tion a signal example of the capacities of rebellion found within our own being.

His eloquent advocacy of these rigorist views, grounded as it was in his personal ambivalence toward sexuality, has been widely influential in the Western tradition. That Augustine cannot be considered uniquely responsibly for the intensification of Christian sex negativism is shown by the parallel triumph of **asceticism** in the Eastern Church where his writings were little known.

If the consequences of Augustine's view for individual self-development have been regrettable, the political conclusions that he drew from them were perhaps more salutary. Government is at best a necessary evil. Since rulers are subject to the same character flaws as other human beings, he warned against the kind of personality cult that has been endemic from **Alexander** and Augustus to Stalin and Castro. By the same token, he placed no exaggerated faith in popular rule, since the people also are made up of fallible individuals. There can be no political utopia on earth, he counseled, and the best that can be done is to check arbitrary exercise of power through foresight and realism.

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Wayne R. Dynes

AUSTRALIA

An affluent, highly urbanized nation with a population of less than twenty million of largely European and minority indigenous (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island) stock, Australia has a significant number of citizens who lead their lives as openly homosexual men and women. This phenomenon and the associated growth of a homosexual subculture, highly developed in the largest cities, Sydney and Melbourne, has emerged since 1970. In that year, for the first time, homosexuals established an open organization, the purpose of which was to demand recognition, equal and just treatment before the law, and an end to discrimination. When one considers the almost taboo nature of homosexuality and the social invisibility of the homosexual before 1970, the progress toward achievement of these goals has been remarkably rapid. Yet it has also been uneven, with male homosexual acts remaining illegal in Tasmania, Western Australia, and Queensland, while only two states, New South Wales and Victoria, have enacted legislation outlawing discrimination. The advent of AIDS, still perceived by some as a "gay disease," has created new problems, apart from the medical issues, which have been only partially resolved.

The Convict Era. White settlement of Australia began in January 1788, as a British penal colony, and the transportation of convicts continued until 1840 in eastern Australia, 1852 in Tasmania, and 1868 in the west. Throughout the transportation period there was a severe imbalance between the sexes, convict and free, and of course large numbers of convicts were kept in relative or complete isolation from the other sex. Ample evidence exists of the prevalence of homosexual behavior, then referred to as "unnatural or abominable crimes"; it is intermittent in the early years but more abundant after the term of Governor Lachlan Macquarie (1810–21).

After five years of settlement Captain Watkin Tench was pleased to note in his memoirs that the convicts' "enormities" did not include "unnatural sins." This state of affairs did not last, and in 1796 Francis Wilkinson became the first man to be charged with buggery (he was acquitted). Many more such charges were to follow. In 1822 an official inquiry into the sexual scandal that resulted from the movement of thirty female prisoners to the (male) prison farm at Emu Plains, west of Sydney, reported the rumor current that

the women had been placed there to prevent "unnatural crimes" on the part of the men. Lesbianism occurred among women prisoners in the female factories. In a secret dispatch of 1843 the Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), Sir Eardley Wilmot, stated that women in the Hobart female factory have "their Fancy-women, or lovers, to who they are attached with quite as much ardour as they would be to the opposite sex, and practice onanism to the greatest extent."

Select committees of the British Parliament inquiring into transportation in 1832 and 1837 heard much evidence of the prevalence of sodomy in the colonies. Occasionally we find suggestions that it was not a sporadic occurrence but was structured to the extent of involving role-playing and mutual affection. Major James Mudie testified that prisoners called each other "sods" and that at Hyde Park Barracks in Sydney boy prisoners went by names such as Kitty and Nancy. Thomas Cook, a chain-gang prisoner laboring on roadworks in the Blue Mountains west of Sydney in the 1830s, lamented that his gangmates were "so far advanced . . . in depravity" that they openly engaged "in assignations one toward the other" and "kicked, struck or otherwise abused" anyone who dared to condemn "their horrid propensities."

The fullest evidence comes from Norfolk Island, a recidivist penal settlement. A magistrate, Robert Pringle Stuart, sent to investigate conditions on the island in 1846, made it his business to burst unannounced into the prisoners' barracks one night. "On the doors being opened, men were scrambling into their own beds from others, concealment evidently being their object." He continued: "It is my painful duty to state that . . . unnatural crime is indulged in to excess . . . I am told, and I believe, that upwards of 100—I have heard that as many as 150—couples can be pointed out, and moral perception is so completely absorbed that they are said to be 'married,' 'man and wife,' etc. [This in

a prisoner population of 600–800.] In a word, the association is not unusually viewed by the convicts as that between the sexes; is equally respected by some of them; and is as much a source of jealousy, rivalry, intrigue and conflict."

Colonial Mateship. The early economic development of the colonies was heavily dependent on pastoralism, and the opening-up of new, unfenced lands for grazing required the use of shepherds. As solitude in the bush tended to produce insanity, the shepherds worked in pairs (or threes), one (or two) tending the sheep, the mate looking after the hut and cooking. This situation is the origin of the Australian tradition of mateship, which later took other forms. Modern writers on it have made much of its quasi-marital nature but have at the same time insisted that it was nonsexual. Yet, while most early witnesses are silent on this score, a few, such as Bishop Ullathorne and Jemas Backhouse, a Quaker missionary, explicitly deprecate the prevalence of sodomy among shepherds and stockmen. In 1848 J. C. Byrne, deploring the absence of women in the "backwoods," stated expressly that "where black *gins* [women] are unobtainable, there is reason to believe, that the sins for which God punished 'the doomed cities' prevail among the servants of the squatters."

Law. English law came with the colonists, and so **buggery** (hetero- or homosexual anal intercourse and bestiality) was a felony from the outset. The Offences Against the Person Act (1861) reduced the penalty for buggery to life imprisonment and created new offences of attempted buggery and indecent assault upon a male person, and these provisions were extended to the colonies by an Imperial Act of 1885, the **Criminal Law Amendment Act.** Around the time of the Federation in 1901 the States all enacted similar laws for themselves. They also enacted statutes—N.S.W. as late as 1955—along the lines of the British Labouchere amendment of 1885, which criminalized consen-

sual "gross indecency between males" even when performed in private.

All such offences were indictable and so tried before a judge and jury. The laws have never been dead-letter laws, though in recent decades there has been a tendency for "offences" not involving violence or coercion or abuse of authority to be prosecuted under various non-criminal statutes having to do with offensive behavior, indecent exposure, soliciting, and the like. Such lesser charges are dealt with summarily by magistrates, and convictions are easier to obtain. There is evidence that in the 1950s and 1960s the New South Wales police used *agents provocateurs* to induce the commission of offenses.

Following a gay-bashing murder in which police were involved, South Australia became, in 1972, the first state partially to decriminalize homosexual acts between consenting adults, and in 1975 introduced statutory equality for all sexual offenses, gay or straight. Decriminalization followed in the Australian Capital Territory and the Northern Territory in 1973, in Victoria in 1980, and in New South Wales in 1984. Unsuccessful attempts at law reform were made in Western Australia in 1977 and in Tasmania in 1979 and 1987; only in Queensland has no attempt been made.

Religion and the Churches. Australian anti-gay laws were the legal manifestation of the traditional Christian antipathy to the sodomite. As elsewhere, the Australian churches continued to abominate a sin that seemed all too prevalent. Yet, as elsewhere in the Anglican communion, each Australian capital city has long had at least one High Anglican church with a traditional toleration of homosexuality in the congregation.

In the 1960s, in line with progressive thinking, mainstream Protestant churches moved cautiously toward a less condemnatory attitude and began to support limited law reform. The Roman Catholic and parts of the Anglican church remain unreceptive to revisionist theological trends, and consequently have movements of disaffected homosexual believers working for change from within. Other gay Christians turned to the Metropolitan Community Church established in 1975 as an offshoot fo the U.S. gay church of the same name.

Medicine and Psychiatry. In the nineteenth century Australian medicine did not concern itself with homosexuality per se: "It is beyond the range of medical philosophy to divine the special causes for its existence," Dr. J. C. Beaney declared in his *Generative System* (1872, 1883). In this century, although doubtless many have accepted the psychopathological explanations usual in psychiatric literature, there does not seem to have been any systematic effort to submit homosexuals to medical treatment until the late 1950s when some psychiatrists began to apply aversion therapies and psychosurgery in this area. The issue was one of the first to be addressed by the new gay movement of the 1970s, and the application of these practices to homosexuals has ceased. Although Australia avoided the fashion for sexual psychopathy laws that afflicted the United States from the 1940s to the 1960s, some cooperation between the courts and psychiatrists claiming to be able to cure so-called sex offenders occurred informally.

In its public utterances, represented by editorials and articles in *The Medical Journal of Australia*, the medical profession has, on the whole, been in advance of general community opinion in calling for reform of social attitudes and the law as they affect homosexuals.

"Camp" Life Before Gay Liberation. Given social attitudes and the legal position, it is hardly surprising that in the latter half of the nineteenth century homosexuality remained secretive, and indeed evidence of it before World War I is adventitious, court records being the most consistent source.

Dr. Beaney told with astonishment of a "respectable" Melbourne wife

who "decoyed into her acquaintance young married women, and compelled them, by her influence, to entertain the same unnatural feelings toward men and women [as she had]." Other lesbians passed as men, as we learn from two cases that have come to light of transvestite women marrying and apparently satisfying their wives. In 1879 the thrice-married Edward De-Lacy Evans was revealed in the Bendigo Lunacy Ward to be a woman and in 1920 Eugenia Falleni, alias Harry Leo Crawford, was convicted of the murder of the woman she had legally married while passing as a man.

For men as well as women, friendship must have been the most common locus of homosexual relations, but of this and more extended friendship-networks we know little before World War I. A hint of what was possible emerges from a Sydney household of male couples that the police raided in 1916 because neighbors complained about the mysterious comings and goings of "women"—it transpired that some of the men cross-dressed.

The other main "institution" of male homosexual life was the *beat*, a public place, such as a park, toilet, baths, or beach, where one could expect to encounter sexual partners. Hyde Park in Sydney was a beat from at latest the 1880s until the early 1960s. The importance of the beat, indicated by the creation of a **slang** term for it, lay not simply in the opportunities for sex it afforded. For some men it was, for good or for ill, what homosexuality meant to them; for others it led to friendships and perhaps entry to a world that would otherwise have remained closed to them.

After World War I, in Sydney and Melbourne, a few cafés, restaurants, and bars were frequented by gays and/or lesbians, who never, however, constituted the exclusive clientele. Such places usually had a reputation for bohemianism. By World War II Sydney had an annual drag-ball called the Artists' Ball, of which Jon

Rose gave an hilarious account in his autobiography *At the Cross* (1960). By the 1950s social clubs had emerged in Sydney but to avoid unwanted attention from the police and the tabloid press elaborate secrecy was necessary. By the late 1960s Sydney had several exclusively gay clubs and wine bars; gay pubs emerged in the 1970s.

Homosexual Emancipation. Australia had no homophile **movement**, an absence that was regretted by a liberal social critic shortly after the first homosexual law reform organization was founded in 1969. However, a short-lived lesbian group calling itself Daughters of **Bilitis** was apparently formed in that same year. In July 1970 in Sydney, inspired by the newly emerged gay liberation movement in the United States, John Ware and Christabel Poll formed the first widely-publicized gay-run group. The Campaign Against Moral Persecution or CAMP (*camp* being then the usual Australian homosexual slang term for "homosexual") soon had branches in most states. In 1971 groups using the name gay **liberation** emerged, and some gay liberationists dismissed CAMP as "reformist." However, both CAMP and gay liberation groups organized social events and consciousness-raising sessions for their members, and both participated in demonstrations intended to assert gay pride, demand gay rights, and protest against instances of **discrimination**, which now for the first time victims were prepared to make public.

As public awareness and acceptance of homosexuals grew (in the first public opinion survey on the issue in 1967 only 22% of respondents supported homosexual law reform, but in 1976 68% did so), the gay movement found less need to employ confrontationist tactics and became increasingly involved in the mainstream political processes. Gay groups made submissions to the Royal Commission on Human Relationships whose final report in 1977 made many recommenda-

tions to improve the legal and social position of homosexuals, and began to deal directly with politicians and governments.

At the same time, the number and complexity of homosexual institutions increased and a distinct subculture emerged in the largest cities. A gay press was vital in this development. The first gay magazine, *Camp Ink*, was produced in Sydney in November 1970 by CAMP and lasted some four years. The first truly commercial magazine appeared in 1972. There are now two national monthlies, the older founded in 1975, and a number of free community newspapers, professionally produced and paid for by advertising. Gay publishing of books has been slower to develop and remains embryonic.

In 1975 the first national gay and lesbian conference was held, and for eleven years these gatherings provided a useful forum for political, cultural, and social exchange. They helped to boost morale among activists who were now increasingly involved in lobbying for law reform and anti-discrimination legislation. After failures in Western Australia and Tasmania, this process finally had a significant success in Victoria in 1980.

An unprovoked police attack on peaceful Gay Pride marchers in 1978, arrests then and at subsequent demonstrations against police brutality, and the long but successful defense against the charges led to a revival of the flagging movement in New South Wales. The police were humiliated and the political and legal skills of gays clearly demonstrated. Nevertheless, the struggle for law reform took another six years. The march acquired in the process a new symbolic meaning and, moved from wintry June to late-summer February, became the Sydney Gay **Mardi Gras**, which is now the city's largest annual street parade.

Perhaps the most striking sign of the changed situation of homosexuals in Australian society is the extent to which gays and lesbians are involved in the official structures created to respond to the AIDS crisis. Since in Australia the majority of the AIDS cases are homosexual men, this involvement is appropriate and desirable; yet it would have been as unimaginable twenty years ago as the disease itself.

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AUSTRIA

This European country traces its existence to 1180 when Frederick Barbarossa convicted Henry the Lion of treason and confiscated his estates, dividing Bavaria proper from its eastern extension which became Austria. Defeating Otokar I of Bohemia in 1278, the Emperor Rudolf I granted Austria as a fief to his son Albert I, the first Habsburg to rule there. From 1278 until 1918 Habsburgs reigned in Austria, adding to their domain more by astute and fortunate marriages than by conquest.

Joseph II (1741–1790), great-great-grand nephew of the emperor Rudolf II (possibly homosexual) and son of Maria Theresa, was one of the most admired of Austrian monarchs. Inspired by **Voltaire** and the Encyclopedists and by the example of **Frederick the Great** of Prussia, he began in 1761 (after his mother associated him into the government) to draw up memoranda, many of which he put into effect after her death. Joseph was the first monarch in Europe to emancipate the Jews (in 1791). In reforming the penal code, he followed the humane principles of Count Cesare **Beccaria**, eliminating torture and cruel and unusual punishments, reducing