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Sex, sleaze and righteous anger: The rise and fall of gay magazines and newspapers in Australia

Abstract:

For much of the 20th century, homosexuality was illegal in Australia. The country was also subject to draconian censorship; overt homosexual works were banned. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, social change was afoot and publications of the homosexual rights and gay liberation movements began to appear, soon joined by more commercial publications aligned to an increasingly overt gay sub-culture. These publications prospered over the next three decades. Their focus ranged from earnest proselytising to post-modern pornography. Most maintained strong links to their readerships, even though many of them were distributed free of charge and relied on advertising to survive. This paper chronicles the range of these publications and examines how they helped develop and foster a gay, lesbian or queer readership (and hence outside the mainstream); explores how and why the printed forms of these publications gradually merged within the mainstream as same-sex relationships lost their deviance; and notes that these publications have largely been replaced by digital alternatives in the 21st century.

Biographical note:

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Keywords:

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I finished high school in 1972 at the same time the Whitlam government was elected and, to my teenage eyes, the world appeared to be changing rapidly and radically. Whitlam ceased Australia's involvement in the Vietnam (or American, as the Vietnamese call it) War. He recognised the People's Republic of China. I moved to Sydney and prepared to start university at the beginning of 1973. I also sought to assert my sexuality, as I have documented elsewhere (Fisher 2008; 2012a). Thus I began to engage with the emerging gay movement in Australia.¹ Within a few months my sexuality was known to the world after I was thrown out of Robert Menzies College at Macquarie University because of my sexuality, and the Builders Labourers Federation imposed the first 'pink ban' on building work at the college in my support. The formal gay movement in Australia was just over two years old, and male homosexuality was still a crime in all Australian states and territories except South Australia (New South Wales did not decriminalise homosexuality until 1984; Tasmania was the last state to do so in 1997). It was in this personal and political environment that I first encountered Australian gay newspapers and magazines. The first of them were cheap and ephemeral but, as the visibility of gays and lesbians increased within a more accepting social environment, they began to become more substantial. However, even though it is now apparent that they documented significant social change, at the time they were part of the general clamour of an anarchic, leaderless socio-political movement. They evolved at a time when the personal was political and as a consequence their role in recording the events of their times has been overlooked. Now it is possible to see their significance, in the same manner as the significance of the gay pulp fiction of the 1950s and 1960s is also being recognised. This paper is an attempt to give a context and history to gay magazines and newspapers – I use both terms here because they often changed print format, or were magazine style in a tabloid format – in Australia and position them within the study of print culture. I gratefully acknowledge my debt to the Australian Lesbian and Gay Archives in Melbourne, the Mitchell Library in Sydney and AustLit.

While there had been some lessening of censorship in Australia in 1969, and law reform was at least being discussed, the process leading to the publication of gay magazines and newspapers coincided with the fact that homosexuals in the Stonewall bar in Greenwich Village, New York, in June 1969 finally fought back against the regular victimisation they had been subjected to by the police. The event galvanised the developing Australian 'gay movement', as it was being called. While this initially had consisted of small social groups combined with civil libertarians to agitate for the repeal of laws against homosexuality, in common with gay groups in other Western countries (Altman 1971; Higgins 1996; Lauritsen & Thorstad 1974), after Stonewall more formal organisations developed.

In July 1970, homosexual men and women in Sydney formed the group Campaign Against Moral Persecution (CAMP), the first openly homosexual rights organisation in Australia. It published its newsletter *Camp ink* four months later (Hilliard 1997: 106). The first issue, produced in Sydney, had a print run of 500 copies, sold for 20 cents and consisted of 16 A4 pages; 5,000 copies were being produced twelve months later (Calder 2011: 14, 16). *Camp ink* wasn't the only early homosexual publication. In Melbourne, the Australasian Lesbian Movement published the *Daughters of Bilitis*

newsletter, possibly in 1969, though the Australian Lesbian and Gay Archives are unable to date it more definitively than 1970, when publication ceased (ALGA).

Camp ink set out to educate its readers, both gay and straight, about homosexuality. It was a serious magazine. It also represented an organisation that was focused on law reform. Some members, such as academic and author Dennis Altman, advocated more radical social change. Altman's book *Homosexual: oppression and liberation* (1971) was published at a crucial juncture in the development of gay identity in Australia. Almost no gay male Australian literature exists from before that time, an exception being *No end to the way* (Jackson 1965), which I have written about elsewhere (Fisher 2010; 2012b; 2013). Altman's work is indicative that homosexuals were more and more opposing their social ostracism. As a sign of this, a gay liberation cell was founded within CAMP in July 1971, and the group split later that year, gay liberation taking a more radical political direction calling not just for law reform but for social revolution (and Altman, and later myself, going with it). This was representative of politics within the movement. The radical few called for social and political revolution; the more conservative many simply wanted the freedom to express their sexuality.

While *Camp ink* retained a focus on education and law reform throughout its existence, its various editors realised its readership sought more than earnest treatises on putative homosexual rights. As a consequence, poetry was introduced in February 1972 under the editorship of Stefanie Bennett (Bennett 1972; Anna-Marie 1972; SG 1972). *Camp ink* itself was subject to the trials suffered by an organisation dependent on volunteer labour. Publication was erratic and became more irregular until it ceased in 1977. Some of its early issues were produced with the support of *Tharunka*, the student newspaper at the University of New South Wales, and were typeset and traditionally printed. As with many fringe magazines of the time, including literary ventures such as Makar Press and the Saturday Club Book of Poetry, later issues were produced using the then modern technology of an electric typewriter and a photocopier. The role of developments in typesetting and printing technologies in the evolution of niche publications is an interesting one and worthy of further study in its own right.

Camp ink also published short fiction with gay themes. Forty or so years on, the importance of this is easy to overlook. It must be remembered that gay stories had been censored and banned by both Customs and the Literature Censorship Board up until the year before *Camp ink* was first published. Typical of the stories published is an account of the Gestapo knocking on the door of the flat of a German gay couple and sending them to a concentration camp (Probst 1972). Another work of fiction was inspired by the phone counselling service offered by CAMP (Veenstra 1974b) and the same author also published poetry in *Camp ink* (Veenstra 1974a, c). Poems appeared frequently in issues of Volume 4 (Bendall 1974).²

Camp ink opened the door for more commercial publications. These were often scorned by the activists in CAMP and gay liberation because these publications included advertisements for the increasing number of commercial gay venues, porn suppliers and sex shops as well as more respectable businesses. However, their

publishers could discern a market, even though the path to that market was littered with legal and logistical obstacles.

William & John, which took its title from the first names of its publishers, William Easton and John Baker, commenced publication in Sydney in April 1972. It lasted just eight issues. It was a one-colour magazine with a full colour cover that featured male nudes inside and out and a range of reviews and interviews. Alongside distribution problems, the publishers encountered problems with state licensing authorities regarding the photographic content and were subject to bans in different states, and finally an obscenity trial. Michael Delaney, who had briefly been assistant editor for *Camp ink*, where he had ruffled the feathers of CAMP by putting a nude photograph of himself on its cover, replaced John Baker as editor for the final issues (Calder 2011: 33).

Another early commercial gay magazine was *Butch*, a publication edited by Bill Munro, who used it as an outlet for his photography of naked men. The first issue was published in November or December 1972 (the exact date is unclear) in a magazine format with a cover price of \$2 (Calder 2011: 25). It may have appeared a sound marketing move to produce a more sexualised publication for the growing gay market, but *Butch* lasted for a mere two issues due to financing and distribution problems. Munro turned to another venture. Calder states that *Little Butch: Mr Groovy*, a tabloid newspaper appearing in 1972/73, was published because Munro's

boyfriend wanted something for younger gay men that included music coverage. *Little Butch* is advertised in the second issue of *Butch* ... saying *Little Butch* would come out on New Year's Eve, hence the greyiness between whether to call it 72 or 73. While *Little Butch* claimed at one stage to be going weekly, only eight issues were published between New Year and April 1973 during which time *Ribald* straight publisher Bill Horne progressively took over (2013).

Bill Horne renamed the publication *Gay*. Munro acted as editor for three more issues before being replaced by Barry Lowe, who remained there until the end of 1975 and introduced more intellectual editorial content (Calder 2011: 38). Lowe went on to become a respected playwright with many gay-themed dramas to his name, and he also edited *Campaign* from 1981–87 (Hurley 1996: 166). After his editorship *Gay* lasted until 1991 as a soft-porn publication.

Stallion was first published as a tabloid newspaper by the Herd Publishing Company, which was connected to a husband-and-wife owned sex-shop and adult products business, in August 1973 and lasted for a year. *Stallion* changed format from tabloid to magazine under editor Martin Smith (1932–1990), an experienced journalist and gay activist who had quite an impact on the emerging gay press. The layout was chaotic and the editorial tone somewhat strident. The paper wanted gay rights but felt the gay liberation movement went too far. Throughout 1974, the publication staggered towards its demise, with frequent calls to readers for support. Herd Publishing also introduced the magazine *Apollo* early in 1974. It only lasted for five issues, but it contained personal advertisements, more explicit photographs and raunchier fiction.

Gayzette, a tabloid newspaper from Herd Publishing, maintained the pedigree of *Stallion* from September 1974. Smith continued as the paper's editor. Smith was a

playwright, as well as a chronicler of gay culture (though not necessarily a reliable one), and very much interested in fostering writing. In September 1974 he wrote, 'we believe one of the roles of *Gayzette* is to develop gay literature in this country' (Smith 1974: 2). This issue also included a story by Frank Moorhouse (1974) in which an older man seduces a younger man through the use of tarot. *Gayzette* also published 'Extracts from Zimmer's essay' by the poet Robert Adamson (1974).

These early gay publications faced problems caused by the environment in which they were published. The businesses that supported them, such as Herd Publishing, could be subject to police raids, causing publication to cease abruptly. *Gayzette* ceased publication at the beginning of 1975 with no explanation (Calder 2011: 41). The publications were also subject to censorship. *Apollo*, *Gayzette* and *Stallion* were classified as restricted publications, meaning they could not be displayed for sale and could only be sold to adults in a wrapper in New South Wales and Victoria (Calder 2011: 40). This hindered their distribution and circulation.

In September 1975, however, the most influential and long-lasting of the gay tabloids, *Campaign*, first appeared. It was financed by bar owner Rod Stringer and first published as a 16-page tabloid with a \$1 cover price (Calder 2011: 45). A new New South Wales *Obscene Publications Act* (1975) permitted it to be sold as an unrestricted publication (Calder 2011: 50). Like its predecessors, it included fiction as part of its offerings along with sex-oriented advertisements, news on the local gay scene and classified advertisements. *Campaign* also offered its readers a comprehensive coverage of the arts, such as an interview with the American gay author Joseph Hansen, creator of the Dave Brandstetter detective series (Smith 1976: 14).

During this period, *Campaign* dominated the commercial gay market. *Campaign* lasted until 2000, changing ownership a few times and just breaking even financially, but finally it was no longer viable commercially. While it lasted, this title was a visible representation of a gay subculture, predominantly male, the cohesiveness of which as an exploitable market had been recognised since 1979:

Ten years ago it would have been difficult indeed to predict that male homosexuals would come to have the commercial significance that they have today in most advanced capitalist societies. Particularly in the English-speaking world, the expansion of the homosexual subculture has been spectacular: in the larger North American cities, bars, discos and saunas, films and a vareity [sic] of publications now comprise a multi-million dollar industry (Carrigan & Lee 1979).

Over the years, *Campaign* had a variety of editors, the first being Peter Langford, who came from a background of publishing porn (Calder 2011: 42), then Clinton Kramer, the aforementioned Barry Lowe, Martin Smith of *Gayzette* and Dave Sargent. Sargent was also involved with the more erudite journal *Gay information* and the Sydney Gay Writers Collective. Unfortunately, Sargent died in 1985 as the AIDS epidemic took its toll on gay men. All of these publications took a political stance, supporting the gay liberation movement (Robinson 2008).

Magazines and journals such as *Gay liberation press* (by number 5, *GLP: the Australian radical homosexual journal* and numbers 6–8 *GLP: a journal of sexual*

politics) in Sydney (1974–1976); *Gay changes*, magazine of the Adelaide Homosexual Alliance (1977–1979); *Ganymede: a journal of gay poetics* (1978); and *Gay information* (later, *Journal of gay studies*) in Sydney (1980–1987) were removed from the commercial world and refrained from explicit sexual matter or advertising. However, they provided venues for emerging gay writers and for more academic observations of the developing gay world. Perhaps because of their more political orientation, these publications were limited in circulation and often only a couple of hundred copies of each edition were produced. They relied on subscriptions, as mass distribution was very difficult. Most were produced using one colour, but *Gay liberation press* occasionally screen-printed its cover and used colour stock. *Gay information* varied the colour of the ink with each issue. *Gay changes* used photographs extensively and a second colour on the cover, but illustrations were otherwise rare and layouts utilitarian. These publications encouraged gay writers to contribute stories and, to a lesser extent, poems. I was the author of the first piece of fiction included in *GLP: a journal of sexual politics* in 1975 (Fisher 1975), a story of a demented old closeted man, who is imagining his past lovers in the form of his young male carer. The aspirations of this journal were large, encouraged by the editorial personnel. Meaghan Morris, now Professor of Gender and Cultural Studies at the University of Sydney, was fiction and poetry editor for *GLP*, and my piece was published alongside an interview with Gore Vidal conducted by the journal's editorial team.

InVersions 1 (1980) and 2 (1981), from the Sydney Gay Writers Collective, and *Cargo* (1988–1994), were journals that published gay and lesbian poems and short fiction. The Sydney Gay Writers Collective also published the first anthology of Australian gay and lesbian poetry in 1983 (Bradstock et al. 1983). *Cargo* was published by Blackwattle Press, and featured the works of writers whose reputation has grown over the years, such as Michael Farrell, Sasha Soldatow, Ian MacNeill, Jenny Pausacker, Tony Ayres, Dorothy Porter, Gary Dunne, Tim Herbert and Graeme Aitken. Blackwattle Press published many gay and lesbian books throughout the 1990s. Christos Tsiolkas' early writing is included in some of them, but Blackwattle never made sufficient money to survive as a print publisher. Today, its founders Laurin McKinnon and Gary Dunne operate an online press, gay e-books.

More newspapers and magazine emerged in the gay community as it evolved into greater consciousness of itself through events such as the first Sydney Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras in 1978 and the subsequent arrest and detention of 53 men and women. Agitation for law reform and equal status increased throughout Australia and was reflected in the new publications.

In Melbourne, *Gay community news (GCN)* was published ten times a year from 1 November 1979 until January 1983. It had a competitor in *Klick!*, published by Ivan Polson, the first issue of which appeared just before *GCN*. *Klick!* continued until 1984 (Carr 1988). The first issue of *GCN* sold for 80 cents and had 52 pages (Carr 1988). It evolved out of the publications collective of the Fifth National Homosexual Conference in Melbourne in 1979 (Carr 1998), especially through the efforts of Adam Carr and Danny Vadasz, who were involved in both *GCN* and its successor *Outrage*. *GCN* was an uncompromising, activist publication, which led to its commercial

demise. *Outrage*, produced by Gay Publications Co-operative (later Designer Publications trading as Bluestone Media), replaced it in April 1983, published first as a tabloid and then from October 1986 in magazine format (Hurley 1996: 199) eleven times a year until November 2000. At first, it tried to maintain the activist approach of its predecessor, and to appeal to both gay men and lesbians, but this did not bring in income so, in 1984, the co-operative adopted a business plan that focused the magazine on the gay male market and jettisoned a liberationist ethos. This coincided with the advent of the AIDS crisis, and the ability of Adam Carr, in particular, to document this helped *Outrage* to become a national magazine. It was produced in full colour and the publisher enjoyed commercial success for a period, though cash flow was a perennial problem. As publisher, Vadasz worked hard to enhance the magazine's profile, drawing in major companies as advertisers and demonstrating the power of the 'pink dollar'. The abandonment of the lesbian market, however, led to the creation of lesbian-specific publications which are documented later in this paper.

In 1985, the Bluestone Media group launched *Melbourne's star observer* (from 1987 *Melbourne star observer*) as a free fortnightly paper. It became a weekly paper in January 1995. Under Vadasz, *Outrage's* success was assisted by the inclusion of personal advertisements at a time when there was no Internet, but this was also part of the magazine's decline as the profitable personals gave way to online alternatives, though the magazine was never a cash cow. The magazine began to lose market share from about 1995 (Carr 1998). Bluestone Media was also involved in *Capital Q*, a free newspaper published in Sydney from April 1992 until November 2000, first fortnightly then weekly. *Capital Q* was first edited by Chris Dobney, editor of *Outrage* since 1987, who was sent up from Melbourne to run the new venture. It also published books under the Outlaw Press imprint.

Bluestone's cash flow was always a problem. In 1999, property developer Greg Fisher invested in the company, and soon took it over completely, forcing out Danny Vadasz. Fisher's Satellite group began to acquire gay media outlets around Australia, but the company went bust in November 2000. Greg Fisher was charged and convicted of a number of offences by the Australian Securities and Investments Commission in 2001 (Australian Securities and Investments Commission). The collapse of the Satellite group led to the demise of *Outrage* and a number of other publications. One was *Brother, sister*, first published in Melbourne in May 1992 as a free fortnightly newspaper. It was started by former staff from the *Melbourne star observer*, with which it competed, thus making the market for free gay newspapers in Melbourne highly competitive with both seeking support from the same advertisers. *Brother, sister* aimed itself at both gays and lesbians. A Queensland edition was begun in September 1993. After the Satellite collapse, the founder of *Brother, sister*, Bill Calder, founded *bnews* as a magazine and, in 2001, *The Melbourne star* as a tabloid. They were published on alternate weeks, then merged in 2006. Publication ceased in 2008. Another publication affected by the Satellite collapse was *West side observer*, originally published in Perth by Westside Publishing in August 1987 as a free newspaper. It evolved into magazine format as *The Westside observer* in July 1992. It folded in November 2000. *Qwest* replaced it from December 2000 until May 2001. This was followed by *Shout*, which lasted from May 2001 to 2004. *Out in Perth*

joined *Shout* in June 2002 as a biweekly publication, changing to a monthly in January 2003, continuing publication, but as a new corporate entity.

One of the longest lasting gay newspapers in Australia is the *Sydney star observer*, which began life in 1979 as *The star* and was the first free gay newspaper and also the first newspaper in Australia to report on a 'new pneumonia' that appeared to have a link with gay lifestyle in 1981 (Robinson 2011). *The star* was founded by Michael Glynn, an American who had come to Australia in 1971. It was a tabloid newspaper given out at gay venues in Sydney, but Glynn was a gay activist and considered his paper contributed to the gay movement and the building of gay consciousness, particularly with regard to HIV and AIDs. He had no newspaper experience, but continued as editor until 1984, when he sold the paper to staff and contributors (O'Grady 2012: 8). Less than a year later, the paper had to cease publishing due to its debts. It was rescued by the Melbourne-based Gay Publications Co-operative and renamed *Sydney star observer*. However, it was still in debt and in February 1988 Co-Op Media, as Gay Publications Co-operative had been renamed, sold it to an entity then known as Cobyork Limited trading as Sydney Gay Community Publishing (Potts 2009). Its circulation was 27,000 plus by 2000 (Scahill 2010: 181), and it was distributed throughout Sydney in both gay and 'straight' venues. A western suburbs edition was also published. In 2011, in response to falling advertising revenues, it was retitled *Star observer* and the Sydney publication was combined with its Victorian offshoot *Southern star observer*. In 2013, the weekly print publication was supported by a website and claimed an audited monthly audience of more than 237,675 (*Star observer* media kit 2013).

The *Sydney star observer*, as a community owned paper, took some efforts to reach out to lesbians. It has had a number of female editors (the first was Barbara Farrelly, appointed in 1993) and the board of directors, all of whom were male when I joined the first one, has female representation. The company behind the masthead changed its name to Sydney Gay and Lesbian Publishing, and launched the second part of an affirmative action plan to recruit more female shareholders in 1994 (Potts 2009). However, gay males and lesbians had rarely worked together since CAMP and the early days of gay liberation. In Sydney, the movement had split along gender lines, with lesbians feeling their issues were marginalised and most leaving the gay liberation movement by the end of 1973 (Frances 2001: 85). Lesbians as a political group identified primarily with feminism, and the first lesbian publications were serious affairs not unlike *Camp ink*. In Melbourne, a lesbian collective published *Lesbian newsletter* from 1976. In 1983 it was renamed *Lesbian news* and continued until 1990 for a total of 40 issues. *Lesbian network*, a magazine aimed at developing contacts between lesbians throughout Australia, was first published in Sydney in 1984 and continued until 2006 and a total of 76 issues, quite a remarkable achievement for a publication reliant on volunteer labour. *Lesbiana* was also published in Melbourne, more or less monthly, from 1992 to its final 130th issue in 2004 (ALGA 2013). Turning liberationist theory on its head, lesbians in Sydney in 1988 produced a 'magazine of lesbian erotica' and sadomasochism, *Wicked women*, which was published intermittently until 1996 (Henderson 2013). In Melbourne, a lesbian collective published the tabloid *Labrys* from 1990 to 1991 (Taylor 2013). Nationally,

lesbians have been specifically catered for since January 1990 with the monthly publication *Lesbians on the loose* (LOTL). A less mainstream sector of the lesbian market has been catered for with the feminist pornographic *Slit dyke sex magazine*, which was first published in 2002 and is described as ‘a sex mag that mobilizes feminism and queer to jumble the codes of porn, desire and gender, refusing the reader easy sexual fantasy without politics’ (Henderson 2013: 178).

In Queensland, a Brisbane branch of CAMP was founded in 1971 and published a newsletter from 1972 to 1977, its later issues known as *Camp Queensland* and *Camp news* (ALGA 2013). The University of Queensland hosted a branch of CAMP which published *Campus camp newsletter* from 1973 to 1976 (ALGA 2013). These were provocative acts during the premiership of Johannes Bjelke-Petersen, a conservative politician whose government, which lasted until 1987, defined homosexuality as morally deviant and the Queensland police regularly raided gay clubs and arrested customers. This discouraged patronage of such venues, though there was continued agitation for social and legal change in Queensland. The gay and lesbian newspaper *Queensland pride* was first published in January 1991 (Robinson 2007, 2010), two months after homosexuality was decriminalized, and in its initial manifestation it had an activist agenda and focus. Today it is part of the Gay News Network, the operating name of Evo Media, which has published Gay News Network titles since April 2013. Evo took over from the bankrupt Evolution Publications, which was established in 2001 in the void following the collapse of the Satellite group. Both companies are run by the same personnel. There has been some controversy regarding the business methods of Evolution, with claims that staff have not been paid superannuation and have been unfairly dismissed (Knott 2013). *Queensland pride* is the oldest title in the Evo Media stable, which also includes *MCV/Melbourne Community Voice*, published since December 2000; *SX* (Sydney), published since 2003; and *Blaze* (Adelaide), published since 2001. These publications are all free, and thus reliant upon advertising revenue. Advertisers like to have a clear idea of how effective their spending is, so claims that Evo Media was inflating the print run of *Queensland pride* in its 2013 advertising media kit added to concerns about the ongoing solvency of the group (Heffernan & Knott 2013). The claims were made by a contributor to a rival Queensland biweekly gay and lesbian magazine, *Qnews*, which has been published since 2001. *Qnews* is available free in print and digital form.

While the collapse of the Satellite Media group was a major blow to the publishing of gay and lesbian magazines and newspapers in Australia, unaffected publications such as the *Sydney star observer* continued to serve their community. However, these newspapers and magazines and the few book publishers specialising in this area, have been affected by the growth of the Internet in terms of advertising revenue and readership. Like mainstream newspapers, they have developed websites and Internet presence. A recent entrant into the marketplace, samesame.com.au, operates only online. There are signs of rationalisation and belt tightening in the gay media, as is also the case in the mainstream media, however, the question has less to do with earning revenue from online publications than the continuing relevance of specialised media in an online environment.

In 2014, has what was once a marginalised group moved so far into the mainstream that there is no longer a need for specialised publications catering to its needs? The early gay magazines, even those focussed on sex, acknowledged their debt to liberationist theories, theories that opposed patriarchal structures, the family, the state and the church. Today same-sex marriage, an anathema for liberationists, is supported by a majority of the population and gay publications call for marriage equality. Social media such as Facebook and YouTube permit people to communicate online, and mobile phone apps such as Grindr provide the means for people to meet for romantic or sexual liaisons. Gay and lesbian magazines and newspapers once provided their community with this same purpose, but today they are increasingly irrelevant.

During the 1980s and 1990s, I would call in at one of the venues where it was available to collect my copy of the *Sydney star observer* each week and read it cover to cover. After 2000, I read it less often and today I hardly read it at all. I don't have to. The information in it is available to me on a number of different websites, including starobserver.com.au, accessible by phone, tablet or computer.

Endnotes

1. A note on terminology: today, there is frequent reference to the GLBTQI community, an attempt to embrace gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, queer and intersex individuals under one coverall term. I have chosen to use the word 'gay' in this article for historical reasons; it is the term I was first introduced to. In its original usage, it embraced both genders, and still does, though it is more likely to have male connotations. Males were dominant in the early gay rights movement, partly because law reform most directly affected them and partly because gay women could also work within Women's Liberation. Where appropriate, I make it clear when I am specifically discussing lesbian publications, but my use of the term gay is not meant to exclude women.
2. Poems are also published at: 1974 *Camp ink* 4: 3 & 4, 30; 4: 5&6, 29–30, 34.

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