities; it flattens out differences in strategies; it conceptualises a changing process of self-presentation as a steady state of being; it depicts the subject as solely determining "his" visibility and does not acknowledge the role of the spectator's visual acuity (and subcultural literacy). Furthermore, the trope originates with and for the spectators. In other words, it is an other-directed activity and the audience tends to read visibility as honesty and invisibility as cowardice. So that the normals see the dissident, rather than hears "him", and annihilates the invisible (Van Leer 1995).

¹² Gayle Rubin (1992) has provided some basic meanings of contemporary American sexuality. In her view, Americans hold to the commonsense belief that sexuality is fundamentally unchanging; that "sex" is a natural force that exists prior to social life and shapes institutions; that, since a person's "sexuality" is physiological or psychological, it has no history and no significant social determinants. Furthermore, they tend to believe that this sexuality is a dangerous, destructive and negative force; that it is inherently sinful and that genitalia are intrinsically inferior parts of the body; that the exercise of erotic capacities, intelligence, curiosity and creativity require pretexts that are unnecessary for other pleasures. Some other commentators have also claimed that American culture is *erotophobic*. It fears sexuality and this fear has been a bulwark support for its patriarchal

gender, racial and sexual arrangements.

¹³ For example, Harry Hay (1996), the Radical Faeries (estab 1978), Judy Grahn (1984), Mark Thompson (1987 & 1987a) and others have all claimed that "gay people have a history and a social purpose". They have staked *gay* as an actively chosen social identity and consciousness and *gayness* as "a luminous quality of being, a differentness that accentuates the gifts of compassion, empathy, healing, interpreting and enabling". Furthermore they have claimed that "gay psychic and creative energies" have always existed on the outer shores of the West's collective consciousness (Thompson 1987).

¹⁴ Constructionism is a broad tendency of thinking and it has manifestations in *symbolic interactionism*, *labelling theories*, constructionist anthropology and in discourse theory. The symbolic interactionists hold that sexual acts have no inherent meaning and that no act is inherently sexual. In other words, they claim that people learn to be sexual by picking up (variable, fluid and constantly revised and edited) *sexual scripts* which guide them in their future sexual interactions. Writing in the 1960s, the labelling theorists posed the first substantial challenge to the folk belief that the homosexual is a natural, transhistorical category. Mary McIntosh (1968), for example, argued that the homosexual identity was created by same-sex desiring peoples' reactions to being categorised as "homosexuals". A decade later, Foucault's discourse theory saw sexuality as the site of an explosion of the discourses of power and knowledge. In the *History of Sexuality Vol 1*, he argued that a sexually obsessed culture has generated a range of sexual meanings, doctrines and subjectivities and that it had created :

the 19th century homosexual [as] a personage, a past, a case history and a childhood...a kind of life, a life form and a morphology, with a discrete anatomy and possibly a mysterious physiology...a kind of inner androgeny, a hermaphroditism of the soul... a species (Foucault 1977 p 43).

¹⁵ In some cultures, *amazons* and *berdaches* have exhibited a very marked gender non-conformity and have entered into *transgenderal relationships* with more conventionally gendered individuals. In other cultures, *age disparate* homosexuality has flourished, so that individuals are attracted to younger or older people of the same sex. And it is important to recognise that, within our own late 20th century Western cultures, there are transgenerational relationships between mature-aged *ephebophiles* and post-pubescent boys and between *paedophiles* and pre-pubescent boys. Nevertheless our societies' hegemonic model is of a *companionate homosexuality* which poses that *gay* people are attracted to others who are like themselves in class, gender and age (LeVay & Nonas 1995). It poses, moreover, that the homosexual has more or less exclusive same-sex feelings and behaviour, that he is effeminate and that he is attracted to all young men and committed to seducing them.

¹⁶ Steven Epstein (1992) has summarised the many substantial critiques of constructionism. He has demonstrated that constructionists have caught themselves up in a series of binary oppositions. Unable to theorise (societal and individual) determination, they have trapped themselves between liberalism's claims that we are free to construct ourselves and that we are products of our environment. They have also locked themselves into the libertarian-individualist's vacillations between the wilful individual appropriating, transcending and deconstructing

society's sexual categories (ie the radical Freudians) and sexual identities as social and historical creations (ie Foucault). Furthermore, they have failed to specify the ways in which an individual's desire comes to be structured. When they deny the experience of a non-voluntary component to identity, they neglect to inquire into the ways that every society has limited the possibilities of (social and individual) sexual expression. This means that, at an individual level, we need to analyse the self's needs and desires as well as its development in relation to others and, at the social level, we need a more comprehensive understanding of the dialectical relationship between identities as self expressions and identities as ascriptive impositions.

At the same time, David Greenberg (1988) has drawn on pre-19th century medical discourses and explored age-stratified and gender-stratified organisations of dissidence to challenge the constructionists' claim that the conceptual bifurcation of heterosexual and homosexual dates from the late 19th century medical discourses or from a simplistic and essentialised "capitalism". Greenberg has recognised, moreover, that we cannot press a single causal relationship between economic structures, the social organisation of dissidence and the attempts to suppress conspicuous dissidence. He has also reminded us that earlier classifications and prescriptions persist and re-emerge so that a society's ideas about homosexuality need not directly correspond to its gross social structure. He has called on us to seek out such social and psychological re-constructions as shifts in familial organisation. Stephen Murray (1996) has also critiqued those constructionists who have taken the late 19th century' medical creation of the homosexual an axiom rather than a hypothesis. Setting his sights on Lillian Faderman (1978 & 1991), Sheila Jeffreys (1985), David Halperin (1990) and Arno Schmitt (1992), he claimed that they set criteria that has excluded every other form of homosexual role and disregarded intra-cultural variability. Turning on the Essex School, Murray has also shown that these theorists have failed to recognise that all folk and scientific categories simplify and ignore some perceivable differences. He has argued that, if ("right", "normal" and "boring") heteronormativity assumes that gender identity, sex roles, gender roles, sexual object choice and sexual identity covary in a straight forward manner, folk (and scientific) discourses have conflated the bisexual, homosexual, transvestite, heterosexual transvestite and transsexual categories into the imprecise "wrong", "queer" and "gay". Murray (1996) states that the dominant culture has no term or distinctive role expectation for a biological male with a male gender identity and a male sexual identity, heterosexual object choice and female gender role (ie a cross-dressing heterosexual). Furthermore, our mainstream Western cultures do not distinguish between the person with a homosexual object choice (ie a closet case) and another who has a homosexual object choice *and* a homosexual identity (self-identified gay man or lesbian).

¹⁷ Stephen Murray (1996) has claimed that these (uranian) sexologists invented the inversion category to protect their friends and themselves from criminal prosecution. The sporadic articles in the *Medical Journal Of Australia* support this case.

¹⁸ For all their differences, Jean Genet's *Our Lady Of the Flowers* (1942), Christopher Isherwood's *A Single Man* (1964), Merle Miller's *Being Different* (1971), John Rechy's *City Of Night* (1963) and *The Sexual Outlaw* (1966) posed threatening alternatives and earned the (Australian) censors' attentions.

¹⁹ The best known examples of this dynamic are Edward Carpenter and George Merrill, E M Forster's fantasies and Christopher Isherwood's friendship with Heinz Neddermayer. Baron Wilhelm von Gloeden (1856-1931) provides another interesting case study. Settling in Sicily and forced to earn his own income, von Gloeden began to sell his (aesthetically composed, peasant) boy photographs to his informal network of (cultivated) aristocrats, artists, libertines, tourists and clerics. Often read as a version of time-honoured pictorialist aesthetics, his work helped to perpetuate the myth of homosexuality as class imperialism. Countering this, his apologists have argued that some present-day Sicilian families owe their prosperity to his support.

²⁰ See Daniel Harris (1997) for histories of gay male film and literary pornography.

²¹ Several writers have identified the specific social, cultural, ideological and economic conditions which cultivated these liberation economies. Steven Seidman (1992) and Anthony Giddens (1992) have both argued that genuine social processes (rather than unique and unpatterned events) and social patterns (rather than particularistic histories) have constructed the present-day homosexual identities and communities. More specifically, Ken Plummer (1995) has argued that free-labour capitalism has pulled wage-labouring men and women into the market place, improved travel and encouraged greater mobility (to and within the Western metropolises). And, at the same time, store-bought products have displaced many home-made goods so that the family has become an affective, rather than economic, unit. Consequently, procreation has figured less in people's sex lives and, as children have become more expensive to raise, they have diminished their families' sizes. At the same time, urban centres have grown and offered anonymity; and industrialisation and urbanisation have promoted autonomous personal life, so that more and more people can choose where and how to direct their affections, intimacies, relationships and sexual energies.

But ideological factors have also played a part in this making of the modern homosexual. The rise of the possessive individual (who accumulates property, goods, knowledges and sees his self-identity as a cultural resource) has freed the city dweller to sell his labour and to lead a private life. And this, in turn, has cultivated his modern (flexible, mutable and protean) self. De-traditionising traditional notions of self, this individualism has provided the context of choice which has made sexual identities possible. Paradigmatically, the Human Potential Movement (1960s-1980s) has encouraged us to express our (true) individuality; exalted our self-determination, independence and personal freedom; called on us to actualise our potential and take control of our lives; sanctioned our non-traditional relationships; praised our deviations as hallmarks of authenticity and personal fulfilment; glamorised our rebelliousness, our coming out and our resistance to repressive (sexual) orthodoxies and developed techniques for creating intense physical sensations (as pathways to spiritual enlightenment). At the same time, it has cultivated life-segments and encouraged us to separate our professions and careers from our (socially unacceptable) sex lives and shaped our responses to AIDS (because it tells us we can conquer everything by the force of our will) (Harris 1997).

Furthermore, the medicalisation of homosexuality has allowed gay men and lesbian activists to apprehensively

mobilise around their "sickness" and, perceiving their sexuality as essential, has encouraged them to demand the laws which will compensate them for their "disadvantage".

But other "symbiotic" changes have contributed to the detraditionalising process: cheap air travel has allowed tourists to gaze on and participate in the conspicuous gay (and lesbian) communities; various innovative print technologies have made cheap (soft-core) paperback fiction, newsletters, (lifestyle) magazines, homo-erotica and desk-top publishing readily available and cheaper film and video technologies have made visual pornography increasingly accessible. Indeed, these mass media organisations have shifted access to worlds that may not have been visible, assessable or even thinkable before (Plummer 1995). For example, modern drag is rooted in mass culture and Hollywood's stars have united the gay community. They shaped the cross-dresser's gaudy aesthetic and focused the gaze of vast audiences. So that, when radio, film, television, high speed travel, national newspapers, increased centralisation and homogeneity pulled the United States out of agrarian provincialism, many sexually dissidents began to see themselves as members of an oppressed minority. Their mid-century drag celebrated the forces that helped them overcome their fragmentation and honoured the telecommunications industries that contributed so much to the subculture's collective consciousness (Harris 1997).

But if all these agents have rendered the world mass, they also segmented, fragmented, dispersed it, so that the media has created mass undifferentiated audiences *and* segregated worlds of specialist consumers (ibid). Furthermore, shifting story-telling strategies have encouraged a "democratisation through identification", and the erotic communities have fed, strengthened and depended upon their stories. In other words, the gay and lesbian coming-out stories steadily acquired interpretative communities. By the 1960s, enough Americans were telling these (already formulaic) stories publicly and they were circulating freely so that they reached a critical take-off point.

If David Greenberg (1988) has stressed the roles of bureaucracy and patriarchy in this history, Stephen Murray (1996) has identified a critical mass, protective welfare, geographic mobility and the possibility of voluntary relationships as the social forces which have released individuals from their ascriptive families' control.

This text argues that traditional organised religion has espoused marriage and attempted to restrict sexuality to procreation. It has valued (desexualised) love, women's virginity and men's continence, while demonising fornication, sodomy, birth control, abortion and miscegenation. At the same time, a white bourgeois world-view has universalised the myths of the asexual woman and lusty man. This sexuality was tightly tied to gender roles, the sexual division of labour and confluent (heterosexual) marriage. As a result, some people who felt emotionally close or were sexually attracted to their own sex, as well as those who were emotionally or sexually indifferent to the opposite sex, were beginning to define themselves as homosexual and seek support in urban subcultures. Their class and gender inflected identities and lifestyles provided escape routes from restrictive gender roles. Many men fled from masculine responsibilities and many career women preferred androgynous roles and homogenderal relationships. But if most women were restricted to low paid jobs, many male homosexuals had greater economic independence, were better able to live outside marriage and cut across class lines.

²² For example, the extended family had evolved into the nuclear family to reproduce the labour force and to provide a steady market for consumer goods. Its size and privacy made women's households possible (Wilton

1994). Tasmin Wilton (1994) advises us to use scare quotes to reaffirm the inadequacy of using the word "lesbian" across time and space. The "lesbian", she says, is a nexus of meanings which coalesce at the body's dynamic interface with the self and the social. She is a "necessary fiction" who is stigmatised as a sexual outlaw and oppressed as a sexual subordinate. If "lesbian may be a social construct, but no alternative extra-social, extra-discursive mode of les-being is possible... [and] it is not so much "the lesbian" which we study as the multiple shifting processes which the lesbian body inhabits and enacts as the meniscus between the social and the self" (ibid pp 48 -49).

²³ Nevertheless, Claudia Card (1995) has argued that, while some theorists have denied the immutability of "the lesbian", the term does pick out a range of commonalities. Drawing on the metaphors of a family's genealogy and of a cable, Card has argued, firstly, that the notion of a lesbian culture can hang together, even though its parts are not bound by a common thread and, secondly, that it can accommodate discontinuities within the continua of women's passionate connections. She has claimed that

..."lesbian culture" does not suppose that all lesbians have one thing in common (a universal essence); nor do they exist on the same continuum. [Lesbian culture supposes that there have been] many limited continuities, commonalities and relationships linking some "lesbians" with others, who are linked with yet others by other sets of commonalities and relationships. [It supposes that] different continua have intersected and overlapped in history. Such connections may be all that enables one to use a single term, such as "lesbian", and the choice of "lesbian" as one's preferred blanket term probably has all the arbitrariness of the choice of a family name (Card 1995 p 30).

Card argued that lesbians have seldom had (sustained) group cohesion, that only a fraction of women loving women have belonged to these groups and that only a few such groups have been in mutual contact. Concluding that "lesbian" cultures have been cultures of resistance, of knowledge, of wonderment and of relationships, she offers the Sapphic, amazonian and Ruth-Naomi relationships as the three paradigmatic branches of the contemporary "lesbian" genealogy. Given all these qualifications and seeking to problematise essentialism, my text has settled on phrases like *dissident women*.

²⁴ In other words, we need to recognise that those dissident women who passed as men and married other women, those women who enjoyed romantic friendships, those women who entered into "Boston marriages"; those women who had (socially recognised) committed friendships, and those women who attracted intense devotion all lived when other women identified as "lesbians".

²⁵ Lesbian butch/femme iconography, for example, dismantled the construction "woman" but did not attempt to fool its audiences. Historically specific, the 1950s working-class butch related to a "natural" femme partner. Many lesbian feminists claimed that this butch/femme dyad replicated patriarchal relationships, saw butch as "male identified" and femme as selling out to traditional masculinist notions of femininity. In the 1980s many urban lesbians took up broader and more fluid butch/femme personas. Challenging lesbian feminist orthodoxies, picking up on punk subculture, playing with theatrical deconstructions, these new style butches adopted masculine signs but did not restrict themselves to developing relationships with femmes (Inness & Lloyd 1996). By the same token, some lesbians have adopted camp to articulate and subvert traditional images of women. Some feminists have

appropriated Mae West, for example, and recuperated the female impersonator's aesthetic as a female aesthetic. They have argued that West did not joke at women's expense but challenged the idea that an essential feminine identity exists prior to the image. She showed that feminine identity is always a masquerade or impersonation (Robertson 1993).

²⁶ In other words they are targeting those gay men and lesbians who see sexual politics as a matter of securing minority rights and those who contest the overall validity and authenticity of sexuality. Many young "queers" feel much more in common with one another as women and men than they do with older lesbians and gay men, who have divided along gender lines and by numerous political disputes.

Even when heteronormativity tolerates minority sexualities, queers actively imagine a necessarily and desirably (non-autochthonous) queer world. Unlike other identity politics, queers have defined themselves by ethics.

²⁷ They argue that the gay man privileges heterosexuality, that his wrong object choice lets him occupy a strictly policed private zone and encourages him to believe that public space is intrinsically and exclusively heterosexual. Furthermore he stabilises heterosexuality and the heterosexual identities because his sexuality collides with a wider epistemology which gives it its (limited) meanings. This gay man claims that he is part of a distinct minority (which is analogous to the racial, ethnic and gender minorities) and that he has an (admirable) sensibility. He equates his gayness with "homosexuality" and he sees it as a collective as well as personal identity. He is often sexually puritanical and timid, he promotes positive images to counter "negative" stereotypes, he censors diversity and he assumes that his (limited and objectifying) culture can represent all sexual dissidents.

²⁸ Queer theory critiques Marxism, feminism, psychoanalysis, effeminophobia, and the homosexual/heterosexual binary. Legal definitions of the class of homosexuals persistently involve practices of constituting a class of heterosexuals (which hides its existence as a class). Differences within the categorisation of heterosexual and homosexual are systematically related to differences within the category heterosexual, so that the heterosexual is a highly unstable, default characterisation for those people who have not marked themselves, or been marked by others, as homosexual. The threat to expel us from the heterosexual class (and from all its material and discursive privileges) bribes us into complying with a pervasive representing heterosexuals as coherent, stable, exclusively loyal to other-sex eroticism and pure of sodomitic desires and behaviours.

²⁹ Many "over-invested" gay men, feminists and lesbians have critiqued queer theory and activism. In summary, they have accused "queer" of homophobia, of encouraging political quietism, of misusing a pejorative term; of being politically naive, idealistic, useless or counter-productive; of becoming a neutral descriptive term whose denaturalising potential will become ineffectual; of fuelling existing prejudice and alienating potential sympathisers; of falsely claiming a confederacy of queers; of reducing politics to a (tattooed and pierced) lifestyle; of consolidating a hegemonic postmodern culture; of (intellectual) elitism and inaccessibility; of positing a commonality and disregarding significant differences; of devaluing lesbian and gay specificities; of challenging

lesbian and gay visibility and political achievements and, finally, of furthering a masculinist agenda by ignoring gender issues and, subsuming lesbianism into "women", making them invisible (Jagose 1996).

³⁰ In this respect, we can see the continuing appeal of community as a vision of human relations that resists the advances of the modern state. It is this state's Other. If the state regulates, "community" is the spiritually rich site of meaningful and voluntary interaction. The emergence of the concept of a gay community: a neighbourhood, a ghetto, a freedom zone of gay-friendly businesses and residential. These neighbourhoods have become markers in the contrast between gay and straight and meccas for the dissidents who live in peripheral suburbs, towns and countries. They have also encouraged gay and lesbian cultural literacies as the things that a neophyte would need to know to communicate with other queers.

^cChapter 2

¹ William Burroughs and Allen Ginsberg, the Beat poets, fused Reich's rhetoric with a very un-Reichian apology for homosexuality and hallucinatory drugs. See in particular William Burroughs (1964) *Nova Express* and William Burroughs and Allen Ginsberg (1963) *The Yage Letters*. In Australia, Reich's ideas became a cornerstone for the Sydney Libertarians' sexual philosophies (see Chapter 6).

² This inspired some gay liberation theorists, including Dennis Altman's first analysis of homosexual oppression (1972).

³ The state's preoccupation with the body and its sexuality has been bound up with bourgeois hegemony. As the 19th century bourgeoisie began to increasingly identify its fortunes with the nation state, it extended its concerns about its own inherited and carefully preserved health to its national races.

⁴ Foucault claimed that discourse does not operate in a uniform, stable way. It is made up of many elements that intersect in complex, unstable ways as power's instruments and effects and as points of resistance. Foucault's discourse transmits, produces and reinforces power and, as we shall see when we turn to early 20th century Sydney, its absence, a silence, can be a site of power and resistance.

⁵ Informed by Foucault, Plummer (1995) has argued that the gay and lesbian coming out stories have recalled the past and shaped the future because they have revealed and forged identities. At the same time, gay and lesbian private parties, fundraisers, parades and dance events have helped create "community".

⁶ Foucault was an observer-participant in the late '70s leather-clone scene (see Chapters 4 & 5). Many commentators have taken up his concerns. Mark Blasius (1994), for example, has called for the citizen's right to have self-determining (detraditionalised and non-heteronormative) sexual-affectual relations. "His" *relational right* incorporates the rights to sexual freedom, to equality and to equity (eg the right to publicly visible same-sex erotic pleasuring). And, Jeffrey Weeks (1995) has noted that the innumerable social and ideological struggles

around "sexuality" have created historically specific and contingent value systems, shifting power relations, dominations and subordinations, historical settlements and individual and collective resistances. And he has concluded that each of us needs to clarify what "he" wants and values. Weeks's analysis helps explain America's recent "moral civil wars" and concern about "family values".

⁷ Shane Phelan (1994) and others have argued that alien, incoherent and unstable identities can still produce a more mature identity by militating against the tendency to erase differences and inconsistencies in order to produce a stable political subject.

⁸ Indeed, gay and lesbian political history has repeatedly shown that we can neither presume legal and political rights nor regard them as a stable basis for "social rights". Some of the most famous of these cases are Anita Bryant's Dade County campaign (Florida, 1977), Senator Brigg's Proposition 6 (California, 1978), the Bowers vs Hardwick case (Georgia and the US Supreme Court, 1986); England's Clause 28 (1988) and Colorado's Amendment 2 (1993).

⁹ The state has infringed the dissident's rights when it obliges "him" to undergo mandatory HIV/AIDS testing. It has also denied "him" the right to marry, to migrate, to raise children, to serve in the armed forces and to inherit "his" partner's superannuation benefits.

¹⁰ Giddens defines *lifestyle* as a more or less integrated set of practices which we embrace in order to give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity. He argues that eating, exercising, playing, fucking and having fun all involve making decisions about how to act and who to be. As we move in post-traditional settings, we make and re-make our identities, we cluster our habits and orientations, search for ontological security and continually negotiate our lifestyle options - to define who we are.

Of course, group pressures, visible role models and socio-economic circumstances will all influence our selection of a lifestyle. Furthermore, our time and space may well be sliced into *lifestyle sectors* that enable, and/or force, us to move between different milieux and which allow, and/or make, us adopt and enact a series of reasonably consistent and ordered practices (Giddens 1991). So that, for our purposes, we see particular times and spaces as more or less appropriate for our (hetero- or homo-) sexual practices. And for many gender and sexual dissidents, this has meant wearing, or abandoning, masks and, from about the 1960s on, staying in, or coming out of, closets.

¹¹ Alberto Melucci (1989) argues similarly when he writes that, because we live in a society in which (most of our) our primary needs are satisfied, we have a freedom of needs. We realise that we can choose our needs, that we can see them as cultural creations and that we can recognise them as desires. So that, we have replaced our right to equality with our right to difference, and diversity. This respect for individual difference can lead us to definite solidarity and coexistence in terms of mutual respect and to bind ourselves to the ecosystem's future.

¹² At the same time, this radical politics seeks to repair damaged solidarities and generate social solidarities, reciprocal autonomies and interdependence. It actively trusts and assumes personal and social responsibility for autonomous others. And finally, it establishes relationships through *dialogic democracy* (ie the democratisation of democracy), through interchanged ideas, through self-help groups and through social movements (rather than through embedded power relations).

¹³ Giddens argues that Foucault ignored the connections between sexuality and romantic love; that Foucault claimed a questionable connection between self and modernity; that he saw a specific technology constructing the self when, in fact, the notion of the unified subject had become a problematic concept; that he neglected love's transmutation into reflexivity and self-identity and that he saw contemporary permissiveness as a phenomenon of power rather than a path to emancipation. Taking issue with Foucault's belief that modernity commodifies and disciplines the "inert" body, Giddens (1991) argues that high modernity's health-, diet- appearance-, exercise- and lovemaking manuals work upon the body, which has become immediately relevant to the identities which we promote. Finally, he takes issue with Foucault's thesis that capitalism channelled sexuality into diverse social circuits when it had less need for a compliant work force.

¹⁴ In most societies, the pool of prospective partners is socially restricted to the accidents of birth, religion, propinquity, class and education. In such societies, marriages are arranged and most matches are deemed unsuitable. So that the right to live with an (imagined) lover is a relatively recent idea.

¹⁵ At the same time we can turn to the therapists and self-help manuals which promise to release us from the influences that block our autonomous development, which will help us equalise our relationships and which will facilitate our intimate communications (Giddens 1992). Various other commentators have recognised the cultural significance of agony aunts' columns, sex manuals and encounter groups (eg Heath 1982). Melucci (1989) also reminds us that widely circulating medical information, sexologists' manuals and pornography have all encouraged performance models and established standards which can induce anxiety. Representing the body as a sexual performing machine, they confine sex to the genital area (and thereby dichotomise sexual tastes through the object binary). And, at the same time, they invite us to compare ourselves with their proposed and normative performance models so that we position ourselves in relation to a "satisfying sexual life". Simon concurs:

it should be understood that the explosive emergence of gay liberation...rested upon a number of contributing factors, not the least of which was the changing role of the sexual in integrating the narrative of self that occurs precisely when the individual is burdened with greater responsibility for sustaining this integration than was previously the case (Simon 1996 pp 122-123).

¹⁶ Foucault saw (gay) S/M as a way to detach our sexual pleasures from specific organs; to remake our erotic zones, to alter our relations to our bodies; to "vulnerate", rather than venerate, the penis and to effect a receptive, penetrated masculinity. He argued that fist-fucking socially and psychologically disintegrates the integrated, normalised subject and that leather people show us that sexuality can lead to new intimacies, trusts and innovative relationships (Halperin 1995). Weeks (1995) has also argued that love has evolved into intimate communications

which lie outside conventional couplings.

Many others have taken the point. Camille Paglia has seen it as the carnal style of modern times and one of sex's more valiant, frank and sophisticated manifestations. Robert Mapplethorpe believed it was "sex with magic" and Peter Conrad has concluded

In the 18th century, sex was about pleasure, the pursuit of happiness. In the 19th century, its motive was productivity. The 20th century came to understand, anxiously and remorsefully, the affinity between sex and power. With its ludic violence and its polarised but reversible roles, sado-masochism attempted to exorcise the traumas of the times (Conrad 1999 p 667).

¹⁷ At the same time, Plummer recognises some of the cultures of non-familial intimacy which have preceded the present day lesbian and gay communities. He cites England's 17th century molly houses, 19th century women's romantic friendships and women's shared concerns over reproduction and domestic issues as genealogical antecedents to our present day elective communities.

¹⁸ This *dialogic democracy* is neither an extension of liberal democracy nor its complement. Democratizing democracy, it encourages people, self-help groups and social movements to exchange ideas and to engage in dialogue (rather than work through embedded power relations). It fosters our capacity to actively trust and to appreciate the Other's integrity. Providing a means of living alongside the Other in mutually tolerating relationships, furthering cultural cosmopolitanism and helping build connections between autonomy and solidarity, it creates forms of social interchange which can (crucially) restructure social solidarity.

¹⁹ Giddens recognises that these detraditionalising forces do not necessarily lead to *emotional democracy*. They could, in fact, produce a decline in family solidarity and a world of fraught short term sexual encounters which are "pock marked" with violence (Giddens 1994).

²⁰ A progressive politics, this dialogic democracy has cultivated the self-confident and self-respecting, ontologically secure self. Viewed from this perspective, the social movements have set out to address various aspects of the four global *bads* which have defined the structuring (instrumental) dimensions of civilisation and denied democratic rights: *capitalism*, as a mode of economic production; *surveillance*, as a means of controlling information and generating administrative power; *industrialisation*, as a mode of production which drives our changing relation to material nature and, finally, the ability to control the "means of violence" (Giddens 1994).

²¹ Shane Phelan (1994), for example, has written about Gloria Anzaldúa, the *mestiza* teacher and writer, who is neither fully separate from, nor fully inscribed into, white American culture and the perspectives which it has inscribed *on* and *in* her. The scion of "rapes and slaughters and loves and memories", Anzaldúa's lesbianism prevents her full or easy assimilation into Chicana/Chicano culture and her ethnic heritage marks her in the lesbian community.

Weeks's (1995) notion of *soft relativism* reflects a similar concern. Here, freedom of choice is the only moral value; all options are equally worthy because each is freely chosen and the act of choice conveys the worth. Weeks argues

that care, responsibility (for self and for others), respect and knowledge encourage individual autonomy and diversity and that an openness to, and a close grained concern for, the details of other peoples' lives can help us respect and tolerate them.

²² Although Lash does not elaborate on this point, this is more complex than his model suggests. In the mass marketing era, alternative groups worked with the goods that were available to them. But recent trends in niche and micro-marketing have encouraged the fashion and music industries to identify, cultivate and create many taste communities.

This is not necessarily an us and them scenario: if some enterprising self-identified queers have inflected mainstream culture with post-modern (read camp) goods and services, others have targeted a specific communitarian taste structure. Gianni Versace, Jean-Paul Gaultier and Todd Oldham exemplify the former strategy and each community's local leather and partywear designers, newspapers, periodicals and entertainments illustrate the latter. In fact, many small businesses have emerged to cater for events like the Sydney Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras. So that while Lash's point may refer to the reflexive communities who are outside the mode of production, we can hardly say that this is so of the contemporary gay and lesbian scene. Indeed, the next chapters will show when, where and how some of these enterprises emerged.

²³ We can see here that Lash is challenging the orthodox British Cultural Studies conception that subcultural identities usually create themselves by bricolaging disconnected signifiers.

²⁴ Lash recognises that the homosexual, like the Jew, disrupts classifications and embodies ambivalence.

²⁵ By the 1980s, the mainstream fashion industry was explicitly targeting the narcissistic (gay) male body to stimulate sales (see, for example, Gaines & Churcher 1994; Mort 1996). But of course many bourgeois dissident men have been the wellspring of men's fashion.

²⁶ In this climate, the dissidents' argot provided some measure of coherence, solidity and humour and allowed "Dorothy's friends" to talk to each another within ear shot of possibly hostile heterosexuals. Using camp to parry homophobic attacks, to distance themselves from their humiliations and to create an alternative culture, they were expressing their self-consciousness as sexual and/or gender outsiders and defining themselves as "insiders" to their own secret world. And some men even went "over the top" and, capitalising on "the Liberace effect", traded on the gender system's blindness (Bergman 1993).

²⁷ Giddens distinguishes this fundamentalism from *conservatism*, which is the desire to conserve tradition as the inherited wisdom of the past and the New Right's *Neoliberalism*. He argues that these neoliberals applaud capitalism because it maximises economic efficiency while guaranteeing individual freedom, social solidarity and economic individualism. Aggressively individualistic and stimulating incessantly expanding markets, they have set

radical processes of change into play. They sweep traditions aside but legitimate themselves by persistently evocating "tradition" and declaring their attachment to conserving nation, religion, gender and "family values". America's New Right, for example, feels that family life has suffered from moral decay when it should regulate the men who would err at home and in the marketplace. It claims that permissive intellectuals, leftists, feminists and conspicuous gays and lesbians have led to the family's decline. This has manifest itself in America's Senator Briggs, Pat Buchanan and Jesse Helms and in Australia's John Howard and Pauline Hansen. Furthermore,

[t]he wholesale expansion of a market society....is a prime force promoting those very disintegrative forces affecting family life, which neoliberalism, wearing its fundamentalist hat, diagnoses and so vigorously opposes (Giddens 1994 p 9).

SECTION II

Introduction

¹ Rimbaud and Verlaine are exceptional and we should not imagine that bohemianism and same-sex desire are congruent. As we shall see, the Parisian bohemians fought lesbians for Monmartre space, the Greenwich Village bohemians dismissed lesbian relationships and many of Sydney's womanising bohemians were intolerant of "homos". On the other hand, many queer theatrical and commercial art circles were decidedly un-bohemian.

² Needless to say, the dissidents' own power relations were also shaping the offstage transcripts which they were articulating, enacting and disseminating within these sites and which were cultivating and disrupting their claimed, contested and defended social spaces.

Chapter 3

¹ The Vagrancy Act, Section 1 (1898) clamped down on homosexual soliciting or importuning. It defined any person who lived on a prostitute's earnings, or who persistently solicited or importuned in any public place, as a "rogue and a vagabond". A 1912 amendment honed in on male prostitutes and their pimps and recognised the contractual nature of much Edwardian (homo)sex.

² The 1861 Act brought several previous offences into one statute, attached new penalties to them and created "attempted sodomy or buggery" as a new offence. At the same time, the state exempted sodomy from capital punishment. From this time, the court could charge a man with sodomy/buggery and, if the prosecutor could prove that he had inserted his penis into another person's (or animal's) anus, could imprison him for 14 years. It could also charge him with attempted sodomy or buggery. Under this provision, the accused man did not have to touch the other man. If the prosecutor could prove that the accused had invited another man to have sex, or had written to him suggesting that they have sex, or had kissed him, or had fellated him, the court could commit him for attempted sodomy and imprison him for ten years. If it found that he had assaulted another man in order to commit sodomy, it could sentence him to five years and, if it found that he had indecently assaulted a youth who was younger than 16,

it could have him for ten years. The court did not distinguish between public or private, rape or consensual, activities (Higgins 1996).

³ When Prime Minister Peel had amended England's buggery laws 1828, he defined *carnal knowledge* as penetration (rather than penetration and emission), maintained the crime's death penalty but abolished the forfeit of property section. He had also outlawed the non-reproductive sexual activity of buggery. His legislature did not recognise specific same-sex behaviour (let alone a sexual identity). This Offences Against the Person Act (1861) brought together all the crimes against the person, including abortion, bigamy, rape and man-man "sex" and stopped making sodomy a capital crime (24/25 Victoria c 100 s 62).

The English legal system was beginning to outlaw all male homosexual acts. It did this by including an "indecent assault" provision in its "buggery" charges. In one sense, the Labouchère Amendment merely tightened up England's already existing assault law, which the Wolleston case had weakened. From this time on, the police often charged a man with sodomy and with indecently assaulting another man to ensure that, if the jury did not convict him on the greater charge, it would probably get him for the lesser assault.

⁴ Nevertheless, Boulton and Park were trying to attract men and, if their dresses protected the less worldly from knowing what they were up to, sophisticated men knew that they were trying to pick up (knowing and unknowing) men. Clearly, they shared a hidden transcript with their friends and with other queers. If their prosecutors recognised this code, they may have decided to maintain the fiction that London did not have an embarrassing sodomitic subculture. It also suggests that most, if not all, of the jury was unaware of their game and did not see their letters as expressions of same-sex passion (Bartlett 1988, Sinfield 1994). Some other cases exposed the seigneurial subculture. Mrs Jeffries, a notorious brothel keeper, was brought to trial in 1884 and, thanks to her decadent and effeminate friends' interventions, was acquitted (Weeks 1977). There was another full scale scandal involving some high officials at Dublin Castle in the same year (*ibid*).

⁵ Many working-class, non-metropolitan communities had no real notion that homosexuality was "wrong", "abnormal" or "unnatural". They supplied the army and probably tacitly assumed that likely guardsmen would consort with the toffs to top up their wages and advance themselves.

Wilde liked "feasting with panthers" and his trial fed the prejudice that homosexuality had an essentially paedophilic side. Later on, J R Ackerley, Tom Driberg, W H Auden, Beverley Nichols and Denton Welch all found solace with anonymous "baby boys" and "secretaries" (David 1997). So that their "loved one's" lower-class origins paradoxically transcended and reinforced the class boundaries. This went on until the mid-20th century, when the Depression, the Second World War, Labor governments, swinging London, award wages, embourgeoisement and "Americanisation" encouraged more egalitarian relationships.

⁶ Edward Carpenter kept an honest, egalitarian menage with George Merrill, a working-class chap, for 30 years. Christopher Isherwood lived with Heinz Neddermayer, an odd-jobs boy; James Pope-Hennessy set up home with

Len Adams, an ex-paratrooper and William Plummer lived with a policeman. Some of these couples lived openly, rather than publicly. Carpenter and Merrill entertained "all sorts and conditions of men" (Forster in Greig 1984 p13) and "James and Len" entertained the Duke and Duchess of Windsor (ibid, Higgins 1996).

Some novelists fantasised about these cross-class relationships: E M Forster's *Maurice*, for example, found happiness with Alec and Martin Boyd's Paul Brayford took his Harry to the south of France. Some others have documented the (effeminate) literary gent and his bit of rough. Alan Sinfield (1998), for example, cites J R Ackerley's *We Think The World Of You* (1960); Joselyn Brooke's *The Orchid Trilogy* (1948-1950); Tom Driberg's *Ruling Passions* (1978); Alan Hollinghurst's *The Swimming Pool Library* (1988); David Leavitt's *While England Sleeps* (1993), John Lehmann's *In A Pagan Place* (1985); Stephen Spender's *The World Within The World* (1951); Denton Welch's *Journals* (1952) and Emlyn William's *George* (1961) as evidence of the type.

⁷ Wealthy men had every reason to fear the police and (organised) blackmail. The blackmailer Harry Raymond, for example, ran 40 agents who met their victims in cinemas, theatres hotels and restaurants. Raymond collected a nice £60 000 a year in the 1930s. Typically, an attractive young man would lead a wealthy man to his lodgings and begin to make love before his "older brother" interrupted and demanded money for having corrupted the young man. *Victim* (1961), Britain's first film about "inverts", dealt with this theme and self-consciously set out to change the law (Howes 1993 Figure 2.1).

⁸ The schools, for example, had tabooed inter-form and inter-house friendships. They had set up same-aged dormitories; they had inculcated a masochistic machismo (of cold showers, inadequate blankets and ever-open windows); they had excluded "dangerously promiscuous" African and Asian students; they had sewn up the boys' pockets and removed toilet doors. And they went on to denounce the evils of sexual experimentation, to dissipate youthful energies on arduous sports, to prowl dormitories at night, to suspect any master's kind affection and to cane, and sometimes expel, miscreants. In all these and other ways, they imbued their pupils with guilt and shame and, as we will see, posted their sex-negative values through the country and its colonies (Hickson 1996).

⁹ Writing in the *International Journal Of Sexology*, Anatole James (n d), for example declared,

From the very outset, the Russian Ballet appealed enormously to most homosexuals. There was something in its sensuous and gorgeous colouring that had a tremendous appeal. Whenever the Ballet was in London, the theatre was crammed with homosexuals, and soon its appeal spread to the humble class of would be "artistic males" (James quoted in Cooper 1994 p 135).

¹⁰ Diaghilev's ballet hit London in 1910 and Duncan Grant was soon painting athletic, dancing and fucking masculine figures on his walls. Grant remained fascinated by Nijinsky throughout his life and John Maynard Keynes, his lover, married Lydia Lopokova, the ballerina (Turnbaugh 1987).

¹¹ Attending two concert halls, Thirkell, an Australian, was "puzzled by the number of good-looking, clever faced young men whose clothes had a rather feminine cut and whose faces had a feminine cast" before she realised that they were "gentlemanly women" who were dressing as young men and looking like young men dressed up as women.

But they were not passing as men, since they all wore skirts. At the same time, she reported on London's modern young men's ladylike ways and noted that some of them were very pretty "with their pink and white painted faces, wavy hair, elegant waists and scent laden handkerchiefs" (*Home* 1 May 1928).

¹² The bobbies were relatively benign at first. And, although they chased Crisp, and his friends, through the streets "to satisfy their hunting instincts", they still let them go to cross-dressing balls and queer clubs (Crisp 1967). Private individuals were hiring out large banquet halls for their balls and "the network [was always managing] to reach anyone who might want to go and had half a crown to spare for a ticket" (ibid p 82). Crisp claimed that three-quarters of the queers cross-dressed and that he went to parties where there was little "sin" but "a great deal of hysteria" (ibid p 82). He recalled that the queer clubs were much the same: they were quiet places where men could talk, drink and dance. But their same-sex dancing inflamed the tabloids and, when *News Of The World* and *People* began "thrusting one claw in at the front door of the homes of apparently ordinary citizens...the cry went up that England was going to the bitches" (ibid p79).

¹³ Inter-war literary culture was making sexual dissidence a matter of public interest and controversy. Robert Casero (1995) and Terry Castle (1996) cite James Huncker's *Painted Veils* (1920), Elizabeth Russell's *The Enchanted April* (1922), Ronald Fairbank's *The Flower Beneath The Foot* (1923), Virginia Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway* (1925), *Orlando* (1928) and *The Years* (1937), Naomi Royde-Smith's *The Tortoise-Shell Cat* (1925), Rosamond Lehmann's *Dusty Answer* (1927), Compton McKenzie's *Extraordinary Women* (1928), Radclyffe Hall's *The Unlit Lamp* (1924) and *The Well Of Loneliness* (1928), Wyndham Lewis's *The Apes Of God* (1930), Dorothy Richardson's *Dawn's Left Hand* (1931), Molly Keane's *Devoted Ladies* (1934), Sylvia Townsend Warner's *Lolly Windowes* (1926), *Mr Fortune's Maggot* (1927) and *Summer Will Show* (1936), Christopher Isherwood's *The Memorial* (1932) and *Mr Norris Changes Trains* (1935), Denton Welch's *In Youth Is Pleasure* (1944) and Evelyn Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited* (1945). Suggesting that women's dissidences were more discursively possible than men's illegal passions, these authors display a range of attitudes toward (men's and women's) same-sex desires. Nevertheless, they invariably shaped their narratives around the lonely and damned dissident's suffering or "his" rebellion against social stigma and self-contempt (Stimpson 1982).

The West End was another site of successful scapegoatings and short-run resistances. J R Ackerley's *The Prisoner Of War* (1925) escaped the censor's interdiction by introducing men who held each other's hands for "too long" and placed their hands "too heavily" on each other's shoulders and concluding that dissidents are too emotional and nervous. Frederick Lonsdale's more commercially successful *Spring Cleaning* (1925) derided an overdressed effeminate. *Madchën In Uniform* (1932) had a successful London production and Mordaunt Shairp's "dishonest and morally disreputable" *The Green Bay Tree* (1933) was frequently revived in the West End and on Broadway (De Jongh 1992). Shairp's play centred on Mr Dulcimer, a Wildean dandy, who had bought an 11 year old Julian and addicted him to "luxury" and "pleasure". Keith Winter's *The Rats Of Norway* (1933) dealt with two schoolmasters' "emotional rapport". Mazo de la Roche's *Whiteoaks* (1936) featured Finch, a sensitive and nervy young musician, who is, according to Nicholas de Jongh, "the only homosexual (sic) character in pre-war Anglo-American theatre to

be specifically "rewarded" although he is gay (sic)" (de Jongh 1992 p 45). I suspect, however, that De La Roche, a woman, was more concerned about championing a softer masculinity than same-sex desire.

¹⁴ When *The Well Of Loneliness* went on trial in November 1928, the prosecution claimed that it was offensive because it dealt with physical passion, which was the doctors' and scientists' exclusive domain, and the judge concluded that it was obscene because it proposed that "unnatural vice" was admirable and blameless (Baker 1985). The British authorities banned the book until 1949.

¹⁵ A policeman happened to borrow a copy of *Boy* from his local library. He judged it obscene and secured a conviction. The court fined Hanley and his publishers and warned them that they could be prosecuted for every copy in circulation (Graves & Hodge 1985).

¹⁶ Dent published Boyd's *Scandal Of Spring* (1934) because its nasty, middle-aged, clerical aesthete competed with a self-centred girl for the affections of a 17 year old youth and tried to selfishly entrap the boy. By the same token, it rejected *The Shepherd Of Admetus* because its homosexual theme was "not sufficiently tragic...as one dealing with so disastrous a predilection should be" (Church quoted in Niall 1988 p 117).

¹⁷ Some '70s liberationists condemned Forster's "moral cowardice", for not publishing at a time when secrecy was an institutional tyranny, rather than an individual prerogative. More insightfully, Christopher Isherwood (1977) recognised Forster's achievement and proclaimed him "the great prophet of [his] tribe" because he had put the unthinkable into words, because he had declared that two men can love "without limits or excuse" and because he let Maurice live happily ever after. Indeed, such a conclusion was barely imaginable. Forster himself was so baffled by his attempts to describe the lovers' fate that he left them as they disappeared into the forest and Edward Carpenter told him "the end, though improbable, is not impossible and is the one bit of real romance - which those who understand it will love". Nevertheless, the cynical Lytton Strachey was annoyed by the fantasy and told Forster that, because their relationship rested on curiosity and lust, it would not last six weeks (Reed 1994).

¹⁸ We have to fossick long and hard to find evidence of a closet economy. J R Ackerley has described the "tatty pubs", "dull clubs" and "smelly urinals" which made up the inter-war London scene (Ackerley 1968). Nevertheless, some perverts went to The Rendezvous, a cafe in Wardour Street (W1), which "was always full of gay people trying very hard to pretend that they were not gay", to the Hong Kong club in (Shaftesbury Avenue W1) which attracted a show business crowd and to The Lily Pond, Lyons Corner House in (Coventry Street (W1). Even so, "there was never an awful lot of getting together in those days" (GMOHG 1989 p 12), which, once again, suggests that most men engaged in sexual encounters and were not conscious of being members of a particular social group. The '40s crowd met at the Shake Up Bar, Regent Palace Hotel. The '50s generation went to The Fitzroy Tavern in Tottenham Court Road (W1), the Golden Lion and the Pink Elephant in Soho, A & B in Rupert Street (W1), the

Festival Club which was behind the Coliseum Theatre (sic) and The Standard, next to the Criterion Theatre, Piccadilly as well as the YMCA swimming pool in Great Russell Street (WC1).

¹⁹ For example, Crisp took himself off to Portsmouth's Navy Week in 1937. The local sailors had made it the homosexuals' Mecca and he enjoyed "the first, last and only time that [he] ever sat in a crowd of people whose attention [he] really desired without once feeling that [he] was in danger" (Crisp 1967 p 99). Other resort towns served the same function. The Clifton Club, Blackpool, was popular in the early '40s and The Greyhound in Brighton in the early '50s (GMOHG 1989).

²⁰ Although many men disassociated sex from sustained peer intimacy, Duncan Grant, John Maynard Keynes and Lytton Strachey had affairs with each other and many other men of their class. Similarly, Cedric Morris (1889-1982) and Arthur Lett Haines (1894-1978), the artists, as well as Glyn Philpot (1884-1937) and Vivian Forbes (1891-1937), another artistic couple, enjoyed long-term companionship (E Cooper 1994).

²¹ The police changed their statistical reports and this exacerbated the witch-hunt myth. Where they had once reported their *convictions*, they began to report on all the *charges* that they were laying and publicising the scoutmasters, clerics and teachers who were having sex with their charges (Higgins 1996).

²² James Kirkup, Paul Bailey and Colin Spencer were petrified (David 1997); Michael Davidson burnt two suitcases of letters, diaries and photographs (Jivani 1997) and men stopped giving their names, addresses and work details to their pickups. They stopped taking other men home and they stopped writing to their lovers and queer friends (*ibid*).

²³ In the wake of T H Marshall's writing, the welfare state began to identify the "unfortunate" homosexual man as a social problem who needed its benign intervention (Sinfield 1998). He shaped the Wolfenden Committee, which accepted its expert witnesses' belief that those who acted on their same-sex desires were not necessarily homosexual. These doctors, jurists etc distinguished between "good" homosexuals and "bad" homosexuals and between (Havelock Ellis's) inverts and perverts. On the one hand, they labelled the inverts as undersexed, effeminate and sexually "passive", as nature's freaks or the victims of strong mothers and/or weak or absent (war fighting) fathers. On the other hand, they claimed that the (predatory) perverts had been corrupted in youth, had become addicted to homosexuality and were incapable of developing satisfactory (hetero)sexual relationships. These perverts were rife in the theatre, in the virile professions, in the elite classes and in the Borstal institutions. Vampire like, they were passing "the virus" to youths (Higgins 1996). Disregarding class, they were challenging the established order and national security. Self-indulgent, pleasure-seeking and luxury-loving, they struck at the birth rate and threatened to weaken the race. Once again we see a sediment of the earlier libertine style.

²⁴ The legal conservatives argued that a shared morality binds society together, that the law must enforce what the majority prefer. So that, if they abhor homosexuality, the state must criminalise it. Against this, the liberals argued that the law must balance an action's harm against the harm done by making it illegal (Weeks 1995). As we shall see in Chapter 7, these arguments dominated the Australian discourse throughout the '60s.

²⁵ By 1965, Derek Jarman was going to The Gigolo, in Chelsea, and La Duce, in Soho. He knew he could get a blow job at The Gigolo, which was a tiny unlicensed basement with a jukebox, a no-touching dance floor and dark corners. And he knew he could rent a boy at La Duce, the period's most exciting (straightish) dance club (Jarman 1992). Peter Burton, his contemporary, remembered The Place and The Gigolo as "Britain's earliest backroom bars", unlicensed clubs closing at 11pm and Le Duce, where the jukebox, Motown music and speed drew London's first young gay crowd (Burton 1985).

²⁶ Nevertheless, backrooms and bathhouses remained illegal and the state monitored pornography more stringently than many other Western countries.

²⁷ The League advocated sex education and gender equality; lobbied to amend repressive sex offence, abortion, marriage and divorce laws; encouraged contraception and birth control and tried to prevent sexually transmitted diseases. It wanted to remove the economic determinants of prostitution and to promote rational attitudes toward single parenting and the sexually "abnormal"

²⁸ The rumours began to circulate about Kaiser Wilhelm's love for Philipp Prince zu Eulenburg-Hertefeld soon after he ascended the throne (Bullough 1994, Spencer 1995, Miller 1995). And after the industrialist Friedrich Krupp committed suicide in 1902, Germany's power brokers began to destroy their political opponents by accusing them of homosexuality. Over the next five years, they convicted 20 high ranking army officers; drove six to suicide; forced a further 15 resignations; denounced Eulenburg (who fled the country) and forced Chancellor Bernhard Prince von Bulow to defend himself against an accusation that he loved his private secretary (ibid).

²⁹ Christopher Isherwood claimed that some of Berlin's West End bars offered "pseudo-vice" to those heterosexual tourists who wanted to be horrified by the city's "decadence". He argued that the Berliners had developed "masquerade-perversion" to gain a commercial edge on Paris "which had long since cornered the straight-girl market" (Isherwood 1977 p 29). Peter Weiermair (1995) has reproduced lithographs from the privately printed Guy de Laurence's *The Boys' House Of Lust* (1922) and Otto Schoff's *Orgies* (1925) and *Boys' Love* (c1925) (Figure 3.1).

³⁰ Christopher Isherwood, W H Auden and Stephen Spender all went to Germany to escape their stuffy upper-class world and to fulfil their same-sex desires more fully. Among the first story tellers of homosexuality, they popularised the myth of Berlin's "decadence" in the Anglophonic world. A close, homogenous group of intellectuals, their literary productions, their private loyalties to one another, their criminality, their critique of

heteronormativity and their commitment to their (misogynistic) "homosocial desire" all bound them to each other (Mizejewski 1992).

³¹ Magnus Hirschfeld also went to one of these balls and saw 800 urnings arriving in their street-clothes, as inscrutable dominos and as simply or sumptuously dressed (and sometimes fully-bearded) *women*. Most initiates could usually tell that these were men, but Hirschfeld and an experienced criminologist both had trouble deciding on one particular *maid's* gender. Although some urnings brought their hostesses, landladies and wives to these balls, there were hardly ever any women at them. The women had their own (cross-dressing) parties. These women also dressed up in all sorts of national and period costumes for the Berlin women's annual costume festivals, which a respectable women's committee put on in the halls of one of Berlin's premier hotels. This seems to have been a fancy-dress party with Cappuchin monks and gipsies, pierrots and clowns, farmers and farm hands, decorated army officers and geishas. But after it was over; these women were able to be what they dreamt of being (and what they really were inside) (Barry MacKay's translation of Hirschfeld c1923).

³² This powerful natalist lobby set out to solidify marriage, to increase family size, to improve mothers' and children's' health, to stamp out alcoholism, pornography and neo-Malthusian propaganda. The French bourgeoisie was obsessed with normalising its citizens to the *order familial* and imposed strong and ubiquitous extra legal imperatives to marry, to have children and to measure up to its modern images of masculinity and femininity (Nye 1996).

³³ The eminent neurologists Jean-Martin Charcot (1825-1893) and Valentin Magnon (1935-1916), for example, claimed that biological and hereditary degeneracy caused psychological effeminacy. Fusing "the sodomite", "the invert" and "the male hysteric" as "inverts of the genital sense", they allowed their class and gender anxieties, their natalist preoccupations and national rivalries to shape their study of the "perverted sexual instincts". Their hybrid ontology-pathology claimed that individual, social and environmental practices were producing an anatomy, a biology and an hereditary. In other words, their invert had a distinctive, biologically-determined erotic psyche and engaged in particular behaviour patterns (Rosario 1996).

³⁴ Gide began to write *Corydon* in 1907 when the Eulenburg Scandal was encouraging the French to become anxious about "homosexuality". He was not the only one. Lucien Daudet, Jean Gustav Binet-Valmer and Guy Delrouze all wrote novels with same-sex themes; scholars translated Magnus Hirschfeld's works, Proust decided to structure his *Recherche* around inversion. Gide wrote the first two sections of *Corydon* at this time. He added the second half in 1917 and waited another five years before publishing it (Copley 1989).

³⁵ Gide was anxious about its reception and felt that its publication had blocked his election to the *Academie Francaise* (Copley 1989).

³⁶ Francesca Sautman (1996) has told us that French writers frequently used the term "lesbian" to signify active and passive same-sex partners and predatory women who recruited other women by passing as "straight". They defined "sapphists" as those women who had oral sex with other women and tribadists (*gousses*) as those women who had sex by rubbing their genitals together. She has also told us that, although lesbianism was not illegal, women could be punished for molesting others, for cross-dressing and for engaging in public sex acts.

³⁷ The city's (male) bohemians had produced a huge number of literary and pictorial texts on women's love and sex. They typically imagined lesbianism as a sign of (man-hating) moral degeneracy or unending *jouissance*. And, because they saw women's sexuality as conceptually dependent upon men's desire and maternity, they usually constructed sapphism as a labour of (in)difference and focused their morbid desires onto her body (Wilson 1991). So that, at a time when male fantasies were medicalising inversion and pederasty, these men were poeticising the lesbian as a paragon of gentleness, delicacy and cleanliness (Corbin quoted in Sprinker 1994). Nevertheless, bourgeois conservatives and liberal reformers were also conflating (working-class) lesbianism with prostitution. They believed that such unnatural vices were completely foreign to the working-classes and that debauched and corrupt upper-class roués had taken advantage of these girls' ignorance and propensity for drink (Sautman 1996).

³⁸ Colette's *Pure And the Impure* (1930) for example, documents *Le Belle Epoque's* aristocratic Russian, German and Austrian sapphists and their young proteges.

³⁹ The American journalist Janet Flanner was on good terms with many women and her wide network of friends linked several small clusters of women into a "community" (Weiss 1996). Berenice Abbott, Margaret Anderson, Djuna Barnes, Natalie Barney, Sylvia Beach, Germaine Beaumont, Romaine Brooks, Bryner (aka Winifred Ellerman), Lily de Clermont-Tonnerre, Elizabeth de Gramont, H D (aka Hilda Doolittle), Lucie Delarue-Dardus, Grisele Freund, Eileen Gray, Radclyffe Hall and Una Troubridge, Jane Heap, Marie Lavencin, Georgette Le Blanc, Mira Loy, Adrienne Monnier, Noel Murphy, Ida Rubenstein, Solita Solano, Gertrude Stein and Alice B Toklas, Renee Vivien, Dolly Wilde, Thelma Wood were among these women (ibid). Nevertheless, this was not the only sapphic community in Paris at this time. Weiss's narrative does not mention the influential decorator Elsie de Wolfe and her friend Elizabeth Marbury, the painter Tamara de Lempicka, the couturier Madeleine Vionnet nor the Australian painters Janet Cumbrae Stewart, Bessie Davidson and Agnes Noyes Goodsir (*LOTL* April 1998).

⁴⁰ Gertrude Stein and Djuna Barnes, for example, were pouring their energies into modernism, and Sylvia Beach and Stein were encouraging many male artists and writers. In fact, only Natalie Barney and Renee Vivien had a sense of working towards a women's community. They had tried to set up a sapphic school of poetry on Lesbos (1904) and, after Vivien's death, Barney cultivated an Edwardian "Lesbos of the imagination" in Paris and, after the Great War, one of the most famous salons of her day.

⁴¹ Quite plausibly, Allen Ellenzweig has read these images as evidence of an egalitarian subculture where apparent normality and flagrant exhibitionism mix, where a camp sensibility of drag, levity, style, artifice, posturing and excess have broken down class, ethnic and religious beliefs. He argues that Brassai's casual snapshots position the reader in the centre of the action and capture vignettes of desire and a social manner (as opposed to, or in conjunction with, sexual practices) which centres on social prohibitions against "the effeminacy" of men's sexuality, tenderness and "artisticness". For Ellenzweig,

[t]he photographer has not so much exploited, as coolly documented, willing subjects who, after they perform for each other, will gladly perform for the world at large. They will be what they are expected to be - outrageous. Already the subculture has begun to assume its role to the ruling class... entertaining the court with witticisms and self abasement - "minstrelisation" and ambiguous playing to the galleries...one can sense in Brassai's entire survey a willingness of the subject to speak for itself (Ellenzweig 1992 p 74).

We can say much the same for Cocteau's jolly drawings.

Chapter 4

¹ Hughes thought these balls were indescribable "orgies of lascivious debauchery". Dressing themselves in women's evening wear, "this lecherous gang of sexual perverts and phallic fornicators" gathered to admire a naked *queen* and his be-ribboned penis (Hughes 1893, quoted in Katz 1976 p 66).

² Chauncey's earlier study of Newport Rhode Island also found that the "straight" and "queer" labels correlated with a man's gender role rather than the extent of his same-sex activity. These queers assumed the sexual and cultural roles of women; they were effeminate and sometimes wore women's clothing. "To be accepted by the gang...one had to assume the role of the progue, fairy, two-way-artist or husband and present oneself publicly in a manner consistent with that labelling" (Chauncey 1991 p 300).

³ Middle-class men were defining themselves in relation to working-class muscularity, to the fairy's sissiness and importuning and to the women's cultures. Fearing that they would lose their manly status, they began to concern themselves with strenuous recreation, spectator sports, adventure novels, character building and the culture of wilderness, while often distancing themselves from high art and connoisseurship, from maintaining close male friendships and from queers.

⁴ The flaming faggots had used "gay" for "absolutely everything in any way pleasant or desirable" (Chauncey 1994 p 17).

⁵ Blair Niles (orig 1931, reissued 1991) described the Harlem drag ball and the parade of the fairies where men danced with each other in strikingly similar terms to the early European balls and, as we will see in the next chapter, the mid-century American drags.

Thousands from the normal world came to look on [at this] exhibition like animals in the zoo, like freaks in the side-show of a circus... someone said there were 5 000, many of them sightseers, come to look on. There were Harlem people and down town people. There were celebrities of the stage and the literary world...Men...in all sorts of fancy dress, in elaborate wigs... from the towering curled and powdered head-dresses of the Marie Antoinette period to the close marcelled bobs of 1930. Men in

the voluminous costumes which go with powdered wigs and in the long sheath like evening gowns of the mode of 1930. The grace and style which these men carried themselves was a challenge to women....they make us see ourselves. Actually, it's as though I have never really seen a woman before.

The police cleared the floor for the parade of the fairies.

They held the crowd back while the "fairies" came on in single file to mount the platform and slowly walk its length, posing now and then to stiffen into statuesque poses, to drop curtsies or to execute some syncopated phrase... Among the paraders were slim figures almost nude and often to all appearances as sexless as angels. There were feather costumes as gorgeous as those of the Magnolia Night Club, feathers trailing in brilliant clouds back from the nearly naked bodies, while monstrous plumed headdresses waved like the undulating fronds of palm trees in the wind. Necklaces, earrings and bracelets glittered. Figures with the curved development of young girls and figures with the rounded swinging hips and the soft flesh characteristic of women (Niles 1991 pp 210-215).

These drags were clearly different to "Strindberg's" Berlin ball. Jack Jackson, the prize fighter, judged the parade and they heard that Beatrice Lillie, the comedienne, would attend. They watched the fairies dancing with each other and with conventionally dressed men and they even saw two "simple, serious and intelligent young men in plain slack suits" dancing together while the "mocking audience looked on". Several other early descriptions note this last sort of curious coupling,, which prefigures the later gay identity (cf footnote 10, this chapter).

⁶ This had been provoked by Mae West's appropriation of the fairy subculture. Working within the tradition of burlesque and the tabloid press exposés, West's provocative *Sex* (1927), *The Drag* (1927) and *Pleasure Man* (1929) had introduced the pansy world to New York's voyeuristic and sensation seeking leisure class women. Staging them as "real life" theatre, she presented the pansies as a new kind of metropolitan freak and annoyed moralists and modernists alike (Hamilton 1995).

⁷ The epistemology of "gay" is obscure:

[G]ay originally connoted screamingly obvious flagrant homosexuality - queenery, nelliness, flaming faggotry, camping it up. In other words it explicitly linked homosexuality and effeminacy...
[A]lthough the evidence does not allow one to make the connection directly, I think it is likely that the gay use of *gay* has something to do with the prostitutional sense...especially collocations like *gay girl* and *gay lady*...Many items often taken to be gay slang are in fact shared by gays and prostitutes, and it is not always possible to determine if one or the other group has a prior claim (Simes 1996 pp 306-309).

This definition does not take account of the fact that, in this age and class differentiated society, many young working-class "gay men" were (full-time and casual) prostitutes.

⁸ John Rechy's (1964, 1968, 1975 & 1977) novels document these trends. His first hero is self-identified trade who exploits unattractive Johns and his fourth hero is a gay outlaw who relishes his sexual intimacies.

⁹ See for example, Weeks (1994), Bersani (1995) and Sinfield (1998).

¹⁰ It seems that Chicago's dissident history parallels New York's. By the 1880s, the windy city's perverts were congregating together and a decade later they had their own argot, customs and traditions. They were meeting in certain churches, certain cafés and certain streets. By 1905, the city fathers were concerned that 50 perverts were congregating in a basement saloon on Saturdays and that the Levee district's male prostitutes were shaping their

sexual mores, social activities and public identities into a full-time lifestyle. And, when a Vice Commission Report (1910) stated that one investigator had been solicited 20 times when he wore a red tie down the east side of State Street and estimated that 20 000 actively homosexual men were living in Chicago. It claimed that they came from all social classes, that the city's upper-class men were protecting their (homosexual) privacy in private clubs and residential hotels; that store clerks were regularly donning drag in their rooming houses and that female impersonators were appearing in "notorious saloons" and at a large music hall.

These perverts continued to enjoy their pleasures throughout the early 20th century. The rich continued to patronise their residential clubs and exclusive restaurants; the bohemians played in their Opera, Orchestra Hall, dance halls and restaurants; the hoboes had sex in their flophouses and in the city parks. And, by the '20s, a significant number of white dissidents had begun to live in bohemian Towertown, and an "even more submerged black gay community (sic) with its own institutions [had grown up] on the South Side". By the '30s, Chicago's homosexuals had (drag) restaurants, bars and four popular Turkish bathhouses as well as their regular park and rest-room cruising grounds. They had also won the city's approval to stage their annual New Years Eve and Halloween masquerade balls at the Colosseum Annex where a coloured jazz orchestra played as 500 danced and where "two handsome young men in street clothes dancing cheek to cheek, holding one another in close embrace". Once again, the commentator seems to be unsettled by what we might call a proto-gay couple (ie two men who are not manifesting a butch/femme relationship). Nearly 1 000 attended Chicago's Halloween Masquerade Ball in 1932.

Gregory Sprague (1983) has claimed that this subculture was fairly stable by 1941 and that, although the local media had censored most references (and inadvertently protected) the subculture throughout the '30s, an influx of wartime itinerants instigated police raids on the gay bars (Drexel 1997 and Johnson 1997).

Chicago also fostered America's first homosexual activist. Inspired by Hirschfeld's emancipation movement, Henry Gerber tried to politicise homosexuality by incorporating his Society for Human Rights (1924) and his *Friendship And Freedom* (1924-1925) bulletin before the city authorities brought him to three successive trials and shut him down.

¹¹ Lillian Faderman identifies Sheila Donisthorpe's *Loveliest Of Friends* (1931), Idabell Williams's *Hellcat* (1934), Lois Lodge's *Love Like A Shadow* (1935), Lilyan Brook's *Queer Patterns* (1935) and Helen Anderson's *Pity For Women* (1937) as viciously hostile to women's same-sex desires. She also notes that Elizabeth Craigin's *Either Is Love* (1937) and Diana Frederic's *Diana* (1939) were more sympathetic and that Anna Weranch's *The Outcast* (1933), Djuna Barne's *Nightwood* (1937), Gale William's *We Too Are Drifting* (1935) and Lilian Hellman's *The Children's Hour* (1934) were laced with suicides, self loathing, hopeless passion and chicanery (Faderman 1992).

¹² David Greenberg (1988) has listed several reasons for America's affair with psychoanalysis. He identifies America's geographic and social mobility, the detraditionalising effects of her melting-pot ideologies; the over-conscientiousness and disaffections of her nervous professionals; her traditions of spiritualism and transcendentalism and her emerging abundant culture which allowed, and even encouraged (sexual and other)

pleasures.

¹³ Nevertheless many patriotic (self-identified) queers passed as heterosexual. Others were assigned to such stereotypically queer duties as female impersonation roles in the soldier shows (Bérubé 1990).

¹⁴ In 1944, the Armed Forces began a discharge system to supplement, rather than replace, their penal system. They began to distinguish between criminal offenders, whom they tried for rape, coercive and underage sex; mentally-ill homosexuals, whom they discharged for having consensual sex with a same-sex partner and drunken, curious or situational offenders, whom they admonished. They also began to break down the amorphous sodomite category into a confusing list of legal, psychiatric and administrative categories which included the latent, or self-confessed, or well-adjusted, or habitual, or undetected, or casual, or submissive, or regressive, or psychopathic, or morally perverse or sexually deviant homosexual. This was partly because different factions were positing homosexuality as a personality disorder; as a neurotic, psychopathic or schizophrenic symptom; as a hormonal imbalance; as an arrested or regressive emotional development; as a wilfully immoral act or as a well-adjusted person's personality type (Bérubé 1990).

Furthermore, Bérubé continued, some military researchers began to move beyond their clinical case histories to undertake elementary sociologies of "the gay life". And these in turn contributed to a climate which favoured the emergence of a gay and lesbian political movement. Although there may have been visible enclaves in New York and Chicago, most pre-war dissidents had been invisible, isolated, ashamed or lacked the language to define themselves and understand their vague feelings and desires.

And now the draft examiners were asking them about their *homosexual tendencies* and their psychiatrists were giving them personality tests. Their systems were expanding the military's anti-homosexual apparatus and creating new forms of surveillance, new labels and new punishments. Commanding officers were diagnosing troublesome soldiers and sissies; initiating secret witch-hunts, mounting stigmatising public displays and discharging some men to stop all men from getting too close to each other.

¹⁵ Donald Cory (1952), the pioneering rights activist, claimed that stateside queers only began using the word "gay" as a magic byword after Pearl Harbour (Bérubé 1990).

¹⁶ Ignorant of Gerber's struggles, Robert Duncan (orig 1944, reprinted 1983), the homosexual poet, claimed that no American had been prepared to politicise his homosexuality as the basis for human rights. He condemned the "evil" camp cult because it promoted homosexual superiority, a secret language, contempt for humanity and because it was unwaveringly hostile to, and fearful of, "jam" (straights). Offering "family" and "community", it demanded that "the Zionists of homosexuality" mock and desert humanity and cultivate "unfeeling". Perhaps he was having a go at New York's powerful George Platt Lynes, Paul Cadmus and Lincoln Kirstein set (Leddick 1998).

Admiring Stephen Crane, Herman Melville and Marcel Proust, who had all admitted their same-sex interests while working for humankind's liberation and equality, Duncan wanted homosexual artists and writers to identify

themselves so that others could discuss homosexual problems and facilitate a genuine homosexual liberation.

¹⁷ Alfred Kinsey (1948) reported that almost every American man and woman masturbated; that 50% of men admitted to responding erotically to other men; that 37% had had at least one post-adolescent homosexual experience which had led to orgasm; that 4% of men were exclusively homosexual throughout their adulthood and that 12.5% of men had engaged in same-sex activities for at least three years of their adulthood. His subsequent report (1953) concluded that 28% of women had responded erotically to another woman and that 13% had experienced orgasm with another woman.

¹⁸ About to embark on his first research in the mid '50s, Bill Masters could find only one medical book on "human sexual behaviour" and the university library restricted its access to professors because it contained illustrations of human sex organs (Robinson 1976).

¹⁹ Jamake Highwater (1997) has argued that the law, convention, masculinist censorship and transgression had repressed notions of sexual diversity. He felt that only the Marquis de Sade, D H Lawrence, James Joyce, Anias Nin, Djuna Barnes, Allan Ginsberg and Henry Miller had challenged the bifurcation, only to have their works censored and banned.

²⁰ Cory continued

[b]y such a definition, the homosexuals are a minority group, consisting of large numbers of people who belong, participate and are constantly aware of something that binds them to others and separates them from the larger sphere of life; yet a group without a spokesman, without a leader, without a publication, without an organisation, without a philosophy of life, without an acceptable justification for its own existence...Many have written about this problem....Yet, with but one or two exceptions, no one has stopped to relate in simple terms, not couched in fiction, what it means to be a homosexual (Cory 1952 p 7).

²¹ Cory claimed that his homosexuality was not an irritant, nor a superficial predilection. It was, he wrote:

[t]he dominant factor of my life, towering in importance above all others, is a consciousness that I am different. In one all-important respect, I am unlike the great mass of people always around me, and the knowledge of this fact is with me at all times, influencing profoundly my every thought, every minute activity, and all my aspirations. It is inescapable, not only this being different, but more than that, this constant awareness of a dissimilarity (ibid p 8).

²² The 16th century European explorers had used *berdache*, a Persian word, to identify the men who lived as women (and the women who lived as men) in North American tribes. Male berdaches dressed as women and they helped women. They made weapons, clothes and tools and they organised games and festivals. Hay (orig 1953, republished 1996) claimed that many African, Asian, medieval European and South American cultures had respected and honoured their shamanist-berdaches. He argued, moreover, that the berdache function created the "great social division of labour" because these artists, craftsmen, tool-makers, designers, story-tellers, singers, ritual-organisers and teachers were the first specialist artisans and cultural craftsmen. Their specialisations had allowed the tribe's men to develop animal husbandry and to elect war-chiefs. Hay felt that chieftains had often used their state berdaches as wise-men, craftsmen and priests to help maintain their dynasties. He also claimed that

present day Native American peoples use the pan-tribal word "Two Spirit" to refer to these "third gender" people who, combining male and female economic and social roles, specialise in art and craft production.

²³ The Church repeatedly condemned the Feast of Fools between the early Council Of Toledo (7th century) and the Parliament of Dijon (1552). For all this time, Europe's minor clergy celebrated The Feast of Fools. The higher clergy handed their staffs to the lower orders who elected a King of Fools and, suspending their reverence for religion and authority, burlesqued the mass, led asses into the church, wore masks, dressed as women and created a space where

[e]veryone... cried out against oppression, questioned the law and custom of the gentry, asked why things were so, and, true to the old imitation of nature in ritual magic, shot his wad - got his beefs off his chest - and came back into daily existence refreshed and reborn. Every custom, tradition, law and decree was questioned, was turned upside down and inside out and fully exposed to the village collective (Hay 1996 p 111).

In fact, this Feast of Fools was one of several medieval feast days. They all shared, as Mikhail Bakhtin (1984) has told us, two organising principles: the (degrading, destroying, regenerating and renewing) "material bodily lower stratum" and festive laughter. He told us that the marketplace linked the ass to travesty, topsy-turvy, debasement, sexual intercourse, shit and piss. And, at the same time, it used (ephemeral and uninhibited) festive laughter to signify universalism, freedom, the people's unofficial truth and their fear of God, nature, oppression, taboo, death and Hell. Writing in homophobic Stalinist Russia, it is understandable that Bakhtin did not mention the (homosexual) *Mattachines*. Nevertheless, Hay's descriptions beg comparison with Bakhtin's and demand further research.

²⁴ This was named after the French *les Mattachines*, the Dance of Fools. Italy, Spain and England all had versions of these masked, topsy-turvy and pyrrhic dances. In each case, Might (the Church) appeared to defeat Right (the People) before the Fool transformed its victory into defeat, and the people's defeat into victory. In pre-Shakespearian England, at least, the appreciative people rewarded him with a girlish boy (Hay 1996).

²⁵ During the French Renaissance, young men joined the *Societes Joyeuses*, where they wore the Fool's motley hoods, baubles and bells. They organised themselves into kingdoms, elected (cross-dressed) Princes and engaged in such (traditional) *charivari* satires and social criticisms as voicing the people's complaints against the French King and the Roman Church (Hay 1996).

²⁶ The minoritarian concept was so novel that Hay did not know what to call his imagined constituency. He wanted to avoid, firstly, such everyday terms as "fairy", "pansy", "queer", "queen", "nervous" and "temperamental" and, secondly, medicine's and psychiatry's afflicted, sexually compulsive and pathological "deviant", "invert" and "homosexual". He initially mooted "androgynous" but soon concluded that this gender category did not necessarily fit his sexual dissident (and this suggests the emerging drift between gender and sexual dissidence). The fraternity's first meetings considered "homeoamative" and "homeo-entropic" before coming up with "homophile". Although Cory' claimed that "gay" had a national currency, they do not seem to have entertained it as a possibility. Hay initially proposed that they call themselves the "International Bachelors' Fraternal Order For Peace & Social

Dignity' (since they were partly modelling themselves on the Masonic Lodges), or "Bachelors Anonymous" (since they were modelling other aspects on Alcoholics Anonymous) or "Society of Fools" (since they owed much to the Medieval and Renaissance fraternities). But, of course, they eventually settled on The Mattachine Society (Timmons 1990).

²⁷ ONE drew up a proposal so that the participants at its 1961 Midwinter Institute could debate and adopt a Homosexual Bill Of Rights. In the wake of Wolfenden Report, this proposal focused on the individual homosexual's right to mutually consensual sex, to privacy, to establish "neighbourhood concentrates" and to pay no educational taxes. Various factions challenged the draft. On the one hand, The Daughters of Bilitis delegates attacked the proposal's "demanding attitude toward society". On the other, Harry Hay challenged the proposal's political efficacy and argued for the homosexual couple's right to "occasional multiplicity of sexual expression" and the homosexual minority's right to promiscuity, private conscience and speech, free assembly and territorially unrestricted association. He also criticised Wolfenden's failure to guarantee homosexuals the right "to seek or associate beyond (their) front door" (Hay 1996 pp 150-159). The debate indicates the slow evolution of the activists' own conceptualisation of their own identity as an ethical minority and the rights and responsibilities that this might entail.

²⁸ Exemplifying James Scott's (1990) analysis of arts of political disguise, the Mattachine leaders always used pseudonyms. They were justifiably frightened that FBI agents would tape-record their lectures, attend their meetings and raid their homes.

²⁹ These sociologists were claiming that sex was an individual's property, that social norms and attitudes shaped its personal expression and that society obstructed or tolerated sexual release. Responding to the homosexual's heightened visibility, they characteristically conflated his "deviancy" with prostitution and obscenity (Seidman 1996). Nevertheless, Wilde's boys, Isherwood's boy bars and Rechy's descriptions etc all remind us that a lot of men paid for their dissident pleasures. Furthermore, Hay (orig 1961, reprinted 1996) was claiming an ethical right to promiscuity, which straight society read as prostitution.

³⁰ In fact, more and more people were telling (homo)sexual stories to their high-brow, middle-brow and low-brow audiences. John Horne Burns's *The Gallery* (1947), Truman Capote's *Other Voices, Other Rooms* (1948), Tennessee Williams's *One Arm* (1948), Gore Vidal's *The City And the Pillar* (1949), Norman Mailer's *The Naked And The Dead* (1949), Loren Wahl's *The Invisible Glass* (1950), James Barr's *Quatrefoil* (1950), Fritz Peters's *Finistère* (1950) and Tereska Torres's *Women's Barracks* (1950) all featured suffering gay men and/or lesbians. The censors clamped down on their attempts to represent untroubled, non-stereotypic homosexuals. By the '50s, Jay Little was targeting his melodramatic pulps at a specifically gay market and Paul Bowles's *The Delicate Prey* (1950), W H Auden *Nones* (1951), William Burroughs's *Junky* (1953) and *The Naked Lunch* (1959), Christopher Isherwood's *The World In The Evening* (1954), James Baldwin's *Giovanni's Room* (1956), Allen Ginsberg's *Howl* (1956), Gore

Vidal's *A Thirsty Evil* (1956), James Purdy's *The Colour Of Darkness* (1956), Mary Renault's *The Charioteer* (1959, after being censored for six years) and Lonnie Coleman's *Sam* (1959) were the mainstream (though often concessive) high points of an escalating trend.

³¹ Terry Castle (1994) has reminded us that many sexually dissident men and women have been great pals and allies. However, Cherry Grove's history reveals an ebbing and flowing mixed and single-sex space. A second generation of well-healed women joined the men after the war but, calling themselves *gay girls*, they moved on to Connecticut and The Hamptons when other gay men began to flood into the commercialised Grove during the mid-'50s. However, by the '60s, a generation of blue-collar Jewish and Italian butch/femme couples, who had heard about the Grove in the Mafia owned bars, joined the community and eventually came to see themselves as entwined with the men. After 1985, another influx of "post-feminist" professionals and less affluent working-class women began to rent and buy the colony's summer houses. They could only do this because the AIDS pandemic had begun to affect the Grove's property values (Newton 1993).

³² Returning to Manhattan after eight years abroad, *The New York Times's* new metropolitan editor was startled to see male couples holding hands and to hear that building directories listed men as sharing apartments. He ran a front-page story under the headline: "Growth Of Overt Sexuality In City Provokes Wide Concern" and claimed that psychiatrists, religious leaders and police were worried about the world's greatest homosexual population's presence and increasing openness (Alwood 1996). His paper had not reported on homosexuality for a decade because his nervous staff (unconsciously) felt "it just wasn't the sort of thing that *The Times* did" (ibid).

³³ The neighbouring Pines was more consumption oriented than the older Cherry Grove community. It came of age when gay consumerism and the gay lifestyle emerged as the dominant models of gayness (Altman 1982; Shiers 1988; Levine 1992) and its ascendancy signalled a transition to the post-modern age and perhaps the earlier gay life's loss of autonomy and coherence (Newton 1993 p 280).

³⁴ Following Arthur Schlesinger (1992), we cannot deny that this cult of ethnicity has exaggerated difference, intensified resentments, antagonisms, suspicions and hostilities and cultivated self-pity, paranoia, self-ghettoisation and "victim art".

The cult of ethnicity has reversed the movement of American history, producing a nation of minorities - or at least of minority spokesmen - less interested in joining with the majority in common endeavour than in declaring their alienation from an oppressive, white, patriarchal, racist, sexist, classist society. The ethnic ideology inculcates the illusion that membership in one or another ethnic group is the basic American experience...[Ethnic identities] have set themselves against the old American ideal of assimilation. They call on the Republic to think not of individual but of group identity and to move the polity away from individual rights to group rights. They have made a certain progress in transforming the USA into a more segregated society (Schlesinger 1992 p 112).

³⁵ Writing on the historic mutability of political identities, Kobena Mercer was arguing that, from about the '40s, "black subjects" appropriated empowering identifications from radio, movies, television, literature and music to construct "the black community" (Mercer 1992 p 432). He went on to argue that, from the '50s, various white

subjects used inversion and reversal (binary opposition), equivalence and ambivalence (equality) to appropriate signs of black-ness. Between 1956 and 1966 the white literary underground and youth cultures began to imitate "the devalorised term of the black/white metaphor" (Ibid). At the same time the white political subcultures and intellectual counter-culture began to "dis-identify with the forms ascribed to them in racist ideologies". The black struggles, then, provided a central metaphor for the "democratic imaginary" and "their signs were disseminated or distributed along an expanding chain of equivalence" (ibid p 444).

³⁶ Stephen Murray (1996) discusses the homophiles' emulative behaviour and transferred behaviour. Illegal and media-phobic, they had to draw their members from the pre-existing social networks and learnt much from the black and student movements.

³⁷ These gay communities created institutional supports that could link individuals into them and provided meaning in their lives. But, if some gay men and lesbians have become more "ethnic" than the original ethnic groups, extensive variations within and among their (aesthetic and moral) communities and other non-gay identified sexual and gender dissidents have limited this process (Epstein 1992).

³⁸ Candice Borce notes that these gay and lesbian activists offended many African-Americans with their facile comparisons between the gay movement and the black movement: "to be a white male in America, and to realise your gayness and to find out you're oppressed is very different thing than being oppressed all your life as a woman of colour" (Borce 1995 p 74).

³⁹ See for example Juan Suárez's (1996) work on representations of gender and sexual dissidence in '60s underground cinema and John Cheim's edition of *Andy Warhol Nudes* (1996). Clearly, we need to do more work on dissident men's resistances to abstract expressionism and role in the neo-Dada and pop art movement.

⁴⁰ The Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) claimed that the police would hit a bar at prime time. They would (sometimes) physically abuse the customers and drive them away so that the owners would have to increase their payola or close down. Then, when the word had got around that the owners were coughing up the new rate, the customers would come back. By this logic, the police usually harassed the most successful bars (Young 1995).

⁴¹ Since it was hard to find a comprehensive description of the Stonewall riots, I offer this as the first stage in a comparison between Stonewall, the White Night Riots (this chapter , footnote 62) and Sydney's first Mardi Gras (Appendix II).

Stonewall began when the cops ejected 200 and, when they detained five transsexuals and transvestites (2 am Saturday 27 June), about 400 people began to jeer. When a paddy wagon arrived and when the police nabbed three drags, the bartender and the doorman, the crowd tried to push the wagon over. But it drove away. A dyke struggled with the cops and, when the crowd shrieked, the cops called them animals. Retaliating, they hurled dimes, beer cans,

dog shit, bottles and a trash can. The police retreated into the bar and bolted the door. The mob battered the door, someone squirted lighter fluid into the bar, someone's missile injured a cop. Furious, three cops raced from the building, grabbed a man, dragged him inside, started punching him and drew their guns. Someone else squirted more lighter fluid into the bar and threw in a lighted match. Flames whooshed up. The Tactical Patrol Force appeared and bore down on the crowd. The crowd retreated, but reforming behind the troopers, threw bottles and bricks at them, taunted them and lit trash cans. The troopers attacked them and, again and again they reformed. By the time it was all over the police had arrested 13 people and three police officers were suffering minor injuries (Duberman 1993).

The next morning, the burnt-out and boarded-up Stonewall was a shambles and someone had graffitied "Gay Power!" on its hoardings. The dailies, the television news, the radio news and the gay grapevine told the story and, that night, another carnival crowd gathered on Christopher Street. The heroes preened; the defiant ones held hands; the staff tried to spruik them into the bar. Someone hurled wet trash into a patrol car. Someone tossed a concrete block at another patrol car, the crowd pounded its doors and danced on its hood. Someone was shouting "Gay Power!"; the police were lining up. They were wearing visors and carrying batons and shields. A defiant, high-kicking chorus line was singing

We are the Stonewall girls
We wear our hair in curls
We wear no underwear
We show our pubic hair...

The police advanced, ribbing the queens with their nightsticks and trying to sweep the 1 000-strong crowd off the street. The crowd retreated down a side street and doubled back on them. It blocked Christopher Street, rocked cars, smashed patrol car windows and, when the cops went into action, hurled bottles and bricks. The mounted police arrived, the police charged the crowd. They clubbed people to the ground. These skirmishes continued until 4 o'clock (ibid).

The next day, the activists swung into gear. Radicals distributed leaflets to "get the Mafia and the cops out of gay bars" and the Mattachine activists called on "their people" to stay calm. But that night, another crowd gathered, the cops spoiled for more action, the Tactical Patrol Force swept through the area again and the crowd melted away. Then, on Monday and Tuesday night, it rained, and the police could contain a few simmering confrontations. Then, on Wednesday night, another 1 000 gathered. They set fire to more trash cans, tossed more beer cans and shouted "pig motherfuckers", "fag rapists" and "Gestapo". The police pummelled them and carted four of them off to jail, where they charged them with "harassment" (ibid).

All in all, the riots had had "a fun and campy atmosphere", and this became part of the legend. Various commentators have claimed that drags, fluffy sweater boys, bulldaggers and even street kids had sparked the riots. Writing in the wake of the fun, a Mattachine editorial stated that:

Now we've walked in the open and know how pleasant it is to have self-respect and to be treated as citizens and human beings. There's no possible way to make us accept "the old way" again. Should a moralist or a backroom politico succeed John Lindsay, he had better take a lesson from the Stonewall riots and eschew any "clean ups" of the sort that Robert Wagner used to gain headlines and to force his brand of morality (or immorality). The homosexual community has tired of the old "we walk in the shadows" routine. We want to stay in the sunlight from now on. Efforts to force us back into the closet could be disastrous for all concerned (*NYMN* August 1969 quoted in Teal 1971).

Nevertheless, the demographic profile of Stonewall's patrons and heroes is still controversial. Every writer has wanted to appropriate it for his/her faction or to assert a rainbow-coalition of the downtrodden. De La O has placed women in the centre of things, claiming that a lot of poor, raggedly dressed femmes, people of colour and working-class bulldaggers were manning the barricades (De La O 1994). Toby Marotta has claimed that there were a lot of (long haired and dressed in unconventionally dressed) "dope smokers", "acid heads" or "speed freaks" and (apolitical) flamboyant "street queens" who resented the police interference (Marotta 1981). Several other commentators have claimed that the rioters were the 14 to 17 years old (black) drag queens, who lived in the city's parks. Writing before the riots, Esther Newton described the street fairies who lived their entire lives around their self-definition and deviance. Poor, jobless and the gay world's "underclass", they wore make up in the streets and flaunted their aggressively nelly (semi-drag) style (Newton 1979).

If Sylvia Rivera has claimed that the Stonewall drew white hustlers and a few drag queens (Rivera 1995), Martin Duberman (1994) has discounted the claim that Stonewall was a haven for "chicken hawks" and claimed that it attracted 16 and 17 year old street hustlers who

saw it as an oasis, a safe retreat from the harassment of everyday life, a place less susceptible to police raids than the other gay bars and the one that drew a magical mix of patrons ranging from tweedy East Siders to street queens... Only a few favoured full-time transvestites...were allowed to enter Stonewall in drag ... and the chino-and-penny-loafers crowd pretty much stayed near the main bar, fraternising with the queens mostly on the dance floor...[T]he age range...was mostly late teens to early thirties...There [was] just a sprinkling of the new kind of gay man: the hippie, long haired, bell-bottomed, laid back, and likely to have "weird" radical views. Very few women ever appeared in Stonewall (Duberman 1993 pp 182, 188, 189-190).

However Donn Teal quotes from a contemporary *Mattachine Newsletter* (August 1969):

Apart from The Goldberg and One Two Three, "drags" and "queens" had no place but the Stonewall... Another group was even more dependent on the Stonewall...You've got to be 18 to buy a drink in a bar, and gay life revolved around bars. Where do you go if you're 17 or 16 and gay? The "legitimate" bars won't let you in the place, and gay restaurants and the streets aren't very sociable. Then too there are hundreds of young homosexuals in New York who literally have no home. Most of them are between 16 and 25... for \$3.00 admission, one could stay inside, out of the winter's cold or the summer's heat, all night long. Not only was The Stonewall better climatically, but it also saved the kids from spending the night in a doorway or from getting arrested as vagrants...The Stonewall became "home" for these kids. When it was raided, they fought for it. That and the fact that they had nothing to lose other than the most tolerant and broadminded gay place in town explains why...(Teal 1971 p 29).

Murray (1996) challenges these "myths" claiming that, because the management prohibited the drag queens, dykes and non-whites, the Stonewall clientele was middle-class white men.

Many commentators have claimed that Judy Garland's funeral sparked the riot. They have argued that New York's gay men identified with "her sense of isolation and self-abuse", that her suffering had offered them salvation and that her funeral was the last straw. Revisionists have argued that there are no evident links other than the fact that the funeral was hours before the riot. Furthermore, Garland was a middle-class drag queen's icon and Stonewall was a lower class riot (Guly 1994).

⁴² Young continues:

Without a solid foundation of self-understanding, most gays, no matter how caught up in the new movement, still lacked an essential self-confidence, still bought into the myth of the homosexual as a walking sex crime, wounded and ultimately self destroying...Few refugees to the ghettos possessed the social skills essential for emotional equilibrium - or even survival - in the big city. Most of them had suffered abuse or ostracism because of their sexuality...Isolated gay boys from small towns, they

arrived in The Village or The Castro lacking the discernment and abilities necessary to maintain real friendships or meaningful ties. Alienated or adrift, they formed an excellent target group for the marketing of a new kind of urban lifestyle that was economically and culturally a lucrative expansion of the illegal drug market and the quasi-legal sex industry (Young 1995 p 63).

For many of these young men, casual sex was becoming "a delicious compensation for not fitting in" and "the last refuge of the miserable" (ibid p 64).

⁴³ New York's Gay Liberation Front (GLF) had sponsored dances at the Alternative University (Streitmatter 1995). These erotically charged dances offered cheap drinks, strobe lights, go-go boys, frantic (acid) rock and chill-out lounges. Male dominated, they were creating sex positive gay spaces, connecting the liberationists to the local "apolitical" gay and lesbian communities and inciting the lesbian's animosity. Nevertheless, the women broke away and, staging their own dances, stripped off their clothes for a "primal ritual time" (Kissack 1995).

The radical Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) had also established an office space, coffee shop, literature shop, beer parlour and "huge dance floor" where hundreds of unconventionally dressed men and some women could mix freely, talk quietly and dance affectionately (Young 1995). However, someone used the dance funds to buy some videotape equipment and began to make porn with expensive callboys. The president resigned. Someone removed the files and a fire gutted the building (ibid). Greatly disillusioned, many idealists dropped out of the movement which, having lost its sense of excitement and hope, was bleeding away (ibid).

⁴⁴ Together, their successes created the New Right's agenda of respect for authority; distrust of big government; defence of traditional morality against feminists, homosexuals, single parent households and abortionists; resistance to the minority groups' demands for their rights and reasserted individualism.

⁴⁵ I suspect that, in this climate, many alienated white middle-class American men and women took to the ethnic gospel and invented the traditions of their gay and lesbian life-world. Perhaps they were saying to themselves "if I desire other men or women, I must be gay or lesbian". If this was so, it would help explain the exponential growth of separatist white gay male and lesbian communities, and the relative underdevelopment of discrete black gay communities (which would emerge in the '80s).

⁴⁶ The GLF men tended to see lesbians as conceptual appendages and organisational housekeepers-cum-secretaries. But, while the male leaders denied that lesbians faced unique problems, some lesbians began to see their gender as an issue commensurable to, and perhaps more fundamental than their sexual preference. They began to theorise "the woman identified woman" (Seidman 1992 p 39) and "lesbianism as a feminist vanguard" (ibid p 44).

⁴⁷ *Fag Rag's* Charles Shively editorialised "suck to be free" and wrote articles like "Cocksucking As An Act Of Revolution". He proclaimed that gay men should celebrate their sex acts and have random non-discriminatory sex with any man who wants it (Streitmatter 1995). Meanwhile, John Rechy (1977) proclaimed that public (homo)sex was "revolution, courage, righteous, defiant revolution" (p 47). "His" homosexual outlaws were fighting repressive laws and repressive morality and using the parks, alleys, subway tunnels, garages, streets as their battlefields.

They raged against discriminatory laws; against their misrepresentation as seducers of unwilling partners and child molesters; against the police who scapegoated, entrapped and arrested them to boost their statistics (and cover up their unsolved murder, robbery and rape cases), who threatened to castrate them and incited fagbashers and against the constant threat of arbitrary arrest and wrecked lives. Rechy argued that promiscuity requires total commitment and sacrifice and called on his readers to live for the outlaw hunt, the precarious balance, the dangers, the excitement, the joy, the freedom, the defiance, the aloneness and "the acute sense of being in touch every single moment with life" (ibid p 48).

⁴⁸ Frances Fitzgerald (1987) has argued that this gay movement falls within a tradition of American evangelism. A product of the middle-classes' great self-transformation of the '60s and '70s, it valued radical dissent, direct experience, egalitarianism, non-exclusive sexuality and sacralised community as *communitas*. She saw the clone uniform as an attempt to give up the outward signs of rank and to assume the poor's "natural" and "simple" dress. She concluded that the separatist Castro began as a bastion against the world and came to imagine that it could take over San Francisco.

⁴⁹ The leather segments of gay San Francisco predate the clone efflorescence in identifiable masculine homosexuality. Bikers started wearing black leather in 1950 (Hoovern 1993) and, in the wake of *The Wild One* (1954) The Satyrs (estab 1955) had started up as California's, and probably the world's, first gay motorcycle club (Timmons 1990). Charles Renslow opened America's first leather bar in Chicago in 1958 and Laud Humphreys (1970 & 1971) discerned the virilised gay man and linked him to the muscle beach and motor cycle subcultures. Illustrators, photographers, novelists and pornographers all promoted these (Whitmanesque) images. Cheaper reproduction methods allowed pornographers and eroticists to circulate their books more systematically and to challenge censorship laws. George Quaintance's, Étienne's and Tom Of Finland's homoerotic drawings, Bob Mizer's Athletic Models' Guild and his *Physique Pictorial* (1950-1993), John Rechy's *City Of Night* (1963) and *Numbers* (1966) and Phil Andros' *Stud* (1966) all pre-empted the middle-class clone. Tom of Finland, for example, drew virile men cruising each other (and more as the censorship codes relaxed). He placed them in humorous, contemporary, everyday situations, and, most significantly, he imaged them as unmistakably friendly and happy. Furthermore,

[j]ust as all this homosexual-community awareness began to emerge and spread, Tom's drawings appeared. They focused the vague, new positive homosexual feelings, becoming a visible symbol thereof, a catalyst, a super event. The combination of positiveness with homosexuality that was so unmistakable in Tom's drawings sparked an instant identification among these new-style homosexuals. They had never seen it before, but they recognised it on sight. It was what they were striving for. It was what they were. It was gay! (Hoovern 1993 pp 96-98).

All these images challenged the post-war stereotype of the homosexual as an irremediably sad young man (Dyer 1993) and support my claims that today's gay identities were forming in the '60s.

⁵⁰ Many researchers have commented on the evolution of gay machismo and clonism. Randy Shilts (1993) has documented its evolution in San Francisco:

The casual practicality that dictated the Castro's earlier fashions slipped into rigid macho conformity...[The young men now wore] expensive Pendleton shirts from All-American Boy, tightly fit to show just the right tuft of chest hair. No more used jeans, but brand-new straight legged jeans, pulled tight at the ass and suggestively stretched around the crotch. The fashion models were drawn from the most virile male images of society - cowboys, construction workers and military men. Engineer boots, keys dangling from the belt and a shiny hard hat lent the constructor's look. Fatigues, army jackets, olive caps and leather bomber jackets also became *de rigueur*....Before long the posturing became a caricature of the heterosexual ideal, as if this new generation of gays were out to deliver one big "fuck you" to society (Shilts 1993 pp 115 -116).

Shilts returned to this theme:

[By 1977] machismo was no longer fashionable, it was ubiquitous. Few hippies walked the streets any more; the hair was closely cropped a la Korean War era. Those who dared grow more than a few inches kept it tightly combed back. The dress was decidedly butch... straight legged jeans, plaid Pendleton shirts, leather coats over hooded sweatshirts...

[By the summer of 1978] the neighbourhood represented less a trend than a *bona fide* sociological phenomenon. An entire Castro life-style evolved, fixed squarely on machismo. A gym membership became a prerequisite to the neighbourhood's social life. Solid pectorals and washboard stomachs were highly valued for their aesthetic benefits during the ritualistic tearing off of sheer tank tops during the sweaty nights on the disco dance floor. The milieu was more macho than anything in heterosexual life...No longer was the area a social experiment in the throes of creation; the life-style had solidified. Gays no longer came to the Castro to create a lifestyle, they came to fit into the existing Castro Street mould (ibid p 226).

Peter York (1980) supported this reading when he sketched the shift from the outcast's ghetto styles of campy camp, divinely decadent Deco, glitter and old movies (1960s-1972), through the transitional post-hippie polymorphous perversity of the Cockettes, glittery Frank n'furter costumes and early-Bowie (1972-76) to the reactionary Americana chic of *machomania* (1973-1980s),

[which] started with sophisticated gays who wore traditional iron-clad American men's clothes in an ironic way, as a comment that these clothes no longer had their coercive meaning. More to the point, if suburban straights were camping it up, then these clothes, these uptight blue-collar plain working-man Archie Bunker get-ups had style. There was nothing new, in principle, about gays taking up worker chic, they had been doing it for years, in eclectic little ways - a funny reference to an icon, the straight working-man. But what was different this time was the way they went about it - it was so complete, such a uniform, that you might think that these people wanted to be construction workers, footballers, lumberjacks. One of the tightest dress-codes in the world was evolving, and with the costume - for these things can work from the outside in - a new attitude and the new/old language, the mythology of the hard man, macho (York 1980 p 157).

York attributed the moustache aesthetic to the reactionary macho movies of sadistic male bravery, to (chauvinistic) male bonding, to recent updates of the Marlboro man, to the period's sado-masochistic aesthetic and media sensibility. Rejecting the "old neurotic over-identification" with Divas as a kind of Uncle Tommery, he felt that the macho gay had internalised the Ultraman's jeans, hardman values and contempt for sissies. And by '77, Calvin Klein was cutting "the rise" to accentuate the crotch and pulling the seam up between the buttocks to shape the arse and make a fortune (Gaines & Churcher 1994).

See also Edmund White (1980) and Martin Levine (1998) for further descriptions of the clone style. Nevertheless, Seymour Kleinberg has argued that beneath the elegant and expensive butch the same old problems remained. He felt that "misery when in love, loneliness when one is not, frustration and ambitiousness at work and a monumental self-centredness that exacerbates the rest...[had] been the archetypes of unhappiness in homosexual America for as long as I can remember" (Kleinberg 1982 pp 194-195).

⁵¹ Various writers have contributed to this assessment including Dennis Altman (1982), Gilbert Herdt (1992), John D'Emilio (1983), Martin Humphries (1985), John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman (1989), Martin Levine (1992 & 1998), Mark Blasius (1994), Stephen O Murray (1992 & 1996), Randy Shilts (1987 & 1993) and Edmund White

(1980).

⁵² Although the Marxist informed movement had a critique of the clone, others have challenged communitarian assimilationism. Leo Bersani, for example, has argued that gay men have de-gayed themselves in the process of making themselves visible. Claiming that they can be good citizens, they have erased their identity, affirmed their inferior position and presented cultural spectacles of politically impotent disrespect. But they have left an oppressive society's structures intact. Bersani wanted his readers to cultivate homo-ness's anti-communitarian impulses; to contest oppressive structures; to explore psychic mobility and to deploy the feminine's (unstable) signifiers in order to defeat the manoeuvres which have defined sexual difference; to redefine relationality; to mandate the outlaw's political unacceptability and indispensability and to try out subversive, revolutionary social arrangements (Bersani 1995). Like Robert Duncan before him (orig 1944, reprinted 1983), Bersani turned to Marcel Proust, André Gide, Jean Genet and Greg Araki's *The Living End* to illustrate his strategies.

⁵³ Hay called on his fellow "gay not-men" to build "subject-subject" (sic) relationships in which they could enjoy each other's enjoyment as well as heal each other and maximise their differences from straight people (Timmons 1990, Hay 1996).

⁵⁴ But although Hay pressed the other Faeries to attend demonstrations, to build coalitions and to lobby Congress, most of them dismissed political activism as capitulating to the straight world. Evolving over many decades, Hay's vision also owed much to lesbian separatism.

⁵⁵ Their music, for example, attempted to create a space where artists and audiences could share a common political vision, could break down the usual hierarchical relationships and could demystify and de-talent art, in an any-woman-can sort of way. Refusing to elevate their performers to star status, they reduced them to being "just another sister" and downplayed their audiences' (sexual) fantasies about them.

⁵⁶ Several commentators have recognised this model's weaknesses and limitations. Gay-bashings and AIDS have turned these high-visibility (utopian) liberation zones into isolated and oppressive ghettos (Davis 1995) so that many conspicuous gay men and lesbians have begun to live in the once disparaged (safe) suburbs. We must also recognise that the gay men and lesbians have not always lived in neighbourhoods that would let them elect their own representatives. And many activists have come to realise that their legislative victories have been symbolic; that gay and lesbian interests cannot rely on legislation to create social change and that they must work towards cultural acceptance. At the same time, gay men and lesbians have had to examine their internal class, ethnic and other differences. And, furthermore, many of the more sophisticated activists have come to recognise that their earlier essentialist models were flawed. As we have seen, Queen Nation, Lesbian Avengers and ACT UP have all challenged communitarian essentialism.

⁵⁷ Historians have traced San Francisco's first queer identities and enclaves to the 1890s when at least one cross-dressed man was working as a cook, seamstress and housekeeper; when some male prostitutes were heading off to the Spanish-American war and when C W Stoddard was writing about his respectable (sexually dissident) life. The cops closed down the town's first known dance-hall in 1908 and, although Gertrude Stein and Alice B Toklas had fled, separately, to Paris, Elsa Gislou was able to publish her *On a Grey Thread* (1923) lesbian poems. Many years later, the North Beach beats had praised gay men's rebellion against stultifying norms and Allen Ginsberg's *Howl* (1958) had celebrated gay sex and won a highly publicised obscenity trial. Shortly afterwards, the California Supreme Court (1959) had affirmed homosexuals' right to gather in taverns. Thereupon, the owner of The Handlebar went to the District Attorney to complain about police shakedowns and payola extractions. He lost his case and the police retaliated by forcing the city's 50 or so gay bars to observe the local no-touching, no-hand-holding and no-dancing law.

The post-prohibition city tolerated queer bars and bathhouses. Taverners ran The Black Cat Cafe (unknown-1963); Finocchio's tourist bar (1929-present); The Fireside (estab 1937); The Old Crow (1935-1980); The Sailor Boy Tavern (estab 1938) and The White Horse (estab 1933). Other queer bars burgeoned during the Second World War, the occupation of Japan (1945-1948) and the Korean War (1950-1953). Many sexually dissident people settled there after demobilisation, often because they had dishonourable discharges and did not want to return "home". Furthermore, The Mattachines had opened up their San Francisco (1953) and Berkeley (unknown) chapters and relocated their national office there (1957) and Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin had set up the Daughters of Bilitis there.

Meanwhile, José Sarria, The Black Cat's celebrated drag artiste, was raising the queens' consciousness with anthems, battle cries, a news service and guerilla tactics. He had instructed those men who had been arrested in "the disorderly houses" to dress straight for court, so that the magistrates would not be able to identify their sexual proclivities. He had also organised the city's 35 bars to telegraph impending raids and had instructed cross-dressers to wear "I am a boy" labels on their frocks. He had called on arrestees to clog the city's courtrooms by demanding jury trials (rather than surreptitiously paying the shameful fine). He had eventually run for, and gained 7 000 votes, in the San Francisco Board Of Supervisors elections (1961). As such, he was America's first openly gay candidate for public office (Shilts 1993).

At about the same time, several (independent and gay identifying) bar owners and their staff set up the Tavern Guild (estab 1962). They hired a bail bondsman, retained a lawyer to protect their clients and published a know-your-rights guide. And, when City Hall closed The Black Cat and 12 other bars in 1963, SIR asserted the homosexual's rights and committed itself to democratic processes, to attracting "all expressions of the homosexual community" and to creating "a community feeling" (D'Emilio 1983 p190).

However, when, the new Council On Religion & The Homosexual, an inter-denominational outreach for individual rights, joined up with The Mattachines and The Daughters Of Bilitis to organise a New Year's Eve benefit (1964/5), plain clothes cops spot lit the venue's entrance, photographed the guests, arrested three supportive lawyers and intimidated the 500 strong crowd. When the case came to trial, the judge threw it out of court. This ball and its aftermath were the watershed of San Francisco's gay activism (D'Emilio 1983; Shilts 1993). Resisting

other intimidations, SIR continued to draw the "apolitical" bar queens to its dry dances, parties, drag shows, meditation groups, art classes, bowling leagues and bridge nights. It ran an STD education program, conducted voter registration drives, held meet-the-candidates nights and set up a Gay Community Centre. This, in turn, prompted the League for Civil Education (LCE) to publish its free *LCE News* and to distribute them in the local bars. Reporting on arrests, encouraging its readers to exercise their political muscle, LCE ordered them to fight back. Recognising gay men's social needs, SIR and *LCE News* were acknowledging the queens' love of bar life, generating community feeling and helping to turn the San Francisco scene into America's most visible gay male enclave.

⁵⁸ Stephen Murray (1996) has argued that, although some influential East Coast writers have caricatured this gay migration as dropping out in order to move to San Francisco's "sexual playground", most of these men did not see their relocation as a single, normative right of passage. Although many of them did not do a cost benefit analysis of their options, their migration was usually over determined.

His research found that some men saw San Francisco as a place where they would not be stigmatised; some moved there so that they could come out; some were pursuing love; some were seeking money and/or career prospects; some wanted good weather; some moved with their partners; some moved because they did not have much to lose; some wanted to live with a friend or knew that they could mobilise a network of friends when they hit town.

⁵⁹ Armistead Maupin has documented the era in his *Tales Of the City* series. See also Edmund White's *States Of Desire* (1980) and Neil Miller's *In Search Of Gay America* (1989).

⁶⁰ Stephen Murray's (1992) ethnosemantic analysis showed that "coming out" and migration were two aspects to the path to membership in the San Francisco community. When he surveyed gay identified San Franciscans, most respondents felt that gay identity, rather than homosexual activity, was the salient, defining characteristic of their community and that "anyone who considers himself gay is gay".

Accepting being gay is not just the most important criterion for establishing membership in the category "gay community" but the central moral imperative within it. Denying one's self and one's brothers and sisters is the gravest sin (Murray 1992 p).

Although only 4% of their sample had been born in the Bay Area, these surveys challenged the widespread view that gay men abandoned their careers and took any job to live in The Gay Mecca. At the same time his muscular respondents distanced the community from effeminacy and cross-dressing and noted their animosity toward drag queens and vice versa (ibid).

⁶¹ San Francisco began to attract vast numbers of gay tourists. While weekend trippers dubbed the Los Angeles-San Francisco air shuttle, "the gay express", international and interstate gay men holidayed there, staying in gay hotels, going to gay restaurants, dancing in gay discos and shopping in gay stores (Fitzgerald 1987). As we will see, many Australians were making this pilgrimage.

Chapter 5

¹ Once again the generalist turns to American texts and is left with the possibly misleading impression that Americans developed many of the practices that characterise the contemporary gay *Gesellschaft*.

² Although, many scholars have noted Henry James's, Franz Kafka's and others' attempts to simultaneously conceal and exhibit themselves (Tóibín 1999), we can take Jasper Johns as a complex example of the masking dissident who references the thin dotted line of his "ancestors" and friends. Distancing himself from the Abstract Expressionists' raging heterosexuality and Warhol's "faggy airs", this ambitious and fearful dandy hid his psychological states from McCarthyism. Steeping himself in psychoanalysis, Johns *ventriloquised* Hart Crane and Frank O'Hara, the homosexual poets, "to exteriorise his sealed inner self" (Johnston 1994 p 166). Echoing *The Homosexual Outlook*, he literally rendered, and then masked, his homosexuality in his paintings (*ibid*), and produced socially-closed allegories, metonyms and synecdochies of his life with Robert Rauschenberg and, twenty years later, Jim Self (*ibid*; Orton 1994).

³ Marcel Proust, for example, told André Gide that he had modelled Albertine, his male hero's obsessive love interest, on a boy (Roth 1993). Similarly, Noël Coward cross-wrote same-sex desires in *Design For Living* (1932) and *Private Lives* (1941) (Castle 1996).

⁴ Henry James, Walter Pater, Marcel Proust and Oscar Wilde, for example, all displaced their (homosexual) enunciations into (sanctified) aestheticism. Other authors have passed their texts off as stories about a hero's artistic sensitivities, or alcoholism, or impotence or another deviancy; as his friendship, comradeship or *esprit de corps*; as his ostensibly heterosexual love triangle or as his preoccupation with stylistics (Roth 1993).

⁵ Henning Bech (1997) recognises that unequivocal (physically orgasmic) homosexual acts also occur among non-homosexual men (ie men-who-have-sex-with-men) whose acts are drawn into the logic of absent homosexuality.

⁶ David van Leer (1995) has argued that H H Munro, Ronald Firbank, Evelyn Waugh, Christopher Isherwood, E M Forster and Henry James all used this strategy to percolate camp style into England's mainstream fiction as an aristocratic mannerism which would reinforce, or undermine, class values. Firbank, for example, joined aristocratic characters, erotic settings and thinly veiled comedies of manners to showcase his highly stylised prose and to position homosexuals as another incarnation of extravagance. At the same time he used language, inverted genders and facetious observations to parody heterosexual mores.

Unable, or unwilling, to affect such "aristocratic" mannerisms, American writers found several other ways of accommodating camp's eroticism. Carl van Vechten used camp as a black speech pattern; Lorenz Hart used popular songs; Tennessee Williams, William Inge and Edward Albee all cross-wrote gay men as women and Patrick Dennis appropriated the drag's deadpan narratives to represent Auntie Mame's eccentricities (van Leer 1995).

⁷ For example, Charles Demuth painted "Turkish Bath" (1916), "Dancing Sailors" (1917 & 1918), "Distinguished Air" (1930) and "On That Street" (1932) for his pleasure and to avoid prosecution (Haskell 1988, Weinberg 1993). The mid-century physical culture magazines deployed the same strategy and Jill Johnston (1996) has outed Jasper Johns's iconography. I shall argue in Chapter 6 that Janet Cumberae Stewart, Adrian Feint and Thea Proctor, three Australian artists, also used this technique.

⁸ Trash aesthetics (*nostalgie de la boue*) values the tacky, sedimentary and abject.

⁹ Sexual dissidents, like many other people, have created *kitsch works*, defined kitsch and parodied it. Countering the aesthetic relativists' claims that kitsch has no inherently structural properties and that its critics have reduced its alleged worthlessness to ethnocentric, historical and elitist prejudices, Tomas Kulka (1996) has argued that *kitsch works* charge their easily identifiable subject matter with stock emotions that do little to enrich our understanding of their referents. Incapable of stylistic innovation and always appealing to their referents, kitschworks are parasitic. Univocal, unambiguous, deadly serious, transparently symbolic and unquestioning, they depict the conventionally beautiful, good, moral and proper. Charged by their all-important referents, and trading in sentimentality, they elicit spontaneous and unreflective emotional responses, rather than aesthetic intensity.

Kitsch thrives in popular culture and in community art practices, including the Sydney Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras floats and costumes, where some paraders exploit it and where aesthetically literate spectators read some vernacularly designed entries as kitsch. Both these groups recognise high aesthetic values. Consciously responding to kitsch's ubiquity, they know that camp, pop art and postmodern artists have evoked kitsch, quoted kitsch, commented on kitsch and parodied kitsch. Failing their aesthetic values; kitsch appeals to their sense of humour and it can become one of their favourite fancies (ibid).

¹⁰ The aesthete makes his life a work of art. "He" enjoys sad and solitary pleasures; cultivates his own mental garden and tends to priggishness and humourless precocity.

¹¹ They disagree, however, on whether camp, like beauty, inheres in objects, or in the perception of them; whether camp opposes mass culture or is a way of taking it on board; whether it is elitist or egalitarian; whether it is a privileged position or a means of coping with powerlessness; whether it celebrates eroticism or empties sexuality of desire; whether it disrupts or whether "oppressive forces" have coopted and integrated it into mainstream aesthetics.

¹² Andrew Ross (1993) identifies the different things camp meant to the various '60s subcultures and elites. "Slumming" intellectuals theorised camp to defend their tastemaker status against Pop's valorisation of egalitarian aesthetics. They theorised camp as an antidote to Pop's built-in stylistic obsolescences. Curiously, Ross does not read these as queening strategies.

¹³ This argument holds that homosexuality is a rationalisation of a more generalised feeling of exclusion and marginality. Indeed the idea that there is a necessary relationship between camp and homosexuality is relatively recent. Mark Booth (1983), for example, has argued that the camp man is a sexually ambiguous drone whose recurrent nightmare is that some woman will force him to take liberties with her. His camp shrinks from the drudgery of marital sex and feels that proximity compels sincerity when he must be free to enjoy the vertiginous exhilarations of insincerity (ibid). He holds, moreover, that camp people tend to be asexual rather than homosexual. They mimic popular images of the homosexual and the woman because they are marginals. Only a small proportion of those who exhibit symptoms of camp behaviour are homosexual (ibid). The camp poses as a sexual procurante who is careless, indifferent and nonchalant about sex (ibid). His polymorphous perversity is close to the surface. While there are suggestions of most perversions in camp culture, it's paradigmatic perversion is exhibitionism. The thing is not to be gay, queer, masochistic or whatever but to be seen to be so.

¹⁴ For example, camp (and Camp) are historically and culturally specific (Kleinhans 1994). Although camp expressed mid-century homosexual culture, Susan Sontag's famous essay (1964) encouraged mainstream culture to appropriate it. Furthermore, '60s *pop camp* let some intellectuals take up pop and distance themselves from "good taste". And AIDS activism, post-structuralism and postmodern aesthetics have made camp more intellectually and politically respectable. Furthermore, the new middle-classes have (knowingly and joyfully) erased the queer presence and appropriated "his" discourses (Meyer 1994). Liberating objects from disdain and neglect and infusing them with a glamorous "queer aura", the art world has flirted with Robert Mapplethorpe, Keith Haring and all the other dead queers who have fed it. Substituting themselves as the signified, the camp-cognoscenti have unwittingly performed the queer and reproduced "his" aura (ibid).

And, ironically, the '70s gay communities were drifting into neo-puritanism and received conformism. They were branding the obstinate camp as placatory. They were claiming that he conspired with heteronormativity, that he was bitchy and they dismissed him as the Step-n-Fetchit of the leather bars and the Auntie Tom of the denim discos.

¹⁵ In other words, "he" can overvalue Camp's effectiveness. Mainstream audiences may not twig to its significance and can distance themselves and dismiss it (Roman 1993). They can, and often do, leave the site feeling that queers are entertainments. Reading gay (and lesbian) culture as a drag show, they have commodified, reconfigured and depoliticised camp's survivalist quality.

¹⁶ Mark Booth (1983) has identified the archetypes of camp as the urbane, detached, sardonic, poised dandy wit who is either a dilettante or a gifted amateur or an idealised aristocrat; the phallic woman; the eminence cerise who, as the patron of camp culture, is the impresario of imposture who pays the bills; the beautiful boy; the transvestite; the burlesque queen who crudely and exaggeratedly parodies women; the manic poseur/poseuse (such as *Brideshead Revisited's* Anthony Blanche; *The Berlin Diaries'* Sally Bowles and *Breakfast at Tiffany's* Holly Golightly) and the vamp.

¹⁷ In *unintentional camp*, the camp comments on the scene's "campy" behaviour or appearance. In *intentional camp*, the camp clearly defines the performers' and the audience's structure.

¹⁸ Christopher Isherwood (1954) had distinguished between *low camp*, which he defined as "a swishy little boy with peroxidized hair", and *high camp* which, he claimed, has an underlying seriousness.

¹⁹ Men found it too risky or too distasteful to proposition Crisp. And, once his costumes shifted from the effeminate to the bizarre, startled and hating strangers began to slap his face and stamp on his toes (Crisp 1967). But after one particular foray in a black silk dress, he stopped cross-dressing, because he thought it made him look less feminine.

²⁰ These early '80s London clubs inspired sartorial excessive and heterogeneous unruliness. Reversing and mocking the social and sexual order, their (unemployed) patrons dressed as kings, queens, Hollywood stars, regency fops and ecclesiastics. Signifying a return to carnival's public, joyful and anarchic (as well as private, shameful and fetishistic) transvestism (Evans & Thornton 1989), they created a space for excess, prodigality, heterogeneity, narcissism, infantilism and the carnivalesque. Exploring the relationships between being and appearance, creating multiple selves, blurring performance/audience distinctions, parodying femininity, wearing Japanese designers' loose, asexual creations, their clubbers bent gender and challenged sexual stereotypes. Spawning such designers as Stephen Linard, David Holah and Melissa Kaplan, such entertainers as Annie Lennox, Boy George, Marilyn, Spandau Ballet and Leigh Bowery and celebrated in *Blitz*, *i-D* and *The Face*, its androgyny became a cutting-edge aesthetics (and inspired some of Sydney's Mardi Gras revellers).

²¹ We need to recognise Vesta Tilley's (1864-1952) key role in re(de)fining male-impersonation in English Music Halls and American Vaudeville. Although Tilley distinguished between her kindly stage personae and her own womanliness, Marlene Dietrich acknowledged that Tilley had opened up a performance space which Greta Garbo, Beatrice Lillie and Annie Lennox could exploit (Maitland 1986).

²² Katherine Hamnett's glam kitsch, Jean-Paul Gaultier's designer bondage and inner-outerwear, Vivienne Westwood's anarchic punk, bondage and historical appropriations, Stephen Linard and John Crancker's androgynous styles and Kinky Gerlinky's transvestitic club all shaped these ("decadent") post-traditional gender transgressions.

²³ Little Richard, Liberace, Elvis Presley, Johnny Ray, David Bowie, Garry Glitter, Sylvester, New Romantics, Boy George, Marilyn, Kiss, Tiny Tim, Annie Lennox and kd lang were the most famous of these gender benders.

²⁴ But if the cross-dresser forcefully disdains any (homo)sexual motivation and if his associations emphasise transvestism as a general gender anomaly rather than a fetishistic sexuality, some clinicians have argued that male

cross-dressing, sexual arousal and masturbation all characterise transvestism. The transvestite seeks to (unconvincingly) impersonate a woman and emphasises his male *en travesti* status. There are at least five heterosexual behaviour patterns which involve cross-dressing: the fetishist (who uses women's "gender array" for his heterosexual stimulation), the fetishistic transvestite, the marginal transvestite, the transgender and the secondary transsexual (Garber 1993 p 132).

²⁵ Essentialising and overvaluing his genitals, the transsexual despairs of these insignia of maleness. The *straight transsexual* is a biological male who identifies as a woman and is attracted to men and the *gay transsexual* is a biological male who identifies as a woman and is attracted to women. He completely identifies with the opposite sex, he wants to be accepted as a member of that sex and wants to have an operation in order to rectify the "discrepancy" between his biological and physiological sex. He wants to release a "real" female self and to rid himself of the suffering which his condition entails. In conflict between his gender identity and biological and psychological sex, he regards transsexualism as an untenable "gender dysphoria". He believes medicine can alleviate (and possibly correct) his condition and allow *her* to live comfortably and normally.

²⁶ Literary and cultural critics have usually read the transvestite as a male or female manque (Garber 1993). "He" challenges our easy notions of binarity and questions our notions of the female/male; gay/straight; sex/gender dyads. Disrupting our gender stereotypes' ideological functions, "he" does not necessarily gain power; but "he" does make it harder for us to classify and "he" can threaten us more than unstereotypic behaviour does (van Leer 1995). In other words, transvestism is "a mode of articulation" and "a way of describing a space of possibility" which challenges our notions of an "original" and stable identity, self-sufficiency and self-knowledge (Garber 1993 p 11).

²⁷ Although we cannot conflate transvestism with gay identity, we want to be able to see the heterosexual and homosexual difference and, having imputed a difference, want to be able to interpret it (Garber 1993). Needing to tell the difference; we try to conflate the (visibly different) transvestite and the (possibly invisible) homosexual in order to clarify and differentiate "normal" sex and gender (ibid). We need to oppress, stigmatise and vilify drag queens, transvestites, butches, queens and dykes on bikes.

²⁸ Julian Eltinge (1882-1941) and Karyl Norman (1897-1947) realistically impersonated women, even if they challenged the illusion. They performed to vaudeville, as against exclusively homosexual audiences.

²⁹ But the male performer constructs an agreed upon exchange with his (male audience) about woman as myth (as cultural and ideological object). Male drag mirrors woman's socially constructed role (Dolan quoted in Ferris 1993 p 10). Often parodying gender, some drags value women very highly, others hate them and set out to put them down. Some drag performers target mainstream audiences while others design their acts to appeal to gay audiences.

³⁰ Although some people use "drag" to describe the judiciary's, the clergy's and the military's elaborate garb, I am

using the word to signify a male dissident's female costume (and, in several instances, a lesbian's appropriations).

³¹ These enclaves usually held their dos in the city's less fashionable areas, to avoid the homophobes' notice. "Recreational police" would monitor their drinking and decency. The neighbourhood kids would tease, taunt and send up their gaits and giggles. And the graceful would merge with the grotesque. They would invariably crown the night with a queens' parade, where all *the girls* would model their flamboyantly coloured and ostentatious gowns, smile coyly and court the crowd's cheers for their costumes or impersonations. So that these dance events exposed their gay life, forced officialdom to recognise their rights to assemble, brought "the kind" together, let them discard their masks and "for this brief moment of unreality" make their lives worth living (Cory 1952).

³² Joey Arias has characterised this drag as humourlessly focusing on sex and perversion, rather than fun, colour, excitement and character invention (quoted in Chermeyeff et al 1995).

³³ Juan Suárez has located the '60s gay film-makers Kenneth Anger, Jack Smith and Andy Warhol within that anti-art strand of avant-gardism which tried to intervene in everyday life, to attack the idea of autonomous art and to experiment with the perceptions and experiences which mass culture was promoting. Suarez has argued that Anger's, Smith's and Warhol's gay sexualities and social identities had strongly mediated their "experimental avant-gardism, alternative cultural politics, figurations of community and subjectivity, and [their] fascination with pop culture" (Suárez 1996 p xviii).

³⁴ According to Allen Ginsberg, The Cockettes were "part of a large-scale spiritual liberation movement and reclamation of self from the hegemonisation of the military state" (Ginsberg quoted in Thompson 1987 p 52). They were "the transvestite-glitter-fairie-theatric masques" who would bring theatric dress and imaginative theatre out of the closet in order to "resurrect innocence" and "rearrange reality" (ibid p 56). Disavowing any radical intention, The Cockettes ransacked San Francisco's stores for the glitter which would signify "the ages of light", "a rainbow coloured depiction of what it is like to have an hallucinogenic experience", "the numerous enlightening experiences which had brought [them] peace of mind, self-realisation, the great white light that descends upon them or exudes from them" and "the idea of having a halo, of being aware of your aura [and] your imagination" (ibid pp 56-57). Their successors, The Angels Of Light (1971-c1981) saw themselves as political. They opposed heteronormativity by exhibiting their pleasure in "spontaneous, child-like self-discovery", "the incandescent", "the luminous" and "the present tense" and by asserting camp's place among the more celebrated theatrical traditions of "dance, mask drama, vaudeville, burlesque, *commedia dell'arte* [and] guignol" (ibid p 58).

³⁵ The Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence have dedicated themselves to promulgating joy, expiating guilt and celebrating ritual as "the world's truest religion". The Order began when some mid-western activists asked some Iowan nuns if they could borrow some dead nuns' habits for their *Sound of Music* production. They used them in drag shows and took them to San Francisco, "where people find and create fantasies" (Thompson 1994). The San

Franciscan Sisters inspired Australian, Belgian, British, Columbian, Dutch, French German and Swiss men to set up their chapters.

³⁶ Playing on incongruity, the '80s drags want their audiences to see that they are men wearing dresses. Spoofing glamour drag, playing with the tacky drag's tools and extending the Theatre of the Absurd's tactics, they have distorted our comfortable "realities" (Read 1980).

Furthermore, they set out to violate socially prescribed gender roles and to give up men's ascriptive powers (Thompson 1987). An Agitprop on the straight world, they have tried to liberate dress codes. From the early '70s, they have constructed street theatre to make ordinary people think about gender roles. These drag queens did not want to pass as women, but to take the best from both worlds. *Lavinia*, for example, came out as a drag queen in the early '70s, when "a lot of queens were getting on the buses with make-up on, paying their fares and just inviting all the older ladies to be freaked out at those men with beards and blue eye shadow" (*Lavinia* quoted in Chermeyeff 1995 p 45).

Radical drag zapped the Anglophonic world, at least. In the United States: Hot Peaches, and The Fabulous Cockettes (1970-1972), a transvestitic glitter fairie theatrical troop, exposed and played with sexual and cultural confusion. Staging their revue on a \$20 budget, The Cockettes exploded the romance, glamour, success and nostalgia myths and presented "theatre as a pastiche of every used up myth, fable and lie they had ever watched, read or been taught" (Thompson 1987 p 52). The Angels of Light, The Cycle Sluts (Figure 5.5) and The Sisters Of Perpetual Indulgence (1980-present) embarked upon fundraising, sex education programs, public healing rituals, participated in political protest, set out to keep whimsy, mockery and outrage alive. In the UK, London's anarchic Gay Liberation Front drew on the alternative society's diffused forces to emphasise role play, to challenge conventional gender roles and to destroy male privilege and sexism. Its theorists argued that a man could learn more from wearing a frock for a day, than from wearing a suit for a lifetime (Mieli 1980). Other acts included London's Bette Bourne's Bloodlips, Leigh Bowery and Kinky Gerlinky and Sydney's Sylvia and The Synthetics and Doris Fish (cf Chapter 8).

³⁷ Buffalo's upper-class and middle-class lesbians did not socialise in local bars which were notably homogenous (possibly because they sought relationships as well as sex). Elizabeth Kennedy and Madeline Davis (1993) argue that lesbians congregated in bars because of women's availability to men in a patriarchal culture (which read them as prostitutes and threatened to rape them). They needed this protected environment to pursue their sexual relations and there were very few bar raids, probably because of police payoffs.

³⁸ Late-'60s Kansas City, for example, had four drag bars and a cruising joint, which put on Halloween and New Year drag shows. One of them had a permanent "Private Party" sign on the door and only admitted regulars and their friends (Newton 1979).

John Kelsey has drawn a very negative picture of this pre-Stonewall bar scene. He wrote that mid-century Cleveland usually had three or four short-term, dark, cheaply furnished gay bars where over-madeup and under-

talented, silly and foul-mouthed drags entertained the crowd. Some of these joints were little more than cleaned up store-rooms. Shakedown artists hung out at a large dark "basement of a restaurant near the Cleveland Public library" and those who had a taste for rough trade could chat up (murderous) straight hoods and workers at Mac and Jerry's. Nevertheless there was also the clean and well-lit, jacket-and-tie Cadillac Bar where the genteel Mr Lynn Carter imitated Marlene Dietrich, where Mr Kit Russell claimed to be the world's most beautiful impersonator and where Titanic "was famous for his murderous sense of ridicule" (Kelsey 1994 p 148).

³⁹ Kenneth Read concluded that homosexuality had positive value within this hidden transcript. Usually forced to be circumspect, these men had staked out this space and knew that they would not have to dissemble for any tourist who might stumble upon them. They knew they could turn the tables and objectify this "subject" who had made them into the Other. At the same time, they were forcing their audiences to recognise that an appearance's "reality" is profoundly unreal and that masculinity and femininity are only "categories of the imagination". They mocked the gender myths and the common belief that the homosexual is an outcast whose stigmatised appearance warns other men against questioning the masculinity myth.

Read felt they were playing men's parts, and women's parts. They were men who were relating to men as women. They were homosexuals who were playing the role of heterosexuals' stereotypes of "the homosexual". Using their verbal duels and pantomimes to reflect the images which *les justes* had ascribed to them, they were using their rituals to project, play with and comment on their collective consciousness of their stigma. They were also using irony to communicate and intensify their feelings of inclusion and exclusion and to play with their otherness as (poor, urban) homosexuals. They were responding to expressions of "outcast status" that use and distort mainstream shibboleths. They were intensifying their stigmatisation experiences and opposing those who were responsible for them.

Ritualising all the things which *les justes* suppose are the gay man's character, motivations and "gender identifications", they were aping masculine and feminine role models *and* commenting on their absurdity. Ritually enacting and protesting *les justes'* popular shibboleths *and* shackling restraints of "normative models of reality", they were commenting on the "normative realities". Playing with the heterosexuals' myths of their sexuality *and* their other stigmatised statuses, they were *fagtalking*; giving each other girlnames; reversing heterosexual baiting and obloquies; calling each other "sister"; ditching each other with bitchy ripostes and exaggerating explicit sexual references.

Their slurs were commenting on "a long and monotonous history" of discrimination and exclusion. They were using and distorting the homosexual myths to intensify their commonality and manipulating the stigma to share their experiences and to mock heteronormativity. Distorting the mainstream distortions of "the homosexual's" undesirable characteristics, they were pantomiming their imputed disorder, whoring, hustling, mendacity and shiftlessness. Exaggerating the standards that the mainstream used to stigmatise them in order to stigmatise those who share their stigma, their epithets and demeaning remarks connected their duels to their excluded social universe. Doubly humiliating each other (in order to benefit themselves as individuals and to disassociate themselves from their own object status), they were enacting the myth of the homosexual as non-man, non-woman,

the "fake" and the outcast and they

[were] playing the roles of homosexuals as written by normal people, but they [were] not playing them "straight". Every narrative distortion, every exaggerated gesture [was] a "placard" that announce[d] the game-play which [was] essentially the communication of stigma and a shared "object" choice. These rituals [were] "rites of intensification" to communicate the homosexual's appearance in the cultural hall of mirrors (Read 1980 pp 168-169).

Using drag as a ritual expression of their cultural anomaly, they were playing women and commenting on the ambiguities of the position of those whom *les justes* could not assign to one or other of their genders. Styling male heterosexual fantasies and the heterosexual's fantasies about homosexuals, they were releasing tension, toughening themselves, borrowing their opponents' status and they were centring on their allegedly transitory, sexually obsessed and predatory relationships.

⁴⁰ The Stonewall Inn had no running water and the bartenders ran the dirty glasses through one of two stagnant and murky vats of water before refilling them for the next customer (Duberman 1993). When *New York Hymnal* journalists tried to investigate charges that Stonewall was responsible for a hepatitis epidemic, the City Health Department and the State Liquor Authority evaded their questions (Marotta 1981).

The Mattachine Newsletter (August 1969) claimed that the police had raided the Snake Pit and The Sewer and had closed the Checkerboard, the Tele-Star and some other clubs in the weeks before the Stonewall riots. They had also raided The Stonewall on Tuesday 24 June to get evidence of illegal alcohol sales. But the riots began when eight detectives of the First Division raided the bar at 1.20 am on the following Saturday morning (Teal 1971).

⁴¹ Joe Eula, the fashion illustrator, remembers that "we were living in our own publicity world. Party and work became synonymous... everybody was there until late and then people split off. There was the after-hour go *drug* group; the after-hour go *gamble* group; the after-hour go down and *faggot* group; the after hour *leather* group... always pretty much the same people...But it was *ours*. It was a world that had nothing to do with Europe. The whole crazy thing came out of New York. Everybody had to stay up all night. You took what you could... They did it half assed in Europe. They never knew how to mix fags and straights in those discotheques" (quoted in Fried 1993 pp 100-101 emphases in the original text).

⁴² Bob Colacello, the editor of *Interview*, claimed that everyone wanted to go to The Studio because it broke down "all the old fashioned barriers between gay and straight, young and old, rich and poor." It was, for him, a place where you knew half the people and wanted to know the other half" (Colacello 1990 p 353). Studio 54 mixed the wildness of a gay disco with the respectability of a straight nightclub. The descriptions anticipate the '80's dance parties.

Inside the club was controlled mayhem, like Mardi Gras and New Year's Eve combined. A former cavernous opera house and CBS studio had been renovated to create a 5 400 square foot dance floor above which 5 000 individual lights blinked and throbbed in the most elaborate and stunning series of lighting effects ever created for a disco, including a man in the moon who sniffed cocaine from a spoon and a giant amyl nitrite popper that showered confetti. On the main floor was a huge circular bar manned by bare chested bartenders in tight jeans. Upstairs, in co-ed bathrooms at least as popular as the dance floor, the booths were crowded with couples having *soirees privees*. Up another flight of steps into the dark, steep second balcony couples of every combination of sex, race and creed indulged in public displays that were sometimes more appropriate for the balcony of an X

rated movie theatre than the world's foremost discotheque (Gaines & Churcher 1994 p 203; see also Colacello 1997).

It should be acknowledged that The Hispanic's 10 000 square feet of dance floor was a much larger space.

⁴³ See Brian Currid (1995) for a discussion of the generic relations between disco and house music. Walter Hughes, for example, claimed that "disco is electronic dance club music and as such it may be revived by infusions of rock, new wave, punk, Hi-NRG, hip hop, house and techno-rave, but it nevertheless retains its generic continuity. Revival is both its project and its method. For gay men "disco" is where you dance and what you dance to, regardless of the technicalities of musical innovation and evolution" (Hughes 1994 p 148).

⁴⁴ Andrew Holleran, for example, recalled his first years in New York when disco did not have a uniform sound, when the DJ began a set quietly, built gradually to a climax, and let you down again three or four times a night, when the music was darker, sexual, troubled, when the music concentrated energy and when the songs went inside you.

You hardly moved, but suddenly you were closer - ever so slightly - to the person dancing with you and you became conscious of your limbs, which even...became heavier. You lowered your eyes. You closed them finally. It was gripping real dancing, and the atmosphere in the room was one of surrender. Dark disco was our *fado*, our flamenco, our blues, it spoke in a voice deeply melancholic, partly bemused by life and wholly sexual...The music wasn't being done to us; it was being done with us...it made us dance from the pits of our stomachs (Holleran 1984 p 76).

But times change. *Billboard* had introduced the term "disco-hit" in 1973 and Gloria Gaynor's "Never Can Say Goodbye" (1974) delivered three successive songs as one long suite of uninterrupted dance beat (Thomas 1995). By 1977 New York radio station WKTU had gone disco, much to Andrew Holleran's chagrin: "WKTU-FM shocked us all one morning when we got up to turn on "The Mellow Sound" ...and found it playing instead the song we had danced to the night before: sometime in the night it had become 24 hour disco Muzak" (ibid p 74). Before long it was the "number one radio station in the country" (Miezitis 1980 p x).

But the gay black subculture was already reappropriating *the disco impulse*. The new "House" style took its name from The Warehouse, Chicago's only after-hours dance venue of the late '70s. Opening in 1977, The Warehouse ran every Saturday midnight to Sunday afternoon when as many as 5 000 gay and lesbian blacks paid \$4 each to pack out its small three storey spaces to "jack" (ie dance with spasmodic up-and-down movements) to fast (ie more than 120 bpm), rhythmically hypnotic music. Frank Owen has remembered The Warehouse as "a pagan party, people screaming and dancing - it was *scary* and *joyous* at the same time" (C Cooper et al 1994 p 67).

⁴⁵ 200 discos had opened in Manhattan and 100 of these were targeting gay men (Miezitis 1980, Barrow 1983). New York was "the unchallenged disco capital of the world" and new music, fashion, lighting effects and design styles were feeding it. By '80, the Manhattan market had segmented into the fashionable, mixed, celebrity-frequented tourist attractions; the posh and private, "where rich or well known people congregat[e]"; the (gay) men's clubs; the gay and lesbian venues and one women's space; the "bizarre", where transgenders and transvestites met the black and the "popular". Although Miezitis included the "predominantly women's" Sahara Club in her list of gay New York discos, she not specifically mention the local lesbian culture.

⁴⁶ At the Ice Palace:

smoke gets you high, relaxes and may sharpen the awareness. Quaaludes have to do with relaxing, loosening up, letting go to enjoy the disco experience. Cocaine gets you high and gives that extra spurt of energy that intensifies the experience. Amyl nitrite, known as poppers, and ethyl chloride give a real rush that seems to explode boundaries of sound, lights and the room. They help put you in sync with everything and everyone around. When the Ice Palace gets going, the smell of sweat and poppers can be pretty overwhelming (Miezitis 1980 pp 64-65).

At the Paradise Garage

[they] may be stoned on smoke, poppers or some other paraphernalia, but nobody's a drunk or loud or falling all over everyone else (ibid p 70).

And at 12 West,

the air is hot...almost stifling, overpowering, with the smell of sweat and amyl nitrate... there is no alcohol at 12 West, so most people are stoned or just high on the lights and music (ibid p 72-74).

⁴⁷ Discotheques had developed out of the (church or educational) youth club and American style coffee bar of the "grease" era. They had sprung up on both sides of the Atlantic during the early '60s as places to go to listen to recorded music (Blackford 1979). And, by the late '60s, New York's small underground gay black clubs offered cheap all night entertainment. Their DJs were overlapping soul and Philly records, phasing them in and out, to form uninterrupted soundtracks for nonstop dancing: up-tempo, polyrhythmic and Latin percussion backing for a high energy, emotional and physical dance sensibility. Disco was restyling African-Caribbean dance forms and mediating between black and white-gay blacks living in white cultural spaces and generating hybrid cultural forms. Gay and straight whites read this as "black culture". As such we can read disco as another instance of white, heterosexual urban chic's homosexualisation, Africanisation and Latinisation (Patton 1993). By the mid-'70s, New York's traditional political and industrial infrastructure was crumbling: Watergate, the oil crisis, the city's bankruptcy and two successive liberal mayors. The emerging personality journalism was heralding the recovery mood: *Interview* (estab 1969), *People* (estab 1974) and the "Style" section of *Washington Post* created a centralised system of international gossip and people-talk around The Beautiful People, those who could afford the clothes and the lifestyle, and their *fashionistas* - the photographers, designers, hair and makeup people, stylists and editors - who were beautifying them (Fried 1993)

⁴⁸ (Heteronormative, white, middle-class) critics had fetishised live music and they were embarrassed by disco's spiritual ecstasies and intense eruptions (C Cooper et al 1994). Their music put on a strong, adamant public face and this house culture was into ecstatic expressions, opening-up and becoming vulnerable (Moby in C Cooper et al 1994).

Echoing their homophobic culture, they disavowed disco's gay "origins", mounted a backlash and dropped it from their canon. A simple deconstruction demonstrates their binary thinking:

Standard rock establishment

straight
authentic
performer's presence
projective
meaningful

Disco

gay
artificial
disembodied voice
receptive: being possessed
mindless

political
masculine
white
folk
allo-erotic
anaclitic
authorial
originality
active performed/passive audience
alcohol

escapist
feminised
black
technology
auto-erotic
narcissistic
DJ as channel/medium
pastiche/derivative
communality
marijuana, cocaine, poppers, MDA & MDMA (after 1985)

⁴⁹ Mieziotis continued

At Paradise Club (sic) you can hear the music through your feet, through your hands. Music oozes in through your body pores and leaves you tingling from head to toes as you dance, it is so overpowering... [Its] dance floor is hot and filled with hundreds upon hundreds of dancers, all sweating openly and abundantly. Sweat towels worn around necks or in back pockets are one of the more common sights... They dance long and they dance hard to the beat of emotionally expressive music: letting themselves go wherever the music and their individual impulses take them. The disco beat is like the beat of a drum or an Indian tom-tom, with the dancers performing an ancient ritual. To go out on the dance floor at all at Paradise Garage is to get soaked and energised...there's a tendency after Garage dancing to feel tired, but cleansed, purified and released from all tension (Mieziotis 1980 pp 67- 68).

Other habitues concurred, Frank Owen, the music critic remembered that:

[w]hen you first went to Paradise Garage it was scary. It was as if you'd never seen people get out of themselves so much. I knew a lot of people who had very negative reactions because they could not handle it. It was sensory overload [and] it was spiritual overload; and it took a bit of time getting used to it...it's a community. If you've ever been to a house music track show...the acts are dressed really tacky: it's the audience that's filled with the cool people...they're the stars, they have the moves, they dress better than the acts do... [T]he key difference is the aesthetics of pleasure...at the Paradise Garage, the atmosphere was more of a gourmet hedonism, a psyschaedelic crowd that was into an elevated type of drug use. You would take the exact drug to match the right sound to go with the atmosphere: it wasn't so brutal and it wasn't so juvenile... [I]t was a crowd that knew how to party in a kind of exquisite manner... (Owen quoted in C Cooper 1994 p 70).

The Garage was inconvenient to get to and nondescript from the outside. Inside, its oil stained floors and walls were camouflaged with ramps and carpeted platforms creating endless vaulted spaces awash in moving light. And although the effect was constantly changing, "[you still thought] that you were Cinderella finally at the ball with Prince Charming there at your fingertips, somewhere among the crowd... The Garage had a reputation not just for transcending the boundaries of race and class that other clubs reinforced. In the minds of many, it was the disco equivalent of utopia" (Gomez 1995 p 46).

Once again, these details demonstrate some of the ways American aesthetics have anticipated the gay *Gesellschaft*. So that, for example, returned tourists could see that it would be possible to stage large scale dance parties in London's and Sydney's warehouses and exhibition halls.

⁵⁰ The quote continues:

So that was the impetus to get into costume... I remember coming back to Sydney and it wasn't happening that much. Then we started going out and dressing, and a few other people did and before long there was a need. It just sort of went bang and this whole thing developed over a few months (Tully quoted in Dobney 1987 p 17).

⁵¹ Tully acknowledged this debt to The Garage. When he returned to Australia, he exhibited a costume which an Australian National Gallery Catalogue (circa 1981) describes as a "ceremonial coat for the grand diva of Paradise Garage".

⁵² Haring timetabled all his international travel around his nights at The Garage. He always left New York on Sunday afternoons and returning for his next Saturday night "Garage time".

⁵³ Besides "sharing many collective spiritual experiences" at the Paradise Garage, Haring met Juan Rivera, his lover there. He repeatedly acknowledged that The Garage transformed his life "through various imprinting experiences and transformations". He also described getting the inspiration for his Bordeaux Museum installation on the Garage dance floor and acknowledged that he designed several of his sculptures to represent Garage dance moves (Gruen 1991; Haring 1996).

⁵⁴ Mieзитis's interviewees acknowledged their symbiotic relationship with The Palace and its managers. Thomas, a 20 year old model and designer, loved the place:

I think disco is one area where gay people really make what happens happen. It is one area where everyone...looks to the gays. We are in charge of the trends... everything is geared to the gays [at Cherry Grove and at The Pines] and the Ice Palace is where we come to celebrate our gayness, to put together all that good feeling into dancing, into dressing, into the total disco experience. We try harder when we come here because we know that what goes disco and fashionwise here will set trends outside Fire Island. I take disco as a common gay experience very seriously. Personally, I'm into dressing as well as I can. That's my extra touch, my thank you for the experience that is the Ice Palace. When I come to celebrate, I dress for the occasion (Thomas quoted in Mieзитis 1980 p 64).

⁵⁵ Edmund White celebrated this Flamingo ambience:

Recently I was invited to the Black party by a friend. We went dressed in the requisite colour, which turned out to mean leather to most celebrants. As we entered at one in the morning...I saw a room full of husky men, most of them shirtless, sipping beer or Coke and casually watching the entertainment: on raised tressles along one wall, hired musclemen garbed as centurions, or deep sea divers or motorcyclists. They struck conventional body-building poses. In the other room a shirtless stud stood just inside a small chamber, a chemical toilet in the middle of the traffic flow; I wasn't sure whether he was a member or an entertainer, whether he was posing for fun or hire. Everyone in the audience could have put on a professional display, since the crowd was enormously muscular. The average age, I'd guess, was 32: these were the members of the mandarin who migrate to Fire Island Pines in the summer.

In the inner room people were dancing. "This place is all about touching", someone told me. "They kept fiddling with the design...till everyone had to slip and slide against everyone else". The light show was adequate but not obtrusive; too much showbiz and glitz would not have seemed butch enough, I guess. The blending of the records, the estimation of the crowd's moods, the choice of the music was superb....Along one wall enthusiasts from the floor had leaped up onto a ledge and were grinding in dervish solitude. The mirrored panels were frosted over with condensed sweat... We were packed in so tightly we were forced to slither across each other's wet bodies and arms... Freed of my shirt and my touchiness, I surrendered myself to the idea that I was just like everyone else. A body among bodies...I recovered my lost zest - and did so by giving up precious me, that fragile self, better and worse than the rest. "It's real tribal in here, isn't it?" my friend shouted in my ear. I nodded. I ducked out "early" - at dawn; he stayed on till ten in the morning in that room as black as a jeweller's velvet.

For Flamingo members the appetite for success is omnivorous. Not only must one be on the way up at work, one must also produce good conversation, good food, good sex, attract the right friends, dance all night, jog three miles, press 200 pounds and have an opinion about Caballe's *pianissimo*. One must have the drive of a tycoon, the allure of a kept boy, the stamina of an athlete, the bonhomie of a man of the world. It is not a formula for happiness...Anxiety lies under a society governed by comparison, by muted competition (White 1980 pp 269 -272).

There were several other hot spots. 12 West, for instance, was another booze-free, druggy joint with dramatic lighting, loud innovative music and shirtless dancers where:

[p]eople dance shoulder to shoulder, hundreds of men packed together. They sense how to move without jostling, each in a personal space respectful of the other's personal space on the floor...While the energy and intensity permeate the entire room, the hottest spot is... dead centre with varying levels radiating from its core...[It is] an orchestration of energy for energy's sake. Various emotional levels build, develop, expand and are explored through people, lights and music (Mieзитis 1980 p 73).

⁵⁶ They had their work cut out for them. Slowly, radio panels were beginning to discuss homosexuality, and the first national TV documentaries (from 1961) and network documentaries (from 1967) were being made. And after a *New York Times* article acknowledged "the city's most sensitive open secret - the presence of what is probably the greatest homosexual population in the world and its increasing openness" (*NY Times* 17 Dec 1963), the nation's magazines began to call on psychiatrists, clergymen and police to cover the "growing social problem". *Life* photographed the "sad and sordid world" of San Francisco's leather culture (26 June 1964) and *Time* reported on homosexuality as "a pathetic, little second-rate substitute for reality, a pitiable flight from life" (*T* 21 January 1966 quoted in Alwood 1996 p 53). And, *The Washington Post* ran a five-part feature to tell its readers that

this series of articles would not have been written five years ago. Then, a frank and open discussion of homosexuality would have been impossible. The conspiracy of the past nurtured myths, misconceptions, false stereotypes and feelings of disgust and revulsion. They still cloud any discussion of homosexuality. But more and more recognition has come of a need to reappraise our laws - and our attitudes (ibid p 57).

⁵⁷ And well into the '80s, *The San Francisco Sentinel*, *The Bay Area Reporter* and *The Advocate* were still claiming that full sexual freedom was the key to gay liberation. Fearing that they would lose secure revenue from their bathhouse and amyl nitrite advertisements, they either ignored the AIDS crisis or actively campaigned against restricting bathhouse sex.

⁵⁸ By 1990, the combined monthly circulation of the American gay and lesbian press had exceeded 1 000 000. Many of their readers were upwardly mobile, educated gay men and lesbians (aka "guppies"). And shortly afterwards, when recession-hit marketers were targetting the pink dollar, *Out* had an advertising revenue of \$271 million (December 1993), a circulation of 100 000 (1994), a national TV advertising campaign and was sponsoring an all-gay comedy special on Comedy Central Cable network (Streitmatter 1995).

⁵⁹ Penicillin and other antibiotics continued to alleviate these men's fear of sexually transmitted diseases. They kept the lifestyle afloat and kept many men alive and ostensibly well (until the early-'80s). But some critics have argued that these sexually transmitted diseases, allopathic medicines and recreational drugs were damaging these men's immune systems (eg Young 1995).

⁶⁰ And, although many of their owners became the godfathers of local gay politics, they discounted evidence that linked their businesses to the AIDS pandemic. Teaming up with other "gay leaders" communitarians and lifestyle journalists, they vilified their critics as "sex fascists" who had internalised homophobia and who wanted to deny gay men's sexual freedoms (Kramer 1990, Shilts 1987). For example, the leaders of San Francisco's Alice B Toklas Democratic Club complained:

There is no evidence that the bathhouses or the private clubs are the cause of this illness. To single out one type of gay business as somehow responsible for this epidemic is to begin the process of destroying our community...There is a trend among some elements of our community to be anti-sexual and panic prone at a time when we should be banding together to defend a way of life that is precious and hard-won (Shilts 1987 p 317).

⁶¹ Michael Rumaker's (1981) *A Day And A Night In The Baths*, Dotson Rader's (1972) *Government Inspected Meat*

And Other Fun Summer Things, Dennis Rubini's "Continental Baths Revisited" (*Gay News* Philadelphia September 1976) and Larry Kramer's (1978) *Faggots* have all described this golden age of the New York bathhouses.

⁶² Gayle Rubin, for example, has argued that "good fisting and S/M require a great deal of attention, intimacy and trust" (Rubin quoted in Halperin 1995 p 103).

⁶³ For example, The Anvil's floor shows were popularising fisting. Edgar Gregersen has claimed that fist-fucking might be the only sexual practice invented in the 20th century (Gregersen quoted in Halperin 1995). And as the decade progressed, fisting was beginning to evolve its own clubs and organisations, its own urban spaces, its own artwork and insignia and even its own community events (Rubin quoted in Halperin 1995).

⁶⁴ John Rechy described his fictional Rushes as the most popular of the heavy cruising bars which poked the decaying (New York) waterfront. Make-believe working-class men went there to ward off the curse of femininity, to hunt for sex and to soak up the "atmosphere of tough masculinity" and "rough sexuality" that charged through it:

It is not a physically extraordinary place... It has been allowed to become increasingly trashy to augment the aura of toughness... Men sit or lean or prop booted feet on discarded beer kegs, crates. Littered sawdust patches the floor. A long half oval, the main counter is scratched in formless traceries created by the cans, bottles, glasses. A huge American flag hangs behind it and over the low shelves of bottles glazed red by the light. It is new...
The only "decoration" is a series of erotic drawings along the walls, like the undelineated panels of a black-and-white comic strip. All unattainably muscular, raunchy fantasies of impossible masculinity... the large cartoon figures painted without shading or nuance are exalted exaggerations of the real men who often pose below them... Each panel depicts figures in poses of assault or submission....[but] a vague surrendering figure in one panel slides into a bold posture of assault in another (Rechy 1979 pp 20-21).

This aesthetic had reached Sydney by 1978 and is still evident in present day "men's bars".

⁶⁵ Some commentators have argued that S/M expressed a deep psychological impulse. It is well known that Foucault saw S/M as part of a wider practice of community formation. He theorised it as a "process of invention" because it detached sexual pleasure from organ specificity, from exclusive preoccupation with the genitals, opened up new possibilities for bodily pleasure, altered our relations to our bodies, remapped our bodies' erogenous zones, broke down the genitals' traditional monopoly and re-eroticised men's genitals as sites of vulnerability (rather than veneration) (Halperin 1995).

⁶⁶ Seeking to foster order in their diverse, turbulent and rapidly growing cities and characteristically restricted by an insufficiently large outside space to accommodate their populations, America's civic leaders cultivated the parade format to let contentious interests move through the streets without confronting their rivals. Positively asserting America's new democracy through their own self-representation, these occupational, and subsequently military and voluntary, associations asserted their right to create, and participate in, the city's social culture. A focal point of the annual 4 July, Washington's Birthday and Lincoln's Funeral commemorations, large and organised marching units of (male) citizens used to wind their way through the city's streets to spell out their pre-established identity before a massive audience. Marching for the sake of marching and marching to display their

(class, ethnic, religious neighbourhood, temperance) commonality, these units would deck themselves out in ribbons, sashes and bright uniforms. These parades indexed the mobile, voluntaristic, laissez-faire and open social world which had germinated them. Furthermore, they offered admission to almost any group with sufficient energy, determination, organisational ability and internal coherence to board it (Ryan 1989).

⁶⁷ So that, for example, virtually every Chicago neighbourhood has a summer street festival. It uses its parade, entertainment and food to express its cultural and neighbourhood autonomy and to celebrate its identity and "cultural awareness". Being "ethnic" and having an "ethnic identity" has been a critical part of Chicago's political map and idiom. And, since, each of these neighbourhood, community or ethnic parades has been a pre-condition of political presence in the city's social consciousness it is hardly surprising that the *Chicago Tribune* listed 96 parades and festivals for the 1986 season (Herrell 1992).

⁶⁸ Each krewe had its elaborately fitted-out king, queen, dukes and retinue of attendants. Robert DaMatta has argued that these kings signify the prestige and privilege of familism, skin colour and money in a country which held that its President had gained office by performance, individuality and equality. In 1968 the Krewe of Bacchus opened its membership and Endymion invited celebrities to serve as kings. When the city council voted that these racially and sexually homogenous private organisations must stop discriminating or lose their right to parade, the prestigious Mistick Krewe of Comus and the Knights of Momus both announced that they would not parade and other krewes threatened to relocate their parades. The city council weakened its law by removing jail sentences and imposing a \$US 300 maximum fine.

More recently, 100 or more krewes spent an average of \$US 5.7 million on their dinners and dances. During the parade they follow each other along a predetermined path in strict order. The city's middle- and lower-class African-Americans have their own clubs and their motifs parody the mock royalty of the white krewes and society in general. They are also segregated by gender and they join with the Amerindian krewes to display their dazzlingly colourful hand-made costumes (Nunley et al 1988).

⁶⁹ Without celebrities and politicians at its head, this "countercultural" parade encourages tens of thousands to participate and 1 000 000 people watch "the juxtaposition of two worlds: an upside down and the other the right side up... a powerful sense of irony growing out of a collective recognition of this rather easily affected transposition of order and chaos" (Kugelmass 1994 p 22).

Kugelmass has read this parade as a metaphor for New York's daily creativity and chaos and, secondly, as a collective meditation on the arbitrary nature of gender roles. His interviewees saw it, variously, as reminding New Yorkers that their city could be "a place of play"; as a safety valve for restless energy before "the apartment hibernation" begins; as rescuing the city from technocracy and reasserting chaos and mysticism into everyday life; as filling the missing gap for celebration and playfulness; as celebrating their diversity and as a cleansing ritual for fantasy and imagination.

⁷⁰ Working with a budget of several hundred dollars, they were forced to drop their proposed festival because the city ordinances required them to post a \$1 000 000 bond against any damages that they might incur. Nevertheless they staged an erotic art show, a camp film night, a sit-in, a political workshop and a dance.

⁷¹ But by 1975, it had changed its route. When the Pastor of St John's Evangelical Lutheran Church lashed out at the "degraded" Village folk, the activists rerouted their parade and began to march *into* their own ghetto while enterprising souls hawked trinkets, souvenirs and bootleg beer. It was, for some emancipists at least, the symbolic (and ironic) end of gay liberation's radical phase and the triumph of more palatable nostrums (Young 1995). Nevertheless, after Anita Bryant began to spearhead the anti-gay backlash, 50 000 gay people marched up Fifth Ave in the city's largest celebration of Gay Pride (Streitmatter 1995). The radical newspaper *Gay Post* sponsored an alternative "gay walk" on Stonewall Day. Former Stonewall manager and mobster baron, Ed Murphy, legally incorporated the parade's name and obtained a police permit (Young 1995).

⁷² The Chicago activists were originally concerned to overcome their invisibility and to establish a gay men's and lesbians' presence. Drawing on liberationism's confrontational tactics, they donned drag and leather to signify their revolutionary sexuality. But, by the AIDS era, their confrontations had given away to an assimilationist discourse. Gay male sexuality had become "autonomised" and they were presenting gayness as "all the things gay people are and have done". They began to present themselves as a *loving* community of families, churches, sports leagues, clubs, professional associations and support networks. And, as the organisers' politics became more assimilationist, more people began to participate in the parade.

And yet these parades are still distinctive. This is because, Richard Herrell has argued, these paraders are in the process of creating community. They are still attending to the unfinished business of gay rights, they are still contesting gay identity and its visible representations and they experience their community as a voluntary adult participation. At the same time, and as the obverse of the "same" white ethnicities' protestations of difference, they are asserting their "sameness" while their audiences are reading them as "different" (Herrell 1992).

⁷³ The New Right incursions shifted American gay politics. The gay rights activists started to push a positivist conception of the law, scientization and demystification during their Dade County campaign (Darsey quoted in Ringer 1994). They resisted the Briggs Initiative by working outside the assumptions of mainstream liberalism and the assimilationist formulae for the first time. "Until the 1977-78 attacks...brought thousands of competent middle-class gays into the movement, ragtag Gay Liberation Fronters found flamboyant ways to make the 6 o'clock news" (Kepner quoted in *Ge* June 1994).

⁷⁴ Some commentators have read this as the symbolic peak of San Francisco's communitarianism. However, Dennis Altman has argued that the first Gay and Lesbian Games (San Francisco 1982) signified the peak of pre-AIDS American gay life.

⁷⁵ By 1981, Falwell was beaming his Old Time Gospel Hour to 380 stations and grossing \$US 80 000 000 and his Moral Majority (estab 1980) was moulding conservative Christians into a voting bloc. Claiming 50 000 000 evangelical Protestants, 30 000 000 conservative Catholics and several million Mormons and Orthodox Jews as members, his state organisations were organising pastors to hand out moral report cards on political candidates and promoting their own candidates for local, state and national office.

⁷⁶ *The Gay Agenda* (1992), one of the fundamentalists' gay-hate videos, presented the carnivalesque San Francisco Gay Pride Day Parade with warnings that the homosexual menace was heading for small town America.

⁷⁷ Eve Sedgwick gazed on the same parade and took heart when she saw a muscular leatherman wearing a "Keep Your Hands Off My Uterus" T-shirt, other faggots wearing "Dyke Lick Bush" T-shirts and lesbians wearing osculating sailorboy, "Faggot" and "Big Fag" T-shirts. She was proud of a grass roots movement which had overtaken and amplified her own "individual wellspring of narrow, desiring cathexis and cognition" (Sedgwick 1993 p xi).

⁷⁸ In October 1979, the Third World Lesbians led 100 000 along the President's inauguration route to dramatise their demands for civil rights. In the wake of the New Right's incursions, they were announcing the birth of their national movement, their sense of family and their arrival at "the symbolic centre of America's consciousness" (Saslow in Thompson 1994). They, and others, were back eight years later. The backlash had intensified, the Supreme Court had upheld the constitutionality of the state sodomy laws (*Bowers vs Hardwick*, 1986) and Reagan's government had discounted the AIDS pandemic, when 600 000 marched to demand a federal war on AIDS and an end to homophobic discrimination. But even here, their campy theatricalities were evident. They were sporting pink and purple balloons, rainbow banners and ritually launching their AIDS quilt. And two days later they were staging the biggest civil disobedience action since the anti-Vietnam demonstrations, and 600 were landing in custody.

They also pursued other national campaigns. And a year later, when the National Gay Rights Advocates organised a massive National Coming Out Day, 450 people sponsored a full page advertisement in the *Dallas Morning News* only to have an editor alter its copy and delay its publication.

⁷⁹ For example, when Michael Boothe was queerbashed to death in London, Outrage! set out to defend queer rights by using theatrical confrontations. It "burnt" a faggot at the stake during the new Archbishop of Canterbury's enthronement. It "crucified" a lesbian at Westminster Cathedral, exorcised homophobia from the Church of England, staged urban glamour assaults, mooned Parliament, organised a mass round-up of "sex criminals" and conducted queer weddings and recruitment drives (Stewart 1995).

SECTION III

Introduction

¹ Although some references refer to prominent Australians who lived interstate or overseas, these chapters are primarily concerned with Sydney's dissident history. This means that I have de-emphasised such people as Janet Cumbrae-Stewart, the Melbourne born painter, and Hal Porter, the paedophilic Victorian based writer (Lord 1993).

² Only vaudeville, one gutter tabloid and Herbert Moran a "curious, intelligent and sympathetic" doctor and author, dared to speak its name. When Moran published his "scandalous" *Viewless Winds* (1939) he attacked a Catholic hospital's unsanitary practices and lack of medical expertise as well as discussing male and female homosexuality. One Catholic socialite was so intent on protecting her mother general's reputation that she tried to buy and destroy the whole edition (Falkiner 1988).

³ From the 1870s, our nationalists were increasingly fetishising a series of (masculine) types. Nativists were translating the 19th century's "Coming Man" into the actively heroic, generally democratic, commonsensical, team-playing, initiating, anti-urban "typical Australian". By the 1890s, they were imaging him as the bush worker, who signified comradeship, self-confidence, generosity, restlessness and resourcefulness (White 1981). At the same time, their legend was constructing Australian femininity as an Anglo-Celtic, noble, strong, resigned bush-woman (Ferrier 1992). So that, at a time when Arthur Streeton and Banjo Patterson were promoting a "natural, cheerful and sane Australia", Richard Arthur's Purity Movement was calling for wholesome city parks, temperance, raised age of consent, eugenics, racial purity and campaigns against venereal disease (White 1981). Although similar ideologies proliferated in Europe, our influential male writers, artists and critics were promoting Australians as physiologically different from Europeans and characteristically more energetic (Walker 1988).

⁴ In reality, or course, many women were forced into active partnership with their husbands' work. Implicitly defining their sexuality as monogamous, married and heterosexual, many respectable women denounced the declining birth rate, immorality, contraception and a selfish concern for personal comfort and leisure. They scorned unwed mothers, dubious spinsters, prostitutes (who sapped the state and lured men to ruin and infamy) and Aboriginal women. And they initiated a 20th century cycle which kept women out of the labour market, which weakened their bargaining positions, lowered their wages and provided domestic work and child care (and inhibited a dissident women's culture).

Chapter 6

¹ See, for example, *TCJ* 18 January & 8 March 1890 and *SM* 25 January 1890.

² *Truth*, for example, claimed that Wilde had been a Cleveland Street suspect and had "only escaped prosecution by the merest accident" (*Tr* 7 April 1895). And, writing at the moment when Wilde was waiting for his first trial to begin, *The Scorpion* claimed that, when Alfred Lord Douglas had brought a lad to Australia, our hoteliers had been blissfully ignorant of "the sprig of aristocracy's" relationship to his "sycophant" (*Sc* 24 April 1895).

³ Australian readers were well aware of Wilde's work. A *Bulletin* engraving acknowledged Wilde's marriage to Constance Lloyd and an anonymous writer commented that Wilde would have less hair after a year (*Bulletin* 10 May 1884). Hop, the legendary cartoonist, sent him up shortly afterwards. Satirising the Maori King Tawhaio's visit to London, Hop had him dancing at court; visiting the opera, the ballet and the swank restaurants and meeting Queen Victoria, Prime Minister Gladstone and a lean, aesthetic Wilde, who advised him, arms akimbo, that old-gold braces would harmonise well with Tawhaio's body tattoos (*B* 16 August 1884).

Wilde was no stranger to the cartoonists' quips. London's *Punch* cartoonists had begun satirising him when they lampooned his sunflower image (1881) and, again vituperatively, in the early 1890s, when they alluded to his flagrantly open relationship with "Bosie" (Schmidgall 1994). Gilbert and Sullivan's *Patience* had also lampooned him. Furthermore, Wilde's dandiacal cloaks, knee-breeches, buttonholes and curled locks had incited the Americans (and the Australians). His passion for green; his editorship of *Woman's World*; his scandalous *Picture Of Dorian Gray* (1890); his celebrated plays had made him, as *The Daily Telegraph* informed (or reminded) its readers, a champion of culture and an apostle of beauty, a leader of the aesthetic cult, an art critic, a poet, a playwright and the most lampooned man of his time (*DT* 8 April 1895). And Mr B Smythe, the impresario, had once negotiated with him to undertake an Australian lecture tour to capitalise on his American success. When the scandal broke the Sydney papers provided his curriculum vitae and, identifying his marriage and children, moralised that the stigma of his "abomination" would signal the end of his brilliant career.

⁴ As the quickest source of news, the London cable services shaped the news's brevity and immediacy. Nevertheless, *The Australian Star* still ran a very long article on Lord Sholto Douglas's arrest to prevent him from marrying an American barmaid.

The cablegram rates had been steadily dropping from the introductory price of £25 for 50 words a day (1872) to about £46 pounds for 500 words a day. So that on the day that Wilde was found guilty, *The Herald* article read

**THE LONDON SCANDAL
THE TRIAL CONCLUDED
OSCAR WILDE FOUND GUILTY
SENTENCED TO TWO YEARS
IMPRISONMENT**

London May 26

The case against Oscar Wilde was concluded at the Central Court, Old Bailey, yesterday. Mr Justice Wills summed up the case to the jury, his speech extended over three hours. The jury then retired, and after a lapse of two hours, brought in a verdict of guilty. Wilde and his associate, Alfred Taylor, who had previously been found guilty on two separate counts, were sentenced together.

Mr Justice Wills, in addressing the prisoners, regretted that he was only able to pass a sentence of two years, which in his opinion was totally inadequate for the crime of which they were convicted. The prisoners were then sentenced to two years imprisonment.

⁵ George Dean, ferry captain and sometime saviour of two drowning women, was charged with attempting to

poison his wife on several occasions. Dean's lawyer, the politically ambitious Richard Meagher, set out to discredit his mother-in-law's testimony by linking her to criminals, prostitutes and a 30 year old conviction. He also claimed that, having investigated every chemist's register, he knew that Dean had not bought any arsenic. Nevertheless "Hanging Judge" Windeyer was convinced of Dean's guilt and, after pressuring the jury to hurry its decision, he sentenced Dean to death. His interference stirred the public's anger and the court commuted Dean's sentence to life imprisonment. Still angry, Dean's supporters formed a defence committee, packed thousands of sympathisers into Sydney Town Hall and forced the government to set up a Royal Commission. This Commission resolved that Dean was innocent and implied that his wife had poisoned herself.

However, several months later, when Meagher was campaigning for a seat in the Legislative Assembly, *The Daily Telegraph* criticised his handling of the Dean case. In the course of seeking council to obtain damages against this paper, Meagher boasted to his lawyer, Sir Julian Salomons, that he had extracted Dean's confession and that he had known that a chemist had *given* Dean some arsenic. Torn between his conscience and legal etiquette, Salomons consulted his colleagues and the story leaked out. Hearing this rumour, a parliamentarian called on the Attorney General to comment on the case. In reply, the Attorney General read Salomons' account to the Legislative Assembly. Besieged by the press, Meagher accused Salomons of hallucinating. Salomons countered by telling his story to the Legislative Council and getting the chemist to admit his role in the case. The police issued warrants against Dean, Meagher and Meagher's legal colleagues. Meagher was forced to tell the truth (and went on to become Speaker In the House, president of the labour party and Sydney's Lord Mayor) and Dean was sentenced to 14 years imprisonment (Sharpe 1982).

⁶ The dowdy *Herald* coyly reported that Wilde had been tried on a "misdemeanour" and on a "serious criminal charge" (*SMH* 2 May 1895); *Town & Country Journal* reported that he had posed as an "immoral person [who had] habitually associated with the lowest and most notorious immoral men, chiefly servants" (*TCJ* 13 April 1895) and *The Australian Star* euphemised Queensberry's accusation to claim that Wilde had posed as "an abominably immoral man" (*AS* 4 April 1895). Sydney's working-class press was more colourful and condemnatory. Linking Wilde to Dean's misdemeanours, *The Irish-Australian* railed against those newspapers which were exposing the "revolting details" of these "degraded and worthless peoples'" lives and wondered whether they were abusing their journalistic freedom with such smut (*IA* 1 June 1895). Meanwhile *The Sunday Times* claimed that:

[p]ractices are hinted at which can only charitably assume to be the products of a depraved kind of insanity, but which is about the last thing expected to be charged against one who has posed as an exponent of ultra-refinement under the name of aestheticism. For the sake not only of the accused himself, but of his followers and disciples, it may be hoped that the matter will be thoroughly investigated so that Wilde may be either cleared of the stigma which would disgrace the vilest and most degraded jail-bird, or sentenced to that condign punishment which the hideousness of the offence undoubtedly demands (*ST* 7 April 1895).

And, setting out to expose the rich and powerful's sins and the Labor Party's chicanery and duplicity and daring to name the love that dare not speak its name, *The Scorpion* argued that The Wilde's "London Scandal" was further proof of English "Society's" rotten condition.

Oscar Wilde's lewdness and his filthy and abominable practices were known amongst his aristocratic friends, yet no one dared to denounce him. It fell to the lot of the Marquis of Queensberry to open the Sodomite Sewer in London Society and the stench coming from it is so horrible that

noblemen and people in high positions are flying from England to escape the degradation they deserve (Sc 1995 p2).

Truth, too, scoffed at Wilde's pretensions, juxtaposed his rhetoric with his practice, exposed his abominable practices, alluded to *The Bible* and called for the lash.

OSCAR WILDE

THE BEAUTEOUS & THE BUOYANT

THE ARSENAL OF AESTHETICISM

The aesthetic pose of the languorous city of the soulless love, the lover of everything limp and spineless, delicate and untouchable, has fallen in. He who could still lunch on the smell of a lily and would faint at the sight of a boiled carrot, has been adjudicated by the Court to be something lower than the beasts of the field, *a creature for whose offending in Australia the lash would be the punishment*. He challenged the Marquis of Queensberry for libelling him. But the Marquis proved the poet was a libertine of the worst type - a man unfit for the association with any but the vilest of that peculiarly constituted section of humanity for whose offence Sodom was destroyed and Gomorrah burned with the fire from heaven (Tr 7 April 1895, emphasis added).

And when it was all over, Asmodeus wrote:

I am sincerely sorry for Oscar's fall because, in the first place, I cannot conceive it possible for a thoroughly sane man to be guilty of the revolting crime for which Oscar Wilde has been convicted. There must be some unnatural kink in such a man's brain, and the proper place for a man so afflicted is not a goal, but an asylum. In the second place Oscar Wilde has done some good service in the world of literature, and of art in general (Tr 2 June 1895).

What these editorials said, and how they said it, provides insights into a range of class and religious *fin-de-siècle* ideologies and they demonstrate Foucault's point about the relative continuity of the criminal, sinful and bad conduct orders.

⁷ *The Bulletin*, for example, took a rather urbane approach to Wilde's troubles. At one point it admonished the Dion Boucicault company for removing Wilde's name from its playbills *before* the state had convicted Wilde of gross indecency. Later, one of its journalists satirised the euphemisms by using the term "galvanised iron" as a synonym for "the Wilde type's brilliant abnormality". Having received many letters from those who challenged the community's right to jail "the type", *The Bulletin* asked whether "galvanised ironing" was an anti-social act and whether a community had the right to punish those who committed it (B 20 July 1895). It concluded, nonetheless, that galvanised iron would sap a nation's life because it would spread beyond Wilde's "responsible assistants" into the community. The *Bulletin* writer did not deploy Christian, legal or medical models to discuss the Wilde affair, but he came down against him saying that Queensberry was a public benefactor (B 20 April 1875 p 7).

⁸ The writer used a complex form of relativism and social Darwinism to argue that conformity's might is right and that

[a] thing is not essentially wrong because at any given time a majority of people in Australia, or America or Europe believe it to be wrong... The only rational standard of ethics is well being. What helps or benefits or pleases the individual is right for him, what injures or displeases him is wrong... Similarly, what helps this community is right for the community: what hurts it is wrong... Thus considered, the individual is immoral only when he is anti-social... if the individual has the right to defend himself against the community, the community has at least as much right to defend itself against the individual. The sole justification which it needs is proof that the individual is doing something dangerous to its well being... And, as practically, the community is stronger, than the individual, when there is a conflict the individual generally goes under. Oscar Wilde has gone under (B 20 July 1895 p 6).

⁹ London's *Morning Leader* cartoonist, for example, juxtaposed Queensberry's affably "neutral" masculinity against Wilde's grotesquely ponderous lips, monstrous nose and bloated cheeks to signify the physical degeneration that Wilde's practices would portend and reality's obversion of his Dorian Gray fantasy (Cohen 1993). And London's *News Of The World* drew his limply-crossed hands to signal his disrespect for the law and for normal men.

¹⁰ *The Town & Country Journal* and *The Daily Telegraph* both ran drawings of a conventionally-cropped and respectable looking Wilde (TCJ 13 April 1895; DT 5 April 1895) and *The Bulletin* cartoonists set out to discredit Wilde by linking his '80s aestheticism to his '90s perversity, *The Bulletin* lifted a cartoon from *Lika Joko* to parody the "fat young man of 39" who, as the ideal husband, donned the Aesthete's sunflower robe and slippers to wash and nurse his two squawking brats, while his gaunt and sour-faced Beardsley-esque wife read and smoked. (B 13 April 1895). The role-reversing Wildes were clearly disrupting the "natural order".

At the same time, Hop was inspired by a cablegram notice that the Pope had implored his followers to pray for England's conversion to Catholicism. Linking the Catholic priesthood to the Piccadilly Circus beat and to the Cleveland Street brothel, his cartoon showed two self-sacrificing missionaries gleefully cooking a prelate in the vain hope of turning him from his sodomistic ways. And later, when Wilde had been convicted, Hop drew a nation of (rightfully angry) husbands smashing their (duped and tearful) wives' collections of Wildean blue and white porcelain (B 1 June 1895). And, at the same time, Hop worked off an earlier hair gag to criticise Oscar's deviant locks. Earlier in the year he had drawn a barber cutting an uncouth (Western Australian gold) prospector's unruly hair while the prospector told him that, because his mates did not have a pair of shears, he had been burning his hair off. Then, when the court had found in Queensberry's favour, Hop had a craze poet calling for the barber to cut his hair short! short! short! lest people link him to Wilde's ignominy (B 13 April 1895). Finally, when Wilde was in Reading Jail, Hop's barber told the convicted Wilde that he could not cut his hair any shorter without making him look even more suspicious (B 8 June 1895).

Some Australian writers modelled characters on Wilde. Rosa Praed's *Affinities* (1885) had featured a Wildean Esme Colquhoun. Praed, who was writing in London, eroticised Colquhoun as a very tall, broad shouldered smooth shaven, classically featured man with sensuous Greek lips and long, curly chestnut hair. This Colquhoun had "gibbeted ...some social personages" in a novel, had invested his money badly and had recently returned from an American tour. Brent of Bin Bin's (ie Miles Franklin's) *Cockatoos* (1954), for example, features a curate with Wildean tendencies (Coleman 1990), while Eve Langley's fantasies and Martin Boyd's '90s values owe much to his aesthetic.

¹¹ Of course, colonial Sydney had had her share of gender and sexual dissidents. But whatever the convicts and their keepers got up to, Macquarie's Sydney had been too small to support a consensual dissident subculture (Wotherspoon 1988). The system's critics attacked sodomy as one of its mute, stark and subliminal elements and the convicts bore it as another taint. Norfolk Island and van Dieman's Land were "evil" and "unutterably degraded".

Testifying before the Molesworth Committee (1838), various philanthropists denounced the convicts', and convict boys' (convenient) "moral pollution" and sodomistic deviancies, same-sex marriages, lovemaking, rapes and sadistic humiliations (Hughes 1988; Evans & Thorpe 1998).

These concerns shaped Tasmania's prison design after 1846, when Earl Grey, England's secretary of state for the colonies, ordered his governor to convert the dormitories into rows of battened sleeping cages (Kerr 1988). Meanwhile, on Norfolk Island, the administrators sequestered the known addicts into a ward of individual locked boxes but still lamented "the enormous amount" of the violent "**** crime" (ibid pp 61-62). Decades later, the nationalists tried to remove these stains and have, according to Robert Hughes, left Australians ferociously bigoted against homosexuals (Hughes 1988).

We know very little else. For, although Martin Smith has claimed that sodomites and mariners were behaving lasciviously and riotously at The Crown & Anchor tavern in the early 1830s and at the Victoria Theatre and Crown Inn several years later, we need to be wary of his unsubstantiated claims (*Camp* May 1977).

Nevertheless, some present day commentators have claimed that bushrangers Andrew, "Captain Moonlight," Scott and Jim Nesbitt had been special friends (Wotherspoon 1992). Others have claimed that the Kelly gang was homosexual (Baker 1966) because Aaron Sherritt and Joe Byrne had enjoyed a special friendship and because Steve Hart, another gang member, had dressed as a woman to win the Greta races and to (reasonably enough) evade the police (McMahon 1997).

The marginalised were not the only ones who succumbed to queerness. Influenced by Walt Whitman's verse, John Le Gay Brereton, Francis Adams and Bernard O'Dowd were celebrating male friendship (Dessaix 1993; *OCAL* 1994). Nevertheless, if Arthur Galton, private secretary to Governor Sir Robert Duff (1893-1895) had known Lord Alfred Douglas, John Addington Symonds and Oscar Wilde and, if his health was under strain during Wilde's trials, he kept himself in order (Coleman 1990). And if Lord Beauchamp, the bachelor Governor (1899-1900) had an eye for masculine beauty (French 1993), he was discrete, or powerful, enough to avoid censure.

¹² Writing at the end of his life, Palmer told of his days as a boarder at the Ipswich Grammar School (c 1898-1900). A short time before he enrolled as a boarder (ie immediately after the Wilde trials), "Weary" Wilson, a new master, had arrived at the school with an Oxford MA, a Vice-Regal reference, an exalted air and a crippled son. But, in spite of, or possibly because of, his connections, the local Canon and the headmaster began to suspect his friendships with some of the choirboys. When they began to investigate his past, Wilson resigned and, taking his son, tramped his way out of town. "Everyone seemed to know the reason", but, possibly trying to protect the town's good name, the police were reluctant to issue a warrant for his arrest (Palmer 1969 p 36). Then they found a boy and his horse near a bush track. Someone had shot both of them through the head. The police caught up with Wilson in Perth and sent him back to Ipswich where he stood trial.

The trial dragged on for months and they released him because they did not have enough evidence. Nevertheless, his ghost haunted the school grounds and his name was taboo. And, while the boys tittered, whispered and alluded to his unspeakable evilness, their teachers began to suspect their own feelings towards their charges. They began to suspect the boys' casual intimacies, their embraces and their weekend stop-overs at each others' homes. Scrutinising

the boarders' comings and goings, they began to curtail the boys' leave, their picnics, their quail-shooting parties and their excursions to Brisbane. Palmer concluded that Ipswich Grammar had become a suspicious and joyless place and "the question of what that evil was and where it came from was never far from [his] mind" (ibid p 40).

¹³ The Leadbeater case erupted in May 1922, when some Sydney Theosophists were trying to discredit the charismatic "Bishop" Charles Leadbeater's (1847-1934) interest in boys. The case exemplifies early 20th century Sydney's traffic with England and the United States and provides insights into her attitudes towards sexuality. Leadbeater's unorthodox teachings (and practices) had already mired his career in America, England and India before he moved to Sydney. A sometime High Church curate, Leadbeater had embraced Theosophy (1885) and then Buddhism. By 1903, he had gained a formidable reputation for clairvoyance and for "discovering and training specially hopeful [youngsters] and preparing them for Theosophical work", when he was accused of teaching William Pettit "the practice of self abuse". He was, he said in self-defence, trying to give his boys physiological relief and to make them "woman proof". Hysterically misogynistic, he argued that most hopeful lads:

pass through a stage when their minds are filled with such matters, and consequently surround themselves with huge masses of undesirable thought-forms, which perpetually react upon them, and keep them in a condition of emotional ferment. These thought-forms are the vehicles of appalling mischief, since through them disembodied entities can, and constantly do, act upon the child. The conventional idea that such thoughts do not matter, so long as they do not issue in overt acts... is absolutely the reverse of the truth. Now all this may be avoided by periodically relieving that pressure, and experience has shown that[the boy] can comparatively easily rid his mind of these thoughts (Leadbeater to Fullerton 1906, reprinted in the *OE Literary Critic* 29 March 1922 and subsequently *DT* 17 May 1922).

Then, when the American Theosophists laid "terrible charges against him in connection with young boys", President Henry Orpett, "with the recollection of Oscar Wilde in mind", repudiated his teaching, publicised his "crazy notions" and expelled him. When Orpett died, Annie Besant, Leadbeater's ally and the Society's newly elected president, brought him back into the fold. Shortly afterward she and Leadbeater were living at Agyar, India, where Leadbeater recognised that Krishnamurti's young body held "the spirit and person of the coming Christ". Besant and he negotiated with Mr Navaniah, the boy's father, to supervise his education. But when Navaniah tried to reclaim his son three years later, he accused Leadbeater of immorality and resorted to writing out his evidence because "the charges were too indecent to be given orally". The judge concluded that Leadbeater was "an immoral person" and ordered the Theosophists to return the boy to his father.

Leaving India, Leadbeater came to Sydney where he lived with T H Martyn, a wealthy stockbroker, president of the Sydney Lodge and General Secretary of the Society's Australian section. He began teaching Martyn's son and several other boys and soon realised that they were reincarnations of King Arthur, St Francis of Assisi, St Anthony of Padua and Bernard de Clairvaux. He also met James Wedgwood, a fellow "ceremonialist", "magician" (and "immoralist"). Within a year, Wedgwood had left for England and returned to Sydney as the Presiding Bishop of the Liberal Catholic Church (LCC). He consecrated Leadbeater as his regional bishop.

Martyn met Besant in London, she instructed him to expose Wedgwood's "immorality". But when he told her that Wedgwood and Leadbeater were friends, she rescinded her directive. Returning to Sydney, Martyn saw Leadbeater naked with his charges and learnt that "cleanliness" was not the only alternative to "one form of male vice" (ie sodomy). He "came to understand that there [were] degrees of depravity" and began to "piece together" some

previously inexplicable behaviour (AONSW 5/7771.2). He wrote a confidential letter to Besant, claiming that Leadbeater was a "sex pervert". The letter circulated widely and the *O E Library Critic*, a Theosophy journal, published it, before Martyn could stop it. An anonymous person sent it to the NSW Attorney General. By this time, the charismatic and gorgeously-robed Leadbeater had acquired a church building in Redfern, ordained 14 priests, attracted 200 followers and incurred some of the other Theosophists' ire. Fearing Leadbeater's sectarianism, occultism, sacerdotalism and ostentatious rituals, Martyn's allies repudiated the LCC and set up a rivalrous Liberty League. Meanwhile, Reginald Farrar, a London based LCC cleric, confessed his improprieties and implicated Wedgwood. Realising the danger, Besant hurried to Sydney, where *The Daily Telegraph* implied that a Royal Commission would investigate his teaching and "grossly immoral" behaviour. Besant chaired a stormy "secret coven" (which the journalists infiltrated) and Martyn accused her of turning the Society into a training ground for the bogus LCC, of undermining the Society's neutrality and of covering up Wedgwood's and Leadbeater's immorality. Besant won the day, but the Theosophists split into two lodges and the police began an inquiry into Leadbeater's activities. Many of Leadbeater's boys and associates asserted that "his life and conduct [were] beyond reproach and unassailable in their uttermost purity" (DT 23 May 1922). The press coverage abounds in discretions and hints at some individuals' ignorance. Hugh Noall, one of "the boys", now 20 years old, wrote:

I did not know what "the abominable practice" was until a friend of mine ... gave me a synonym and I looked it up in the dictionary. I now state that he has not indulged in, nor taught, that or any other immoral practice, either to me or any other time during my association with him (Noall letter to DT 25 May 1922).

Writing to the *Daily Telegraph's* editor, Wilfred Blacket was outraged by Leadbeater's (1906) opinions on masturbation:

No man can mistake the meaning of these shocking words. Thank Heaven they will not be understood by our womenfolk...No consecration could wipe the stain from the reputation of a man who last year, or 10, or 20 or even 30 years ago, wrote such words, and gave such abominable counsel (DT 28 May 1922).

The police initially thought they had enough grounds for "believing that Leadbeater [was] a sex pervert" (PDR 13 June 1922), but concluded that the evidence did not justify criminal proceedings (DT 11 August & 2 September 1922).

¹⁴ Redolent of Bech's claim that the dissident develops his gaze and the gaze develops him as a homosexual, Jean Cocteau (1930) has written that "homosexuals recognise each other - the way that Jews do. *The mask* dissolves and I would venture to discover my kind between the lines of the most innocent look" (quoted in Mort 1996 p 71, emphasis added). Since few women have had the privilege of gazing, but have looked less obviously, this may have shaped lesbian culture in other ways.

¹⁵ John F Sheriden, a renowned American pantomime dame, toured the Australian cities and outback and eventually settled in Sydney, Joseph Simmons played burlesque female roles and Frances Leon, the most famous of all the American illusionists, charmed Sydney with his slight figure, small hands and powerful soprano voice when

he played Josephine in the first Australian production of *HMAS Pinafore* (1878). And although the Tivoli could not afford to pay Julian Eltinge's \$3 000 a week in the 1920s, it brought *Barbette* out in 1928 (Performing Arts Museum 1991). And, as we shall see, some Sydney men had enough experience to become *femmes* in the Second World War soldier shows.

And it worked both ways. In 1834, Maris Taylor became the first woman to play a man on the Australian stage, when she took the leading role in W T Moncrieff's *Giovanni In London*. After this, women played men and boys in burlesque, comic opera and pantomime. Many women cross-dressed on the Australian stage and many of them played Peter Pan and other principal boys on the London stage. Madge Elliott, Florrie Forde, Mary Hardy, Hetty King, Nellie Kolle, Carrie Moore, Vera Pearce, Gracie Whitford and Gwenda Wilson all worked in London, possibly because no middle-class English women would become a (prostitute) actress. The earliest of these women were not male-impersonators, but Hetty King acknowledged her debt to Vesta Tilley's sophisticated work (Maitland 1986).

Many years later, Louise Dunne ran an all-women Shakespeare company in Melbourne during the 1930s (telephone conversation Katharine Brisbane). At the same time, literary and filmic representations of passing women elided women's same-sex desire.

¹⁶ William Dobell, Sumner Locke Elliott and Pat Jarrett, the pioneering woman journalist, come to mind. Elioth Gruner (1882-1939), the landscape painter, had some moments of truth-telling. Knowing that his circle detested same-sex desire, he confessed to Norman Lindsay that he had been terrified about enlisting in the Great War. He was frightened of this attraction to other men. Lindsay shrugged it off, as if it were something that he could forget about (Pearce 1983). Once again, this sentiment was not uniquely Australian. Marcel Duchamp felt that Charles Demuth's "little perverse tendency" was unimportant to his life and that investigating an artist's sexual identity would undermine his artworks (Weinberg 1994).

¹⁷ For example, the characteristic *Bulletin*-Bohemian stance was locked in a binary opposition of the Australian versus the Englishman, the democratic versus the genteel and the nationalists' cultivated manly robustness versus the imputed snobbish effeteness of an Anglophilic colonial (bourgeois) display culture. Traditional Australian larrikin-Bohemianism was covertly based on a (falsely) denied personal difference and a quasi-chameleon-like self-levelling. It seems that *The Bulletin*, Norman Lindsay and Vance Palmer all resorted to using the masculine/feminine binary to reprove and disparage their opponents. Moreover, they were all uneasy about anything that was outside their generically masculinist and nationalist traits.

Palmer's democratic idealism suggests his attempts to shroud his embarrassing difference within a self-deceiving smokescreen of egalitarianism. And even when the '60s and '70s dramatists satirised ockerdom, they characteristically redeemed their (masculine, vernacular and earthy) ockers as the larrikin heroes of their chauvinist comedies. They used this traditional larrikin scepticism to deflate pious self-congratulatory attitudes as well as obfuscate and defensively receive and modify imported culturally progressive influences (Den Hartog 1987).

Nevertheless, we cannot always dismiss these obfuscations as personal timidity. We have already seen that Dent was prepared to publish Martin Boyd's homo-negative *Scandal Of Spring* (1934) but rejected "The Shepherd of Admetus" (quoted in Niall 1988). This reminds us that London publishers produced 66% of Australians' inter-war titles. Wilde and Hall had taught them the costs of breaking the taboos.

¹⁸ Donald Friend kept diaries throughout his life. The published extracts suggest that he discussed his sexual interests and sketched the men who attracted him (Friend 1943 & 1946; Pearce 1990).

¹⁹ These novels were *At the Cross* (1961); *The Dirty Half Mile* (1981), *Fairyland* (1991), *The Galleon Proudly Sailing* (1945) and the play was *Only Heaven Knows* (1989).

²⁰ See, for example, Langmore (1997) on Maie Casey; Johnson (1988 & 1995) on Roy de Maistre; Elliott (1991), Wyndham (1990) and Clarke (1993) on Sumner Locke Elliott; Pearce on Donald Friend (1990); Tate (1996) on Pat Jarrett and Lord (1993 & 1994) on Hal Porter.

²² No one has found any evidence of a local concern about boy brothels, about selling alcohol to dissidents, or men who wore women's clothes. The police may have cracked down on the beats in the early '30s, but, as far as we know at this stage, they did not initiate a pogrom against dissident sociability.

²³ Although *The Well Of Loneliness* trial sparked a censorship debate in England, I could not find any evidence of similar debate in the Sydney papers.

²⁴ For example, when Eugenia Falleni was brought to trial in 1920 for murdering *his* first wife, neither his prosecutor nor *his* own lawyer called on psychiatrists or sexologists to account for *his* behaviour. And, when Falleni's inexperienced defence wanted to show that "true sexual inversion" existed and that Falleni had not committed "sex fraud" he examined a forensic expert. The expert told the court that, although psychiatrists had published "a very large body of literature on sexual inversion" over the last 50 years and although he had read about it "constantly", he did not have a great knowledge of it (Falkiner 1988 pp 94-96).

²⁵ One anonymous reviewer described Ellis's *Psychology Of Sex* (1933) as an admirable "introduction to sex psychology" (*MJA* 1933). Another felt that his revised *Sex In Relation To Society* (originally 1910, 1937) displayed "mature judgement" and "prophetic insight" about mother/child health and self-control and recommended that medical practitioners buy and study it (*MJA* 19 March 1938 pp 539-540).

²⁶ Stephen Garton (1988) cites several examples: a review of Ernest Jones's "Paper On Psychoanalysis" (*AMG* No 33 1913 p 233); W A T Lind's "The Physical Basis Of Insanity" (*MJA* Vol 1 1922 p 466); Gamble's "Prognosis In Mental Diseases" (*MJA* Vol 2 1936 p 436); McGeorge's letter to the editor (*MJA* Vol 2 1936 p 383) and

Osbourne's letter to the editor (*MJA* Vol 2 1936 p 385).

Nevertheless, when Dr W A Lind set out to refute Freud he produced Australia's first known medical text on perversion. An eminent pathologist with the Victorian Lunacy Department, Lind championed the materialist view that physical disorder or disease directly or indirectly causes "disorders in the psyche". He argued that psychoanalysis was just another name for suggestion and that suggestion had no more curative power for insanity than it had in rheumatism (*MJA* Vol 2 1922). He also argued that there were two causes of sexual perversion. Drawing on decadence theory, he argued that over-indulgent, lazy and sensuous temperaments (ie libertinage) indulged in such "abnormal and unaesthetic sexual practices" as fellatio, cunnilingus, sodomy and bestiality when they sought "fresh sensations". On the other hand, he challenged the "psychoanalytic" theory that "inverts or homosexual individuals" might be the victims of "fixation" or the sex instinct's failure to develop beyond "the stage it was when girls preferred girls' company to boys' company and when boys preferred boys' company to girls' company" (*MJA* Vol 2 1927 p 184). Citing a case where a chicken's diseased ovaries had changed into testes, he felt that the fixation theory might have to give way "to an explanation based upon abnormal changes in the interstitial cells of the testes and ovaries of these individuals" (*ibid*). Interestingly enough, Radclyffe Hall used similar logic when she pleaded sympathy for the invert (Baker 1985).

Lind's diagnostic theory was countered shortly afterwards when the *MJA* published a short, sympathetic review of Anomaly's *The Invert And His Social Adjustment* (1927). Here, an "unfortunately constituted", anonymous and scholarly (English) invert attempted to comfort and encourage "patients and penitents of confused sex" and to inform doctors that he was "such through no fault of his own". Although Havelock Ellis's *Sexual Inversion* (1897) had been suppressed, this author's chosen incognito alluded to Ellis's claim that the invert was a natural anomaly. Anomaly argued, after Ellis that, since the invert can sublimate just as well as "his heterosexual brother", he can be as pure as the heterosexual who cannot gratify his desires (ie he pleads sympathy through continence). *The Journal's* reviewer felt that this small book would help psychiatrists, general practitioners and state doctors understand the invert's "non-sexual temperament and other peculiarities" (*MJA* Vol 2 1927 p 818).

Although the British Society For The Study Of Sex Psychology (BSSP) was concerned about the invert's social psychology and had participated in the international sex reform movement and, more specifically, the World League For Sexual Reform (estab 1928), the Australian literature was still so sparse that Anomaly's little book was the basis of a Red Page article in *The Bulletin* (1927) and quoted in an *MJA* 7 Feb 1948 article.

²⁷ Not surprisingly, Harold Rogers (1922-1988), who was sexually active from the age of eleven and who became an Anglican priest, could never discuss "it".

Everything in the catalogue of gay (sic) sexual practices - except for the largely unknown S/M genre - were available and tried repeatedly...But in his typical use of language [Rogers said] "one would just fiddle about and get on with it, darling, with never a word before, during or after!" (Cartledge 1992 pp 116-117).

Like many dissident men of his generation, Rogers enjoyed cross-dressing (*ibid*).

²⁸ Returning from Paris in 1916, Frederick McCubbin and others warned against the fads and fashions of artistic

extremists. Norman Lindsay's *Vision* project (1923-1924) and Arthur Streeton's "purely wholesome art" sanely defied the unhealthy decadence of foreign art movements. And, while the influential taste-maker and avowed anti-modernist, James S MacDonald was promoting landscape as blood and soil nationalism, Vance Palmer was also criticising his culture's (imported or commercial) effete and derivative elements because he, too, felt that manliness was an integral part of "the good society" (D Walker 1976).

²⁹ Our important (male) writers were promoting Australians as physiologically different and more energetic than Europeans (Walker 1988). Many of them were attracted to an Elizabethan cult and they offered Australia's affinity with the pre-industrial energies of Merrie England as evidence that she stood outside the modern world. Their Australia might be influenced by its fashions and susceptible to its diseases, but she was ultimately much too healthy to draw inspiration from the modernists' dissociated ramblings. Arguing that sustained thought could lead to nervous exhaustion, they claimed that writers and artists were susceptible to neurasthenic disorders and that Australia's vitality signified her racial and national character, climate and health (ibid).

³⁰ Melbourne and Adelaide, which had never been convict towns and which bowed to the non-conformists' power, were basking in their reputations of moral superiority. This meant that their liquor laws were harsher, their Sundays quieter, their night life less boisterous, their paintings and naked statues more heavily censored (Dunstan 1968).

³¹ By the 1930s, her comfortable classes were dancing and dining at Romano's, Gatty's, The Manhattan, Tate's and The Trocadero. Less sophisticated, younger and cash-strapped suburbanites went dancing at the Bondi Esplanade, Ashfield Town Hall, The Paradance, in Parramatta, and innumerable other suburban halls (Kingsmill 1991). These dances were major social events (ibid) and, in spite of the wowsers' admonitions, nearly everyone foxtrotted or jitterbugged in the city's (nearly always dry) dance palaces.

³² Many socialites, artists and writers did not feel strongly nationalistic. The fictional Lucinda Brayford, for example, realised that her husband did not like her to detach herself from "English things, and this began the long process by which she forgot that she was Australian" (Boyd 1971 p 152). Even after the Second World War, artists like Charles Bush, William Dobell and Donald Friend "possessed little or no sense of being Australian artists" and Albert Tucker asserted that he was "a refugee from Australian culture" (Haese 1988 pp 245).

³³ Australia's inter-war critics cast their cities as modern, cosmopolitan, feminine and artificial and rejected them as the necessary Other to their pastoral ideal. These cities allowed all women, (sissies, pansies and perverts) new freedoms and extra-familial social participations. But any pansy artist would be wary of taking up the women modernists' cityscapes (Holt 1993).

³⁴ The academically ambitious could see that the small and conservative local universities offered no resources for

post-graduate studies and (Anglophilic) scholars saw little value in researching local topics (because they could see that it would be impossible for them to specialise or to achieve an international reputation). It is hardly surprising that

England had a notable minority of Australian vice chancellors, professors, scientists, law lords, Harley Street specialists, actors and singers and other musicians. About one third of Australian Rhodes Scholars did not return home; the better part of 1 000 Australian university graduates worked in Britain (Serle 1972 p 127).

Alan Moorehead encapsulated the mood.

To go abroad - that was the thing. That was the way to make your name. To stay at home was to condemn yourself to nonentity. Success depended upon an imprimatur from London, and it did not matter whether you were a surgeon, a writer, a banker or a politician: to be really someone in Australian eyes you first had to make your mark or win your degree on the other side of the world (Moorehead 1953 quoted in Serle 1972 p 125).

The only way to become a professional writer was to migrate. Louis Esson wrote to Vance Palmer in 1917:

"Australia, after all, is the place for the duffer or the martyr" (ibid p 126).

³⁵ Ros Pesman (1996) and others have identified a vast number of women writers and activists who spent long periods abroad. They included Barbara Banyon, Stella Bowman, Jessie Couvreur (aka Tasma), Miles Franklin, Mary Fullerton, Mary Gaunt, Shirley Hazard, Edith Hepburn, Florence James, Winifred James, Louise Mack, Colleen McCullough, D Manners-Sutton, Joice Nankivell Loch, Marion Phillips, Rosa Praed, Helen Simpson, Irene Saxby, Henry Handel Richardson, Alice Grant Rosman, Christina Stead, Pamela Travers and Ella Winter. At the same time, Helen Topliss (1996) has listed the (single) women artists who studied in Europe after 1900. She noted that earlier generations of single Australian women had remained in Australia for their entire careers. Unable to travel without chaperones, they had not studied abroad. But by 1903, when Australia had become the first country where (white) women could vote and stand for parliament, single women were winning art scholarships and were saving enough to travel and study in England, France or Germany. Once there, many of them were attracted to the decorative Modernist styles. Some, like Anne Danger, stayed while others returned but travelled to Europe (and the East) regularly. Judith Anderson, Zoe Caldwell, Coral Brown and Dianne Cilento were some of the actresses who left Australia. Annette Kellerman, the swimmer, and many Australian war brides went to America.

³⁶ Brenda Niall (1988) characterised Martin Boyd as the timid lover of several unnamed women, as a "perpetually agreeable spare man" who lived on the fringes of other people's lives, as emotionally (but not physically) involved with a series of young men, as too fastidious for casual sex, as too strictly honourable to exploit the innocent and as probably repressing and aestheticising his sexuality. She also wrote of the "anxiety and depression" which he kept from his close friends and his solitude. More recently, Joanna Mendelssohn (1996) has unearthed his friendship with Robert Lindsay. For 20 years, Boyd introduced a range of dissident types into his novels.

³⁷ Bessie Davidson (1879-1965) left for Europe in 1904 with Margaret Preston and although she returned to Australia several times, lived and died in Paris. Like many other sexually dissident women, she worked for the

French Red Cross during the Great War. A prominent member of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, the Société Femmes Artistes Modernes and exhibiting internationally, she was appointed to the Légion d'honneur in 1931.

³⁸ William Dobell (1899-1970) won the Society of Artists' travelling scholarship in 1929. He studied at the Slade, where he worked on a series of male nudes. He later teamed up with Donald Friend and they did the pubs, "Negro" jazz clubs and boogie-woogie joints together. Returning to Australia, he lived in The Cross, exhibited in the Archibald and won notoriety before fleeing to Wangi. "A reserved and gentle man", he exhibited few works that belie his sexual interests. Interviewed in 1970, he told Virginia Freeman,

I never married. I was engaged once years ago. This particular girl wanted me to give up my London scholarship and stay in Newcastle as an architect. I couldn't, so we broke up...I went to London and just got stuck into my work over there. I was there ten years, studying [and] broke all the time. Marriage would have been out of the question. I didn't get back here until just before the war, and there it was. Ten years ago I had this cancer thing and before that, a nervous breakdown through all that upset. Now it's too late (quoted in Freeman 1970 p 81).

Cross-reading Dobell's interviews, the queer researcher notes that Dobell met "The Irish Boy" on the Thames Embankment (ibid) and may have had an affair with Joshua Smith. Furthermore, his example influenced Patrick White's decision to return to Australia (Marr 1991). The same researcher notes that Dobell, de Maistre, Friend and White all knew each other in London.

³⁹ Sumner Locke Elliott (1918-1991) wrote for Sydney radio and The Independent theatre before flying to America in 1948. He became a Broadway and television scriptwriter and published several novels with Australian settings. Of these, the semi-autobiographical *Fairyland* (1990) is the most explicit statement of his sexual history.

⁴⁰ Mary Fullerton claimed that "my nature really intended me to be the 'go alone' that I've been" (unpublished memoir as quoted in ADB Vol 8 p 598). Nevertheless Sylvia Martin (1992 & 1994) has argued that, although Mary Fullerton (1868-1946) believed that sexuality was a private matter, she told Miles Franklin that she shared a bedroom with Mabel Singleton. Nevertheless she did not see herself as one of Havelock Ellis's and Radclyffe Hall's congenital inverts. Martin concludes that Fullerton "seems to have seen her same-sex desire as evidence of an evolving higher type that could pursue an aesthetic sexuality that was divorced from the reproductive maternal desire that was accorded to women in the Victorian period" (Martin 1994 p 25). And at a time when Radclyffe Hall's Stephen Gordon hated her "ardent but sterile body", Fullerton celebrated hers through her sensual poetry to Singleton (ibid).

⁴¹ Robert Helpman (1909-1986) studied with the touring Pavlova company in 1926 and sailed for London in 1931. He became the leading star of the Vic-Wells Ballet company and, after 1942, a film star and choreographer. He toured Australia in 1956, 1958 and 1961 before co-directing and then directing the Australian Ballet. He maintained a flamboyant high-camp style throughout and performed as a pantomime dame in *Cinderella* (1972).

⁴² Robert Lindsay followed his brother Norman and sister Ruby to London and stayed away for 20 years. A

fastidious connoisseur, he worked as a secretary for the British Diplomatic Service in London, New York and New Orleans, where he set up a "fabrics and dress styles" store and designed Mardi Gras costumes. Returning to London he worked at the Fisheries Department before opening an exclusive millinery shop and developed a long term relationship with Martin Boyd. Peter Lindsay claimed that his uncle and Boyd "were so alike that they could have stepped out of the same chorus line". Boyd in turn claimed that Robert Lindsay's "talent was confined to his appreciation and discriminating taste". The Depression, London's weather, an accident and his mother's illness all drove Lindsay back to the family home at Creswick, Victoria (Mendelssohn 1996).

⁴³ Walter Orry-Kelly (1897-1964) moved to New York in 1921 and to Hollywood in 1931, where he became an eminent costume designer. He won Oscars for his work on *An American In Paris* (1952), *Les Girls* (1957) and *Some Like It Hot* (1959).

⁴⁴ The fastidiously dressed, snobbish de Maistre was "a homosexual of extreme discretion". Living in Belgravia from 1931, he "discovered" Francis Bacon and had a short-lived affair with Patrick White (Johnson 1988 & 1995; Marr 1991).

⁴⁵ Rosa Praed (1851-1935), the novelist, lived with Nancy Harvard (1899-1927) in London and fantasised that she was a Roman mistress with Harvard playing the slave girl role.

⁴⁶ Frederic Manning (1882-1935), the reticent aesthete/scholar-bachelor, had left for London with his tutor Arthur Galton (whose earlier intimate companion, Lionel Johnson had introduced Lord Alfred Douglas to Oscar Wilde in 1891). Coleman does not allude to Manning's sexual tastes but has concluded that there is no evidence to suggest that he had a sexual relationship with T E Lawrence (Coleman 1990).

⁴⁷ And speaking on another occasion, Elliott recalled:

...what a desert we were in. Everything came from overseas; books, stories, plays, films everything from England or America, occasionally from Europe, but home grown people didn't have a chance in hell. And there's that peculiar Australian inverted vanity, that stupid apologetic thing of: "We know him, he's just a Sydney boy. A Sumner play, oh yes, well..." But Mr X from abroad was different, the most second rate people came out and postured all over the place - especially from England (Baker 1987 pp 51-52).

⁴⁸ This queer diaspora would continue through much of the century and still exists today. After 1945, when travel had become a viable option for more people, some, like Sumner Lock Elliott, Loudon Sainthill and thousands of lesser luminaries stayed away. Others like William Dobell, Justin O'Brien and Jeffrey Smart, went and returned. O'Brien was tied to an invalid mother and left for good in 1967. Smart got himself to London, Paris and Ischia in the late '40s. Forced to return to Australia in 1951, he got a job on ABC radio's Argonauts children's show because: I really needed the job, but I was always worried I would be exposed and there would be a terrible scandal. When I finally resigned [in 1963] to live in Italy, I said to my terrific boss, Don Appleton, who knew I was gay but never discussed it, "well you must be relieved". He replied, "Well thank God - I kept seeing that newspaper report: now I don't have to worry any more" (*SMH* 17 August 1996 Spectrum 3s).

⁴⁹ See too, R Ewers's hysterically phallic, bare chested machine-gunner in the Australian War Memorial (reproduced in Flower 1977 p 17). Paul Fussell (1977) has identified the symbol of the bathing soldier as a set piece to signify war's inhuman and the vulnerability of flesh and blood.

⁵⁰ Cumbrae Stewart began drawing nude women in about 1918. Like Degas before her, she worked with pastels. Her academic images of women rising from siestas and bathing suggest familial intimacy of another woman in a rich person's very private spaces.

Influenced by R A M Stevenson's and D S MacColl's support for "the dignity of technique", her critics usually desexualised her work and praised her drawing and flesh tones. John Shirlow also turned to Ruskin's preoccupation with a painting's narrative-moral aspects to justify Cumbrae Stewart's subject matter. Reading Cumbrae Stewart's models as moral heroines, he cited virtuous Susannah, Godiva, Helen of Troy and Jael to establish her moral righteousness and was pleased that she did not paint "bad girl" Phyrne and erring Mellisande. Another critic praised Cumbrae-Stewart's nudes because she "gave the public what it truly desired, a type of picture which expressed the beauty and elegance of undraped femininity without the unpleasing suggestiveness indulged in by more virile artists" (*Age* 26 December 1928 p 5). Similarly, "the type of pastel study... on which Cumbrae Stewart has established her reputation, while perfectly normal in its humanity, is curiously free of any sex sensationalism" (quoted in Burke 1981 p 61).

⁵¹ See footnote 16 (this chapter) for Norman Lindsay's trivialisation of Gruner's sexual concerns and footnote 96 (this chapter) for Jack Lindsay's dis-ease with Gruner's "bisexual" lifestyle. Note too Humphrey McQueen's claim that:

[w]hen Norman Lindsay decided to win Gruner back to the path of artistic sanity, his stratagem was not to attack Modernism, but to continue his extravagant praise for those traditional elements which remained in Gruner's new work. Gruner could not withstand the pressure of being told that he was the greatest landscape painter in the world. Lindsay's views were reinforced by the art-buying public who wanted their Gruner's to look like Gruners, and not like grotesque Gauguins. And Gruner depended on his public more than most painters since he was one of the few Australians to earn his living from the sale of his pictures. And here his homosexuality intervened (sic). Unlike some full-time writers...Gruner did not have a wife who could support him through his experimental phases. He needed a substantial income to maintain the refined comfort of his Bondi home. Although Gruner cheerfully roughed it in the bush for months at a time, he could not do without the periods in town where he reverted to being a dapper draper's assistant, with expensive shirts and elegant living (McQueen 1979 p 122).

⁵² Mary Eagle has argued that:

[De Maistre's] sexuality directly influenced his art. It had the effect of making him an observer of rather than a participant in masculinity: he was not interested in sport or power-mongering and at an early age he showed an interest in clothes and good taste. Throughout his life he was most creative artistically when enclosed within a small and chosen company of men. He liked to talk about his ideas volubly, liked to teach them and to see the ideas used creatively by his (male) friends. He had two such periods between the wars. The first period of creative excitement was at the end of the First World War when Adrian Verbrugghen (son of the Director of the Sydney Conservatorium), Dr Charles Moffitt (medical orderly at Kenmore Psychiatric hospital) and Roland Wakelin were his associates...The second was in England in the early 1930s, when the young painter Francis Bacon was one of his closest friends. This was when de Maistre turned back to his more formidable artistic quest after years of purveying good taste (Eagle 1989 p 44).

⁵³ British born, Ure Smith was unimpressed with the nationalists' arguments about the indigenous art's "purity".

He felt that culture came from overseas and that Australia should discerningly and respectfully appropriate British trends. Informed by The Arts And Crafts Movement, the (homo-tolerant) Omega Workshop and the private press movement (and eking a living), his (queer) acolytes turned their hands to modernist illustration, etching, interior decoration and fine art works.

⁵⁴ *Fairyland's* several supporting queer characters are part of this '30s commercial modernism. Echoing J S MacDonald's criticism, Elliott sketches them as neuters. Both Grenville Baker and the fashion photographer Rat Ratcliffe share an unmistakable "gender or lack of it" (Elliott 1991 p 79). Baker is fat and iridescent with a permanently infuriated red face. Ratcliffe is fortyish, bespectacled with a long banana face and a beak nose. Smooth skinned and adolescent looking, he is doomed to successive unrequited passions. Arranging flowers and serving delicate hors d'oeuvres with perfect drinks, at least he can see the possibility of an alternate (USA) milieu for Seaton.

⁵⁵ For example, when C Hatley Grattan introduced Australia to a wartime American public, he cited our art establishment's vituperative attitudes to modernism, and its pansies, by quoting from one of MacDonald's 1940 articles:

The art that Australian "modernists" profess is imported and is foreign to this relatively happiest of countries...the distraction this leprous art furnished was pounced on by overseas dealers and newspaper writers on art materials. They saw in it, respectively, profit and notoriety, and by their actions encouraged a section of the community to supply them with more and more degenerate productions...However, let us leave the work of *perverts*, feeling sure that in Australia it is not to remain for long. Its influence is the last of the importations (quoted in Grattan 1942 pp 175-176, emphasis added).

⁵⁶ Is it purely coincidental that this gallery carried the same name as the gallery which initiated London's aesthetic movement and supported Wilde?

⁵⁷ See, for example, "The Collector" (1926), "The Fisherman's Shrine" (before 1948) and "Flower Piece, Palm Beach" (1948) which link a naked fisherman to a characteristic vase of Australian native flowers.

⁵⁸ Sir Edmund Davies had introduced Proctor to Charles Conder's elegant, *fin-de-siècle* romantic and historicist aesthetic when she arrived in London in 1903. She was drawn to Conder's indefinable Decadent atmospheres and love of 18th century costume.

⁵⁹ See, for example, "Design For Fan" (in *Art In Australia* No 7 1919); "Masquerade", a fan painted on silk (by 1928); cover designs for *The Home* (December 1925; November & December 1928); "Souvenirs" (aka "The Yellow Glove" 1927); "The Peep Show", a woodcut (c 1928); "Still Life" (c 1935). See too, the book plate which Adrian Feint designed for Proctor (reproduced in Campbell 1988 *Early Sydney Moderns* p 98).

⁶⁰ See, for example, "The Tame Bird" (1916); "The Shell" (1917); "The Bathers" (1918) and "The Picnic" (1925).

⁶¹ See, for example, "The Rose" (1925, Figure 6.2) which she subsequently reworked and reproduced as a cover design for *The Home* (July 1927); "Two Women" (1926); "The Doll" (see *SM* 14 November 1928); cover design for *The Home* (July 1926); "Women With Fans" (1930) and its woodblock print (1932); "1875" (c 1932).

⁶² See, for example, "The Flower Shop" (c 1919) and "The Hat Shop" (c 1919).

⁶³ See, for example, "Souvenir De Ballets Russes Le Carnaval (Schumann)" (c 1912); "Before Rehearsal" (1919) and "Bonnets, Shawls and Parasols" (c 1928).

⁶⁴ See, for example, "The Balcony" (c 1916) and "Portrait Of A Young Man" (before 1932).

⁶⁵ See, for example, "Lady With Fan" (c 1913); "The Balcony" (c1916); "Reverie" (c 1919); "Summer" (1930); "The Organdi Dress" (before 1932); "The Feather Fan" (before 1935); "The Dancer" (before 1935) and "Summer Afternoon" (c 1962).

⁶⁶ See, for example, such late works as "Reclining Nude" (undated, reproduced in Topliss 1995 p 163); "Quick Sketch" (c 1961); "Summer Afternoon" (c 1962); "Interior With Figure" (c 1962) and "Reclining Figure" (c 1962).

⁶⁷ Nancy Underhill (1991) has noted that Ure Smith gave Molly Gray a lot of publicity in the mid-'30s. There is also a '40s photo of Gwen Friend in similar clothes (Friend 1994).

⁶⁸ When Leeson won this prestigious appointment *The Bulletin* described her as "the clever looking" woman who had graduated with a BA (honours) in history and had worked in the NSW Public Library system (*B* 14 December 1932).

⁶⁹ It is hard to know if Audrey Tate is blind, windowing or complicit in Jarrett's closet. She writes, for example, that sports-loving Jarrett never entertained the idea of marriage "because she was always too busy" and ambitious (Tate 1996 p 51). But when she first met Maie Casey, "the bohemian" who was "frustrated by traditional marriage's demands and constraints", Jarrett was beguiled by her "liquid blue eyes and sophisticated manner". Tate tells us that they had much in common, enjoyed each other's company immensely and, fleeing to New York, "shared great happiness". When the Casey's returned to Australia, Maie wrote "I miss you, my darling, and long for you to come back" (*ibid* p 116). Meanwhile Pat was living with her "close friend" Major Sandy Macallister and Sandy's parents in New York, because of the housing shortage. Shortly afterwards, Macallister tried unsuccessfully to come to Australia with Jarrett to do a master's degree in social science at Melbourne University. Jarrett was also charmed by Eleanor Roosevelt, which we can probably read as code for her knowledge of the First Lady's "open secret".

⁷⁰ Defending "public morality", the obscenity laws came down on "depraved" works as well as sexually specific works. The authorities did not ban *Redheap* because of the hero's seduction and fathering. Mendelssohn (1996) has reported that they censored it because of its negative depiction of Creswick and the Victorian premier's connections to the town. Nevertheless, the myth of its sex depictions inhibited other writers.

⁷¹ Marie Stopes wrote her *Married Love* for "the earnest and noble young minds who seek to know the responsibilities they are taking on themselves when they marry, and how they may best meet these responsibilities" (Stopes 1916 p 17). She wrote, she said, "because the old traditions, the profane primitive knowledge of the needs of both sexes, have been lost and nothing but a muffled confusion of individual gossip disturbs a silence shame faced or foul...[T]he great majority of [English] people have no glimmering of the supreme human art, the act of love" (ibid p 19).

⁷² Their classificatory systems distinguished between first schedule material, which was absolutely prohibited, and second schedule material, which a scholar could import with the Minister's written permission. We can see this as a classic case of Foucault's power/knowledge. Similarly *The Medical Journal Of Australia's* reviewer felt that *The Invert & His Social Adjustment* would help psychiatrists, general practitioners and state doctors understand the invert's "non-sexual temperament and other peculiarities".

⁷³ A young Alice Sherman, for example, complained that although she had spent a considerable amount of time with "boys", read all "the facts of life", scanned the available magazines, seen the current films and attended philosophical discussions on companionate marriage and free love, she felt that she did not know about sex (Douglas 1987).

⁷⁴ The sex education literature often used the metaphor of spending. Some sexologists claimed that masturbation would lead to homosexuality and other deviancies. Marion Piddington's (unknown) *Tell Them! Or The Second Stage Of Mothercraft* told her readers that masturbation led to homosexuality. Dr W A Lind, also saw masturbation and homosexuality as the two main "sexual perversions" and argued that "masturbation is a common symptom in both congenital and acquired insanity ...(because) it aggravates the mental symptoms from which the patient is suffering" (*MJA* 6 August 1927 p 185). By the late '30s the medical profession was calling for sex education and one *MJA* reviewer noted that "there appears to be no end to the publishing of small manuals on sex education" (*MJA* 1 April 1939 p 513).

But, when *The Journal* extensively reviewed Havelock Ellis's *Sex In Relation To Society* (aka the first English edition of Volume VI of his *Studies In The Psychology of Sex*) it did not refer to deviance, perversion, inversion or homosexuality but called for sex education so that the young might be held responsible for their self-discipline, self-reverence, self-knowledge and self-control in an age when sex "is discussed freely, when reticence has fled and when there are few repressions" (*MJA* A 19 March 1938).

When the Council of the Victorian Branch of the British Medical Association published a statement on its attitude

to sex education in that state's schools it argued that schools and youth organisations should fully and frankly explain "adult sex life, including some of the more common abnormalities, such as homosexuality, and dangers, such as venereal disease to 15 to 18 year olds" (*MJA* 27 Dec 1941 p 751). A subsequent review of W J Thomas's *Plain Words: A Guide To Sex Education* (1942) commends the author's remarks on "continence and repression" but does not refer to masturbation or same-sex desires (*MJA* 29 May 1943 p 494). In the '40s, sex education booklets for boys warned against homosexuality's dangers and wretchedness but the girls' equivalents did not mention lesbians (R Ford 1995).

Dr S J Minogue, the Medical Superintendent of the Rydalmere Mental Hospital, reported on an inmate who, although he had been an excellent worker, a good footballer and a cricketer, was masturbating daily and had manifest "active and overt homosexual tendencies" (*MJA* 22 Dec 1945). Even as late as the mid-1950s, North was telling juvenile sex offenders that "boys who masturbate too freely are in danger of being led on to seek gratification in some other way and may get themselves into serious trouble". He advised them to refrain from masturbating more than once a fortnight and to occupy themselves with sport, study and helping (*MJA* 28 April 1956 p 686).

⁷⁵ These wowsers claimed that the films represented domestic quarrels, sexual scenes, cynical approaches to marriage, American slang, glamorous crime and lavish materialism as well as belittling the English and promoting drinking.

⁷⁶ These self-censoring films fussed over inappropriate gender roles. Their (rich, weak, witty, helpless, overly civilised, dandiacal, European) sissies offset (no-nonsense, working class, American) virility (Russo 1981). At the same time, filmic representations of women's gender dissidence had famous historical personages, independent cowgirls, tomboy buddies, masculine careerists and cross-dressing cabaret artists killed, ridiculed, expelled or converted to heterosex (Bell-Metereau 1993). Only the androgynous Katherine Hepburn was allowed to win out as Sylvia Scarlett (1935).

⁷⁷ Several biographical sketches will illustrate this phenomenon. *Edward Lacy Evans* (born Ellen Tremayne) had arrived in Australia as a woman in 1857 and, having worked as a man for 20 years, having married twice and having "sired" two children, was found to be a woman (Hollidge 1962). Years later, a horse kicked *John Jorgensen* (1843-1893) in the face. Unable to hold down jobs as a domestic, frightening children and inspiring boys' jibes, Jorgensen took to wearing men's clothes and set up as selector and a member of the mounted defence corps. Keeping to *himself*, Jorgensen inspired the Molly Cooper/Nosey Alf character in Joseph Furphy's *Such Is Life* (1903) (Rodriguez 1980). At about the same time, Jockey *Bill Smith* rode winning horses in North Queensland (French 1993) and *Bill Edwards* (1881-unknown) worked as a clerk, as a shearer, as a female impersonator, as a hotelier, as a horse trainer and as an SP booky, before facing a burglary charge (Tracy 1908).

Leaving home when she was 14, Edwards worked as a waitress and, after she had begun an affair with a laundress, set up an unsuccessful confectionary shop and tea room. Moving to Hobart, she had a doctor and a

grocery boy vying for her hand. But she reasoned that, as a woman, she would either earn £1 a week and spend her spare time in the back room of a cheap boarding-house or remain a bullied and overworked servant. Instead, she opted to make a decent living as a *man*. By 1900, Edwards had married a widow (who never suspected *his* identity before they split up by mutual consent) and within a few years *he* had bought a country hotel before being arrested on suspicion of burglary. Fearing that *his* gender would be discovered, Edwards fled to Brisbane where *he* got engaged to a girl (whose her father insisted on it, and because "she was so pretty and bright [*he*] didn't mind") (ibid p 306). However, Edwards broke off the engagement because *he* was frightened of having to face a bigamy charge. Edwards boasted about *his* sexual history to *The Lone Hand*:

I've always got on well with men - perhaps because I've some womanly streak in me, and know how to manage them. And I'm a great favourite with women - perhaps because I know them thoroughly. When I was in Queensland, I used to take girls out of an evening. As long as they were fond of me it kept them away from more dangerous chaps. Poor kids! Their lives are often miserable enough without having some extra worry about a thing like love. Love indeed! I've never seen one solitary man I could stand for a husband, though I've had some splendid pals. A man is decent to a man - he must be, or he might get hurt. But with a woman a man seldom plays a fair deal...I'll continue to dress in man's clothes. It's more comfortable than female dress, its cheaper too (ibid p 306).

Beatrix Tracy, who had interviewed Edwards, concluded that the rebel had failed to grasp that:

when a woman relinquishes her individuality, and submerges herself in husband and child-love, she has attained the best happiness a daughter of Eve may hope for. And she can have no conception of a man's joy - fleeting and poignant - in winning the love of a girl (ibid p 306).

At about this time someone who had known *him* as Marion Edwards recognised *him*. and the police extradited *him* to Melbourne to face the burglary charge. Once *his* masquerade was uncovered, the trial became a sensation. Once again, hundreds of spectators crowded the courtroom to see the judiciary address the cross-dressed suspect as Marion. Acquitted of the charge, Edwards wrote her sensationalist, self-aggrandising and implausible autobiography and was forced to travel as a freak man-woman with the Melbourne Waxworks for a short time before passing into obscurity (Summers 1974).

⁷⁸ Visiting Melbourne, Sydney, Dorrigo, Kempsey, Coff's Harbour and Brisbane Sandes met, along with other dignitaries, the Governor General, the Prime Minister and the NSW Premier. Her war decorations; her cropped hair; her officer's uniform; her cigarettes; her confident and authoritative air; her clout; her military gestures and her sabre inspired the press to compare her to Saint Joan d'Arc and Florence Nightingale and to herald her as "the new woman". Reporters struggled to decipher her assumed male authority, focused on her "femininity" and stressed her nursing rather than her soldiering career to disarm her threat. They emphasised her extraordinary achievement, so that other women would be dissuaded from emulating her and they used her exceptional qualities to question, but ultimately reinforce, their conventional gender roles (Wheelwright 1990).

⁷⁹ Celebrated as Sydney's man-woman, Eugenia Falleni (1876-1938) had been born in Italy and had grown up in New Zealand. A tomboy and an androgynous beauty, illiterate Falleni soon realised that she was strong enough to work less and to earn more as a man. Turning down an eligible and persistent suitor, she became a bricklayer and was brought before the Wellington court for impersonating a man (Falkiner 1988). Possibly shamed by this experience, she signed up as a cabin boy on a Pacific barque. Arriving in Sydney, she gave birth to a daughter

before masquerading as widower *Harry Crawford* who worked as a coachman and hotel useful. *Crawford* began to court the widow Annie Birkett, who lived with Harry, her young son and, when Birkett opened a confectionary shop in Balmain, the shiftless and heavy-drinking *Crawford* moved in. When Birkett got sick of *Crawford's ways*, she sold the shop and went to live with her sister. However *Crawford* wheedled *his* way into her affections once again and they set up house in Drummoyne. Some time later, 13 year old Harry Birkett went on holidays and, on his return, *Crawford* told him that his mother had gone to stay with friends. Shortly after this *Crawford* sold Birkett's household furniture and, after *he* and Harry had moved house, *he* tried to murder the youth.

Three years later Harry Birkett began to inquire into his mother's disappearance and the police tracked down *Crawford's* daughter, who told them that her *father* was her mother. Meanwhile *Crawford* had changed *his* name once again and married for a second time. The police eventually tracked *him* down and arrested him. Once *he* had been found guilty, *his* death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. *He* served 11 years in prison and lived the rest of *his* life as a woman.

Herbert Moran represented Falleni as a promiscuous, masculinated, flat-busted "half wild creature" who had "the mental capacity of some lower animal" and who had a deliberately exaggerated man's stride. He identified her as a "psychical hermaphrodite, with a man's sexuality in a woman's body" and pondered the connection between her homosexuality and her sanity. Moran claimed that she was totally ignorant of the history of "lesbian luxuriousness in high places" and that she believed "herself singular in a hostile world" (Moran 1939 p 234, p 245). More sympathetically, Suzanne Falkiner has argued that "*Harry Crawford* was a man, not because *he* liked men...but because *he* needed the company of women" (Falkiner 1988 p 218). Because, while *he* did men's work and wore their clothes, *he* relied on his women friends to nurture *his* daughter and stepson and *he* was totally undomesticated. *He* steered clear of other men and entered into several long standing relationships which inspired *his* partners' love and jealousy. Falkiner felt that *Crawford* "kept *his* love making to a minimum and relied on the emotional facets of the relationships to maintain involvement". All of these women claimed to be ignorant of *his* gender. We could interpret this in various ways. Many couples made love in darkened rooms; many couples were modest and never saw each other uncovered or unclothed. And even if *Crawford* had a dildo, we cannot suppose that *his* love-making was necessarily, or always, phallogentric. *He* may have been a "stone butch" who "does all the 'doin'" and does not allow her lover to reciprocate in kind. To be untouchable meant "to gain pleasure solely from giving pleasure" (Kennedy & Davis 1993 p 192). Alternatively, these women may have been covering their own necks.

Falleni was not unique. Her passing bears striking similarities to the Russian born *Nicholas de Raylan*, who had fought as a soldier and worked as the Russian Consul's confidential secretary in Chicago (1873-1906), De Raylan's second wife wept at *his* death and declaring that the talk about *his* femaleness was "nonsense". *His* "imitation penis and testicles made of chamois skin and stuffed with down was suspended in the right place by means of a band around the waist" (Katz 1976 p 381).

⁸⁰ See, for example, Leonard Gribble who presented Falleni as "a monster", "an amalgam of deformed humans" and an hermaphrodite. *The Sunday Sun* (12 June 1938), *Daily Telegraph* (13 June 1938) and *Smith's Weekly* (25 June

1938) all reported Falleni's death by road accident. But, as Falkiner tells us, the tabloids began to sensationalise, demonise and distort her life and crimes in the '50s (when the press was playing up the lesbian paradigm). See, for example, *Sun* (14 August 1952); *WN* (11 September 1954); *DM* (3 October 1955); *Sun* (unknown 1958); *SH* (11 June 1961); *SM* (10 September 1967) and *Sun* (26 February 1971). Finally, it should be said that, while Lorae Parry's *Eugenia* (1996) is partly inspired by Falleni's story, it is more concerned with contemporary feminist issues than with the historic Falleni's situation.

⁸¹ When the Langley sisters went to Gippsland in 1925 they shocked the locals who called them the "trouser women" and wanted to summons them for masquerading as men. To avert their imagined fate, they began wearing bangles.

Eve seems to have been sexually infatuated with women and men and to have slipped in and out of roles throughout her life. She wanted to be a free and creative, a competent and initiating, "a serious and handsome man" and eventually came to see herself as a man trapped in a woman's body. By April 1954 she thought of herself as an hermaphrodite and changed her name to Oscar Wilde. She had been drawn to Wilde from 1929, at least, because she felt that he was successful, sensitive, trapped in an inappropriate body and temperamentally "female". Langley may have taken her Steve character from the Kelly gang's cross-dressing Steve Hart and Elaine Haxton painted Langley's Steve character in 1944 (McMahon 1997).

But Eve and June were not the only gender dissidents in Gippsland. Their cousin Tommy Davidson was renowned for his delicacy, elegance, musicianship, "feminine singing voice" and speech (Thwaite 1989).

⁸² Tennant wrote *The Battlers* (1941) about the adventures of a cross-dressing woman and donned duds to research *The Honey Flow* (1956).

⁸³ Although there had been several cinematic and dramatic representations of the Kelly Gang, Sidney Nolan's *Steve Hart Dressed As A Girl* (1947) was probably the first attempt to represent the myth's (comic and/or psycho-sexual) gender (and sexual) dissidence (McMahon 1997).

⁸⁴ James Holledge (1963) refers to a homosexual razor-gang pimp of the early Depression days.

⁸⁵ Jack Lindsay had come to Sydney after the "dead hand of [the Queensland/Brisbane] university" censored his erotic poem "Rivals" (1919) and cancelled his Rhodes Scholarship.

⁸⁶ Although we have no evidence of boy brothels, Judith Allen (1990) has claimed that many men may have felt justified in demanding that their sexworkers provide the "perverse" acts that would have provided grounds for divorce. I imagine some brothels had some boys.

⁸⁷ When the razor gangs went to war in 1927-28, *The Truth* screamed:

Razorhurst, Gunhurst, Bottlehurst, Dopehurst - it used to be Darlinghurst, one of the finest quarters of a rich and beautiful city: today it is a plague spot where the spawn of the gutter grow and fatten on official apathy (T quoted in McCoy 1988 p 104).

⁸⁸ The young Kenneth Slessor was captivated by the romance of The Cross's modernity:

I walked down the most extraordinary highway in the world. It is called Woolcott Street and it is filled with the bottle-ohs, limousines, paupers' funerals, police patrols, millionaires, American actresses, mysterious screams and people who won't pay their taxi fares. It is a stone chasm echoing with romance and adventure - and hidden drunks. It is the proscenium before a sinister stage, extending in grey terraces on either hand. Strata on strata of apartments tower overhead and in each layer of flats, men and women live their lives, die and laugh and quarrel, 20, 30, 40 feet above the paving stones of Woolcott Street. For it is so that the queer suburb of Darlinghurst has cropped and grown - not into waste land, like the expanding districts of the realty-agents, but into waste air - like the clouds themselves (Slessor 1923 p 32).

Decades later he was still celebrating its charms. By 1926 a quarter of the city's apartment blocks had been built in this area and some of these were the eight storey high-rises which gave the area its distinctive skyline (Cardew 1978).

Incidentally, Dulcie Deamer challenged the myth of The Cross's bohemianism, maintaining that "the real parties" were all downtown (in the CBD). But they had an "uninhibited kindergarten spirit and there was only one drug taker in her "exceedingly expansive circle" (ML MSS 3173 p 148). Deamer repeatedly claimed that the "poor dirty half mile" was very demure and very quiet", crowded with small earners who could, if necessary, walk to work (ibid p 96) and was not on the map "of all these zany doings" (ibid p 151).

⁸⁹ It did, however, report on The Running Horse Hotel in Brisbane's Mayfair whose licensee had served "youths with dyed and waved hair, powdered faces and painted lips" and been fined £30 (with a further £35 for court costs) for his tolerance. The same article claims that this bar's (righteous) barman had had to turn away 15 or 16 men "of a perverted type" every night.

⁹⁰ Chuck first encountered perversity during the Great War when he observed a young man furtively approaching other men in a holiday crowd. Suspecting that the young man was a pick-pocket, Chuck arrested him and took him to the police station. In court, the man admitted that he was a known "homosexual" and told the magistrate that he had tried to "get away from companions who might exploit his weakness" by working as a country town shopkeeper. Coming back to Sydney, he had succumbed to his "weakness" as soon as he found himself in a busy crowd. When the sympathetic judge released him, the man wanted to take the first train back home so that he would not "succumb to temptation" again. This sad little incident taught Chuck, the "astonished" rookie, that "this class of offence could be due to weakness as well as criminality" (Kelly 1956 p 56).

Chuck's second contact happened shortly afterwards. It involved three-well dressed and well-behaved couples who lodged together in Carrington Street, Wynyard. Their next door neighbour became suspicious when the house's *womenfolk* only left the house at night. This neighbour sent an anonymous letter to the local police. Going to the house, Chuck addressed a good-looking, well-groomed, respectable *housewife* wearing a kimono. She wore wedding and engagement rings. Chuck's team kept the house under observation and, two nights into their stake-out, followed three of its male residents. These men met up with another nattily dressed man whose face was rouged and whose mouth was painted. The men divided into couples and embraced each other in George Street. When the police

arrested them for their offensive behaviour, two of the men were wearing women's underwear. Taken to the police station, they talked shamelessly about their household arrangements. They called the *housewife* their Mother Superior and told the police that *her* "word was law to all the other inmates". They lived as "man and wife couples" and their only female visitor was one inmate's perverse sister. The police charged them with offensive behaviour, seized a large cache of their "sexually depraved" photographs and "extraordinary" love letters and forced them to leave their rented home (ibid).

It is important to recognise here that their passing had been so successful, that their landlord, who had met them "quite often", thought that they were pleasant, happily married (gender normative) couples. If the relatively inexperienced Chuck had not been able to explain the mystery, his more worldly and experienced colleague understood that these *young ladies* were transvestites who could pass as respectable women. Indicating that this was not a unique case, Kelly's text claims that Chuck's "incredulous" and "disgusted" colleagues regarded this household of "normal and honest perverts" as an unprecedented problem. They had never suspected that perverts would associate in such large numbers and they were disoriented enough to consider taking the matter to their Inspector General. This incident suggests that, at a time when the New York Vice Squad had assigned a special plain clothes officer to patrol that city's streets, parks, theatres, railway toilets and to entrap its perverts, the Sydney police were still "innocent" of these surveillance techniques (Chauncey 1996).

Lance Peters's novel *The Dirty Half Mile* (1981) caricatures this and other police raids on the inter-war demi-mode and organised crime. He probably sensationalises this private house as "the grossly illegal Louis' Love Club at the Rocks".

Chuck's third encounter was with Hugo Tuck, a 53 year old wealthy and well connected Englishman who, when he had been brutally assaulted in his Elizabeth Street flat, was wearing three diamond rings. Arriving at the scene of the crime, Chuck could see that Tuck's rooms were "furnished with almost feminine daintiness" and contained "a surprising amount of bric-a-brac for a flat occupied exclusively by a man". His numerous nick-nacks and fripperies, a fan and a powder puff gave the rooms an unwholesome atmosphere which reminded Chuck of the (now) "unsavoury Queer House". Bachelor Tuck had had a lot of respectable gentlemen callers and stored hundreds of "ridiculously affectionate and offensive" letters "from young men living all over NSW" (Kelly 1956 p 65). Chuck's investigations revealed that Tuck had lived "in an atmosphere of sexual perversion for almost the whole of the four years he had been in Sydney" (ibid p 66). Releasing information to the press, his police appealed to Tuck's acquaintances to help with the investigation because "his whole social activity was a menace to any youth unfortunate enough to make his acquaintance". But they realised that Tuck's seamy and "nauseating" background would deter informants from presenting themselves.

Nevertheless, the police eventually arrested a 17 year old youth who had known Tuck for several months and had "occasionally received 'a shilling or two' from him" (ibid p 68). The youth claimed that, when Tuck had made "obnoxious advances", he had killed him with the bricklayer's plumb-bob "which had been suspended from the footrail of Hugo Tuck's bed". The jury accepted the youth's self-defence plea and acquitted him.

Incidentally, the police claimed that Tuck's perverse skull was "extraordinarily thin and vulnerable to a heavy blow" and supported this claim with medical opinion that "the skulls of homosexuals (sic) were of more delicate

structure than that of normal men". Kelly concludes his narrative by saying that, nearly 30 years after the murder, the Sydney police were still claiming that homosexuals' skulls are thinner than normal men's. In spite of the fact that the autopsy had found that Tuck's skull was normal and that another murdered pervert's skull was twice as thick as 'an ordinary human's' (ibid pp 61-69). Perhaps Tuck confirmed the suspicion that the English were decadent. This preoccupation with morphology reminds us of the doctors' somatic preoccupations and sexology's early ties to criminology (cf Davies & Rhodes-Little 1993; Hart 1994 & Penn 1995).

⁹¹ Giving false names, hiring good lawyers and claiming overwork, stress and one-too-many, these prominent men had pleaded guilty, paid fines and agreed to taking a hospital rest. However they subsequently decided to protest their arrests, claiming that over-zealous police had framed them and getting their politician friends to "break down" the charges against them. They were powerful enough to get Parliament to call for an investigation and Police Commissioner Mitchell interrogated the arresting officers. Assigning Detective-Sargent Thomas Lynch and Fahy to the case, he invited the Attorney General to survey the College Street toilet at night. The Attorney-General entered the toilet and came out with a man who invited him to go into the park. Lynch tried to catch the man, but he ran away with Fahy in hot pursuit. The man had been a "pervert basher" and thief. Fahy captured the basher and the politicians, now wise to the difficulties of the police officer's job, gave the police a free hand for years (Kelly 1954). Craig Judd's recent research into *Smith's Weekly* has led him to believe that Sydney's police began to crackdown on the beats in 1933 (Forum at S H Ervin Gallery 10 October 1998).

⁹² Webber's story supports the myth of the predatory butch. David Greenberg's (1988) has identified the ways in which the butch's withdrawal and non compliance threatened the (19th century French) gender system. Similarly Susanne Davies and Andrea Rhodes-Little (1993) have analysed the media representations of Brisbane's recent "Lesbian Vampire Case" (1989-1992) to show how Havelock Ellis's "true" and "pseudo" lesbians echoed Cesare Lombroso's congenital and occasional female criminals and how Australian newspapers were still turning to this taxonomy to constitute men's and women's bodies. Donna Penn has also noted that many attempts to identify the historic lesbian have obscured the lesbian femme: "[i]f feminine women were recognised as lesbians at all, it was as latent homosexuals or as unfortunate victims of predatory butches into whose clutches they fell" (Penn 1995 p 28). The influential Havelock Ellis had divided female homosexuals into a small group of highly intelligent congenital inverts, who belonged to the intermediate sex and preyed on a much larger group of potentially healthy heterosexual women who were predisposed to the inverts' seductive ways. When these genitally anomalous inverts succeeded in their degeneracy, their "victims" were drawn into criminality, insanity and a disinclination to bear children (Garber 1993).

This typology supports Kennedy & Davis's (1993) claim that their Buffalo, New York, women were in transition from gender inversion to object choice in the '40s and '50s. In the 1940s the Buffalo community was strongly gendered and the popular wisdom saw the butches as unmistakably homosexual while the femmes were not.

⁹³ When Janet Hawley interviewed six "invisible" lesbians, Mabel (b. 1936) told her that she and her girlfriend

stayed at each other's homes for three years (c 1953-1956) without their parents suspecting anything. When she began looking for other women in the mid-'60s, "I didn't know where to meet them. I'd look at women and wonder, but lesbians are so good at hiding the signs and making themselves invisible" (*SMH GW* 9 November 1996).

⁹⁴ Nevertheless, when Lindsay arrived in London, he wrote an essay on Sappho as a hermaphroditic muse. Steeped in the Greek and Roman classics, he was infused with the Romantic notion that the creative imagination and the power of poetic metaphor could unlock the nature of reality and change it (Smith 1988). Inspired by Nietzsche, he announced the re-birth of classical values, of life and love, of an Australian renaissance and of anti-modernism. Living in Bloomsbury, he set up The Fanfrolico Press (1928-1930) to publish his translations of "Theocritus, Catullus, Aristophanes's *Ecclesiazusai* and many other works of ancient poetry" (Lindsay 1981 p 563) along with various neglected English poets. His Fanfrolico was a prodigious enterprise, and possibly a challenge to the Hogarth Press. He translated the happily pagan *Satyricon* and dedicated it to the notorious Norman Douglas (who had published *South Wind* in 1917). He also translated Sappho's poems and published them together with an essay called "Beauty's Hermaphrodite", and 15 of his father's etchings. This *Homage To Sappho* (1928). depicts maidens lovingly gazing, embracing and kissing in a Cythera of floral garlands, wine, turtle-doves, (innocent) nakedness and the flimsiest gauze.

In this neglected essay, Jack claimed that an arbitrary moral system subdivides the moral ("the never considered biological urge" to procreate and its "foreplay") and the immoral (two women kissing) and challenges the moralists who claim that love is a means of producing children. He argued that love is an end in itself; that we are all biologically and psychologically bisexual and that Shakespeare's representation of Cleopatra shows that The Bard had a "bisexual mind". He argues, moreover, that Christianity's fearful, resentful and hateful primitivism has disrupted the Greek balance of life, split men's creative faculties and disintegrated and masculinised women's deep Sapphic symbols. He maintained, moreover, that lyrically articulated sexuality has two symbols: the god-form (which is an autoerotic intellectualisation and self-knowledge and a heterosexual activity) and the daimon. He argued, moreover, that Christianity's evil eye has malformed life and robbed us of our innocent bisexuality. It has created "the hell of panicking terror", "the horrible darkness" and "the suppurating fears" which have made tragedy possible. The Renaissance forced Europeans to opt for heterosexual or homosexual desire and Shakespeare's plays created the full implications of the "tragic universe". Modern culture is a tangled web of discordant sexual elements: it inverts the rhythmic relation of all sexual experience and it diverts the "controlling sex factor" from making a powerful homosexual statement. Classical scholars have not been able to recapture this innocence and present-day homosexuality muddles the mind. For example, Leonardo da Vinci left a lot of unfinished work and "idly and desperately questioned life's easy appetites".

Attempting to support this argument, Jack appropriated Sappho as a metaphysical concept or sexual persona. He claimed that the Greek lyricists all had well formed (bi)sexualities. Praxiteles was equally attracted to men and women; Plato leaned toward the boy and Sappho toward the girl. But Sappho was able to mingle her spiritual desire for feminine beauty (god-form) with her wifely functions (daimon form). And she was the exceptional woman who confirms the rule that women are not creative. She was, in fact, the first great lyric poet who symbolises men's

mental love for women's bodies and women's subconscious need for their emotions. She is the ultimate goal of a woman's "delighted self-knowledge" (just as Apollo is a man's transcendent symbol of his own self-knowledge). "Lindsay's" Sappho is the imagic core of poetry, she symbolises the moment when the poet-lover becomes more lover than poet. She has given male artists all their complex and lovely dreams of love (and is the only woman has ever been able to express her essential motivations).

When a man reads the images of his personal identity in poetry and when a woman finds the material reflection of her soul in the mirror, they are both looking for Sappho. But their psychologies are different. On the one hand, a man externalises his desires. His psyche organises his physical and mental experiences into individualised forms; he severs himself from his sensations; his pleasure is severely localised. On the other hand, a woman's desires submerge her. Her pleasure is enormous and blindingly absorbent. She can clutch and maintain ecstasy, enjoy multiple orgasms "a homogeneous texture of sensations, a formless expansion of spiritual heat [and] an extraordinary power to sustain sensation". When she is in love, she loves herself; she delights in her power to sustain delight and adores her own body. Jack defines a normal woman's sexual essence through her automatic acceptance of the Sapphic symbols. Any woman who is trying to complete her sexual identity and to achieve "happiness in beauty" has to cross "an infinity of consciousness". So that, in Jack Lindsay's hands, Lesbianism is a woman's power to experience a love which liberates her whole psyche and does not depend on her having homosexual experiences. For although she needs a man's kiss, she is spiritually sustained by the narcissistic Venus's lesbian forms.

⁹⁵ Jack Lindsay had affected his bow tie in scorn of Brisbane's Philistines in 1919.

⁹⁶ Jack Lindsay, who had recently escaped his derelict Woolloomooloo digs by marrying well, equated Gruner's "bisexuality" with his bush virility against his city, respectability, decadent "weak" perversity.

The weak side of the man appeared in his house at Tamarama Bay between Bondi and Coogee, where everything was of extreme refinement and ended up quite lacking character. Fastidious pale greys, a suite of dark blue, an early 19th century chandelier, silver candlesticks and Chippendale table...flowers arranged with tactful unobtrusive taste...Yet Gruner roughing it in the wilds was a very different person: and there were times even in the genteel house where he forgot to play the Sydney part, or was bored by it (Lindsay 1981 p 358).

Gruner asked Jack to go camping with him "once or twice" but it never happened possibly because Jack was "a little doubtful of the ambiguity of his sex relations" (ibid p 358). Blind to Gruner's domestic arrangement with Jack Lecky and with Brian Cannell, he noted Gruner's inability to "achieve a settled love relationship" (Pearce 1983).

⁹⁷ When Proctor painted Rosalind Humphries' portrait in 1966, she told her of the fancy dress parties she had attended 60 years previously.

Her powers of recollection and description were amazing and she could evoke these far off gatherings in the most precise detail right down to the attire of the guests and the colour of the wallpaper. She was able to convey the exact atmosphere and the excitement of that vanished period (Humphries 1966 p 34).

⁹⁸ A few months later, in September 1923, D H Souter, the *Bulletin* cartoonist, decorated the Town Hall with the

"weird shape and colouring" of Jazz Fantasy. Dulcie Deamer created a sensation in a hired cavewoman's dress (while preserving her modesty with a body stocking). Percy Benison went as Miss 1923, wearing a head-dress decorated with chickens. Jack Lindsay dressed up as Villon and, together with his toreador, gitanas, Pierrot and "Chinaman" mates, smuggled whisky into the Town Hall (Lindsay 1981). The ubiquitous Joe Chuck, capped it off, when he raided the mayhem (Kirkpatrick 1991). The Sydney press went to town and this, in turn, inspired Pamela Travers to lash out at the critics. Although she had been there, she had not seen any of the much reported "degrading Bohemianism" and she felt that, although her fellow Australians took their fun very heavily, their drunkenness and horseplay had been "joyous, happy and light hearted, with no hint of sinister indecencies". She then asked rhetorically,

[w]hen shall we be able to laugh and dance under the balloons and paper roses without the papers coming out in a rash the next morning? When shall we be able to develop some of the *joie de vivre* of the Continental peoples without Mr Mugwump denouncing us and damning us into the uttermost purgatory that his mingy little soul is capable of inventing? (Travers 1923 p 10).

There was an even greater upset after the next Artists Ball. Themed as childhood, this masquerade featured many overgrown children and Benison as Widow Twanki, the pantomime dame. Benison had contributed to the decorations, painting a frieze panel which featured a broken nosed Sargent Chuck in drag and the rhyme:

Where are you going to my pretty maid
I'm going with "Chuck" sir she said
may I come with you, my pretty maid
I'm sorry kind sir, it's a private raid (quoted in Kirkpatrick 1991 p 278)

Deamer called this "the night of the great scandal" because drunken guests attacked the gatecrashers who were hurling their supper at each other and because some people's casual kissing and fondling incited several brawls. "Dead-drunk semi-naked women were piled like so many logs around the walls, while ambulance men attended 11 casualties in the courtyard" (Kirkpatrick 1991 p 280). Going back to a friend's place, she was amused that he was shocked by a drunken cross-dresser (ML MSS 3173).

The next year's Ball was sobered by a dry night and by increased police surveillance. The subsequent one, held in September 1926, was less well attended and had "nothing ultra Bohemian" in its "delightful carefree air". Indeed, Francis De Groot, the antique dealer, furniture manufacturer and future New Guard officer, was a member of this organising committee. Possibly relieved that the *déclassé* bohemians had been quelled, by its own illustrators' decorative and graphic contributions and by Isabel Ramsey's report on Paris artists at their *Bal des Quatz Arts* (Ramsey 1926), *The Home* celebrated it with a six page photographic and illustration spread. The costumes were period, folk and *commedia dell'arte*.

Deamer felt that the 1927 ball was the greatest of the Artist's masquerades and the zenith of her Golden Decade "going up like a rocket in a welter of joy and colour that was never quite touched again" (Kirkpatrick 1991 p 281). Over the next 30 years she went to all the Artists' Balls. They held the first ones at Farmer's Blaxland Gallery and, by 1938, at the newly opened Trocadero when Unk White, the cartoonist, wore Panamanian clothes and "slew" his famous (Picasso-esque) cow-character (*Pix* 9 April 1938; Deamer 1961). The following year Lana Lantour was designing huge grotesque masks for the Ball and *Pix* reported that, if the once famously wild event had quietened down considerably, it still retained "the picturesque, frequently abbreviated costumes of former years" (*Pix* 15

April 1939).

⁹⁹ Novelists and correspondents kept Sydney's bourgeoisie informed about Europe's masquerades. Isabel Ramsey filed a report on the Parisian male artists had been holding their themed balls since 1922. Restricted to the artists and their models, you had to know the password to buy an entry ticket. These "bacchanalian orgies" had Diaghilev-inspired, Orientalist-historicist themes and uniform design and colour harmonies: Egyptian (1922), Indian (1923), Persian (1924), Syrian (1925) and Incan (1926). The models shed "the last vestige of an already scanty costume" to be ready for the competition for the most beautiful model,

and couples, endless couples, laughed, pirouetted and made love in every corner of the vast hall. The costumes called "for nought but a pot of blue, red or orange paint smeared over the body, a wisp of rag around the waist and something weird and fantastic in the way of head-dresses" (Ramsey 1926 pp 29 & 78).

Clearly, the carnival and carnivalesque has been an integral element in urban modernity's discourses on the body.

¹⁰⁰ At about the same time, Cecil Beaton and Oliver Messell, two of London's most socially avaricious bachelors, were queening their campy wit as modernity. Playing with Duchamp's Rose Selavy masquerade and Schiaparelli's couture, Beaton, who had dragged as Elinor Glynn and as Lady Mendl (aka Elsie de Wolfe), decried historicism and orientalism and promoted ersatz bricolage. He told his *Vogue* readers that

...an effective grandeur can only be legitimately achieved with every-day utensils, and materials being used for purposes for which they were never meant...An effect is created only by the unexpected and the provocative...The conjurer's trick shop is a treasure trove...A beautiful late Victorian coiffure can be made of sausage-curls that are real sausages with posies of rubber fruit or even rubber lamb chops...Bring out forgotten flowers, forgotten materials. Stick to the lower classes and keep the bill down. Then only will your costume be remembered (Beaton 1987 p 59).

As we shall see in Chapter 7, at least one Sydney queen took his advice. In fact, Beaton (1904-1980) had been cross-dressing throughout his youth and this was well known within his circle. His ways even drifted into the public transcript when Noel Coward alluded to his interest in the song *I've Been To A Marvellous Party*, with the lines:

Dear Cecil arrived wearing armour
Some shells and a boa....

He had been consistently photographed in drag and, although he made much of his relationship with Greta Garbo in the late '30s, he was also discreetly involved with several men at the same time. Nevertheless, when he published the first volume of his diaries in 1961 he removed all references to his boy friends (Souhami 1996).

¹⁰¹ Herbert Moran, a Catholic doctor, admitted that he was repelled by the abnormal and degenerate pervert.

Yet religious prejudices, alone, cannot explain the average man's disgust for the nastiness of perversion: it is not merely a moral reaction. It is not solely an aesthetic distaste. It may be a biological aversion; an expression of the hostility of the race-continuers for the race destroyers. But to that hostility is certainly added the weight of our social, moral and aesthetic prejudices (Moran 1939 p 231).

¹⁰² *The Young Desire* It was the first Australian novel to address "a homosexually motivated attachment as an aspect of its main theme" (Dessaix 1993 p10). Charles Fox, the boy, can tolerate the lonely Penworth's attentions because of his healthy cheeks and his desire for a highly individualised relationship. Mackenzie presented this

attraction as a novel experience for the English classicist and "legitimated" it as latter-day Greek man-boy love. And, for all his prettiness, Charles Fox is "as masculine as any of us - and more than some" (ibid p 196). But 2 000 years of Christianity intervenes and the boy knows "without being told that men do not kiss one another so...[and] instinct warned him uncertainly that from this moment he would never talk of it" (ibid p 195).

¹⁰³ Nevertheless, it is clear from "Last, Loveliest, Loneliest" (unpublished 1938) that Langley saw male homosexuality as a degenerate and culpable threat to her marriage with Hilary Clarke (Dessaix 1993).

¹⁰⁴ Research into Melbourne and Adelaide's early camp scenes confirms these shadowy glimpses of the late '30s. Melbourne did not have an exclusively camp bar or other meeting place at this time. Subject to even more restrictive drinking laws than NSW, The Melbourne Hotel had a piano bar where "camp guys would get up and do their bit and throw gladioli all around the room". Camps also met their kind in several large and glamorous coffee lounges and at The Club, an invitation-only, sly-grog Saturday and Sunday night cabaret which provided dressing rooms for "the boys" to change into drag. Camp wits and clever drags could get invitations to private parties (Carbery 1988). Graham Carbery also found that '40s and '50s Melbourne had a few hotels and restaurants which tolerated discreet (middle-class) gay men. Alienated and/or unable to afford these places, most of the city's queens went to pubs while straight-acting "perverts" did the suburban beats (Carbery 1992). Val opened a series of "very cosmopolitan" coffee shops for lesbians in Swanston Street and then St Kilda (SMH GW 9 November 1996) John Lee's Adelaide interviewees felt that the established beats and pick-ups were the only ways to meet like minded people before the '30s. In the late '30s, two hotels had the first bars where camps could gather and, at about the same time, some drags were bold enough to go out in public. Lee found that the vast majority of men with dissident feelings were married and participated in the relative anonymity of the beats. He concluded that "an integrated emotional, sexual, and social life, if it occurred to homosexual men [sic] at all as a possibility, was the lot of a very few" (Lee 1992).

¹⁰⁵ The Bohemians had gone to Madame Helen Pura's Latin Café when it had opened in 1923. However, because she tried to run a respectable place, Pura had not encouraged the impoverished "hobohemians" to dine there and they moved on quickly (Kirkpatrick 1991). Over the years her Latin Café attracted staff journalists, musicians, theatrical people, businessmen and such celebrities as Lord Beauchamp, Pavlova and the young Philip Mountbatten. When Garry Wotherspoon interviewed Madam Pura in 1979, she referred to her extensive homosexual clientele as "the people I adore" and claimed that her restaurant had been a major *rendez-vous* on Friday nights (Wotherspoon 1991 p 59).

Elliott (1991) recognised the role which these café's played in (dry) Sydney's social life. He describes the (fictitious) small and subdued "Jacob's Room in the Victoria Arcade" where the Misses Edith and Lorraine Swansea served those who engaged in "the arts" and where a portrait of Virginia Woolf hung on the wall.

¹⁰⁶ Because Elliott was famous for his memory and left Sydney scene in 1948, we can place some store on his

retrospective gaze. His biographer quotes him as saying "memory is the strongest power I have, it is my lifeline to the truth" (Clarke 1996 back cover blurb).

¹⁰⁷ John O'Donnell has nostalgically described the beats of the Bondi-Tamarama-Coogee area and felt that if certain hotel bars were good for cruising,:

the toilet at Adams was always so busy - if the cubicles were full, they'd just do it outside, as it was underground and there was always someone to warn them if anybody approached...[At the Technical College in Harris Street Ultimo] blokes would just race into the toilets and stick their cocks through the holes (in the cubicle walls) and get sucked off, and think nothing about it" (O'Donnell 1986 p 46-47).

¹⁰⁸ Maddocks had been a controversial Police Department Secretary and subsequently Commissioner for Transport. In November 1936, he had met the 17 year-old Adams, who had been, the police later told the Darlinghurst Court, "a pervert from the age of 12 or 14 years". Adams had demanded money and stolen from Maddocks. Working as a police *agent provocateur*, Adams had met Maddocks to return the stolen goods. The men had had dinner together and then driven to Lane Cove National Park where the police had sprung them (SB 20 March 1937). Maddocks ended up in Bathurst Jail and Adams, who was well-spoken and unemployed, was probably a Depression casualty (SB 6 & 20 March 1937, 10 April 1937). If so, he was not alone, because another unemployed "park pervert" was prepared to tell the court that a man could go to the Domain "and earn a few bob in no time" (SB 11 September 1937).

¹⁰⁹ Lea Sonia was billed as "the world famous and intriguing impersonator" in the Mill's Bros "Four Boys And A Guitar" show (1939) and, backed by the Tivoli Ballet, she led the *Spice Of Life Variety Review in 1940* when she was billed as "He or She? ...The Sensational Continental Star". A preview item read:

Lea Sonia is interesting and cultured and can discuss politics or fashions with equal facility. Is credited with speaking five languages fluently and delights in aviation and fast motoring. Sonia designs all the costumes worn on stage and takes a keen delight in the evolution of fashions (ML PP TV).

The copywriter has taken care to maintain Lea's pseudo hermaphroditism by avoiding gendered pronouns and by giving *her* "masculine" and "feminine" interests. The *Spice Of Life* program notes identified *her* as a popular and perplexing Danish personality and

[o]nly quite recently a leading Sydney weekly [magazine] stated that Lea Sonia was the greatest impersonator ever seen in Australia - and one can go even further than this - and state that this Great Artist is the most accomplished and original seen in any part of the World. Either as singer, dancer or poseur, Lea Sonia offers perfection in every detail. Sonia is full of surprises, and this time in *The Spice Of Life* more mystery and more subtlety and more sensation will develop this intriguing Danish personality (ibid).

In the 1941 *Would You Believe It?* show, they billed Lea as "the gay deceiver" (ibid see 4 July program, not included in the Sept and Oct updates). Shapely, glamorous Lea had a good soprano voice and would remove his wig and growl "sorry to disappoint you boys!" (Performing Arts Museum 1991). Rumour has it that *she* was pushed under a tram (1944). Lea became a legend. A front-line female impersonator made *Pix's* front cover in one of *her* hand-me-down gowns and *she* was expected at John Rose's (1961) fictional war time Drag-n-Drain.

¹¹⁰ Foy, who was working as a barman at the Surrey Club Hotel, Redfern during the day, had performed at Maxine, The Mirrors and Ziegfield's as well as various other night clubs and vaudeville shows (eg the old Edward Theatre). He had a "very natural woman's charm", voice, walk and actions and was performing for "kentuckies" (ie the money which an amused audience would throw to him) when the American sailor struck him. The sailor told the police:

Foy grabbed hold of me. His actions were offensive. I struck him to prevent him from kissing me and carrying on his filthy conduct. He tried to kiss me twice, and I have no use for these people whatsoever. I hit him on the face. He fell backwards immediately on his head. I had no intention of killing him. He was off his balance when I hit him (*Tr* 3 January 1943).

Although *Truth* positioned Foy as a (reputable) female impersonator, several other Americans had read him as a "queer" or "fairy". One of them told the police:

I was standing in a circle about the dance floor while a man was putting on a turn. He was a man and a woman mixed. He had some kind of a woman's shawl on, but was dressed in men's attire. He had some female undergarments about him. His face was all painted up. He had rouge and powder on. I also think that he had lipstick. He may not have had earrings. I'm not quite sure. He appeared to be a "fairy". He attempted to grab and kiss Williams (*ibid*).

The police assured *Truth's* readers that the Ziegfeld Cafe, which had been a "sore" in the city, had a new manager and was now a well-conducted place "which a man could take his wife to". This assurance was unfounded, the Ziegfeld continued to be "the lowest dive of them all", pulling gangsters, underworld brawls and underaged prostitutes. When the Liquor Royal Commission (1951-1954) closed it down, a "do-gooder public servant" testified that he had been offered prostitutes, sly-grog, male perverts and a reefer when he was drinking there (Hickie 1985).

Chapter 7

¹ Jackson wrote his novel in the second person singular, presumably to facilitate the reader's identification with the "masculine" hero. Societal pressure and the closet destroys the relationship and speeds Cor's descent into violence, madness and marriage.

² GIs may have introduced the word "gay" to Sydney in the 1940s. Nevertheless it was not widely used. In fact, when President Johnson visited Sydney in 1966, the NSW government could still initiate a "Make Sydney gay for LBJ" campaign (Hickie 1985). The word caused anxiety until about 1980. In 1976 Peter Langford, the editor of Australia's first national "gay and lesbian" magazine was criticised for using the word "gay" in preference to the more widely accepted "camp" (quoted in *Camp* Sept 1990 no 174 p 38). The aggressive liberationists problematised the word in the early '70s, and irate correspondents wrote into *The Herald* when the '78 Mardi Gras splashed across the front pages (see Chapter 9 below). And the editorial lead in to Jim Cowan's article on Sydney's Darlinghurst scene began: "The *camp* community is providing the new urban guerillas of the '70s" (*POL* October 1979, emphasis added). Notwithstanding this, Cowan consistently uses the word "gay" throughout his article. The editor was presumably accommodating his allegedly straight readership.

³ Garry Simes tells us that the term had entered into Australian literature by the early 1950s (Simes 1996 p 38).

⁴ The earliest known use of the word dates from the 1890s, but, since there is no printed evidence of the word between 1903 and 1941, it was probably taboo (Simes ???).

⁵ Both McGregor and Harris allude to the (male) homosexual's Otherness (and are blind to women's same-sex desires). Discussing Australians' morals and manners, McGregor divided his society into coarse (homosocial and possibly homosexually repressed) *men, women* and persecuted and immoral *effeminate*s (who were homosexual). He argued that a child's ideal was intensely masculine. Australia, he wrote, was violently hostile to its sissies and condemned them more roundly than its adulterers, fornicators and incestuous fathers. And Harris believed that his contemporaries viewed the homosexual as "a mysterious non-human, immoral, aberration from outer space" (Harris 1962 p 56).

But, it should be said that Harris qualified this analysis. Australians, he claimed, lost their concern, fear, contempt and disgust when they knew "the homosexual". They then affected a patronising and disarming affection for this "underdog", and they had a fierce and compulsive sympathy for underdogs. Harris supported this fairgo-ism by alluding to Albert (Bert) Edwards, the flashy Adelaide hotelier, philanthropist and parliamentarian, who, even after he had been jailed for homosexual offences, retained his working-class constituency's affections and votes (ibid). When Edwards (1888-1963) was arrested for sodomy in December 1931, his supporters claimed that the police had framed him because he had investigated their fatal shooting of an escapee. Nevertheless, Edwards was sentenced to five years hard labour and The Edwards Defence Committee arranged three unsuccessful appeals against his conviction. Edwards was released in June 1933. But we need to qualify Harris's claim. For, although Edwards remained in public life, he was subsequently suspended from the Labor party (for alleged ballot irregularities), he failed to win a seat in the 1937 and 1950 State elections as well as the 1940 Federal elections. He did however win a seat on the 1948 Adelaide City Council (*ADB* Vol 8).

⁶ Nevertheless, this army culture allowed women to display some physical affection for each other and its friendly, supportive and segregated milieu allowed some women to enjoy secret adventures and discrete relationships. Seeking to avoid scandals and wanting to maintain morale and their recruitment targets, the authorities tried to discourage "special friendships" and to deal with them locally. So that, unlike the Americans, they did not initiate centralised witch-hunts. They preferred, instead, to send "special friends" to different postings, to swap each trainee nurse's room-mate at regular intervals and to quietly discharge women for kissing or holding hands. And, because they were anxious to allay the public perception that uniforms would masculinise women, they framed their policies and actions to discourage the servicewoman's mannish appearance, manner and gait. They fostered their recruits' interest in home management, cooking and interior decoration; they designed their uniforms to signify femininity and used their recruitment advertisements to assert that these woman were maintaining their (chaste and glamorous) femininity and (hetero)sexual attractiveness while they (patiently) waited for their men to return from the front (R Ford 1995).

⁷ When two men murdered stoker John Riley, the Navy conducted its protracted proceedings *in camera* (French

1993). But, when the American army cracked down on the "sodomites" who were serving in New Guinea and forwarded some Australian names to their Commander, he, in turn, sought Headquarters' advice on how he should deal with these "homosexual males". And, although he was told to send them to a psychiatrist and to possibly discharge them, his inquiry suggests that the Australian authorities did not share the Americans' obsession. But when The Commanding Officer, Victoria, wrote about a similar concern, he was advised to charge, jail and discharge any proven culprits. Together these incidents encouraged Headquarters to undertake a nationwide investigation which revealed, in October 1944, that there had been three convictions in New Guinea and in New South Wales, one in the Northern Territory, two in Queensland and three in South Australia. They took no further action, although those who had been implicated were given a chance to incriminate other servicemen who had been above suspicion (op cit). See, AA (Vic) Department of Defence (III) Army headquarters MP 742/1 Correspondence Files 1943-1951 item 84/1/74 as summarised in French 1993. Ruth Ford (1995) identified 15 cases in Australia & New Guinea and cites LHQ SM 7645 (conf 84/1/115 18 July 1994 and Comd NT Force (AIF) to LHQ 12 Sept 1944).

⁸ Allan Bérubé (1990) claimed that the American GIs did not have sex with their buddies. This was, he argued, because many of these men had been socialised to pursue sex for its own sake and believed that sex would destroy their friendships. Indeed, many Americans had to work hard to figure out how to form their cliques and intimate relationships. Fearing stigmatisation and reprisals, they never directly discussed their dissidence, they never revealed anyone else's homosexuality and saw themselves as members of a secret club. Although there is no local evidence to support or contradict this claim, it is reasonable to assume that this was a key structuring device of Sydney's "pervert culture".

⁹ Although the queen was scapegoated in war novels, this might say more about the novelists' 1960s consciousness than their wartime feelings. The blokes in Lawson Glassop's *The Rats In New Guinea* (1963), for example, taunted a radio announcer whose "pink face" and "fruity voice" marked his difference and their commanding officer felt that having a queen in his section was the one thing he feared (Glassop quoted in French 1993 p 77; Wotherspoon 1991).

¹⁰ Nevertheless, they were often keen to maintain their imputed off-stage masculinity, so that, Michael Pate repeatedly wrote that

[a]lthough [Bobby Gordon] had a great talent as a female impersonator he was far from being feminine - more than once he was on the point of giving someone a belt under the ear when some small remark was given to him about being "a great sort of sheila" or he received a bit of a "pass" (Pate 1986 p 46).

But it is hard to know whether our Forces were innocent, tolerant or accepting. For example, Sgt Bill Donaldson, a husky six footer and genuine Tobruk "rat", had been a J C Williamson chorus boy, ballet dancer and Little Theatre actor, before serving, first, as a regular soldier and, then, as a front-line female impersonator. Donaldson made *Pix's* front cover in his "glamour girl" impersonation was photographed in one of Lea Sonia's hand-me-down

gowns and made himself up to "cunningly simulate feminine glamour for men starved of civilisation" (*Pix* 11 September 1943 p 22). Keen to minimise the war's disruption, the press reassured the public that these were normal and patriotic men performing in a time-honoured theatrical tradition. Nevertheless we need to recognise that these shows maintained their heteronormative discourses in a strictly homosocial environment because "real girls" were only allowed to serve outside Australia after hostilities ended. When the two Allies came together to put on the grand 50-50 Show, the Australians contributed five female impersonators to the American's one "very sexy black femme". Since the American armed forces were racially segregated at this time, the recurring African-American presence in Pate's book suggests that the Australians were sensitive to these men's otherness, that the American administration had little disregard for their allies and that these men were breaking race taboos. We can suppose that many of these *femmes* were gender and/or sexual dissidents who embellished their acts with covert campy asides, gestures and inflections, double entendres, put downs and subtextual allusions.

¹¹ Indeed, Stan Nelson's illusion of beautiful femininity impressed one seasoned American performer and Jimmy Ricketts aroused one "slightly drunk, smallish black US soldier's" passion. Unlike such famous Australian entertainers as Judith Anderson, Gracie Fields, Gladys Moncrieff and The Tivoli Girls and the big Hollywood stars who gave whirl-wind shows and morale-boosting appearances, these "concert party" actors were living under the same conditions and drawing the same pay as the (front line and outback) troops which they were entertaining (Pate 1986).

¹² The army has denied that it administered this anti-aphrodisiacal bromide (Clarke 1996).

¹³ Cosgrove claimed that, when a solicitor's married son was arrested for indecently assaulting a 14 year old boy (October 1940), MacKay had diverted the case to the Children's Court, had altered the charge to common assault and got the offender off on a good behaviour bond; that, when a man was arrested for indecent behaviour in an air raid shelter, the police had told the court that they had no evidence (and the arresting officer resigned in protest); that, when a doctor was charged with offensive behaviour and assaulting a police officer, senior officers told their men to offer no evidence to the court (*T* 14 March 1943).

¹⁴ MacKay had had a controversial career as NSW Police Commissioner. When a Royal Commission into SP Betting (1937) criticised his dictatorial, impetuous and impulsive management style, the Opposition put up a no-confidence motion in the government and the press staged an anti-MacKay campaign. And, when Cosgrove had criticised MacKay's administration in 1942, MacKay shipped all the Police Association executives to country postings. This led to a serious labour dispute and only Premier McKell's intervention prevented the crisis from drifting into a general strike. Furthermore, David Hickie (1985) has argued that, because MacKay groomed Norm Allen and Fred Hanson to become his successors, he set up the conditions which made organised crime such a powerful force in Sydney's 1970s political and social life.

¹⁵ McNulty, who had been drinking earlier in the evening, went into the toilet. Grigg entered shortly afterward, arrested him and hauled him outside to the waiting Carney. They took him to the Phillip Street police station where he protested his innocence, gave the name "Charles McNally" and phoned a colleague for bail money. The next morning, McNulty visited his boss, Frank Packer who, in turn, contacted Police Commissioner MacKay to complain about Carney and Grigg's procedures. McNulty then returned to the Phillip Street station where he told the station sergeant that he had been falsely arrested. Early the next morning, Commissioner MacKay phoned McNulty to tell him that he would not have to appear at the Court of Petty Sessions that day. However, like the respectable men of the '20s, McNulty determined to submit his allegations to a complete investigation because he felt that anything short of exoneration would seriously besmirch his reputation. As an "ordinary citizen" he felt that being accused of "obscene exposure" was worse than being accused of murder. (*DT* 26 February 1943). His lawyers wrote to Premier McKell to say that "McNally's" accusers would have to meet damages if their charge failed. At about the same time, MacKay suspended Carney and Grigg on 58 charges and set up an official departmental inquiry into their conduct.

Meanwhile a deputation of Labor members told Premier McKell that their suspension was "a gross public scandal" and Charlie Cosgrove, The Secretary Of The Police Association, demanded a Royal Commission to investigate the reasons why these two previously "unblemished" constables (who were conscientiously cleaning up the city's perversion) had been suspended after they had arrested "a man of substance" and why MacKay had dropped the charges before the man had appeared in court. (*Sun* 21 January 1943). MacKay countered Cosgrove' accusations by claiming that his senior staff had investigated the case and had concluded that a trial was "absolutely unwarranted". Carney and Grigg complained that they could not defend themselves since they did not know their accuser's name and Cosgrove claimed that their suspension was the most scandalous incident in his 35 years career. Their widely-reported dispute forced The State Cabinet to see if the affair warranted a Royal Commission and concluded that "McNally" should appear in court, thereby implying that MacKay had overstepped his authority (*Sun* 28 February 1943). Rather than direct his force to issue a summons against "McNally", MacKay sought legal advice. Meanwhile, Premier McKell had to decide whether he needed to introduce legislation to clarify Parliament's authority over its Police Commissioner and his Cabinet had to decide whether to suspend MacKay for his "misbehaviour and incompetence". The next day MacKay announced that he was prepared to take "McNally" to court and he subsequently released a statement to *The Sunday Sun*. He claimed that he had received two earlier complaints against Carney and Grigg and that his Deputy Commissioner and Division Inspector had received other complaints. Thereupon, MacKay directed his staff that "McNally" would not have to attend court. Inspecting the Lange Park toilet, he told the Division Inspector to place Carney and Grigg under close supervision and he began an inquiry into the reasons why they had arrested so many men for indecent offences. His inquiry showed that Carney and Grigg had made disarmingly similar statements to the magistrates and that (while over 50 of these men had either given false names or false addresses or had left NSW and while many others refused to cooperate), "a goodly number" of the rest protested their innocence and impressed the investigating officers with their sincerity. Having completed this inquiry, MacKay had decided to suspend Carney and Grigg and told the *Sunday Sun* readers that, although his legal advisers had supported his behaviour, he would obeyed the Premier's direction and

take "McNally" to court.

¹⁶ "McNally" appeared before the court claiming that Carney and Grigg had arrested him on false charges, (1 February 1943). The subsequent high-profile case lasted 11 days and its depositions ran to 90 000 words. On the one hand, McNulty 's lawyer set out to discredit Carney, Grigg and their friend Harold Munro, a lawyer who had advised at least 28 of their other arrestees to plead guilty. When McNulty's lawyer asked Carney whether he had habitually split the arrestees' cash and bail money with Grigg and Munro, the police officer denied it. On the other hand, the prosecution claimed that McNulty had tried to stifle the case by contacting Commissioner MacKay and by getting his lawyers to write to Premier McKell.

¹⁷ At the same time, he admonished MacKay for arrogating the Court of Petty Session's right to determine the charges which the arresting officers had made, for arbitrarily directing his officers to withdraw the original charge and for cancelling McNulty's recognisance. He also castigated him for telling McNulty that he would not need to appear at court and for making a public statement that could have prejudiced the public's attitudes toward Carney and Grigg. The Police Association opened an inquiry into Carney and Grigg's techniques.

When it was all over, *The Herald* felt that the McNulty case had exposed the senior police officers' slackness in monitoring the procedures that had been designed to protect the public (as well as any allegations that might be levelled against the police themselves) and called on the Police Force to examine its control and administration systems (SMH 5 March 1943). Writing to *The Herald*, R Clive Treece challenged the magistrate's right to condemn MacKay when he had not been in a position to defend himself. However, MacKay's solicitors sought to allay the public's misgivings about MacKay's alleged abuse of power by asking the Sydney press to publish a letter which set out the legal precedents for MacKay's action (ST 7 March 1943). Disregarding this letter, *Truth* called for MacKay's dismissal because the McNulty case had shown that he had become a public menace. Arguing that MacKay had deliberately tried to discredit Carney and Grigg's evidence, *Truth* protested that he had shown himself to be utterly without any balance and had arrogated himself the right to interfere with the course of justice. Cosgrove also wrote to Premier McKell expressing his concern that Cabinet had not taken any action against MacKay. This letter alleged that MacKay had abused his power on several earlier occasions and requested that McKell receive a deputation, which he declined to do (T 7 & 14 March 1943).

A *Smith's Weekly* editorial claimed that a Sydney newspaper, presumably *The Truth*, had exacerbated the situation because it had vendettas against McNulty and against Commissioner MacKay (SW 6 February 1943).

¹⁸ When elderly Duncan McPhee appeared at St Vincent's Hospital with multiple stab wounds, the police found that, although he had lived "a secluded and apparently respectable life, he had for a number of years quietly indulged in homosexual practices". McPhee died (PCR 1943). But, although, the police interviewed a number of known homosexuals, they had no reason to suspect any "person of that type". And then after five weeks of long and arduous work, they tracked down Keith White, recently discharged from the army, and extracted his confession. White claimed that McPhee had stopped him outside the Royal Hospital for Women, requested assistance for an

allegedly sick friend, taken him to a dark and secluded place, made indecent suggestions, caught hold of him and indecently assaulted him. White said that he had drawn a knife to protect himself from the "much bigger man". The court sentenced White to eight years hard labour (ibid).

In the second case, the police discovered Albert Crutcher's body trussed with his braces, they distributed leaflets in factories, munition annexes and hotels, they had 100 police cadets prowl swimming baths to flush out the suspected "sex pervert". They apprehended Roy Barlow, an army deserter, (16 April 1943) and took him to trial. Barlow was found guilty and sentenced to death, later commuted to life imprisonment (29 June 1943). The *Police Commissioner's Report* concluded:

This was a most cold blooded and foul murder and created such an impression in the minds of the general public that they rendered the police every assistance in their power in solving the crime (ibid).

In the third case, the police arrested Raymond Miller and Miss Payne at New England University College, Armidale because Miller was dressed as a woman. Payne wanted to study bacteriology at university and Miller had told her that she would need to study Latin for two years in order to enter Medical School. He agreed to pass as Payne and to sit for her matriculation exam. They went to the examination room together, the examiner posed the questions to Miller, who professed to have a tonsillectomy, and got Payne to answer them. They were charged with conspiring to produce a public mischief and Miller was sentenced to 12 months' hard labour (ibid).

¹⁹ These Annandale "scouts" were aged between 18 and 25. The youngest and most glamorous wore a beaded, low-cut black velvet frock, with fox furs, heavy silver jewellery and gold anklets while the oldest wore a bottle-green and vermilion frock. Both of these queens wore silk stockings and high heels. These descriptions suggest that they had fitted themselves out in the fashionable women's clothes of the day but we have no way of knowing whether they were transvestites, female impersonators or parodic *femmes* (ST 9 August 1942).

²⁰ Clive Madigan has written about "The Golden Circle's" highly secretive "dos"; music rooms in Little Bond Street; "high jinx" harbour cruises; "chicken in the basket" orgies (or gang rapes); a successful ball in Glebe Town Hall (1949) and a demi-monde birthday party in some North Sydney reception rooms. The prostitutes, pimps, drag queens and studs, "Cross" knockabouts, "tootsie-doll couples" and "notorious gunmen" were "lamped" at the peephole before being let in. Boozing up, they watched "an old queen" play musical scores, some passable singers, a dance of the seven veils and a drunken striptease before they got into the *requisite* rough-house brawl and "gunnie shootup". Although highly fictionalised, Madigan's account tallies with other descriptions of Sydney's underground demi-monde (*Out* No 65 1988).

²¹ In summary, Rose traced the adventures of Jon, a 16 year old smalltown boy, who arrived at "the fabulous Cross where all the actresses, painters, dancers, filmstars and radio people lived, a small city of tall flats, night clubs, cafes in tree-lined streets and constant adventure" (Rose 1961 p 9). He immediately fell into a world of "gentleman-type ladies and lady-type gentlemen" and met a topsy-turvy grotesque/Guignol *Queen Victoria* who, possibly on Cecil Beaton's advice (cf Chapter 6, endnote 100), donned a cabbage orb, a monsterio sceptre, raddish and onion

jewels, plaited, tiny-sausage curls and a pie for a crown. Jon bought a ticket to the annual Gala Drag-n-Drain Ball which the press, the police and "everyone [was trying] to get into despite [their] religion or their current moral beliefs"(p 97). Widely touted as superior to Berlin's legendary balls, the Drag n' Drain's organisers had tried to avoid the "usual chaos" by issuing "exclusive tickets", which covered food and drink, a cabaret, a show-girl parade and "a real orchestra". Anticipating the fun, Jon fantasised about the camps plundering wigs, satins, taffeta and costume jewellery from the city's stores (ibid p 93).

The ball was anything but clandestine and Rose's description may have been modelled on a '40s (or subsequent) Artists Ball (French 1993). The party-goers wore their costumes in the street and at least 200 stunned spectators gazed on as "group after group of the most exotic and fantastic people passed up the stairs" (Rose 1961 p 99). 200 (including "half the theatre and radio world") attended "this gorgeous bedlam" in a hall near The Cross. Rumours circulated that Lea Sonia, herself, would come "in nothing more than a diamond head-dress and four pekinese on leads". There was a drag Queen of Sheba, two Amazon-sized glittering showgirls and a bevy of glamorous Hollywood star impersonators. Some women came as Captain Hook and George Sand. Someone else came in "something from a Salvador Dali painting" and Zoe, an "enormous negress", who had plundered the Ziegfeld-Erte aesthetic, made her spectacular entrance while

...three little boys painted black stood around her, each one holding a piece of her vast white feathered cloak, which had floating panels falling away from it...[She] pulled a satin chord. As the cloak fell off, a gasp went up...She walked forward, her tall white head-dress swaying above her glittering, silvered eyelids and white lips. She had long, white feathered pants on, which ran up her thighs and then stood out at the back like a bird's tail. The rest of her torso was naked and painted white from her loins to the cups of her breasts, the upper parts of which, along with her neck, were her natural glistening black skin. As she turned slightly, I could see loops of pearls and roses beginning at the tops of her legs and running down into a tail piece" (ibid pp 99-100).

This Drag-n-Drain had a showgirl competition and several parodic diva-impersonation shows. For, although, the Dildol Sisters has cancelled, "eight very big-limbed, and over made up lovelies" sang to the tune of *The Fleet's In* and a *Miss Lana Turner*, bursting out of her white gown, dripped jewels and flailed an enormous feather fan. *Miss Turner* gave way to *Dame Nellie Melba* who wore an old fashioned dress with an eight foot train, a frightening red wig and a giant tiara. *She* carried an enormous lornette, which *she* used to look the audience over with, or to bop the lady at the piano. But it all came unstuck, and rather Keystone Cops like, when the police hurtled themselves through the hall's open windows and fanned through its entrance. Ostensibly searching for army deserters, they hauled people away in their "black marias".

²² Laurence Collison was a communist, Jew, poet and school teacher. Open about his sexual interests with some friends and family members, he entered into a *marriage blanc* to avert suspicion. In the wake of Wolfenden, he wrote to the English HLRS and began to research into an (eminent experts) executive committee, a working committee and fund-raising strategies. Although he corresponded with the HLRS for a year, we have no evidence that he called a foundation meeting. He would have found it hard to muster support. Australia did not have a public transcript on homosexual tolerance, the (homophobic) Communist Party dominated political protest and the fearful camp enclaves were more concerned with hidden sociability (Willett 1997).

²³ Shortly after Kinsey had begun working for the Committee for Research in the Problems of Sex (1940), the Australian Association Of Scientific Workers announced that it was setting up a committee to examine "the problems of sex and society and to suggest reform". It would foster a scientific approach to individual and social sexual problems, promote sex education, disseminate material and expose unscientific explanations (*MJA* 6 March 1943 p 222; *AJS* April 1943 p 162). But, as far as I can tell, nothing came of it.

²⁴ Three articles in the *Medical Journal Of Australia* illustrate this trend. These were "Homosexuality", a feature article, and reviews of Alfred Kinsey's *Sexual Behaviour In The Human Male* (1948) and George Henry's *Sex Variants: A Study Of Homosexual Patterns* (1948). Reporting on the Royal Society Of Medicine's conference on homosexuality (London 1947), the unsigned feature article acknowledged the enormous variation in England's inverts and the fact that most of them did not display the "extreme" homosexual's "gross", "reprehensible", "abnormal" and "revolting" behaviour which attracted police attention and which inspired "normally sexed people's" antipathy. Continuing to draw on Ellis's taxonomies, these English experts were still distinguishing between congenital ("true") and acquired homosexuality. Of these, the former inverts saw themselves as "female souls in male bodies" and these medical officers thought that these people should be "rescued from the law's clutches" (unless they tried to influence the young). On the other hand, the latter, who were bisexual and "unnatural heterosexuals", should be punished if they debauched the young, offended decency, sought monetary gain, engaged in street prostitution or annoyed "passengers" with their soliciting. The English experts, and their dutiful colonialist reporter, pleaded for society to understand "these unfortunate and lonely subjects of inversion" and concluded that they, like heterosexuals, should build character through self-control (*MJ A* 7 Feb 1948; see also Brown (1996) for "character" in the '50s).

The reviewer was more conservative. Originally published in 1941, Henry's book provided 80 case studies of frank, "morbidly proud" men and women who took pleasure in their difference. The reviewer felt that these studies threw "considerable light on the mechanisms which play their part in directing the sexual invert down the tangled paths of abnormality". Although he recognised that many "effeminate men and masculine women" were "constitutionally homosexual", the reviewer was hostile to those apologists who felt that homosexuals could "flaunt public opinion and decency with impunity" and "offend good taste". He cited the frequent incidences of the unstable family background, the lesbian's insecurity, jealousy and alcoholism and the anti-social behaviour of the "repulsive male prostitute". He cited, too, Henry's "gynaecology of homosexuality", his masculinity-femininity tests and his somatic tests of his subjects' skulls, chests and pelvises. And he drew issue with Henry's claim that those who react violently to sex variance may be defensive about their own unconventional desires. Dismissing this as a "didactic statement", the reviewer concluded that "it is perfectly natural for the normal, decent person to experience repugnance at the sight of those whose mannerisms betray them as denizens of that dim half-world of sex with its unnatural practices and its flamboyant narcissism" (*MJA* 19 March 1949 p 382). See Bullough (1994) for an overview of Henry's research project.

²⁵ Once again we are left wondering whether these were commercial transactions or whether the police read all

cruising and soliciting as professional street prostitution.

²⁶ This Vice Squad staged a series of highly publicised crackdowns on the Bondi Beach dressing sheds, right in the home of our heroic masculinity. They charged four men with offensive behaviour and another with soliciting another man (*SMH* 19 Dec 1949). A week later they raided the same sheds and hauled nine others in and, this time, they published the hapless men's names and shame in *The Herald* (*SMH* 29 Dec 1949).

²⁷ The Vice Squad claimed that its virulence had driven the perverts underground (*PR* 1951, 1952). They then claimed that the *Humphris V Langley* finding was impeding their work and they were trying to amend the law (*SRNSW* 1953) and, subsequently, to preserve public morality and protect youth (*PR* 1955). After Wolfenden, *The Reports* and *The Herald*, began to use the word "homosexual". By this time they were targeting the beats and beaches. The following year, they reported on a wide-spread "boys and youth welfare organisation", arrested two former teachers and charged one of them on 11 serious counts (*SRNSW* 1958).

By 1959, the Vice Squad was monitoring the perverts' haunts. They investigated a (foreign) secondary school teacher who, although he had not interfered with any of his pupils, "engaged in homosexual practices" and posted obscene photographs overseas. Arresting him and charging him, the court convicted him of buggery and several counts of indecent assault and sentenced him to 30 months imprisonment. The presiding judge had also recommended his deportation and initiated further inquiries in Suva, the USA, England, Norway, Poland and New Zealand (*PR* 1959).

After the Mutilation Murders (1960-1962), the police spent "an extraordinary amount of activity" in *homosexuals'* space and warned away many potential offenders. When Delaney retired in 1963 the Vice Squad was still constantly supervising the homosexuals' haunts and investigating complaints promptly. By 1964, the writer was using more tempered language and was more concerned about supervising (young heterosexuals') dance halls and suppressing prostitution.

²⁸ We need to locate Friend's imagery in time: cubism had dismembered the (female) nude; surrealism was psychologising the (male and female) nude; Totalitarianism was fetishising the healthy, straining, radically pure (male) nude. All this suggests our need to research Friend's voluminous diaries in order to unpack his understanding of the artist's role, his (modernist-endorsed) attraction to "the primitive's" Otherness, his feelings about the war's claims on fragile adolescent beauty and his reactions to wowserism .

²⁹ Merioola's non-queer residents included Peter Kaiser, Roland Strasser and Edgar Ritchard; Jocelyn Rickards, a costume designer and painter, who was living with Alec Murray, "Australia's Cecil Beaton"; Arthur Fleischman, the sculptor, and Jon Bannenberg, the designer (*France* 1986).

³⁰ Barry Pearce (1990) has written that, although, it was a fairly one-way affair, it was pertinent to Friend's art. Furthermore, it exemplifies his lifelong ability to observe with brilliant objectivity and his desire to draw

attractive men in a frankly sensuous way. Capable of cruel sarcasm and romantic dazes,

[h]e once wrote eloquently how, when working with a model whom he found physically attractive, "the drawing lights up with a soft inexplicable brilliance" (Catalogue no 54 Diary 19 July 1952 as quoted in Pearce 1990 p 75).

Friend's love fantasies, their disintegration and his flights into exotic dreams provide the driving force of his imaginative life: "in a sense my whole life is Colin. Not particularly Colin himself, but my love and appreciation and desire for the Colin's of this world and my life" (ibid p 53). So that he painted "Colin" (1946), "Study Of Colin" (1946), "The Young Sculptor" (1946) and "Male Nude" (1946). And, when the affair collapsed, he took himself off to Hill End only to find that the opportunity to draw a beloved male figure provided his most fundamental inspiration and "infused [his] drawings with an inimitable beauty" (ibid p 14).

³¹ According to his biographer, Patrick White had many reasons for returning to Sydney. On the one hand, he felt that most of the people he saw in post war-London looked ill, tired, hopeless or dull and apathetic. Feeling restricted in everything he tried to do and seeing no future for England, he advised everyone he knew to leave it. On the other, he knew that his formidable mother was determined to move to London as soon as Australia's currency restrictions allowed. Perhaps he also recognised, Marr has asserted, that life in Sydney would be easier because "the family no longer loomed over the city; because their town houses were in other hands and because the ranks of the relatives had thinned" (Marr 1991 p 246). And then, when he did return he was impressed with a great many things. He claimed that, "the people are beginning to develop and take an interest in books and painting, and music, to an extent that surprises me, knowing them 14 years ago. One gets the impression that a great deal is about to happen" (p 245). Furthermore, Dobell's recent work

had demonstrated (to White?) that homosexual artists could survive in Sydney. The rule was simple: society must be allowed to pretend that homosexuality did not exist, and a man must do nothing to disturb that pretence.... Men did not live together as lovers in Sydney unless they cut hair or danced in the chorus of J C Williamsons's musicals. Men of some rank might "share a flat" but they were expected to make excuses, and they did, arriving at the theatre and dinners and public events with women on their arms. Even as they entered their dotage, these bachelors were called "eligible" by the Sydney press. White had the assurance of his upbringing and the experience of Alexandria to help him avoid such pretences. It would be uncomfortable but not impossible to live with Lascaris in Sydney, and easier on the fringe of the city than in his mother's stamping grounds of the Eastern Suburbs. They could get by with little pretence and no advertisement (ibid p 245-248).

³² Martin Boyd drew a series of portraits of middle-aged men who were pathetically or absurdly infatuated with handsome boys who barely noticed these men's devotion. The type is evident in *Scandal Of Spring* (1934), *The Shepherd Of Admetus* (unpublished) and *A Difficult Young Man* (1955). In other novels, some of his young male characters have same-sex dalliances before falling in love with women (eg *Dearest Idol* (1929) and *Nuns In Jeopardy* (1940)). The postwar tolerance, let him draw the more sympathetic characters in *Lucinda Brayford* and *The Cardboard Crown* (1952)(Niall 1988).

³³ The penal apparatus was becoming increasingly medicalised, psychologised and educationalised. The psychologists, sociologists and criminologists were out to correct deviant behaviour, check the prison supervisors and administrators and assert the viability of their alternate schemes, normalising mechanisms and wide-ranging powers. And so Australia was becoming

a society of the teacher-judge, the doctor-judge, the educator-judge, the social-worker-judge... and each individual, wherever he may find himself, subjects to it his body, his gestures, his behaviour, his aptitudes, his achievements. The carceral network, in its compact or disseminated forms, with its system of insertion, distribution, surveillance, observation has been the greatest support, in modern society, for the normalising power (Foucault 1979 p 304).

³⁴ *The Medical Journal Of Australia's* review of Eugene de Savitsch's *Homosexuality, Transvestism And Change Of Sex* (1958) supports this. It provides an overview of the androgyne and the hermaphrodite's corporeality, the homosexual's psychology and sex change operations on "physically normal but mentally warped" people. The reviewer questions whether de Savitsch should have written such a book for clergymen, school teachers and social workers (*MJA* 18 Oct 1958 p 538).

³⁵ Gladys Shultz's *It's Time You Knew* (1956/69), for example, distinguished between "normal people", the adolescent's "mild degree of homosexuality", homosexual aberration and abnormality. And, in the wake of Wolfenden, Melbourne's Szondi Institute devoted its inaugural *Australian Journal of Psychological Research* to the increasing, and socially important, problem of "genuine homosexuality" (Seal 1959 p 35).

The new journal had four articles on the problem. In the first of these, J V Ashburner claimed that (disturbed, immature, insufficiently modest, over intense, harsh and forbidding) parents trained their children into gender-inappropriate roles and produced the persistent homosexual behaviour which signified an "imperilled" patient's "neurosis, psychosis, psychopathy or organic brain disease" (Ashburner 1959 p14). In the second, Frank Galbally, a lawyer, argued that, because homosexuality contravenes "natural law", the state should punish the homosexual activities which affront public decency, which constitute public nuisances and which directly concern youth. But, because prosecution encouraged suicides, blackmail, police corruption and jurors' prejudices, the state should not concern itself with private immorality. In the meantime, criminologists needed the doctors' and psychiatrists' intelligent and enlightened assistance to prevent and cure homosexuality and to inform their future debates. In the third, J Catarinich defined homosexuality as an individual's failure to divert his sex drive into "normal channels". Finally, Eric Seal blamed the emotionally immature, bad-tempered and absentee fathers and the authoritative matriarchs who ran our Americanised culture. He felt that the lonely and embittered homosexual set out to subvert youngsters' minds, initiate them and turn them against "orthodox society". He concluded that psychotherapeutic skill and charity would help to neutralise his defences, help him "achieve a satisfying sublimation" and divert his creative instincts "into rewarding and socially acceptable channels" (Seal 1959 p 47).

These and other conservatives were still arguing that the family ensured emotional stability, mature psycho-sexual development, responsible citizenship and checked worldly corruption. They thought, too, that contraception, eroticised fashions, unchaste, promiscuous and sexually assertive (working) women, less stigmatised divorce, sex manuals and pornography was destabilising it (Catarinich 1952; *B* 21 October 1953). When a Canadian sociologist surveyed some of our primary school children, he found that Australian mothers were taking most of the responsibility for deciding on family activities and seeing that they were carried out (Bolton 1990, McGregor 1966, Hillard 1997). Spouses were unable to communicate and men still found it hard to share their emotions (Bolton 1990).

³⁶ The Movement's *Guide To Virile Manhood: Reliable Sex Education For Young Men* (1957) and its successor, *Guide To Manhood* (1961/1968) told their 340 000 young readers that masturbation did *not* cause premature ageing, mental illness and virility loss, but that the community contained many "unhappy men and women" who had (culpably) turned "the sex instinct in an entirely wrong direction". They warned their readers that if they began to indulge in same-sex play they could develop lifelong "fixed habits" that would deny them the joyful marriages, homes and families that "should be the happy and satisfying lot of [those] who handle their lives wisely".

³⁷ If so, they were not alone. *The New York Times* refused to advertise the book and another American paper refused to reprint the wire service's cover story but told its readers that they could mail order a copy of the story (Alwood 1996).

³⁸ See, for example, man accosts boys and girls (*DT* 17 May 1948); Cobar (*DM* 31 May 1948); man assaults boy at Tarrens Point (*DM* 18 August 1948); teacher assaults boys (*SMH* 23 August 1948); Dee Why assault on boy (*SMH* 1 April 1950); man with six year old boy (*SMH* 19 June 1951); eight charges for immoral purposes against boys (*SMH* 8 Sept 1951); man attacks boy at Granville (*SMH* 28 Sept 1951); man gets seven years for assaulting Rockdale boys (*Sun* 12 Oct 1951; *SMH* 13 Oct); man gets seven years for assaulting 12 year old boy (*SMH* 9 Nov 1951); man assaults East Lindfield boys (*SMH* 8 & 9 Jan 1952); man charged in North Sydney with assaulting youth (*SMH* 25 Feb 1952); man charged with assaulting boy in Western Suburbs (*SMH* 25 Feb 1952); The Whip attacks seven boy scouts in French's Forrest (*SMH* 25, 29 & 30 August 1952); man assaults 13 year old boy (*SMH* 16 Oct 1952); man attacks eight year old boy (*Tr* 12 June 1955); six different cases of sex with under-aged boys and girls (*Tr* 2 Sept 1956).

Within one issue *The Truth* tableaued six "sickening sex cases". It told its readers that "The Beacon Hill Beast" had received 14 years hard labour for outraging a seven year old boy; that a 26 year old churchman had committed three unnatural acts on a ten year old boy; that a man had been charged with carnal knowledge of his two teenage daughters; that a Salvation Army night watchman was exposed as a sex pervert after assaulting a 16 year old youth; that a father had received five years hard labour for indoctrinating his 13 year old son and another ten year old lad into homosexuality; that a "sex pervert" had exposed himself to children in their Enfield playgrounds (*Tr* 2 Sept 1956). Most of these perverts were abusing their power over people in their charge.

³⁹ See, for example, Vice Squad raids beats (*SMH* 5 Jan 1949, 19 & 29 Dec 1949, 6 Jan 1950); the police continued to act as *agents provocateurs* (*SMH* 2, 15, 16 March and *DM* 18 & 25 March 1950); man gets 7 years (*DM* 4 April 1950); 2 men fined at Royal Easter Show (*SMH* 6 April 1950); man charged with soliciting (*SMH* 6 May 1950); man charged with indecent assault (*SMH* 26 May 1950); man charged with soliciting policeman (*Sun* 29 June 1950); man charged with indecent assault (*SMH* 5 July 1951); two men assault each other, two other men get bond (*SMH* 19 April 1952); the Douglas Annand case (*SMH* 20 Dec 1952; *SMH* 19 Feb, 8, 10, 11, 23, 24 & 25 April & 1 May 1953 & 29 & 31 July 1953 & 7 August 1953), man tries to pick up drag (*Tr* 29 August 1954); youth loves man (*Tr* 31 Oct 1954); Vice Squad gives evidence re perverts in Centennial Park (*Tr* 3 Feb 1957); police warn parents about

city beats (*ST* 25 Feb 1957); the Claudio Arrau case (*SMH* 28 August 1957, 29 August 1957 & 28 Feb 1958); 100 charged in vice ring haul (*SMH* 8 June 1958); the police tell three country teachers to plead guilty for their behaviour in three Sydney separate incidents (*DT* 20 July 1958); man wearing women's clothes (*DM* 10 April 1953).

⁴⁰ The '50s tabloids reported on these networks, "vice rings" and social organisations: Vice in Kings Cross (*SDM* 22 April 1954); cops raid Kings Cross hotel (*Tr* 20 Nov 1955); gangs prey on Cross perverts (*STr* 29 March 1956); police swoop on 20 at Haberfield drag party (*STr* 20 May 1956, *STr* 10 June 1956).

⁴¹ Sometime later, and probably in the '60s, the rough crowd was going to the Sussex Hotel where

[t]he very butch dykes were amazing. They dressed like men, in spivvy, three piece Italian suits and pointy shoes, and carried flick knives and guns. If you even glanced sideways at their femme girlfriends, you could find a knife at your throat. Dykes couldn't get jobs like that, so they became pimps and ran strings of prostitutes, including their girlfriends. We called those ultra-butth dykes "king dicks", and they called we less butth dykes "poofy dykes" (Helen quoted in *SMH* GW 9 November 1996).

⁴² See, for example, *Tr* & *SMH* 15 August 1948; *SMH* 20 Oct 1951, *SMH* 19 April 1952; judge considers lash; *DT* 6 Dec 1953; *Tr* 16 May 1954; *DM* 9 Nov 1954; *DT* 5 Dec 1955; *Peo* 25 Jan 1956); 688 convictions in NSW in 1957 (*SMH* 28 Feb 1958); statistics on homosexuals (*SMH* 9 June 1959); Mutilations and homosexuals in all walks of life (*Sun* 3 April 1962).

⁴³ Billy Sheahan, the NSW Attorney General, decried homosexuals as "pests" (*NSWPD* 23 March 1955 p 3223, see Wotherspoon 1991 p 116); and two successive Police Commissioners saw them as "Australia's greatest menace" (*SMH* 20 Oct 1951, *SMH* 11 June 1958 and *MTr* 14 June 1958).

⁴⁴ In 1944, The Queensland Attorney-General had conducted an inquiry into the sexual offences which had taken place over the previous ten years. The offences included "indecent dealing with boys under 14 years of age" as well as ten variants on the carnal knowledge and/or abduction of under age girls and (heterosexual) rape. In other words, it was not concerned about adult homosexual activity. It also set out to identify the extent of the offenders' "mental perversion", "abnormality" or "mental sickness" and to explain the suspected increases of the last decade.

⁴⁵ See, for example, (*Tr* 20 June 1948); Editorial supports confinement and rehabilitation (*SMH* 28 March 1955, supportive letter *SMH* 6 April 1955); jail is homos' paradise (*Tr* 29 June 1956; *MTr* 8 Dec 1956); special squad to combat homosexuality (*MTr* 17 August 1957); predatory homos attack others in prison (*Tr* 29 Dec 1957; *Tr* 26 Jan 1958); Liberals argue that jails don't help rehabilitation (*SMH* 27 Feb 1958); need special prisons for sex perverts (*Tr* 2 March 1958); homosexuality permeates prisons (*SMH* 5 March 1958); prisoners malpractice (*SMH* 7 March 1958); judge urges investigation re segregating prisoners (*SMH* 21 May 1960).

⁴⁶ Sydney's tabloids were startled by these UK developments. See, for example, the Montagu trials (*SMH* 16, 17,

18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25 & 26 March 1954) decline in UK morals (*Tr* 22 May 1955); Wildeblood (*Peo* 25 Jan 1956); UK church supports Moral Welfare Council (*Tr* 20 May 1956; *SMH* 26 May 1956); UK's RC Church pleads for perverts (*MTr* 8 Dec 1956; *SMH* 26 & 27 May 1956, *DT* 26 & 27 May 1956; *DM* 28 May 1956); The Wolfenden Report (*ST* 1 Sept 1957, *SMH* 5, 6, 8 & 25 Sept 1957; *Peo* 4 Oct 1957; *SMH* 16 Nov 1957, *DT* 5 Dec 1957); Church of England clashes over homosex (*Tr* 11 May 1958); 14 000 in UK homo clubs (*A Ad* 28 May 1958); UK attitudes more rational than Australia's (*SMH* 14 June 1958); UK vice ring link to NSW (*Tr* 15 June 1958); UK commons rejects sex bill (*SMH* 1 July 1960).

⁴⁷ Three examples support these generalisations. "A bevy of boys" was frolicking around the Archibald Fountain at about ten o'clock one evening when a 42 year old painter made a play for *Lana Turner*. He had been annoying *her* for a week and was now threatening to murder *her*. Two of *Lana's* friends came to the rescue and were fined £10 each for their concern. And *Truth* tabled a rare report, amidst its flurry of rape and incest stories, about a 17 year old youth's jealous rage against a sailor who felt he could seduce the youth's 35 year old lover. *Truth* told its readers that the youth, who "saw himself as a woman in every respect", had seduced the older man who now copped a £300 good behaviour bond for committing unnatural offences. This article provoked the editor to argue that "it is time that the people of this state realised what is going on in their midst...the proper place for persons who commit such offences is behind bars where they cannot do any further harm" (*Tr* 31 Oct 1954 p 46). *Truth* also exposed an all-male "sex party" in Haberfield, where conventionally attired men danced with, kissed and caressed *ballerinas* who called each other *Duchess*, *Jane Russell*, *Pat* and *Fanny*. When the police raided the place they found 20 or so cross-dressers in "revealing frocks", earrings, necklaces, hair ribbons, gloves and cosmetics and one of them was wearing black lingerie and black mesh stockings. The police charged five of these young working-class men and a 50 year old salesman with acting indecently (*Tr* 10 June 1956).

⁴⁸ Police charged Douglas Annand, the multi award winning designer, with soliciting Sergeant Stanley Cameron for immoral purposes at a Chatswood Park toilet as well as damaging Cameron's coat, resisting arrest and assaulting Constable Conwell. Contesting their allegations, Annand issued a Supreme Court writ against his three arresting officers and claimed £5 000 damages. Cameron testified that, when Annand behaved improperly toward him, he had seized his arm only to have Annand pull him from the toilet block. Falling onto the ground, Annand kicked, struggled, hit and bit Cameron and called out "You are not police! Let me go you filthy thugs!" Annand claimed that Cameron had lunged at him; that the three officers had kicked and punched him; that they had dragged him to an unmarked car; that he had called to some youths to ring the police, that he had hit the officer who was trying to handcuff him; that a policeman had wanted to pistol whip him and that they had called him a "perve". Annand's council called seven eminent men as character witnesses and the youths testified that they had seen a cop punching Annand in the stomach while he was shouting for help and that they had called the police. Nevertheless, Judge Doolan put Annand on a good behaviour bond and fined him £31. He concluded that because the toilet was near Annand's home and because Annand had left his valuables in his car, Annand's account had "an atmosphere of unreality".

Fearing that this conviction would "lead to complete social ostracism and degradation", Annand appealed against Doolan's decision (*SMH* 31 July 1953). At the appeal, an aeronautical engineer corroborated the youths' evidence and told the court that he too had reported the incident to the police. Judge Neild concluded that because Cameron's uncorroborated testimony was evasive and because the toilet's "Stygian gloom" failed to support his claims, he would uphold Annand's appeal. He also recommended that a "reputable" man who had been accused of soliciting should have the right to a jury trial (*ibid*).

⁴⁹ When the internationally renowned Chilean pianist, Claudio Arrau was arrested for offensive behaviour in Lange Park, he was dismissed without conviction because of his previous good record and because of the "comparatively trivial nature" of the case (*SMH* 28 & 29 August 1957; *SMH* 28 Feb 1958).

⁵⁰ At the same time, the police themselves were under threat. They had to meet claims that they were unable to control the escalating violent robberies and murders as well as their own corruption, low morale, embezzlement and intimidations. There were also a large number of police scandals at this time and even *The Police Association Monthly Newsletter* expressed concern about senior officers who used "a form of intimidation to boost the number of arrests" (Wotherspoon 1990).

⁵¹ The Detroit Vice Squad had arrested Johnnie Ray, the rock n' roll singer, for accosting and soliciting a policeman outside a bar. A 12 woman jury acquitted him and when he fainted with relief, Rose Praginca, the jury "foreman", rushed to his side crying "that poor boy". Another American court had found Ray guilty of a similar charge in 1951 (*SMH* 4 Dec 1959).

⁵² The Vice Squad arrested Rosaleen Norton, the Kings Cross witch, and Gavin Greenlees, her mentally unstable warlock-lover, in a rare case of heterosexual buggery. It had already prosecuted Norton twice for obscenity, when Detective Bert Trevenar raided her Kings Cross flat and found several posed, "sado-sexual" photographs, including some of Eugene Goossens, the celebrated conductor (September 1955). Getting wind of this, Goossens burnt all his incriminating evidence. But when he returned from Europe the next year, the customs officials found hundreds of pornographic photographs in his luggage (March 1956). Later, at Headquarters, the police showed Goossens the photographs in which he, Goossens, was conducting "S M Rites" on Norton. These "Sex Magic" rites were faux-mystical euphemism for the "sex perversion of cunnilingus". The Customs case had precedence, however, and discredited Goossens and he returned to England. Meanwhile, when the state had prosecuted Norton and Greenlees in March 1956, it did not allude to their connection to Goossen (*SMH GW* 3 July 1999)

⁵³ See, for example, Cahill announces amendments to Crimes Act (*SMH* 9 June 1954; *STr* 13 June 1954); Hints re new homosexual bill (*SMH* 25 March 1955; *DT* 10 Dec 1955); advocates changes in sex laws (*SdT* 26 May 1956). The parliamentary debate was overwhelmed by the house's concern for capital punishment (*Hansard* 29 March 1955).

⁵⁴ The prosecution needed (at least) one witness and some material evidence to corroborate its accusation. A man could not be prosecuted and punished under the Crimes Prevention Act (1916).

⁵⁵ Garry Wotherspoon (1991) notes that, while they did this to protect the parents of adolescents from this "repulsiveness", this was criticised, from various quarters, because the closed courts could lead to miscarriages of justice, could prevent other witnesses from coming forth, could protect the police and because publicity could deter others.

⁵⁶ The state prisons were overcrowded and many prisoners had "degenerated into nothing better than wild beasts" (*Tr* 1 Dec 1957). Shortly afterwards, the Opposition tried to discredit the Labor government by tabling a report on prison "malpractices" and the Premier countered by asserting that homosexual offences were "practically non-existent" (*SMH* 5 March 1958). The NSW authorities claimed that they were more concerned than "other countries" about their prisoners' "sexual malpractice". They claimed that they informed the police, who initiated proceedings in the ordinary courts and that they had specifically designed Cooma for homosexual prisoners (*ibid*).

Although the Long Bay authorities segregated convicted sex criminals, two prisoners could still object to a homosexual's behaviour, carve "cat" on his back and rub salt into his wounds (*Tr* 29 Dec 1957). At this time, the state was using Long Bay as a reception prison and moving its "passive homosexuals" (ie those who were in prison for homosexually related offences) to Cooma and its "aggressive homosexuals" (ie homosexuals who had committed other crimes) to a separate wing at Maitland (Rinaldi 1977 p 57). Hilton Lloyd, a Maitland prisoner, took up with a "homosexual who was in for false pretences" and could spend weekends with him in his cell. The wardens sanctioned these affairs because it kept the prisoners quiet. Nevertheless, "young lairs" could still knock out and rape "soft looking new prisoners", who became permanent prison prostitutes. They would exchange their numbered jackets with other prisoners so that they could move from cell to cell (*Tr* 26 Jan 1958).

When Fiori Rinaldi documented homosexual rape in Australian prisons 20 years later, he argued that it was difficult to gauge the extent of consensual and forced homosexual activity. Nevertheless he noted that the NSW authorities separated known homosexuals from the general prison population. This discrimination might have saved some men's, including some paedophiles', lives.

⁵⁷ ASIO vetted every applicant by contacting "his" referees and searched out "his" acquaintances. It kept its own files and got the NSW Vice Squad to screen each applicant's records (McKnight 1994, Hall 1998). It tapped non-conformists' phones and hampered "subversive" academics' research projects. In 1957, it wanted to ban "criminal, infamous and immoral conduct", "mental disabilities" and those who were vulnerable "to influence and coercion". And in the wake of England's Vassell scare (1964), it claimed that homosexuality was a "serious character defect", an "instability", a "willing self-deceit", a "defiance" and the basis for "select international cliques" which the Russians could infiltrate to steal the government's "inner-most regions" (Willett 1997, Hall 1998).

Furthermore, when it decided it needed to know how to identify "the homosexual", it commissioned a "Tory" ex-

serviceman to prepare a 17 page report with a list of tell-tale signs. Echoing Bech's description of the homosexual species, the informant wrote that

...the subject takes long nocturnal walks in the city, especially in a strange city, perhaps hanging about aimlessly in parks, railway stations, bus stops and other places where people congregate at a late hour; the subject shows an otherwise inexplicable interest in young adults of his own sex with whom he would have few interests in common (Hall 1998 pp 220-201).

⁵⁸ This article tells us that the committee had not met since about 1961 because Professor Trethowan had taken up an overseas appointment and Dr Lyttle had returned to Ireland where he had died. Nevertheless, the article claimed that the anticipated interim report would distinguish between the experimenting adolescent, the man who had consensual relations with other men, the male prostitute and the "homosexual who interferes with young children" and probably conclude that, since there was no cure for their conditions, society should help them "live with their condition". See also (Wotherspoon 1991 p 120 & Registers File 16279 Faculty of Medicine, Sydney University).

⁵⁹ Although McCarthy had demonised homosexuals from the late '40s, this was a full decade before the *New York Times* started to portray conspicuous homosexuals as threatening the Big Apple (Alwood 1996).

⁶⁰ Friend's ephebic images fall into two broad categories: provocatively clothed, scantily dressed and nude "exotics" from Africa, Sri Lanka, Bali and Aboriginal Australia, and clothed Sydney sharpie and surfer lads. Hughes (1965) reproduces many nude boys from "primitive" cultures, including "Action Study: Boy With A Musical Instrument" (undated); "Boys In the Rock Temple" (undated); "Spearfishers" (undated); "Boys Watching A Beetle" (undated); "Portrait of Dau" (undated); "Alligator Creek" (undated) and "Puri-Puri" (undated). Barry Pearce (1990) reproduces "Nude Studies, Boy Bending" (1952) and "Study of Omu" (1953). Friend's reviewers felt bound to evoke high art references. Hughes thought that his "Youth, Death & The Maiden" (1949) owed much to Donatello and was the "most perfect and compressed image of the nude ever drawn by an Australian artist" (Hughes 1965 p 62, although George Molnar disagreed *SMH* 24 May 1965). When many of these works were exhibited at the Darlinghurst Galleries in May 1965: James Gleeson claimed that "probably no artist since Michelangelo has placed such powerful emphasis on the expressive possibilities of the nude figure (*SMH* May 1965). and when Friend, O'Brien, Smart and Strachan presented their survey show at the Melbourne National Gallery in March 1966, Bernard Smith read Friend's distant sensuality as sharing Piero di Cosimo's "slightly mocking detachment" (*Age* 9 March 1966).

⁶¹ Gleeson called his earliest surviving work "Nude Youth Drowning In Landscape" (1935). He soon realised that Surrealism suited his temperament, and, encouraged by Ure Smith, used it "to liberate his will" (Gleeson 1940). Visiting Italy in 1948, he investigated Michelangelo's belief that only the most beautiful forms can render purity and goodness and continued to paint (and collage) flimsily clad and naked hunks into his psychoscapes until the late '70s.

⁶² O'Brien painted ephebic nudes throughout his career including "Boys With Nest" (1947), "Boy In Harlequin

Costume" (1949), "Jim Alexander" (c 1950), "The Resurrection" (1956), "Portrait Of Michael Aboud" (c 1956), "Portrait Of Peter Hatsatouris" (1957), "Sleeping Harlequin" (1963), "Boy In Red Jacket" (1965), "Boy In Red Coat" (c 1966), "Greek Boy" (1966), "Boy Looking In The Mirror" (1966), "Fishermen With Nets" (1971), "Miraculous Draught Of Fishes No 1" (1978), "The Calling Of Saint Peter" (1978) and "Figures At Midnight" (1980).

⁶³ After Gordon Hawkins challenged Delaney with "Homosexuality: Australia's Greatest Menace?" (*B* 8 May 1966), the editor published T Gai's claim that "the homosexual is too beset by emotional immaturity and loneliness" to be particularly concerned by his outlaw status. Gai believed that those who are deeply disturbed by their illegality go overseas and if "all the homosexuals were driven to seek refuge abroad, the various trades and professions would be depleted of many of their most skilful members" (*B* 22 May 1966).

⁶⁴ In this spirit, *The Nation* reviewed Richard Hauser's *The Homosexual Society* (11 August 1962) and published readers' letters (25 August, 22 September & 6 October 1962). Shortly afterwards, Gordon Hawkins condemned the police's relentless persecutions, acknowledged the new international liberal discourse, challenged the myths and recognised that Australians' obsessive concern about masculinity still stereotyped the homosexual as "an effete pansy type with a mincing gait, feminine mannerisms and a lisping voice" (*B* 8 May 1965 p 22); Beatrice Faust challenged the law's assumed relation to (Christian) morality, argued that homosexuality (as against paedophilia) did not damage society and that the discriminatory laws were based on erroneous assumptions, were impossible to administer and encouraged blackmail, police corruption and sham marriages (*AH* No 1 1966).

⁶⁵ In 1947, Australia claimed to be 99% white, 96% British, 98% monolingually English and 19% (Irish) Catholic, By 1986, 22% of Australians were born overseas; 14 % spoke another language at home and 5% were non-European. The post-war planners were assimilationists: Chifley's Labor ministers believed that their migrants could become real Australian and his conservative opponents expected them to become British. Although there were no laws requiring conformity, Australia had strongly developed and often rigid notions about what was acceptable and what was not. Both parties expected them to assimilate into the existing culture as soon as possible: to speak English, to wear "normal" clothes and to modify their gestures and physical appearance. But most poorly educated and monolingual Italian, Greek, Maltese and Yugoslavian immigrants worked in factories and had little spare time for re-education and recreated the life they had left behind. They ignored assimilation, developed their own professional classes to cater for their needs and sowed the seeds of multiculturalism.

⁶⁶ Although Customs cleared such sentimental and romantically tragic novels as Mary Renault's *The Charioteer* (1953), Rodney Garland's *The Heart In Exile* (1954) and "Elliot George's" *The Leather Boys*. (1961), it was particularly sensitive to homosexual characters who did not get their just deserves and/or had intense, satisfying, non-possessive relationships.

This hints at another important transgression. The interdiction inhibited dissidents from elaborating a courtship system and they have often concentrated their energy on the sex act and stressed the most ardent and heated aspects

of their relationships. So that when Burroughs, Cocteau, Genet and Rechy reminisced over, rather than anticipated, the sex act, they were rupturing literature's heteronormative codes (Foucault 1997d).

⁶⁷ The Knights Of The Chameleons (1962) and the Pollynesians (1964) were the first clubs. The Boomerangs, The South Pacific Motor Club, Chelsea Players, Tiffany's, Regals, Sundowners and Karingals soon started up to meet the camp guys' and girls' desire to socialise at formal private parties, card nights and barbeques. The Diggers may have been a war-veterans club (Wotherspoon 1991, 1995a) and Sydney's first leather club, The South Pacific Motor Club rented rooms in Haymarket until the police closed it down for selling unlicensed liquor (*Camp* June 1993).

⁶⁸ The Pollys maintained this same camp style into the mid-'80s and beyond: "we're very strict. If a drag has not shaved under her arms and not had a wax or a close shave, or if her makeup is lousy or she looks sloppy, or what have you, then she's brought into line" (*Camp* August 1985).

⁶⁹ This *Campaign* article and Cummings (1993) both recognise that (heterosexual and fetishistic) transvestites and homosexual men all attended these '60s socials. This could lead to unwelcome attentions. By the '70s, this scene had splintered. The heterosexual transvestites had set up their own Seahorse Club, the kids at Les Girls catered to tourists, other stage drags were entertaining the camps at Capriccios and other gay nightclubs and the social clubs were holding their drag balls.

⁷⁰ Joan Ford, for example, writes that

[t]he Actors and Artists balls were famous for the auspicious guest lists which included all the famous names from the stage, screen, radio and later television industry. Journalists and cartoonists always attended, ready to report the events in the papers the next day. Lavish costumes were the vogue at these balls and patrons were entertained by some of the participants appearing in fancy dress and/or outlandish costumes, often in drag. One such ball included an impressive entrance by a person calling him/herself Madame Pompadour, who arrived at the front door on the back of a two ton truck. Two flunkys jumped from the truck, rolled a red carpet out and up to the front entrance, whilst another one raced into the Trocadero and went across the floor to Frank [Coughlan] asking for a drum roll and fanfare for the impending entrance of La Pompadour. With great aplomb Frank and the boys complied and in came a vision of loveliness, fully attired in a huge crinoline, with a dove in a cage fastened into the pompadour hairdo (J Ford 1995 p 153).

⁷¹ See, for example, *SMH* 5, 6, 13, 15, 22 & 27 Nov and 4 & 10 Dec 1963, 2 June 1964; 7 10, 29 Sept 1966; 16, 23, 24 & 26 May; 4, 5, 8, 17 & 22 July; 17 Sept 1967. However, others saw it differently. Billy Thorpe, 17 years old and down from Brisbane, has recalled:

That June of 1963 Kings Cross was music, musicians, poets, painters, dip's joints, brothels, hookers, pimps, hoons, charity molls, spruikers, toffs, charity mooks, lairs, mugs, phizgigs, drag queens, straights, shines, bent cops, street gangs, armed robbers, tea-leaves, neon, glitz, Hampton Court, the Mayfair, the Pink Pussycat [striptease parlour], The Paradise, Angelo's Spaghetti Bar, the Kellett Club, Les Girls, Italian, Hungarian, Thai and Indian food and the best bloody schnitzels ion the planet. God I loved it...The night takes on a different feel and meaning to anyone who has spent any real time working the night shift in a place like The Cross. You not only become part of the night community, a local, but part of the night itself. Part of its fabric. Part of what the straights come out of their boring little lives to spend their hard-earned getting a fix of (Thorpe 1996 p 2).

By September 1966, the Kings Cross Chamber of Commerce was claiming that tourists were avoiding the area's

street violence and street prostitution and devalued real estate. They were still calling for public safety, good order and a local police station. And, once again, a *Herald* correspondent was challenging the righteous city aldermen:

Since 1949, when I first ventured to the Cross, the place has become the show case of Sydney. Its varied entertainments (almost on a world standard) offer a good time to any visitor who cares to enter its premises. This fast developing Cross with its neon-lit buildings and bursting with building activities, not only gives a rejuvenating shot in our economy's arm, but keeps dozens of industries alive, and tens of thousands of workers in employment (*SMH* 26 May 1967).

A *Herald* editorial claimed that The Cross was probably safer than Sydney's outer suburbs and that the righteous aldermen could destroy the area's character. It argued that all the world's great cities had "something like it" and that "most of the things that go on there [ie protection and extortion rackets], in strip clubs and massage parlours, are confined to its boundaries". It concluded:

Citizens certainly have a right to walk unaccosted through a public place, but massive campaigns to stamp out sin are another matter (*SMH* 5 July 1967).

⁷² Chez Ivy's wine bar staged much loved, small budget, tacky shows which featured the other venues' "reject drags" (Yang 1997). It was also popular with many bardykes: "In those years the network was really incredible because someone was always having a party or there were drinks at so-and-so's. You could go out several nights week but basically it all started at Chez Ivy's" ("Betty" quoted in *LOTL* Oct 1994 p 20).

⁷³ American born, Sammy Lee had launched Sydney's (slygrog) nightclub/theatre restaurant life when he opened The Roosevelt in 1940. Featuring "a long line of chorus girls and a couple of overseas artists" it was a big hit and, together with such flamboyant "businessmen" as Perce Galea, Abe Saffron and Reg Boom, he subsequently opened Sammy Lee's in Oxford Street (1947 aka The Flamingo Club after 1952), the 4T7 Club (late 1940s) the Latin Quarter (1959) and a first-wave disco, The Cheetah Room (1969). Lee became a legendary vaudeville style showman who offered booze, babes and brash, Hollywood-style floorshows.

⁷⁴ An average of 1 000 Americans landed in Sydney for R & R every day between January 1968 and January 1972. These 280 000 Americans spent \$28 million dollars and in the eyes of one *Herald* correspondent were accosted by The Cross's "flint eyed harlots", over-priced tawdry souvenirs, mediocre restaurants and heartless rip-off merchants (*SMH* 9 Dec 1969). Many of them probably nurtured the commercial camp scene. But, even after they had gone, the righteous aldermen were complaining that The Cross's congested dirty streets were cluttered with aggressive strip-joint spruikers, flagrant prostitutes and "sexual deviants and psychopathic misfits" (*SMH* 29 Feb & 14 May 1972).

⁷⁵ One of ASIO's *Background Papers* (October 1971) argued that:

[t]he revolutionaries...encourage the use of demonstrations to effect a civil disturbance via a militant *confrontation* with authority using all kinds of action to *provoke*, if possible, a violent reaction and so, via adverse publicity and outraged democratic sentiment to create a *crisis of provoked authority*. Such a crisis can then be used to further weaken popular respect for established authority, to strengthen the revolutionaries' control of protest and dissident movements, to recruit wider support and so increase mass participation in demonstrations like those staged in 1970 by the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign (quoted in McKnight 1994 p 221).

⁷⁶ Geoffrey Dutton and Max Harris, for example, printed *Australia's Censorship Crisis* (1970), an anthology of eminent people's essays and extracts from ten banned novels together with a more sadistic and pornographic extract from the readily available *Gulliver's Travels* (1726). Dutton took this opportunity to argue that

[i]t is a reflection of the current censorship situation in Australia, and the rest of the world's attitude to it, that "Australian edition" has become shorthand for "expurgated version" (Dutton 1970 p 101).

At the same time, Harris felt that the "incompetent and ill-informed" Commonwealth Literature Censorship Board could not distinguish between "pornography" and "literature".

It is depressing enough to be confronted with cracks about Australia's comic puritanism where ever one goes in the world...But when the puritanism is capriciously and inconsistently manifest we move from the comic to the idiotic. We may have to endure the world's severest moral censorship, but why the most incompetent as well? (ibid p 123).

⁷⁷ See, for example, "New York's Middle-class Homosexuals" (*Harpers March* 1963), "Growth Of Overt Homosexuality In City Provokes Wide Concern" (*NYT* 17 December 1963), "Homosexuality In America" (*Life* 26 June 1964) and "The Homosexual In America" (*T* 21 January 1966).

⁷⁸ For example, *Staircase* (1969) and *Boys In The Band*, the play (1968) and the film (1970), which showed a group of self-identified gay men for the first time. Meanwhile, *A Fortune And Men's Eyes*, (1971) *The Fox* (1967), *Reflections In A Golden Eye* (1967), *The Sargent* (1968) *The Detective* (1968), *Les Biches* (1968) and *The Killing Of Sister George* (1969) all featured an obligatory unhappy ending to preserve the aura of tragedy and maintain the "normal" majority's complacency. Meanwhile, too, Frank Brittain had directed *The Set* (1970), a movie exposé of Sydney's sexy "high life", in which Paul, the central character, takes up with Tony. But their affair turns sour and Paul tries to commit suicide. He recovers and turns when he meets up with Clara at a wild poolside party. Described by one reviewer as the worst film ever made (*Age* 9 February 1970), *The Set* was famous as Australia's first professional sexploitation movie and for Hazel Phillip's nude bathing scene.

i

Chapter 8

¹ Investigating Australians' attitudes toward homosexuality, Paul Wilson found that, on the one hand, conservatives were still arguing that legalised homosexuality would encourage married homosexuals to get divorced and unleash many men's homosexual desires. On the other hand, their liberal opponents were reasoning that homosexuality's illegality was breeding criminal activity; stigmatising youthful experimentation; failing to deter homosexuals from their preferred sexual activities; encouraging prisoners to experiment with homosexuality; giving the police power to encroach on people's privacy and mocking our national regard for minority and individual rights. They were also arguing that the doctors' and psychiatrists' authoritative (and moralising) discourses were fueling the populist belief that homosexuals are pedophiles and encouraging Australians to see homosexuals as terrifying examples of their own hidden but rebellious sexual inclinations (ibid).

² Although none of the Sydney dailies reported the 1970 Christopher Street Liberation Day Parade, *The Australian* and *The Canberra Times* (30 June 1970), *Time* (13 July) and *Nation* (25 July 1970) all filed reports.

³ Writing anonymously, Dennis Altman had claimed that

most intelligent people do not condemn but pity [homosexuals]; sympathy and understanding are in...The homosexual is rarely accepted as other than an unfortunate victim of something over which he has little control, he is the latest object of the liberal's charity fringed occasionally with a little envy at what is seen as the exotic possibilities of his life... The possibility that some homosexuals may not wish (psychiatric) conversion to heterosexuality is rarely considered (*POL* No 7 1969).

⁴ In fact, Ware and Poll presented a novel public transcript of Australian homosexuality. Interviewing them for *The Australian*, journalist Janet Hawley was unnerved by Ware's "completely all-male" gender identity, Poll's "normal...inoffensive...girl next door image", the group's evident happiness and Ware's

disconcertingly ordinary apartment which sported an Aubrey Beardsley poster, a postcard of a Sepik River statue, red enamelled saucepans and a coffee pot, hanging lengths of salami and mozzarella cheese, garlic and a collection of 50 different spices...[I]t could be any bachelor's pad, now that the in-thing is to be the accomplished international cook.

⁵ Within a year CAMP had 1500 (mostly middle-class) members. This enthusiasm was all the more impressive because the press maintained a conspiracy of silence and only the *Australian*, *Nation Review* and *Bulletin* would take its advertisements. The Fairfax press had placed a total ban on reporting any gay liberation activities (Sydney Gay Liberation broadsheet circa 10 July 1972). And yet, when the Anglican Synod of the ACT decided that homosexual activity was a mental disorder, rather than a criminal offence, several radio stations called on CAMP to provide the homosexual voice (John Ware "Twelve Months On " *Camp Ink* 1971).

⁶ Staging this rally on 27 July 1972, suggests that they were indifferent to celebrating the Stonewall Riots (Thompson 1985).

⁷ Peter Bonsall-Boone was sacked from his job at St Clement's Anglican Church, Mosman, after he appeared on *Checkerboard*, the ABC current affairs program. CAMP and SGL joined forces to stage the biggest demonstration to date. This time, 150 "unmasked and unashamed...young, old, straight and freaky" demonstrators voiced their opposition to "a blatantly oppressive institution" (*TD* 2-16 December 1972).

⁸ They were commemorating George Duncan's death by drowning in Adelaide's Torrens River.(10 May 1972). Once again this suggests that, although they were familiar with the American strategies, they were still not interested in observing the Pride Day celebrations.

⁹ When CAMP sent out press releases about its submission to this Royal Commission, Peter de Waal and Mike Clohesy appeared on *A Current Affair* (8 October 1975). Clohesy taught at a Marist Bros School and the Catholic Education Office (CEO) sacked him because he was a "declared homosexual". When the Royal Commissioners invited the CEO and Clohesy to discuss the dismissal, the CEO's lawyers wanted the Commission to rule that homosexuality was outside its mandate. The Commission overruled their objections and interpreted "male and female relations" to include "male and female relationships of a homosexual nature" (Thompson 1985; de Waal 1994).

¹⁰ Dr Jim Cairns, MP, Barry Egan (Australian Workers' Union), Senator Arthur Gietzelt and Bridget Gilling (NSW Council of Social Services) recommended that our parliaments include sexual orientation in their Human Rights Bills and repeal the laws that discriminated against any form of sexuality (sic). At the same time they recommended that unspecified agencies inform the broader community about homosexuality; review and amend sex education materials; educate sexist and heterosexist doctors, psychiatrists and psychologists; allow alternative lifestyleers to teach in personal development courses; stop discriminatory censorship practices and stop institutional persecution of homosexuals in our jails and armed forces etc (de Waal et al 1994).

¹¹ The group's weaknesses were apparant by 1973. Its claims to universality, its undefined relationships with Sydney University and with the "women's groups", its claims to speak for the whole movement and the insider-outsider dynamic which a "lived-in centre" had all encouraged Craig Johnston to suggest that they set up autonomous regional, occupational, functional, women's and political groups (Johnston samizdat 4 October 1973 ML MSS 4620). Other members challenged the organisation's sexism, cliques, disorganised structure and distain of effeminism (ibid).

¹² A Sydney University Communist Group (CG) samizdat, for example, saw homosexual oppression as a subaltern struggle and argued that both women's and homosexual oppression had emerged out of a patriarchal capitalist order which prescribed sex roles in order to maintain its status quo. But, it continued, heterosexist and patriarchal capitalism could discriminate against and repress homosexuals and neutralise the homosexual's revolutionary potential by creating ghettos and limited commercial markets. The writer called on his readers to mobilise gay men and lesbian (workers) by lobbying for homosexual law reform..

The SWP saw the Festival of Light (FOL) as part of "the ruling class" reaction to workers, national minorities and homosexuals' gains. It emphasised the role of the family, rigid sex-roles and the myth of biology as destiny and argued that effeminates affront a morality that equated "female" with "inferior" and that lesbians defy the myths of marriage and motherhood. It urged the gay movement to seek out allies to fight against the FOL's attacks. Acknowledging that *Campaign* and the safe bars were significant gains, it argued that the bars were fire traps, over-priced, discriminated against blacks and women and banned the distribution of political literature. It rejected the liberalists' demand for law reform and the ultra-leftist International Socialists' macho militancy and confrontations because they threatened the movement's gains. The movement's future lay in mobilising as many lesbians and male homosexuals as possible and forcing the politicians to introduce gay rights. While continuing to maintain its independence, the gay movement must link with feminists (because patriarchal capitalism and the FOL were their common enemies) and with the trade unions (because the organised working-class could "deal death-blows against our opposition"). At the same time the gay movement needed a national coordinating structure, action oriented organisations that could mobilise the homosexual community, a monthly national newspaper, general strategy meetings and lesbian caucuses. It concluded that male activists would connect their oppression with the women's and working-class struggles and would become another force in the class struggle. The paper charged the

National Conference to lay down a strategy for challenging the FOL with a counter-mobilisation to defend abortion, children and gay rights (samizdat distributed at the 4th National Conference, 27 August 1978).

¹³ The IS argued that "the ruling class", "the capitalist class" and the "capitalist state" used sexism, heterosexism, stereotypical gender roles and racism to divide workers. This group argued that homosexuals, who are mostly workers, were oppressed because they had (consciously or unconsciously) rejected appropriate sex role socialisation and capitalism's inevitable power relations. Di Minnis and Martin Hirst, the authors, argued that homosexuality threatened the nuclear family and the (hetero)sexual morality which reproduces labour and socialises children. However, they felt that, because only the working-class had the power to overthrow the system, homosexuals must ally themselves to the working-class movement. And, since it is useless to rely on parliamentary politics, they believed that gays should work with other unionists to educate the Trade Union movement. They argued that homosexuals must refuse to be intimidated by police violence and must continue to confront their oppressors by staging militant demonstrations ("Homosexuals And Revolutionary Socialism" samizdat distributed at the 4th National Conference, August 1978).

¹⁴ Some women, for example, moved to the Hastings River district and set up Amazon Acres (est 1974, 405 hectares), The Valley (est 1980, 287 hectares) and Herland (est 1982, 405 hectares) to create spaces which outlawed men's culture and men's influences, to exchange skills, to gain confidence and to challenge (heteronormativity's) monogamy and jealousy (*LOTL* August 1994, *Ion* 1997). Meanwhile, back in Sydney, some Radicalesbians were setting up communal households. The Crystal Street women, for example, wanted to have a "creativity commune", and then the Canterbury Castle women wanted to have a break from that house's overcrowding. These women shared their goods, screened applicants, addressed student groups, graffitied billboards, zapped rip-off gay bars, planned a newsletter and supported each other financially and emotionally. One of them told the *Refactory Girl* collective:

Just knowing that the other women are lesbians, I feel more accepted. I think that because we are lesbians we're directing hardly any of our energies toward men, and we have all our energies for each other. And not entirely in a sexual way: our energies go towards helping other lesbians to get to know, help and understand themselves. It's important just to have a place to come to....[T]here isn't so much role playing, not as many hassles. There's fairer sharing. People are genuinely concerned about each other; there's more of a bond, more communication here, more honesty (*RG* Summer 1974 p 14).

¹⁵ Although The Women's Warehouse had provided an alternative to the (men's) commercial scene and had offered many women a relatively easy entry into feminism, it became obvious that women were not interested in learning in the Warehouse atmosphere and that the effective groups no longer needed to work under the Warehouse's umbrella (*GO* Dec 1981).

¹⁶ The Sussex Hotel closed down in September 1983 because of lesbians' indifference (*GO* August-September 1983).

¹⁷ When Jim Jenkins, the Mardi Gras activist, wrote a similar letter in 1984, White replied:

[a]s a homosexual, I have always detested the gay Mardi Gras nonsense...We shall be persecuted

more and more since AIDS came to stay. A lot of screaming queens on Oxford Street will not help the cause for which we shall have to fight...Come to your senses and call off the piffling Mardi Gras (White quoted in Marr 1994 p 600).

¹⁸ Livermore acknowledged his debt to Sydney's drag venues and their complex gender politics:

I have occasionally harboured secret ambitions to appear at Capriccio's and at The Purple Onion, but only on the understanding that it be known as the Ugliest Show In Town...I use drag as a means of awakening audiences to their own strengths and weaknesses. My particular approach to drag is the great overstatement. It is in the great tradition of overkill, hanging somewhere between vaudeville and burlesque. It is grotesque, it is outrageous, it is bizarre. It is ultimately, I hope, poignant, lonely, pathetic and then beautiful. But I never want my audience to believe I am the woman in question (Livermore quoted in Brisbane 1977).

¹⁹ Lee's show was "unashamedly aimed at the mums and dads". He told Davies that he liked "to play to a heterosexual audience who is out for a good time and likes fun and glamour - not to mention a bit of spice" (quoted in Brisbane 1977 p ??).

²⁰ *Word Is Out* opened a gay festival which included *Therese & Isabelle*, *Journey Among Women*, *The Rocky Horror Show* and *Boys In The Band*. Johnny Allen and Dennis Altman, the curators, had chosen some of these films because of their negative representations of homosexuality. Expecting to attract the "fairly recognisable gay liberation, vocal up-front crowd", they drew "a much broader audience", including bar queens, and they read this as evidence of Sydney's new "considerable gay community" (*Camp* July 1978). The festival's success inspired the Ozone Cinema to screen gay films on successive Monday nights.

Nancy Adair & Casey Adair (1978) published the full text as *Word Is Out : Stories Of Some Of Our Lives* New York, New Glide Publications. The film was screened again at the Mayfair Cinema (*Camp* 16 July 1978) and during the 1979 Gay Solidarity Week celebrations.

²¹ Danny Abood (aka *Miss Abood*), Michael Flattery (aka *Jacqueline Hyde*), Greta (aka *Madame Lash*), Andrew Sharp, Philip Mills (aka *Doris Fish*) Peter McMahon (aka *Jasper*), Bruce Gould, Clayton Mc Donald, "Cherry Ripe" and Ross Palmer (aka *Pearl Palmer*) made up the core group.

²² *Pearl Palmer*, for example, channelled '30s glamour, and when *Miss Abood* won their Miss Universe competition, *her* rivals beat *her* up and dumped garbage on *her*. They performed at the reopened Purple Onion (where Clayton McDonald got busted for obscenity), all the universities' orientation days, Zandra Rhodes's first ready-to-wear parade, films and television. Unaware of The Cockettes and anticipating Divine's *Pink Flamingos*, these boys played with female characters. By 1976, they had spent themselves (Abood and Pencil Vania interviews Feb 1998).

²³ Altman rejected socialist analyses and argued that homosexuality *per se* was intrinsically revolutionary because it threatened "civilisation" when it undermined the barriers that diverted the erotic into productivism and it exposed the heteronormative myths (Altman 1972).

²⁴ Testifying at the Royal Commission Into Police Corruption in 1996 (aka The Wood Commssion): "W17 told the

Commission that he had established *Campaign* in the late 1970s as a voice for the gay community, and paid for its production costs with money generated by Patches and Castellós (SSO 23 May 1996 p1).

²⁵ Writing in 1983, Lex Watson was surprised that "cities such as Amsterdam, Berlin, Munich even London and Paris [had] not produced a similar phenomenon" (OWN nd 1983).

²⁶ San Francisco's *Gay Sunshine* and *The Advocate*, Boston's *Gay Community News* and *Fag Rag*, New York's *Christopher Street*, Toronto's *The Body Politic* and London's *Gay Changes*, *Gay News* were all imported in small numbers. But they were expensive and only available from a few non-gay specific sources. At the same time, several bookshops were selling the Violet Quill novels.

²⁷ Needham and Stringer had a policy of keeping pornographic images out of their magazine and modelled it on *The Advocate* (Interview with Rod Stringer 14 January 1998). Their bar operations continued to support *Campaign* until they sold it to Garry Beauchamp, who owned the Platterpus chain of sexshops. When many newsagents refused to display it and when Gordon and Gotch took 50% of its cover price, Stringer and his colleagues started distributing it themselves. Nevertheless its circulation figures continued to grow throughout the period: the first issue sold 1 000; and, by its third birthday, 11 full-time staff were producing a professional magazine for a 15 000 print run (with an estimated four readers re copy). Writing to celebrate the magazine's third birthday, Dale Carson attributed its success to its improved arts coverage and criticism and to the fact that advertisers were attracted to its "professional look". Clinton Kramer, its American-born art director, was determined to publish a national paper which homosexuals would be proud of and to set the heterosexually dominated media "on its ear". Acknowledging criticisms that it was too Sydney focused and that it gave lesbians "a raw deal", Carson argued that *Campaign* should build itself as a viable source of information and as a positive encouragement to those who turned to it for support and for lifestyle information. He claimed that *Campaign* provided objective news coverage, opinionated editorials and a space for "everyone and their opinions" (*Camp* September 1978). *Campaign* conducted its first hastily and "unscientifically put together" survey at this time. In summary, its 444 respondents wanted more articles on communicating, relationships, health, humour, "men", clubs, law reform, coming out, social groups, love and mateship. They enjoyed its articles on communicating, clubs, alternative lifestyles, law reform, relationships and health and wanted less focus on bondage, transvestism, S/M, pet care, bikies and religion.

²⁸ Glynn called his editorial column "Upfront", which suited his aggressive manner. He typically wrote:

To many people, *The Sydney Star* is heavily into Leather and a macho male sexist image. To some extent this is true. One of the main reasons for this is the growing awareness amongst the people in the "leather scene". As a group they can be as narrow-minded as other gays. But there are many individuals who are actively exploring their sexuality and their lifestyles. They are not static in terms of their personal awareness. After 20 (or more) years of camp/drag/queen domination of gay life, it's OK to be a man and be gay (*The Star* Vol 1 No 21 1980).

He told his readers that he had organised Sydney's first Mr Leather competitions to get the (usually bitchy and

fighting) "managers/owners" to work together and to open up the local leather scene. He also accused the social clubs of jealousy (because they did not communicate with each other in case their members defected to their "rivals") and prejudice (because they railed against "the commercial scene" and because they gave their money to straight charities rather than gay causes) (ibid).

When the state had begun to regulate sly-grogging (1955) and SP bookmaking (1965), Sydney's "businessmen" had turned to prostitution, abortions, drug distribution, pornography and gambling. Askin's door was always open to Abe Saffron and, when an Inquiry asked Deputy Commissioner Bill Allen to account for his expenses-paid trips (1981), he implicated the licensing officers for the Kings Cross and Darlinghurst nightclubs and discos (ibid).

But the poker-machine rich, suburban RSLs and Leagues Clubs had killed Sammy Lee's nightclub empire, and when Wran clamped down on gambling, these businessmen took to backing Oxford Street's drag cabarets and discos. Their pornshops, sex-shops and mail-order companies were importing and selling the images which were satisfying, refining, stimulating and (re)defining gay men's sexual fantasies.

²⁹ Testifying at the Juanita Nielsen inquest in 1983, Abe Saffron stated that he owned 60 clubs in NSW. He also admitted that he had used different front-people to conceal his "beneficial interest" in various hotels, nightclubs and discos (Hickie 1985).

³⁰ The Australian Hotels Association had successfully lobbied for extended trading hours. Following *Campaign's* survey, *The Sydney Advocate* (8 May 1978) listed 19 gay venues. Seven of these were in Kings Cross and in the East Sydney end of Crown Street and another eight were in the "golden mile" (Marsh & Galbraith 1995). Several mainstream journalists were investigating this phenomenon. Positioning gay men as "a new market", "macho sexual predators" and as mindless and taking-it-too-far hedonists, they masked their voyeurism, moralism and lack of analysis with hip modernism, ironic prose and apparent tolerance. They included Jim Cowan's "The Last Frontier" [*POL* October 1979]; Kay Kearney's "The New Homosexual" [*The Weekend Australian* 4-5 March 1978]; Phillip McCathy's "Macho Chic At The Pub" (*NT* 14-20 August 1980); Lee Paterson's article (*Australian Playboy* October 1979); Don Vautour's "Sydney - For The Gay Life" and "Man Hunt" (*Forum* June & July 1980 respectively), Andrew Saw's "Men Sold As Slaves In Sydney Gay Club" (*ST* 12 October 1980) and Jeune Pritchard's "The Gay Girls" (*NT* 12-18 April 1981). See a *Campaign* editorial (October 1979) for a critique of Cowan's article and Tim Carrigan and Dave Sargent's "In The Steps Of Lee Radziwill" for an analysis of the phenomenon (*GI* Autumn 1981).

³¹ Nevertheless Kings Cross was still the city's most conspicuously profane space. A number of gay bars, saunas and discos shared space with the new (illegal) casinos, heterosexual porn shops and brothels. When *Campaign* published its first (advertorial) guide to gay Sydney, it promoted the The Barrell Inn, Challis Avenue, Potts Point as "the friendliest bar in Sydney" and lauded its Bike Club, denim, leather and moustacheoed clientele. It paid homage to the veteran Rex Hotel, in Macleay Street, as Sydney's best known gay bar because it attracted "all types" including some "under 21s and hustlers". Several other venues clustered around the junction of Bayswater and

Darlinghurst Roads. Il Castello's had drawn a "very, very young crowd" before becoming Tricks and then The Bunkhouse (a sauna). The nearby Palace Disco and its next-door neighbour, The Downstairs Bar, in The Crest Hotel attracted "all the chic young things". Louise's Bar was located in the same hotel and Stallions was a nearby Darlinghurst Road sauna and, just around the corner in William Street, Tina's Bar, Bistro and Disco was Sydney's "best neighbourhood-type gay bar" (ibid). And, further down William Street and edging toward Darlinghurst, Jools catered for those "for those who like something better" on Sunday nights (ibid).

When Gore Vidal visited Oxford Street in 1974, its venues reminded him of late '40s New York. He presumably visited the Paddington wine bars and Darlinghurst's Capriccios (Altman 1997). Four years later, Oxford Street's Paddington-Bondi Junction section still had three genteel wine bars: the struggling Chez Ivy's, which was one of camp Sydney's oldest haunts; The Traffic Light, which appealed to the "young Paddo trendies"; and the "warm and friendly" Apollo Bar & Restaurant, which drew the over 25 year olds because it was one of the few remaining clubs which had not succumbed to the disco craze (*Camp* January 1978).

Darlinghurst, which had been one of the city's most economically depressed areas, sported ethnic shops and upstairs Greek, Italian Spanish and Turkish clubs as well as illegal baccarat schools and casinos. It had its own queer history, before its restaurants, lifestyle shops, gentrified pubs, discos, saunas and back rooms cultivated and championed the middle-class gay male body. Its Green Park beat "was often something of a social occasion where one would go just for the company" and its Maccabean Hall had held many camp dances, including those of the Aquarius Club (*OWN* 10-23 November 1983). And, its Capriccio's (aka International Vanities) had been "the jewel of the gay highway" and "Sydney's most famous nightspot" since July 1969. Marjorie Hathaway (aka Max the Plumber) and Dawn O'Donnell (aka Dawn Irwin) opened its doors. O'Donnell subsequently sold out to Allan Miller, who later bought out Hathaway. O'Donnell and Hathaway were also involved in the gentrification of the Darlinghurst-East Sydney area and O'Donnell opened many different venues (*LOTL* Jan 1995).

³² Stringer has maintained that, while the Mafia controlled the New York bars because they supplied the liquor, the (relatively benign) police controlled the Sydney scene. Testifying at the Wood's Royal Commission, he admitted to paying the police up to \$800 per week when he was running Patches in breach of the licencing laws. He also admitted to knowing that Il Castello, his previous club, had paid for police protection (*SSO* 23 May 1996). He and the other '70s bar owners believed that an owner could cash in on a gay bar for three years before the queens moved on. Saffron, for example, would buy, do up and open a venue, refuse to maintain it, put intimidating bouncers on the door and draw steadily more sleazy customers before closing it or burning it (interview with Rod Stringer 14 January 1998).

Nevertheless, there were three significant differences between the mid-century New York and Sydney laws. Firstly, New York bar owners were forbidden to serve alcohol to known homosexuals; New Yorkers were not allowed to dance with another person of the same gender and they had to wear three items of gender-appropriate clothing. These proscriptions suggest that the American judiciary had been more concerned about "the [compearing] homosexual problem" than their NSW counterparts. This did not stop the Sydney police from harassing drag queens and other homosexuals.

³³ There was a glitch in 1985 and

[a] rather forlorn crowd filled (just) the alley between the Beresford and the Flinders hotel...This street party was Mr Barry Cecchini's rather limp substitute for his great New Years Eve extravaganza, which was sadly called off because of a temporary breakdown in the Treaty Of Taylor Square. The treaty governs relations between the police, the Mafia and the proprietors of Oxford Street (in so far as there is any distinction between these groups) and prescribes that licences shall always be granted for everything provided that everybody gets 10% of the take in small bills thank you. Apparently this time the police (who have had a trying year got greedy) and the treaty came unstuck (*Out* Feb 1985 pp14-15).

³⁴ But Palms had closed down by March 1979. Other "golden mile" nightclub-bars came and went. Kandy's Kristal Pistol (1974) had become Capers by 1975. The Outcast Social Club, in Crown Street had opened as "a new spot on the gay highway" in May 1977, but was closed by March 1979. Some were under-capitalised, others fell foul of competitors' matches, others miscalculated the clone aesthetic or failed to capture the scene queens' imaginations.

³⁵ On another occasion the bar manger arranged a drag show and, when the queens commandeered the women's toilet as a change room, the women complained about their travesty and about being denied access to their own toilet. The police arrived, bashed the women and arrested seven of them (*GO* March-April 1981). Ruby's attracted tabloid attention on New Year's Eve when

four real big diesels from Melbourne got into a scrap with the cops. One of them throws a can, another throws a bottle. The cops are going down the stairs with this girl and two of her mates rip the back out of the bloke's coat. So the cops make a mayday call and they close off the street. So then the girls who got emptied out of the bar start fighting with the cops because they want to go back in again. It was all on (O'Donnell in *LOTL* January 1995 p 21).

Ruby's did not have dress regulations until 1982, when a new manager enforced the strict dress code that sounded the bar's death knell (*ibid*). O'Donnell claimed that Ruby's was closed down when "a couple of sargents came down very heavy on the licensing laws" (*ibid* p 14).

³⁶ Kings Cross sported a sauna at 107 Darlinghurst Road (near the Crest Hotel). The Bondi Junction Steam Baths, the city's first exclusively gay bath-house, had opened in 1968 and Ken's Karate Klub (aka KKK) opened in Belmore Road Randwick in 1971 before moving on to the Purple Onion's site in Anzac Parade in the following year. Darlinghurst's 253 opened in late 1976 and its advertising featured the newly fashionable hirsute clone (as well as a short living Barefoot Boy). The Central Business District had two saunas: King Steam and The Roman Baths opened in Sammy Lee's sometime Castlereagh Street nightclub (before November 1976).

³⁷ Club 80 originally opened at 80 William Street, then in Little Oxford Street and finally at Oxford Street where the 1983 raids took place.

³⁸ Kurt Colvin claimed that mostly 25-35 year olds liked these backrooms, because, having been born in the repressed '40s and '50s, their darkness provided the right atmosphere for their sexual liberation

When sex came out in the "free" atmosphere of the '60s, sex was practised more enthusiastically, but with a heavy sense of guilt. Hence dark rooms provided the right atmosphere for liberating oneself sexually, but still in the safety of darkness (*Camp* July 1979 p11)

and another aficionado felt that

[w]hen Sydney's first leather bar opened its doors, gay men were more than indignant about the dress code. However the reputation of the "hot scenes" and the "real men" soon changed attitudes even to the extent of changing the average gay man's concepts towards the fashion/ style of image he had of himself. Thus the so-called "fluff" image was traded for a so-called macho one. Wardrobe reshuffled, they entered. Unfortunately a change of clothing doesn't change attitudes. The leather men were instantly on show. They looked hot, gave out an aura of mystery, coupled with the promise of sexual pleasures well beyond the average. Naturally the original clientele disappeared to be replaced by the "tourist", the "fashion plates" and those novices who were sincere in their image, but inexperienced (*Camp* April 1982 P ??).

³⁹ The Exchange and The Oxford did not come out until the early 1980s and The Beauchamp turned in the 1990s.

⁴⁰ He assumed that the 10 000 participated in the parade and that any homosexually-inclined (MSM) spectators were not prepared to identify as "gay" to the extent of coming out. They were not prepared to privilege "gayness", or their related sexual proclivities, over their class and/or gender and/or ethnicity and/or familial identities. Several years later he argued that most Australians who engaged in homosexual behaviour still did not identify with the gay venues, gay press and gay/lesbian organisations. Arguing that if 10% of the population engaged in some form of homosexual behaviour, he felt that the gay community made up 1-2% of the adult population (Altman 1987).

⁴¹ He also argued that, because American gay male culture was marked by competition and middle-class lifestyle and because Australian masculinity emphasised cooperation and mateship over individual ambition, Australia's gay men had only superficially taken to the clonism (Altman 1983).

⁴² A NSW Bureau Of Crime Statistics And Research Report (1978) substantiated the activists' claims. Investigating 300 cases which the NSW Courts had prosecuted in 1975, the study concluded that, although four adult men had been prosecuted for engaging in private and consensual homosexual activities, two of these men had confessed when they were being questioned on other matters. Of the 193 cases prosecuted under the Crimes Act: 42 cases involved non-consenting offences; 12 cases involved "consenting children under 10"; 78 involved offences against minors; 19 offenders were juveniles; 51 involved adults committing offences against under 16 year-old boys and 131 adult offences had taken place in publically accessible places. The report found that "Paddington and the northern Harbour-side suburbs, which (were) reputed to have large homosexual populations, have almost no contribution to the incidents of offences against minors and none to the non-consenting offences". Furthermore, most of the 91 prostitution offences were treated as offensive behaviour (*Camp* June 1978).

Although successive NSW Police Commissioner's Report tabled the annual arrest rates of buggery, indecent assault etc, the researcher needs to recognise that the Arantz Affair (1971) exposed biases in the police's statistics. In brief, Detective Sargent Phillip Arantz revealed that the police had been keeping a second set of books in order to doctor their clean-up rates. He told the *Sydney Morning Herald* that the real crime rate was 75% higher than the

Reports acknowledged. When Premier Askin and Commissioner Allen tried to discredit him, Parliament went into an uproar and Allan "retired" (Hickie 1985).

⁴³ Fred Nile was born in Kings Cross. Leaving school at 15, he joined the CMF Army Reserve (1955-1972) and studied for a Diploma of Theology at the "conservative, evangelical" and "officially unrecognised" Melbourne Bible Institute (1955-1960) before becoming a suburban minister (from 1960), Director Of Christian Endeavour (1964-c 1974), the Congregational Church's Director Of Evangelism (1968-1970), Director Of Evangelism And Outreach for the Central Methodist Mission (1971-1973) and National Coordinator, Festival Of Light (from 1974).

⁴⁴ After forming his own Call To Australia Party to combat abortion, pornography, prostitution and homosexuality, Nile became a member of the NSW Legislative Council in 1981 where he was joined by Jim Cameron (1984), Marie Bignold (1984 -1988) and his wife, Elaine (from 1988). He had a weekly *Sunday Telegraph* column and a talk-back radio program (1981-mid 1980s). He campaigned against homosexual law reform (1981-1984); against Juan Davila's homoerotic painting (1982); against AIDS-infected gay bars, discos and saunas (1983-1984), against Australian homosexuals travelling to and from the USA (1983) and against the proposed anti-vilification legislation (1993). Nile has repeatedly attacked the Sydney Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras. He has argued that the parade encourages young people to break the sodomy laws (1978); introduced parliamentary motions to ban the parade (1988 and 1991); invaded Oxford Street (1989); prayed for hailstones to disrupt the parade (1990); issued press releases against its obscene memorabilia (1992) and threatened to sue participants for holding him up to ridicule (1989, 1995 & 1996) (Warnemunde 1991; Galbraith 1993). Various commentators have noted a decline in his support since about 1991 (Galbraith 1993).

SECTION IV

Chapter 8

¹ This 1978 narrative draws on *The Age* (26 & 27 June; 28 & 29 August 1978); *The Australian* (24-25, 26 & 27 June; 28 August 1978); *Brisbane Courier Mail* (28 August 1978); *Brisbane Sunday Mail* (16 July 1978); *Campaign* (June, July & September 1978; June, 1988); *Canberra Times* (18 April; 26 June; 3 & 16 July; 5 November 1978); *Daily Mirror* (26 June; 28 August 1978); *Daily Telegraph* (26 & 27 June; 28 August 1978); *Direct Action* (24 & 31 August 1978); *Honi Soit* (4 & 11 July 1978); *Lot's Wife* (30 June 1978); *Melbourne Sun* (28 August 1978); *Nation* (1-6 July 1978), *Nation Review* (1 July 1978), *National Times* (1-8 July 1978); *The Sun* (26 & 27 June; 1 July; 28 August 1978); *The Sun-Herald* (16 July 1978); *Sunday Telegraph* (16 July 1978); *Tribune* (28 June 1978); *Sydney Morning Herald* (24, 26, 27 & 28 June; 4, 12, 15, 18, 20 & 24 July; 26, 28 & 29 August; 7 October 1978; 16 March 1979); *Sydney Star Observer* (Feb 1992); *Workers News* (29 June 1978). I have also used Bruce Belcher files; Ken Davis's personal papers; ML MSS 4620; ML MSS 5977 (Box 38); and correspondence to John Witte for the '78ers home page (www.mardigras78ers.com) as well Carbery (1996), North (1992) & Templin (1996).

I also facilitated a forum in which some of the GSG organising committee and '78 veterans discussed the 1978

events. Ron Austin, Sally Colechin, Ken Davis, Lance Gowland, Margaret Lyons, Peter Murphy, Garrett Prestage (previously Garry Bennett), Kate Rowe and John Witte participated. David Abello produced and taped the event while Anne Morphett and Robyn Kennedy videoed the proceedings (18 October 1998). David Abello and I subsequently interviewed Danny Abood (25 February 1998), Steve Brown (4 November 1997), Rick Dowdle (6 December 1997), Graham Head (8 November 1997), Craig Johnston (4 November 1997), Ken Lovett (7 April 1994), Greg Reading (1 November 1997), Barbie Schaffer & Vic Smith (8 November 1997), John Skenner & Jim Buckle (November 1997), David Sinclair-Stewart (28 January 1998) and Rod Stringer (14 January 1998). Copies of these tapes are in my possession. Other sources include Robyn Plaister's Gaywaves interview (property of Ken Lovett), *Witches, Faggots Dykes & Poofers* (film, 1980) and *Dancing In The Dark* (ABC TV screened 4 March 1998). David Abello and I also developed a 82 item questionnaire which we sent to the 260 known 78ers. We received 110 replies and Abello has analysed these. However these findings have not been included in this dissertation.

² Ken Davis (born 1956) had joined a revolutionary socialist youth group in 1971, had become a member of Sydney Gay Liberation in 1973, and when he started at Sydney University, he went to ADHOC. He was centrally active in GSG throughout the 1980s and joined Campaign Against Repression, The Summer Offensive For Gay Rights, The Gay Liberation Quire, The Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence and The Gay Immigration Task Force. He worked on AIDS education, including ACON (1987-1994) and still sees himself as a revolutionary socialist who hates "post-modernism and all its pomps" (correspondence with J Witte 9 Jan 1998). Ann Talve was not involved in planning the International Gay Day celebrations.

³ The most prominent players included Sandi Banks, Jo Eccleston, Max Pearce and Richard Wilson (all of the Socialist Workers' Party), Terry Bell, Garry Bennett and radical lesbians (all of the ADHOC), Ron Austin, Peter Bonsall-Boone, Mike Clohesy, Peter De Waal, Lance Gowland, Margaret McMann, Kim Skinner and Jim Walker (all of CAMP), Di Minnis (of the Internationalist Socialists) and "Noeli" a Canadian Jew (of The Spartacists). The forum activists have discounted Peter Blazey's (1997) claim that he helped organise the festivities.

⁴ Defending the group's authority and credentials, Lance Gowland informed *Campaign's* readers that

the GSG consists mainly of people who have been active in the anti-sexist and homosexual rights movement for several years. We believe that the liberation of homosexuals can only be achieved through the destruction of patriarchy (male rule) and the ending of sexism in all its manifestations (*Camp* October 1978).

⁵ Designed by Walter Burley Griffin, the Paris Cinema had become a run down independent cinema at the corner of Liverpool and College Streets. Now known as Whitlam Square, this was the corner where Gowland defied the police and the first violence erupted.

⁶ Lance Gowland (born 1934) was a member of the Communist Party of Australia and had set up a regional gay group in Goulburn (c 1970) before moving to Sydney in 1970. He came out to his family and public service workmates in the early '70s and took his father and children to gay liberation dances. He was centrally involved

in the Mardi Gras organising teams until 1983 and was the first person to enter the Sydney Gay & Lesbian Hall Of Fame (1990). He learnt his passive resistance strategies from the anti-nuclear movement (correspondence with John Witte c 9 January 1998).

⁷ Meanwhile, Peter Blazey, an experienced media negotiator, had begun working at *Campaign*. He approached Les Hollings, editor-in-chief at *The Australian*, about running a four page lift out to coincide with the Solidarity Week. Hollings passed it by Rupert Murdoch who, living in New York and sensitive to America's burgeoning disco, fashion and decor scenes, recognised the feature's "terrific marketing possibility". And so his "Australian apostles" planned to run it as new, sexy, money-making and as a sniff at the wowserish Fairfax press. (Blazey 1997 p 221-222). However, if these articles alerted some people to the activities, many students were reading their university samizdats.

⁸ Rick Dowdle, for example, described himself as "an out homosexual person who didn't really participate actively in a political sense". He had many gay friends and went to the bars where he saw and experienced police harassment. He did not go to the morning demonstration but saw the festival as a way of saying that he was proud of "being gay" and making his first public statement about the persecutions which were affecting his life. He felt that the violence affected him profoundly. He lost his respect for the police; he was frightened for his safety; he felt that gays would never get their rights; he withdrew into the closet and experienced more intense harassment in the bars, streets and beats (interview 6 December 1997).

⁹ Sean Watson's (1994) analysis of the (English) policeman's threatened mind bears some light on the incidents. Watson argues that the policeman's paranoia is an inevitable outcome of the symbolic antagonisms he bears from having to do "good people's dirty work" and from having to meet their attitudes toward controlling Aborigines, errant women and homosexuals.

For our present purposes, we can take Watson's argument that the policeman's homophobia is a psychotic projective identification. The policeman defines himself against a system of Others and fears ambiguous relationships. He tries hard to maintain his symbolic boundaries, but finds it hard to sustain a coherent self-narrative. His inconsistent moral imperatives can produce "shame" and his inability to integrate an affect into the symbolic field leads him to "foreclose" against the dangerous and threatening homosexual. He feels he has to destroy the loathsome threat which manifests his own antagonisms.

In other words, the policeman feels that he needs to constantly and clearly identify the homosexual and maintain his own psychic distance so that he can realise his own gender and sexual integrity. But because the evidence constantly threatens his moral difference, he feels he has to ritually purify society. At the same time, he sees himself as the Law's agent, and he despises the rest of the justice system's inadequacy. He feels that he can frighten people into respecting him. And, although he talks about "the rule of law" and "the queen's peace", he prioritises his need to maintain law and order because the state has employed him to pacify and manage its population.

In the end, he thinks that the law is valid because it is "the Law". He sees himself as the agent who carries a pacified

modernity's surplus violence, and he sees the law as one of several tools to do this. He believes it is a means to an end and he is systematically and regularly violent in his attempts to pacify the Other. He consistently goes "over the top" and probably gets pleasure from it.

¹⁰ A month later, a 50 year old "public servant" backed him up. He too objected to the "politically motivated, grotesquely dressed and foul-mouthed members of minority groups" who had dominated the Conference. He called *Campaign's* readers to activism, so that the "minority groups and freaks" would not control the law reform debates and shape the general public's understanding of homosexuality (*Camp* October 1978). But it did not stop there. Geoff Leonard claimed that Sydney's gay movement had become "officially Marxist" because the leftist organisations had sponsored, organised, and subsidised it (ibid) while Denise Thompson presented a socialist feminist challenge to the solicitor's initial analysis (ibid).

¹¹ Lex Watson, for example, recognised that Stonewall had sparked the Australian, Canadian and New Zealand gay movements but dismissed it as a media event which had falsified gay history and denied the earlier European movements, which had taught lessons of administration, strategy and lobbying. He felt that the Australian gay movement had failed because it saw a demonstration as a sufficient response to gay oppression (*Camp* July 1979).

¹² Quentin Buckle, for example, argued that gay capitalists drew on mainstream or underworld capital to develop a market out of a de-radicalised "gay pride" package and a classless community of macho clones and leathermen. He felt their "community" would feed heteronormativity and a safety-valve sexuality. He also thought it would become a bantustan of nastiness, evilness and horribleness. He concluded that, because ghetto politics could spell disaster for the struggle against sexual oppression and provide targets for right-wing groups, activists had to ally themselves with other progressive forces (*GCN* June 1981).

¹³ Garry Bennett, for example, acknowledged that the communitarians were initiating the construction of a new gay identity, that they were increasingly receptive to political action - and prepared to wrest initiative from the movement, that they were initiating other (quasi-)political activities and that they were supporting political action beyond "the ghetto". At the same time, he thought that they were promoting clone masculinity, so that they were gearing "the homosexual category" away from dissident gender roles and toward particular sexual behaviours and sexual meanings (*GI* No 7 1981).

¹⁴ Craig Johnston developed the most sustained analysis of these years. He thought that this community was still a fantasy, rather than a concrete reality. But he could see that it was emerging rapidly. He felt that it regarded discrimination and repression as aberrations (rather than the tip of the iceberg), rejected the concept of homophobia, limited its politics to gay (men's) rights and prioritised sexuality over class and gender. Defining these communitarians as those who "wanted to provide... havens in a straight world", he argued that the movement would have far less clout without "the gay community's" support (Johnston 1981). Arguing for integration rather than

isolation and challenging those who reduced the expanding gay space to capital's ability to manipulate another niche market, he theorised the clones and lesbian feminists as ethnic identities. He realised that COGG and SGRL were emulating ethnic minoritarian strategies when they championed communitarianism, when they fused their subcultures to broader movements and when they utilised liberal-democratic institutions to achieve their ends (Johnston 1881a).

¹⁵ Inspired by the America's Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence and Radical Fairies, this chapter of Sydney nuns began exorcising the demons of homophobia, celebrating sexuality and praising gay and lesbian identity and visibility, challenging the fundamentalists' mobilisations and displaying the local community's holy relics (including some tooth picks from the Last Supper, a Carnation Milk encrusted leg of lamb as proof of "The Lamb of God, I come, I come" and the urinal from Green Park's demolished public toilet).

¹⁶ Many GSG members joined the campy Gay Liberation Quire (c 1981-1985), which used to sing gender-bending satirical songs at rallies, and fund raisers.

¹⁷ Some activists were already claiming that Mardi Gras was becoming a social occasion, a ritual and a facade (*GI* No 4 1980).

¹⁸ See, for example: Phillip Chown's "A Statement By A Responsible Group Of Independent Gays" (ie Boomerangs, 85 Oxford Street and The Peak Restaurant), the paper prepared by Johnston et al, and the 1980 Task Group's own statement (ML MSS 4620).

¹⁹ When Club 85 burnt down, the 27 October meeting voted to exclude syndicate-owned bars from participating in the next Mardi Gras. (Johnston interview with committee member Paul Young ML MSS 4620).

²⁰ However, and possibly as a sop to the movement factions, the Task Group's meetings would be open to all lesbians and gay men and operate as a collective so that the attendees could make the meeting's decisions.

²¹ They felt that the bar owners and newspaper owners wrongly believed that visibility would lead to acceptance and that ignorance caused homosexual oppression. They argued that these same capitalists had a material interest in opposing gay liberation and protecting their lucrative gay market (*GCN* Vol 2 No 9 1980).

²² Brian McGahen (195? -1990) had joined the Communist Party and the Draft Resisters Union to protest against the Vietnam War. He had been a gay activist from the early 1970s. With others, he got gay issues onto the Communist Party's agenda. As the Mardi Gras Committee's chair (1981-1984), he was largely responsible for making the Mardi Gras a major festival. From 1981 on he proposed, and worked toward, a Gay Centre, which was the genesis of Pride Club and the present day Pride Centre. In 1984, he was one of three openly gay men elected to

the Sydney City Council where he served as an Independent until the Labor government sacked the Council and installed unelected commissioners (1987). He was "a bold but not always popular activist" (*Ga* May 1990). HIV positive for many years, he committed suicide in 1990.

²³ When the Darlinghurst Police raided Club 80, they found 250 men inside (Saturday 29 January). They detained 30 men and they charged four other men with "indecent assault upon a male person, with or without consent". Another man was charged with "serious alarm and affront" and a 16 year old was taken to a remand centre (*OWN* 3-16 February 1983). Four weeks later they raided the club again, where they arrested, handcuffed and bashed 11 men for "assaulting" other men, for scandalously exposing "their naked persons" and for "causing serious alarm and affront" (*OWN* 3-16 March 1983). Each of these incursions sparked public meetings and protest marches. The *Oxford Weekender News* felt that the state government had "virtually declared war on the gay community": Wran had told the straight press that his government would not consider homosexual law reform that year and the police had "also stated that [they intended] to move against other gay venues". (*OWN* 3-16 March 1983). The gay press was outraged. The *Oxford Weekender News* argued that the community had to fight this attack with all the forces at its disposal for "if this [were] not done, then [they would] witness the demise of [their] community" (*ibid*).

²⁴ However the long awaited NSW Act did not usher in legal equality. For, while the age of consent for lesbian and heterosexual activity had settled at 16, on 18 and over men could engage in homosexual activity. The NSW activists, and their Mardi Gras mobilisations, had played a part in these partial decriminalisations. Their persistent agitations had forced Wran to pressure the Labor Party's conservatives into conceding reform (Altman 1987).

²⁵ Setting out to socially engineer society, the NSW parliament was the first to adopt anti-discrimination legislation (1983) and, subsequently, an anti-vilification amendment. Its amendment to the Anti Discrimination Act (1977) set out to prohibit discrimination against homosexuals in the public realms of workplace and (state run) educational cultures, the provision of goods and services, accommodation and registered clubs. This meant that the Mardi Gras could take the Anglican Church to the Tribunal (1984). A decade later, the (NSW) Anti-Discrimination (Homosexual Vilification) Amendment Act (1993) forbade threats, promotions or expressions of hatred, "serious contempt" or "severe ridicule" of an individual's or a group's homosexuality.

Appendix II

¹ "Sheila" is, of course, an Australian colloquialism for a girl, a woman, a girlfriend. In "progressivism's" time honoured tradition, these women had appropriated the derogatory name. GSG had undoubtedly selected this band to attract lesbian feminists and the choice signified its support for the politics of an independent (non-sexist, non-racist and authentic) women's culture. Since the orthodox construed drag as sexist and disco as an emblem of commercial masculinist and an American culture that positioned its patrons as passive consumers, both were beyond the pale. Significantly too, they held the dance in Sydney's inner west where it would attract movement lesbians and distance itself from Oxford Street's (in-authentic) commercialism. See Andermaher (1994) for an

explication of this tradition.

² In fact, Bennett had argued along these lines before: the homosexual "ghetto" and its bars constrained gay people's potential to break down rigid sex-roles and the nuclear family. The ghetto, he had argued, separated homosexuals from mainstream society so that they were less threatening and this left sexual repression unchallenged. The ghetto provided business people with a captive middle-class men's market and it excluded working class gays and women because of its inflated prices and its demands for fashionability (Ibid, see also *Camp* July 1978).

³ The *Witches, Faggots, Dykes & Poofs* film captures a young man outside the Darlinghurst Police Station telling the camera.

Most of the people I've noticed this evening haven't worn any numbers displaying who they are. They haven't named any charges at all, they refused to name bail, they refused to name the people they've arrested and they've refused the right of entry into the police station so that inquiries can't be made into who's been arrested. They've refused people onto the footpath (sic), they've told people to move off the footpath and onto the other side of the street so that they were obstructing the footpath traffic allegedly. They didn't name the charges when they arrested people for obstructing allegedly the traffic. And the motor traffic act says that the police should direct people if they are obstructing the traffic and they refused to do this. They just arrested people and threw them in the paddy wagon. I saw people being dragged by the hair, punched in the face, grabbed by their legs and dragged across the road. Every single right that a person is entitled to in Australia has been blatantly denied by the police and this [station] has lived up to its reputation as far as I'm concerned" (*WFDP* film).

⁴ Ken Davis, Leigh Holloway, Sue Masterman and Jeff McCarthy signed the press release on behalf of the GSG collective.

⁵ These anarchists claimed that the police were protecting the state's interests; homophobic; regarding Kings Cross as their domain; trying to embarrass the Labor government and viewing the crowd as tightly solid, militant and retaliantly violent. They argued that the locals and bystanders had taken the opportunity to express their cop-hatred and that the Darlinghurst Station violence was an everyday occurrence. They recognised that the mardi gras had politicised many people but they were worried that "a kind of bourgeois calm" was threatening to take over. Although some people were pushing for law reform, the Central Court incident had shown that the police flaunted the law, that the magistrates could not control their own courtrooms and that Wran could not control his police. Distinguishing between the demonstrators' interests and GSG's interests, they claimed that the demonstrators were angry with committees which dissipated their energies with debates about parliamentary procedures, law reform and respectability.

⁶ Recognising that the demonstrations had politicised their participants and publicised their organisers' demands, he feared that internecine feuds and radical demands would alienate many moderate homosexuals. He called on his readers to lobby for their legal equality and to petition their state governments to implement GSG's five demands, because these strategies would get media coverage, win closeted homosexuals' support and raise gay rights issues on many fronts (*Campaign* August 1978).

⁷ *The Workers' News* was arguing, for instance, that "adventurist, publicity seeking and highly unstable middle-

class revisionist" organisers had staged an unauthorised (and understandably provocative) march. While it opposed the state's repression of homosexuals, it argued that their rights were subordinate to workers' rights and that the police were using the demonstration to rehearse their impending attack on the working-class and trade union movement (*Workers News* 29 June 1978 p 4).

⁸ These 14 went before Mr C Briese, Stipendiary Magistrate at the Central Court Of Petty Sessions. He charged Harley Benson with hindering the police, with offensive behaviour and with resisting arrest. Benson complained about being injured and three of the other defendants complained that they had been bruised. They were all released without bail and their hearings were adjourned to 31 July (7 people), 1 August (3 people), 2 August (4 people). Seven people told the court that they were unemployed, two said they were labourers and another two said they were domestics. One was an artist and another a student. They were all from Sydney. Two were teenagers and ten were in their twenties. The other two were in their thirties.

⁹ Nevertheless, some other activists were grabbing headlines. August 1978 Peter Blazey contested the Earlwood bye-election against Ken Gabb (ALP), a bachelor who lived with Mother, and Alan Jones (Lib), the right wing media commentator who subsequently got involved in an incident outside a London bog (Blazey 1997 p 232). His slogan "Put A Poofter In Parliament", attracted prime time television coverage (Blazey 1997).

¹⁰ *Campaign* listed the Conference program (*Camp* August 1978). David McDiarmid, Billy Morley and Peter Tully were amongst the ten lesbian and gay artists who exhibited at the Watters' Gallery at this time.

¹¹ Ken Lovett and Robert Broughton testimonials. Greg Reading claimed that the organisers had told the demonstrators that they thought that it would be less provocative to presume a natural right to march, than to march in defiance of a specific police refusal (*Camp* No 38 November 1978)

¹² Peter Blazey noted that the police had had their weekends cancelled four days earlier (*NR* 1-7 September 1978).

¹³ A press release claimed that the pro-abortion activists had moved through The Right-To-Life rally "in peaceful protest" and that the "vigilante" fundamentalists had attacked their group. It claimed, moreover, that the police had struck women across the face and hands and had forcibly strip-searched some men. It claimed that the police had delayed processing the detainees' paperwork for twelve hours; had distributed three blankets to forty shivering people; had withheld the detainees' names and had requested unconscionable bail requirements. Once again it questioned Wran's ability to control his police and the Labor government's willingness to allow the police to mobilise against working-class protests.

¹⁴ The debate prompted two contributors to support GSG's stance. M G Garnsey argued that the press should respect public protesters' confidentiality (letter *SMH* 20 Oct 1978) and Barbara Evans felt that publishing

demonstrators' names could have dire consequences (letter *SMH* 23 Oct 1978). The Australian Press Council subsequently rejected their complaints and affirmed a newspaper's right to publish any identifying particulars about anyone whom the police had charged in an open court (unless the court had "validly forbidden" them to do so), on the grounds that "it is unreasonable to expect newspapers to attempt to discriminate in favour of particular groups, movements and individuals" (*SMH* 5 Dec 1978).

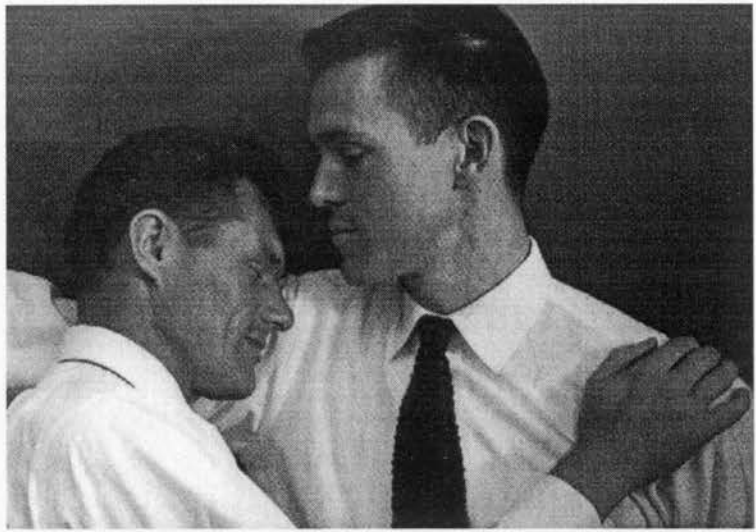


Figure 1.1



Figure 2.1



Figure 3.1



Figure 3.2
Figure 3.3

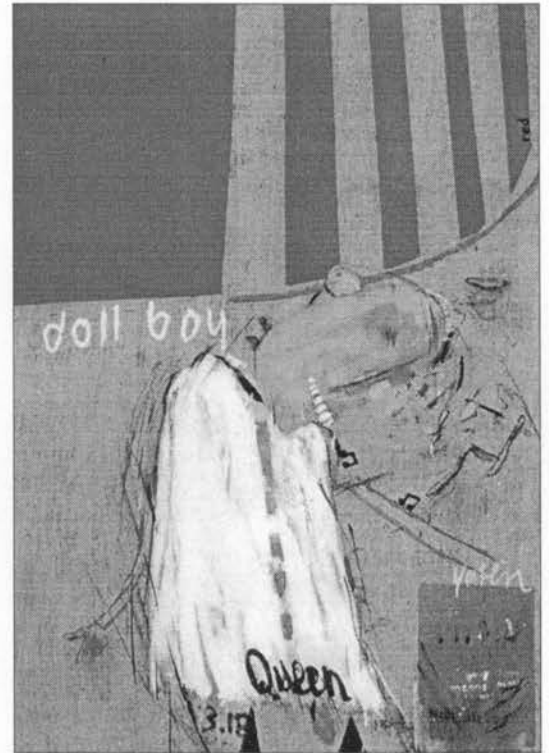
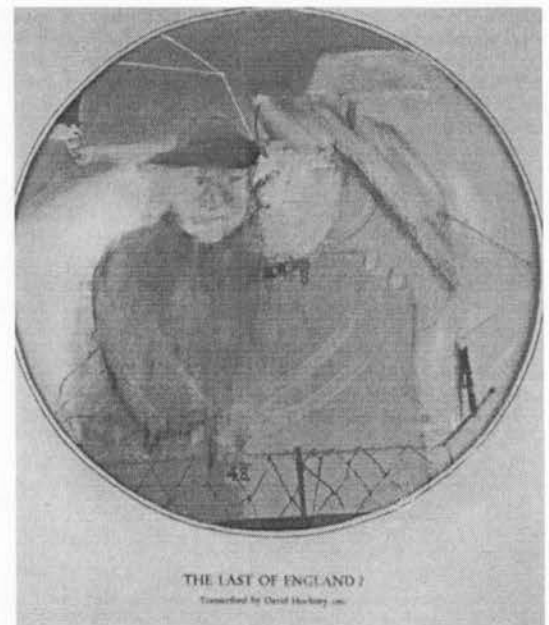


Figure 3.4
Figure 3.5



THE LAST OF ENGLAND I
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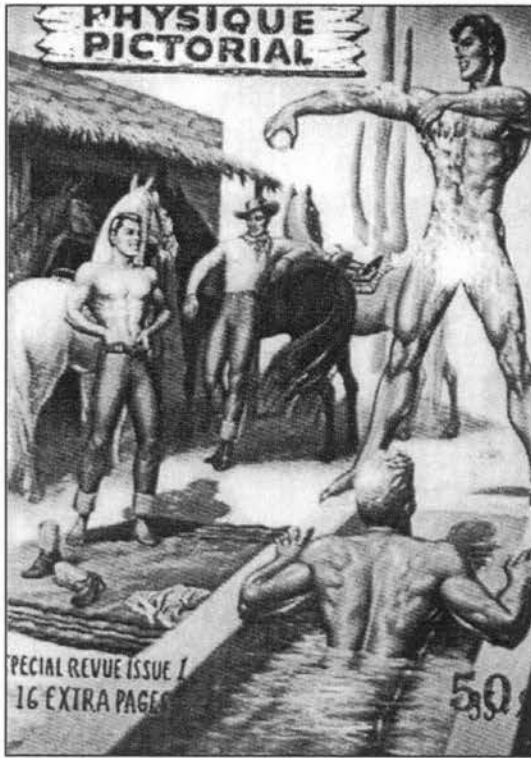


Figure 4.4
Figure 4.5

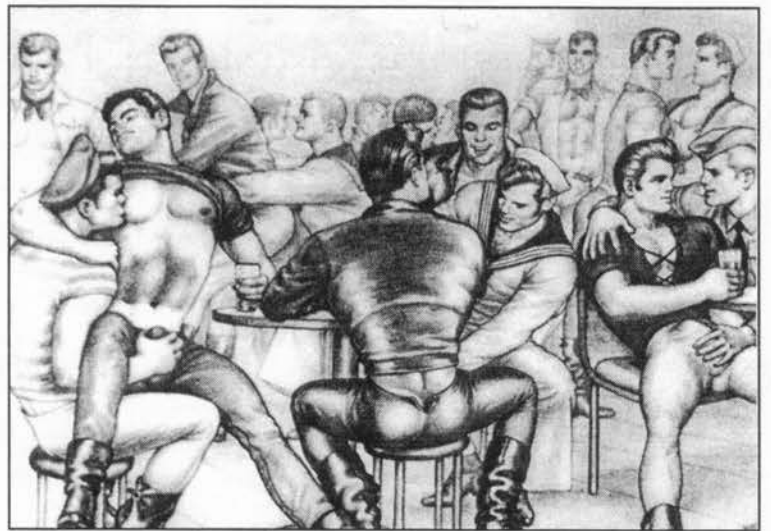


Figure 4.6



Figure 4.7

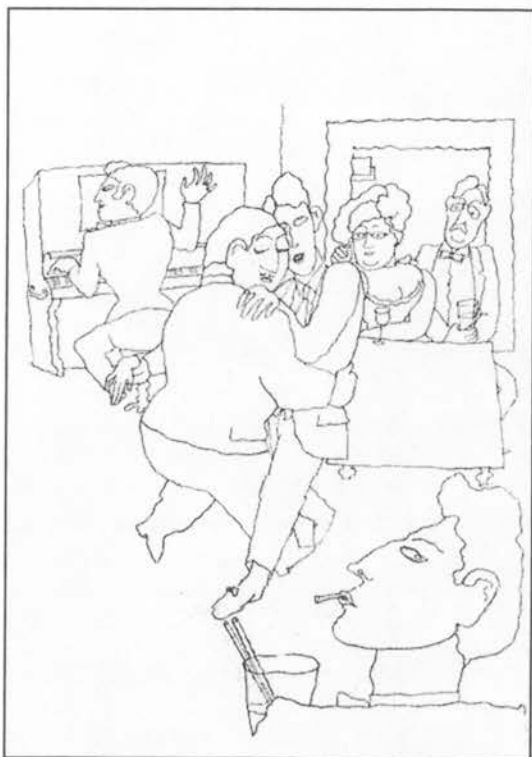


Figure 3.6
Figure 4.1

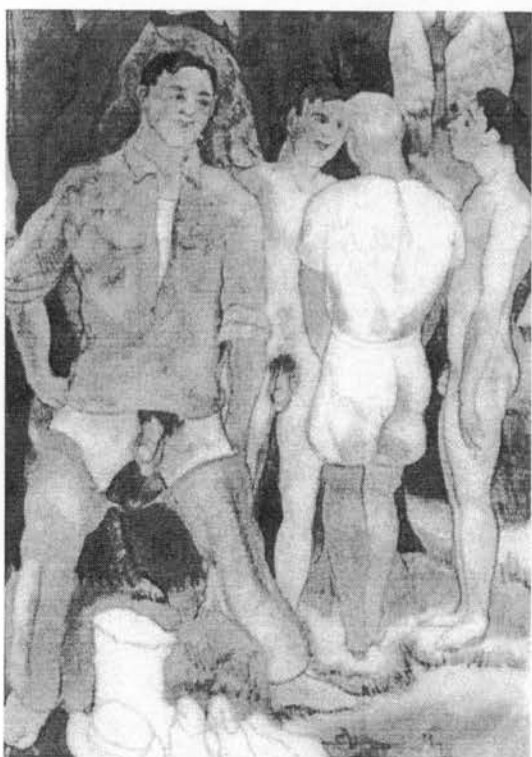
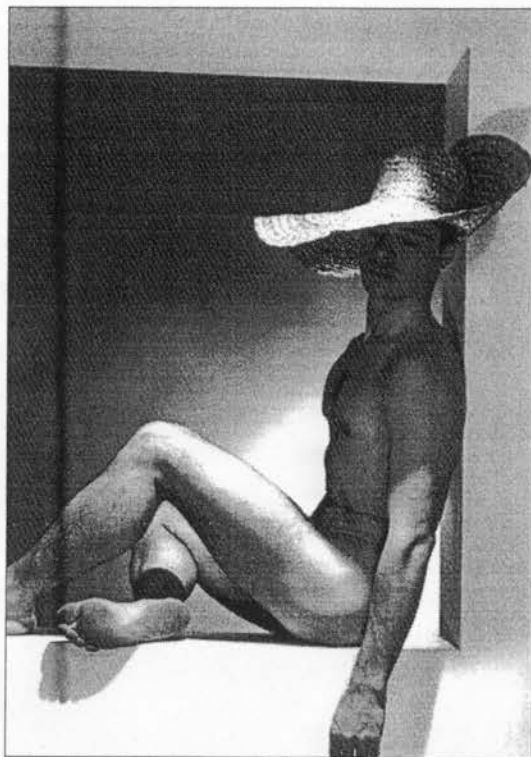
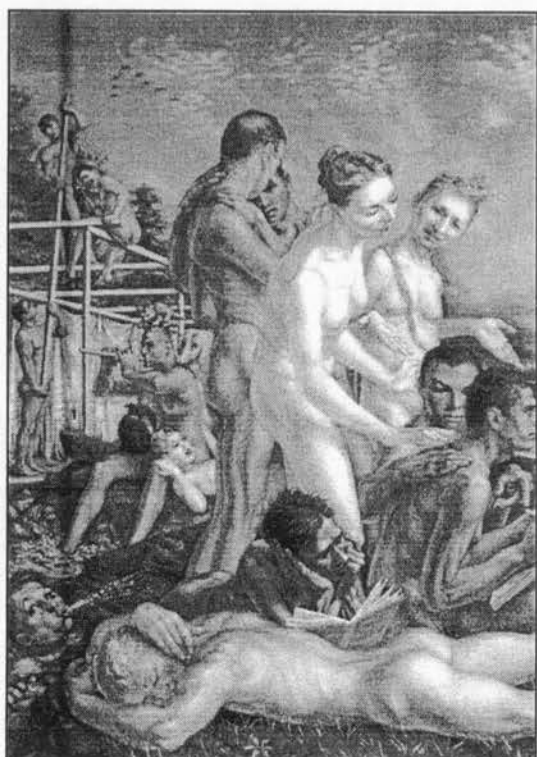


Figure 4.2
Figure 4.3



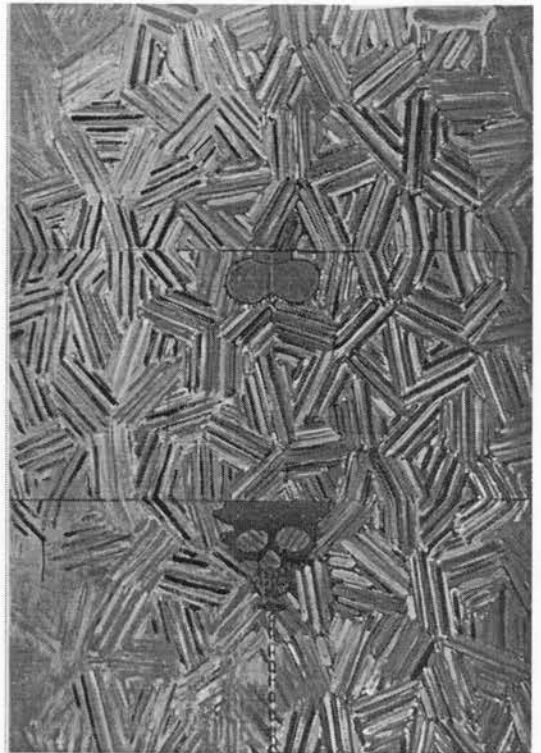


Figure 5.1
Figure 5.2

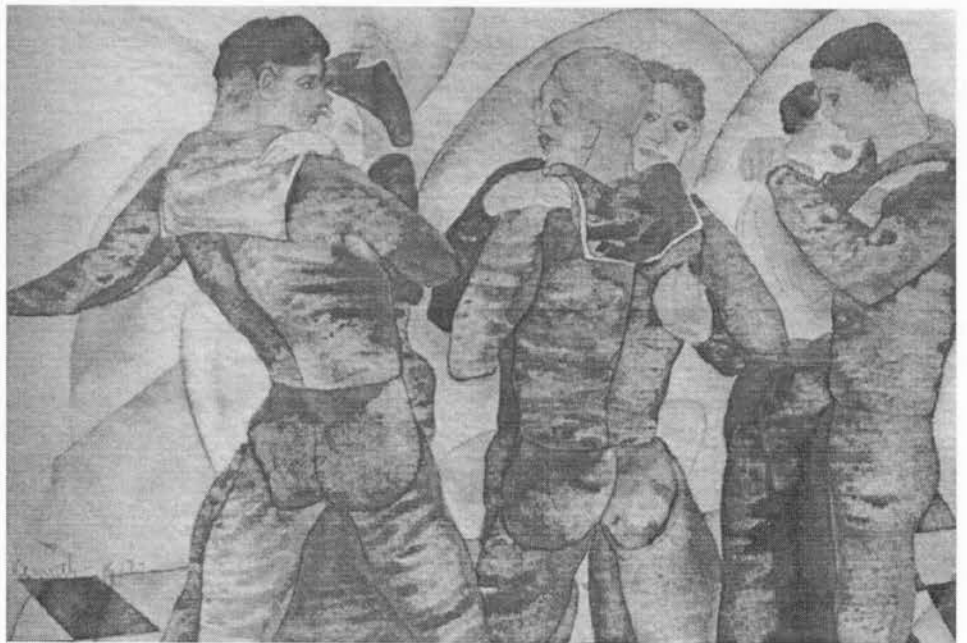


Figure 5.3

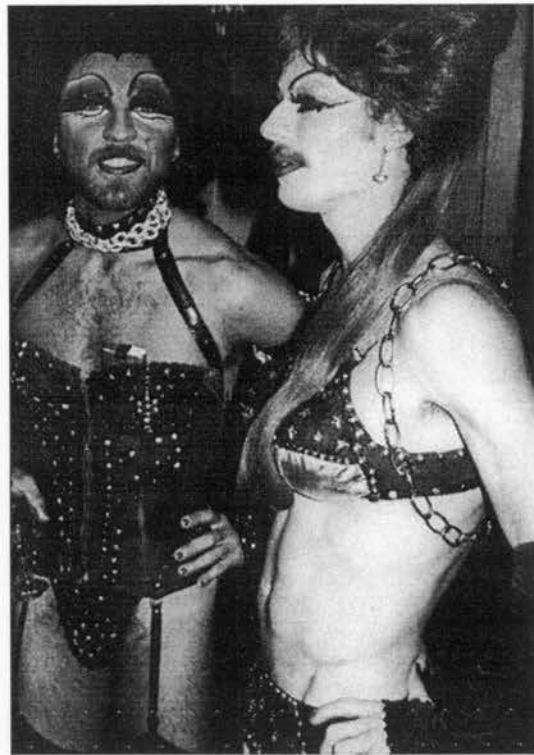


Figure 5.4
Figure 5.5



Figure 5.6

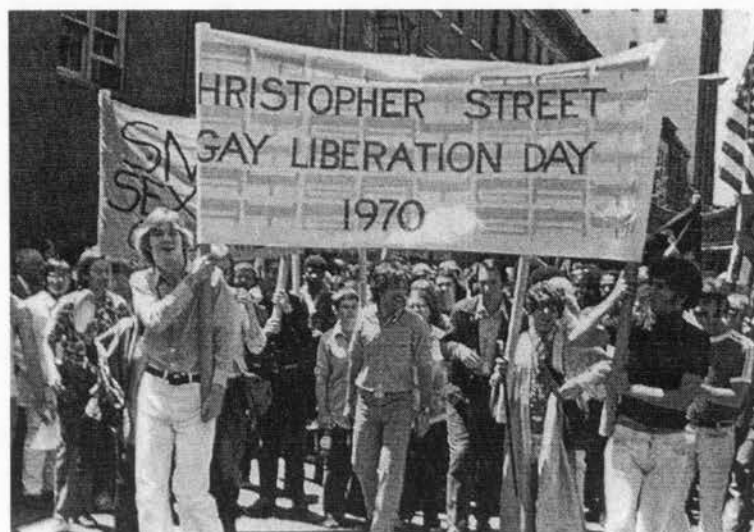


Figure 5.7



Figure 5.8



Figure 5.9



Figure 5.10
Figure 5.11

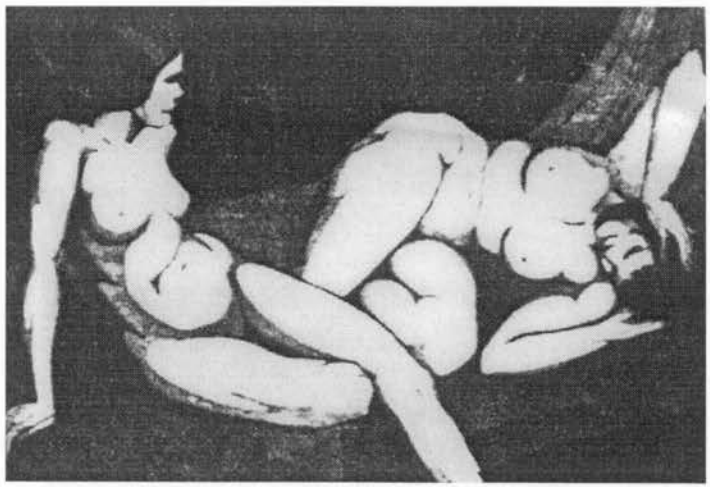


Figure 6.1
Figure 6.2



Figure 6.3



Figure 6.4



Figure 6.5
Figure 6.6



Figure 6.7
Figure 6.8

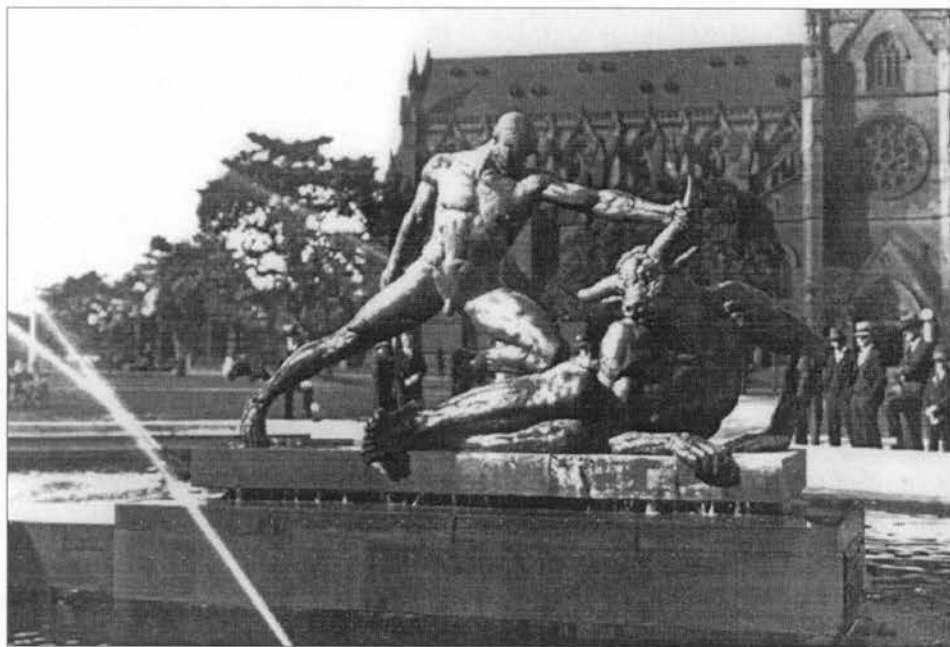


Figure 6.9



Figure 6.10
Figure 6.11

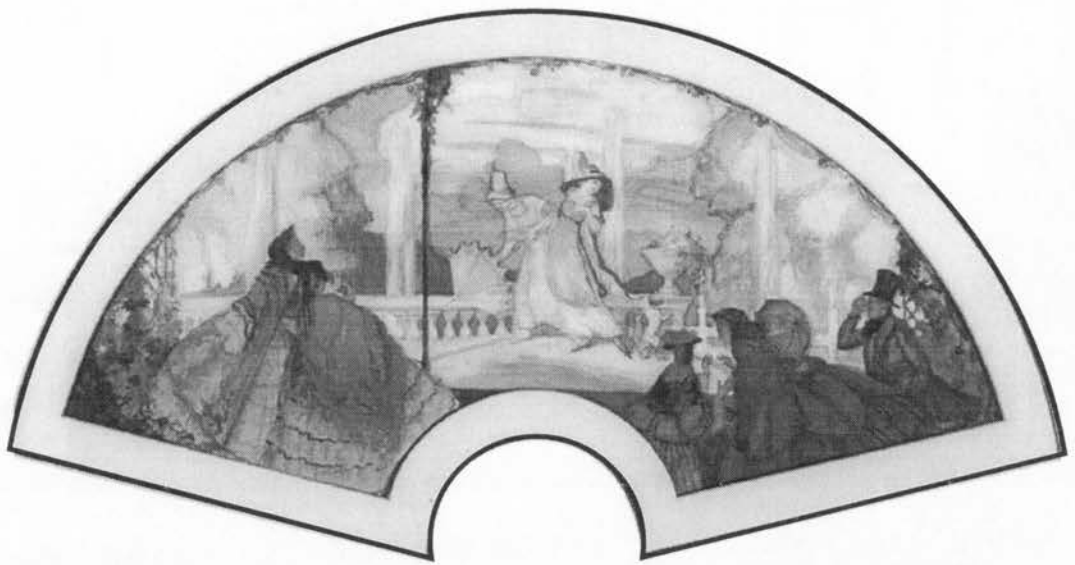


Figure 6.12



Figure 6.13



Figure 6.14

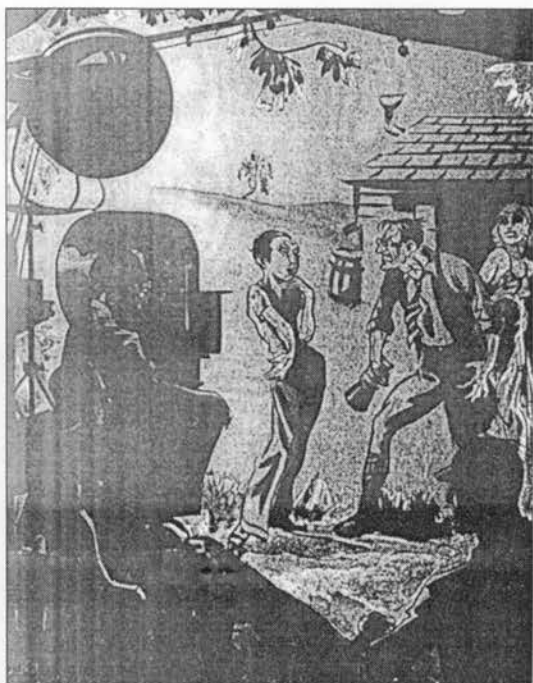


Figure 6.18
Figure 6.19
"Play the he-man? Why, sir, my contract provides that I shall not be called upon for character roles."

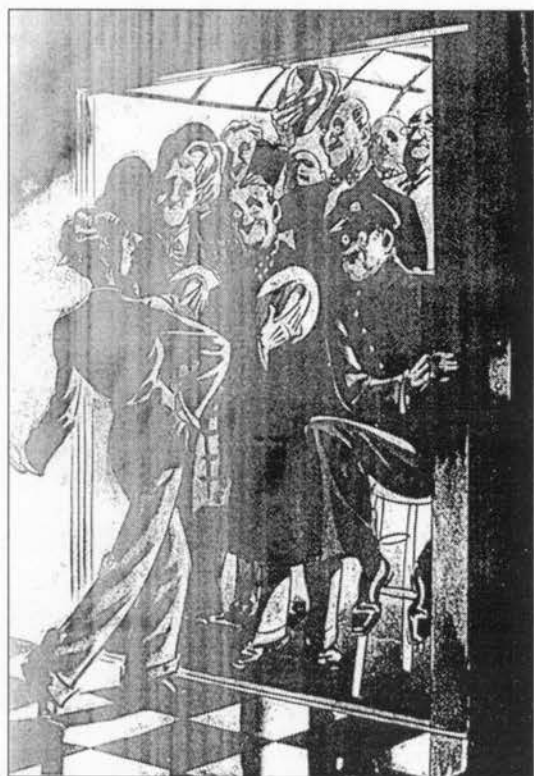
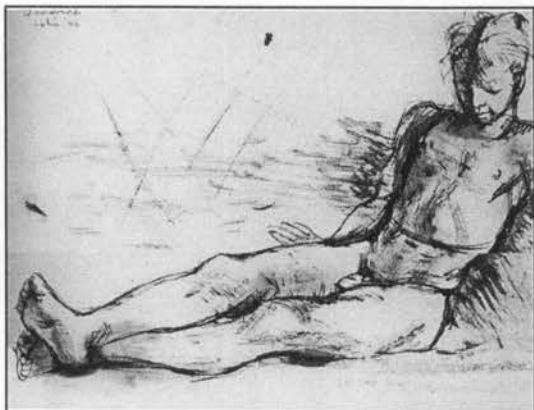


Figure 6.20
Figure 7.1



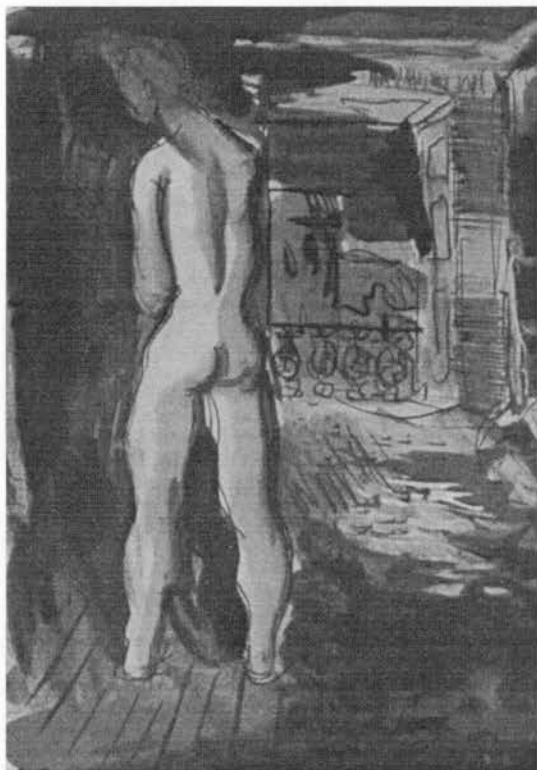


Figure 7.2
Figure 7.3



Figure 7.4
Figure 7.5



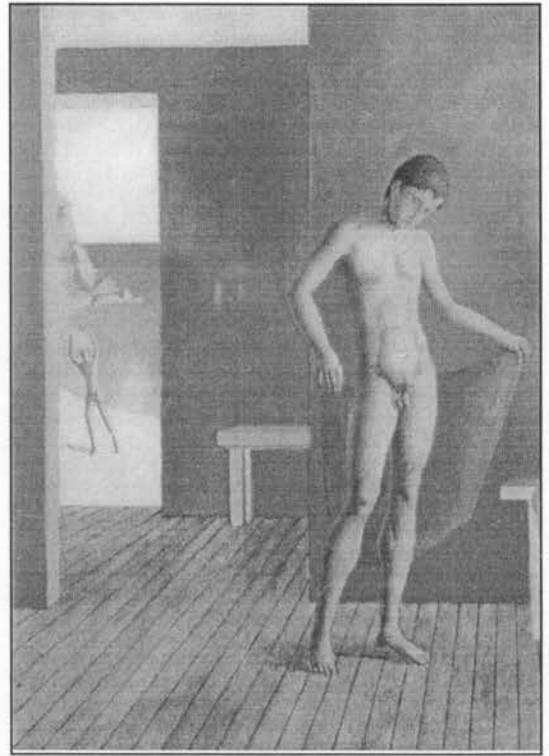
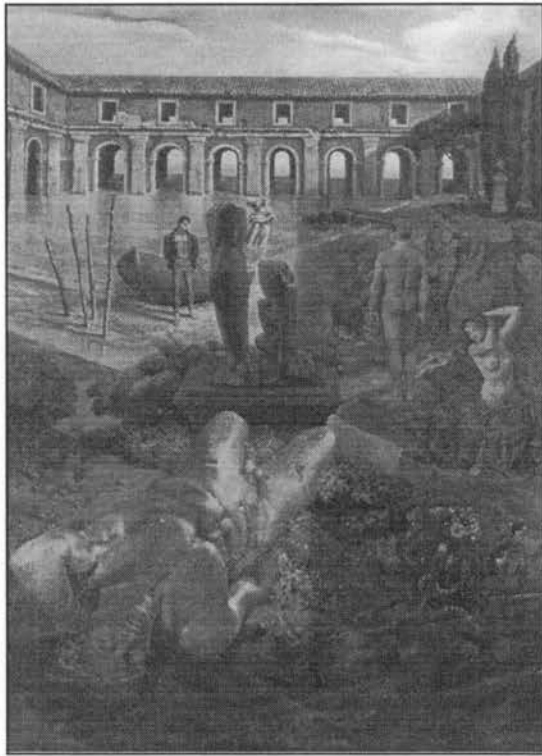


Figure 7.6
Figure 7.7



Figure 7.8
Figure 7.9

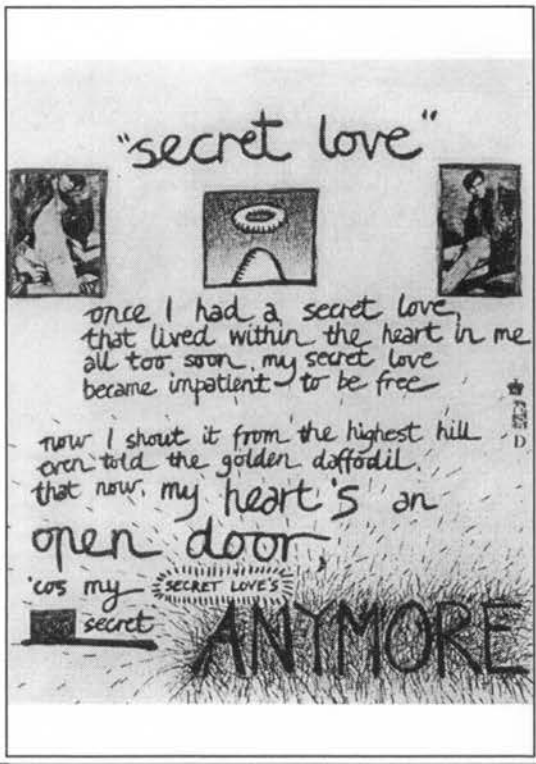


Figure 8.1
Figure 8.2



Figure 8.3
Figure 8.4



Figure 8.5



Figure 9.1



Figure 9.2
Figure 9.3



Figure 9.4
Figure 9.5

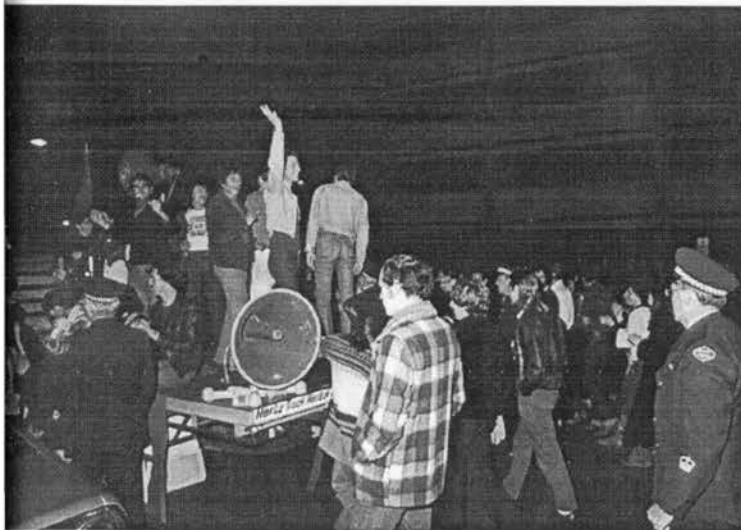


Figure 9.6
Figure 9.8
Figure 9.9

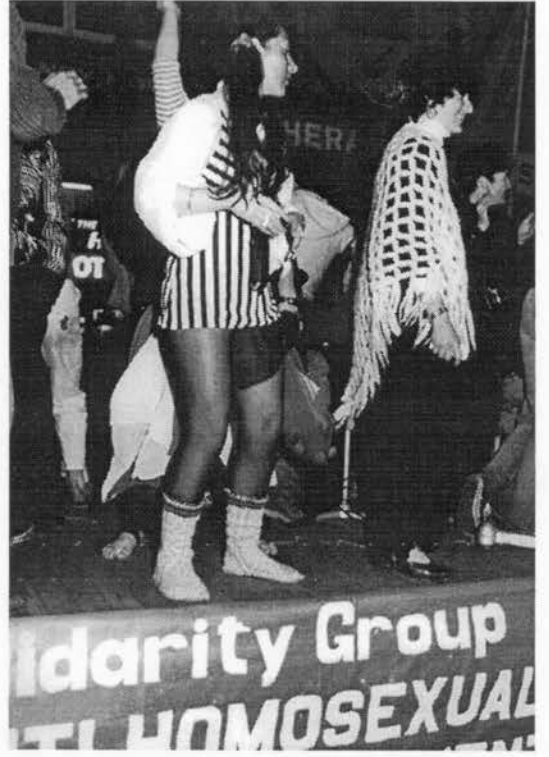


Figure 9.7



Figure 9.13

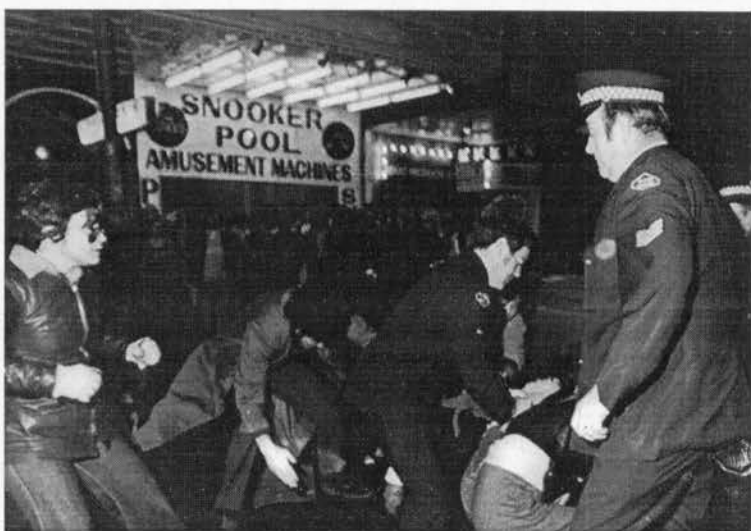


Figure 9.14



Figure 9.15

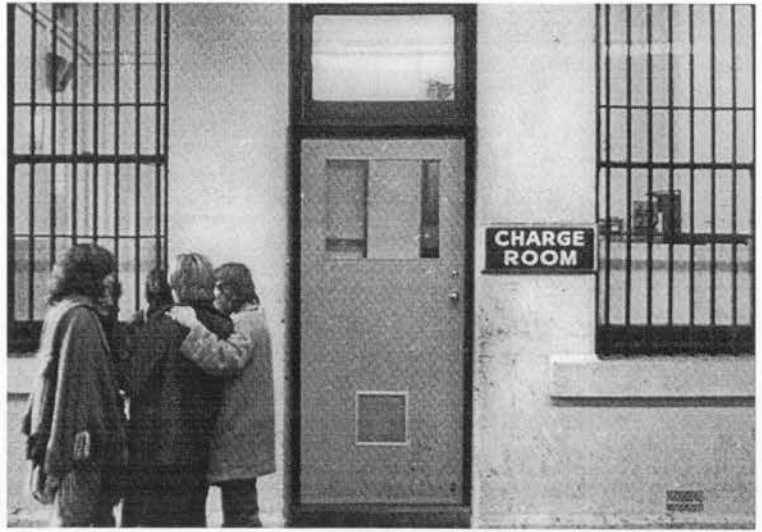


Figure 9.16



Figure 9.17



Figure 9.18

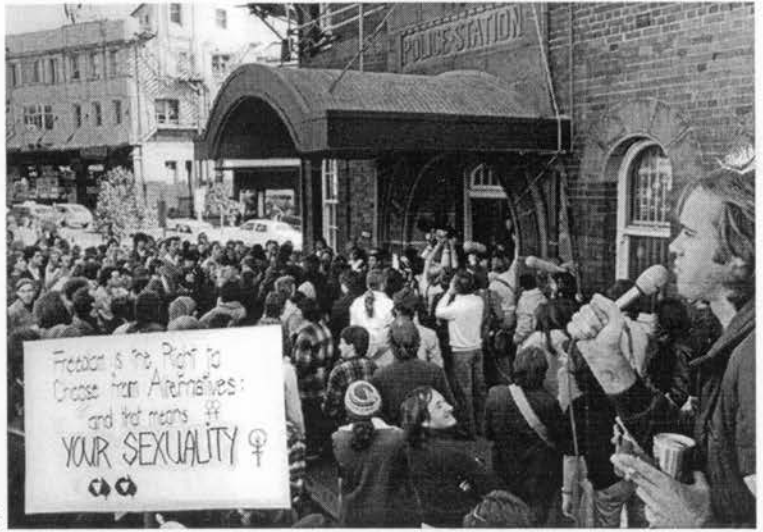


Figure 9.19



Figure 9.20



Figure 9.21

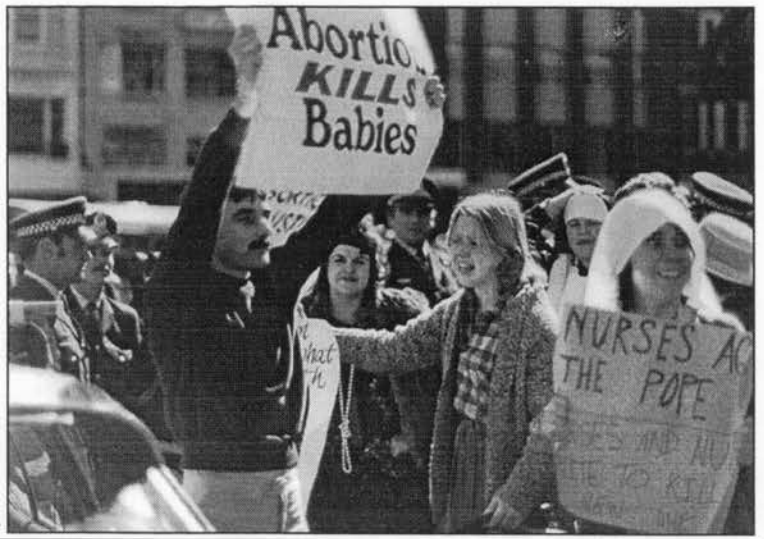


Figure 9.23



Figure 10.1



Figure 10.2
Figure 10.3

