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Swain's Reappearance: Traces from the Sodomitical Subculture of the Nineteenth Century Sydney

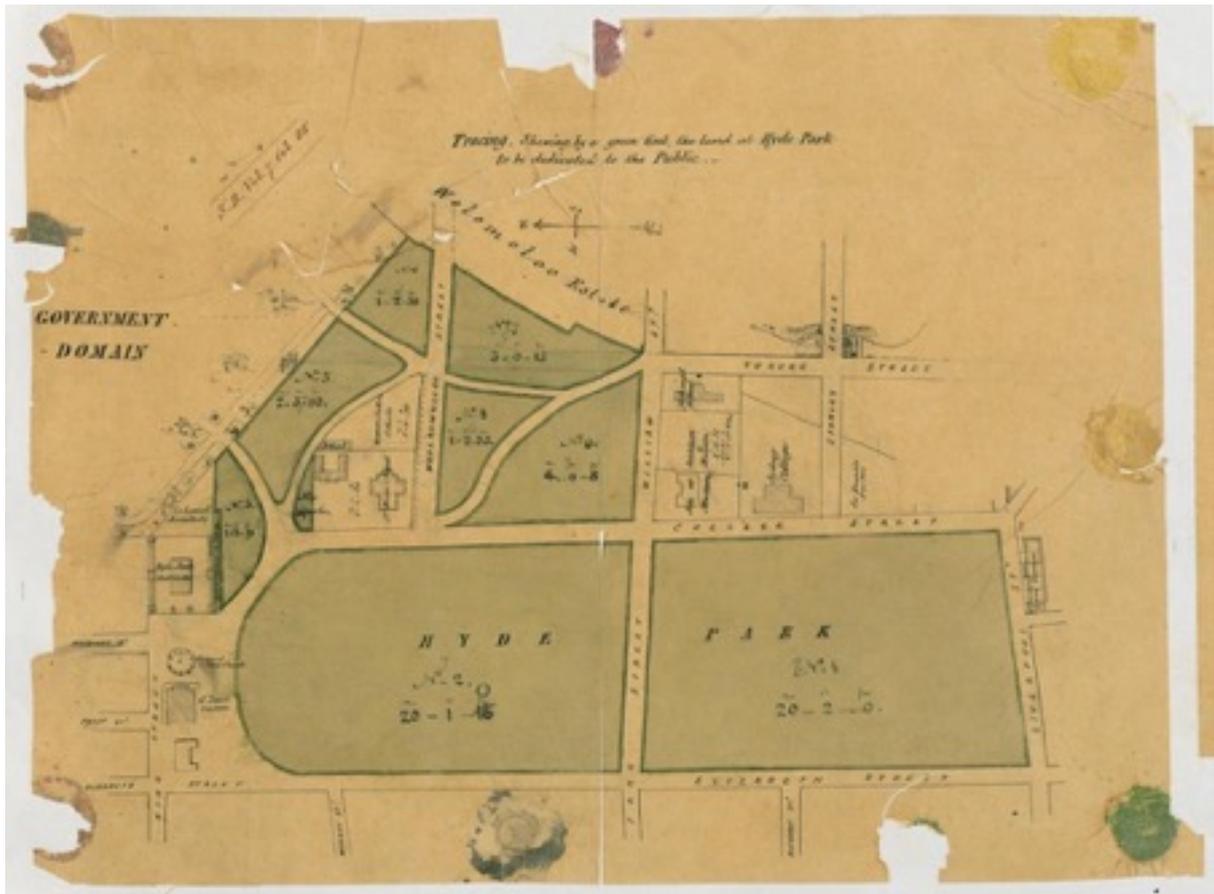


Figure 1. "Tracing shewing by a green tint the land at Hyde Park to be dedicated to the Public." Map, 1854-57, State Records of NSW: NRS13886, [Sketch book 7, folio 85].

moon bright

there were dozens on the main avenue

If you were on the streets of Sydney in 1895, and if you had two pence in your pocket, you would have been able to buy the paper, the *Scorpion: Stinging, Spicy, Sensational*. On page three you could have read the article, “The Oscar Wildes of Sydney,” from which you would have learnt that the “horrible vice” from London had been “planted” and had “found root” in Sydney, imported by “English exiles” from the Oscar Wilde-Queensbury cases and from the “Cleveland Street Scandal,” the other most well-known scandal in nineteenth century London involving the sodomitical charges of “gross indecency” (“Oscar Wildes” 3). You would have further been informed, whether you judged the article to be misleading or not, that “the leading hotels and billiard saloons are haunted by these characters,” “advertised by an effeminate style of speech” and “the adoption of names of celebrated actresses” from America (“Oscar Wildes” 3). If the sodomitical subculture of Sydney, as represented by the *Scorpion*, had been initiated by the English, its distinctive character was borrowed from America. The subculture was apparently a hybrid mix of foreign imports. Furthermore, you would have learnt where this trans-Atlantic “haunt” was located: “around Bourke-street, Surry Hills and College-street between Boomerang-street and Park-street, a stretch which abuts Sydney’s inner-city parklands of Hyde Park and the Domain” (fig. 1).

This article focuses on a pivotal member of this scene who was repeatedly arrested on petty charges for their sodomitical street presence. George Harrison, alias “Carrie Swain,” as New South Wales court records and related newspaper reports detail, was arrested during the 1880s on multiple counts of vagrancy for gender-transitive solicitation on and around College-street. Carrie Swain, what’s more, was a famous American variety actress who had recently toured in Sydney as the lead in the play, “The Tomboy.” The play was a variety act with Swain in the lead role of “Carrie,” a “trouser role” in which Carrie led the charge in resisting her uncle’s plot to fleece her, her mother and her cousin of their family inheritance. Swain sang and danced, and in the climax, dived into a tank of water on stage. The tour garnered Swain significant media attention from the main colonial papers and magazines, including multiple articles in the well-known *Bulletin*, and a cover illustration on the *Illustrated Sydney News* (fig. 5).

160

No. 4408 Name George Harrison
alias Carrie Swain, the female impersonator
 Laid to be a Touffler ¹⁸⁸⁹ when Boydell was taken, 26 1889.

Native place B.C. Parramatta
 Year of birth 1869
 Arrived in Ship
 Colony / Year
 Trade or occupation Green & Hair
 previous to conviction
 Religion W.P.C.
 Education, degree of R.N.
 Height 5 feet 6 inches
 Weight 132
 in lbs. On committal
On discharge
 Colour of hair Black
 Colour of eyes Brown
 Marks or special features:— Scar on
inside left wrist -
scar below St. Andrew
wound on back of throat



Where and when tried Days 2 S
7 Moth 89
 Office Attempt to break out
of lock up
 Sentence 12 months Imprisonment
Spaulburn Gaol
 Remarks:—
To be kept apart
from the other prisoners
as much as possible
Plead guilty

(No. of previous Portraits _____)

PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS.

Where and When.		Offence.	Sentence.
<u>B.P.O.</u>	<u>6 July 87</u>	<u>Vagrancy</u>	<u>3 Months H.L.</u>
<u>" " "</u>	<u>17 Nov "</u>	<u>"</u>	<u>3 " "</u>
<u>" " "</u>	<u>20 Apr 88</u>	<u>"</u>	<u>6 " "</u>

Figure 2. George Harrison, alias Carrie Swain the female impersonator. Photographic Description, Darlinghurst Gaol, January 26, 1889, SRNSW: NRS2138, [3/6050], 160.

Portrait of Hyde Park and The Domain, 1834–1895¹

In the passage between
 the Forbes Hotel and Johnson's boarding house—on the corner
 of York and King
 —the hotel is still there—
 whispered out of a passage "take me easy"
 wanting to take him into the Domain
 they had their faces turned
 away the moon light was bright
 walking in the domain
 & off the rock & stood sideways
 seeing the prisoner having connexion with

the other man the park bench beneath
 St James, posterior
 turned towards each. Groups of these
 lewd women might be blocking the way
 Hyde Park and the streets surrounding it
 and the adoption of names
 Quincey Steele Carrie Ann
 leading hotels and billiard saloons
 are haunted by these characters
 the gathering place of the vicious of both sexes
 at night I particularly allude to the path
 leading from Park and Elizabeth streets to St. Mary's
 no sooner does night step in upon day
 a handkerchief, silk turban
 and some face powder
 their faces turned, though visibly turned
 Moonlight night both together
 in his presence representing himself to be a woman in man's clothing saying,
 a woman in man's clothes
 if a female or girl?
 so as to represent in this state he is perambulating the streets and parks after dark
 gas lit promenade between treed parks and city streets
 all fashion
 The Domain is becoming a resort
 for very improper characters of both sexes it is not necessary to say more on the subject
 a dazzling glitter hangs
 in the humid air above the harbour
 entirely surface, and shimmering, for a moment
 picketed trees on the avenue bent towards College-street intersect this
 hint, a mirage of ponceaus promenading that part of Collage-street from Boomerang to Park
 is a parade painted powdered and bedecked so as to represent
 frequenting Hyde Park and College-street
 repeating across the streets and parks after dark

The Cleveland Street Scandal

The *Scorpion* references the "awful exposé" of the Wilde-Queensbury case as well as the Cleveland Street case, claiming "the men who escaped the Cleveland-street prosecution found shelter in Australia, and there are many of them at present in Sydney" ("Oscar Wildes" 3). The "Cleveland Street Scandal" is significant, I want to suggest, for informing the rhetorical strategies of the actual people whose visibility the *Scorpion* claimed was "advertised by an effeminate style of speech and the adoption of the names of celebrated actresses" ("Oscar Wildes" 3). The Cleveland Street Scandal erupted in London's radical newspapers in 1889 following a police investigation in the Royal Telegraph Service office.

The state-owned telegraph service, which offered home and office delivery to those who could afford it, operated with the labour of near lumpenproletariat adolescent boys who, as Kate Thomas writes, “‘never grew up’ because for the most part they were shunted out of the Post Office, unskilled at the age of sixteen ... thus the Boy Messenger was bound to a standardized pre-pubertal and early adolescent existence” (Thomas 53).

The police constable conducting the investigation found that one telegraph boy, Charles Thomas Swinscow, had more shillings on him than he ought to considering the low wages the boys were paid. The boy confessed he had earned the extra shillings at 19 Cleveland Street in the West End, through trade for sexual services with, as he put it in his testimony, a “gentleman” (which is more an accurate signification of the aristocratic class status of the client than a playful euphemism). He further testified that his involvement had been solicited by another boy in the telegraph service, Henry Horace Newlove.² Members of the aristocracy and English peerage were named as clients: Lord Arthur Somerset, son of the Duke of Beaufort; Henry James Fitzroy, the Earl of Euston; and Prince Albert Victor Christian Edward, Prince “Eddy,” the heir presumptive.³

As one of the most public scandals surrounding sodomy prosecutions in the British metropole in the nineteenth century (alongside the Vere Street Coterie case, the Park and Boulton case and the Oscar Wilde cases⁴) the Cleveland Street Scandal has been central to literary scholars and historians interpreting the history of sexual regulation and categorisation.⁵ As I argue in more detail elsewhere, however, existing scholarship on this case conflates nineteenth century sodomy with homosexuality, which in turn has obscured the more precise target of the Cleveland Street case and nineteenth century sodomy laws in general: what Thomas King calls “residual pederasty.”⁶ That is, in short, the old régime (pre-bourgeois revolution) norm of erotic availability of “inferior” male bodies, such as those of servants, slaves and boys.

As a telling insight into the character of the Cleveland Street case in general, take as a brief example from a complex series of trials and political machinations, the “sworn informations” given at the Marlborough Street Police Court by George Alma Wright, a former telegraph boy. He stated that he knew another telegraph boy, Newlove, from the lobbies at the secretaries’ office, where they had gone into the water closet on a few occasions and “behaved indecently” (Newlove testimony 96). Newlove, Wright states, then offered to take him to the Cleveland Street house where he could meet a “gentleman” (Newlove testimony 98). Wright recounted the act, stating they went into a bedroom at the house and “we both undressed and got into the bed quite naked. He told me to suck him. I did so. He then had a go between my legs and that was all.” A tone of perfunctory recitation, if not ambivalence, dominates the account of the sex act. If we think the boys’ testimonies were forcefully extracted by the police, which they might well have been, the level of force of such an extraction does not suggest the boys were encouraged to present themselves as traumatised or victimised by the transactions. Nonetheless, authorial instruction and the pleasure of the inserting phallus is, in this account, the sole purview of the gentleman client. Whether Wright derived pleasure, trauma or banality from such an exchange (or indeed a conflux of aspects of such disparate feelings) is only hinted at in this evidence—the limits of such interpretive listening are confined by the mode of police court testimony.

Wright continues: “Newlove once asked me afterwards if I knew of another nice little boy, younger [Wright was seventeen] and shorter than myself whom I could get to

go” (Newlove testimony 99). While Wright’s height is not recorded, an economy of adolescent youth and petite size appears favourable to the economics of the Cleveland Street venue and desirable to the aristocratic clientele. Significantly, Wright’s description of the job he performed aligns with the normative conventions of classical patriarchal pederastic relations. As Naomi Segal describes classical pederastic norms, in a section of her study of André Gide’s particular erotics:

the centrality of this model of older/younger is absolute, because it sanctifies the difference between the senior and junior on which the whole structure depends ... In the loves of adult men, the “other” could belong to any of a variety of inferior groups: women, slaves, foreigners and children ... one penetrates, the other is penetrated. The one who penetrates is phallic in both the physiological and politico-fantasmatic sense: he is expected to be richer, nobler, wiser, to do the chasing, the teaching, and the paying; the other lets himself be wooed, pursued, talked to or at, taught, paid for, and finally (maybe) penetrated. Penetration may be per anum or it may be the more acceptable, less demeaning form of intercrural intercourse [between the legs]. (Segal 14–15)

While such classical forms of sanctioned pederasty generally precluded prostitution, the formal structure of difference and modes of sexual relations, particularly the intercrural act, suggest continuity with nineteenth century aristocratic practices, at least as practised at the Cleveland Street venue in this case.

For King, pederastic subjection as a power relation of the old régime order became increasingly intolerable to bourgeois norms of equality and the emergent category of “men” as a category universally available to all male bodies. (Whereas in the old order different male bodies could be available for ownership—slaves, boys, and servants—in bourgeois social order such relations of super- and sub-ordination between men became intolerable.) The idea of the natural right of “men’s property within themselves,” increasingly saw pederasty and sodomy as inimical to such a private and natural category of manliness. In courtly social organisation, as King argues, subjectivity and power is gained through public displays of pederastic subjection in reference to the crown, whereas in modern bourgeois social organisation masculine subjectivity and power are gained through cultivations of interiority and privacy in relation to state, civic/occupational, and domestic spheres (King, Vol. 2 *Queer Articulations* 145).

The sodomitical subculture of Sydney, I argue, is represented as, and trial and prison records confirm that it operated as, a social world singled out for its inversions of proper gender organisation according to bourgeois norms of gender in relation to the public and private.⁷ If in bourgeois culture masculine privilege is to be gained through private and natural means, the sodomitical subculture makes a travesty of this through its sexual public, where male sex and gender is both publicised and elided through earnest affectations of feminine embodiment (manners, dress, speech and performance), undoing the anxiously defended norms of bourgeois gender order.

Harrison/Swain

To elaborate further on the details of the public sodomitical subculture of Sydney reported on by the *Scorpion*, take the case of George Harrison, tried on multiple occasions for vagrancy (according to his gaol record, in July 1887, November 1887, April 1888 and Feb 1889; and in March 1889 for attempting to break gaol).⁸ The *Evening News* reported on the November 1887 case:

In the Central Police Court, George Harrison, alias “Carrie Swain,” an effeminate youth, was charged with vagrancy. From the evidence... it appeared that the prisoner was in the habit of frequenting Hyde Park and College-street, painted, powdered, and bedecked so as to represent a female. In this state he perambulated the street and parks after dark.⁹

What’s more, it appears Swain’s sodomitical reappearance on College-street in the late 1880s was congruous with the historical social topography of the area. Consider, for example, a letter sent to the editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald* in July 1867:

Hyde Park has of late become a resort for the lowest and most degraded prostitutes, who congregate in considerable numbers on the paths which are destitute of gas lamps, where they may be captured in the commission of acts of gross indecency by any person vested with the requisite power. I particularly allude to the path leading from Park and Elizabeth streets to St. Mary’s Cathedral.¹⁰

The author’s reticence to assign a particular gender to the “lowest and most degraded,” combined with the mention of the crime of “gross indecency” (not yet specified as “male-male” but having a long history as a misdemeanour for *public* sodomitical offenses¹¹), suggests the path was an intensified area of mixed gender sex trade for at least a three decades in the lead up to Swain’s appearance.

Out of the sodomitic indictments in the New South Wales that occurred between 1860 and 1899 which involved consensual relations between adults, by my count, thirty-five percent occurred in the immediate vicinity of Hyde Park and the Domain.¹² Significantly, two of these also involved, as documented in poetic sequences above and as I elaborate on in poems elsewhere, gender-transitive iterations in and around Hyde Park and the Domain: the 1878 case against William Albion, alias Moore, alias Ernest Steele, and the 1879 case against Francis Quincey, alias Wilson. The staging of Swain’s reappearance in and around Hyde Park’s girding College-street in the late 1880s was as much *in place* as it was *out of place*.

“by the adoption of names of celebrated actresses”

Harrison’s alias, “Carrie Swain,” is remarkable since, as de Waal has pointed out, Carrie Swain was a famous American variety artist.¹³ Swain had begun touring the Antipodes, with great success, in the years leading up to Harrison’s criminal forays. The *Scorpion*’s claim that promenade regulars adopted the names of celebrated actresses is, at least in this seemingly

well-known case, confirmed. Carrie Swain the “original” was a variety artist, noted for her talents in singing, dancing and acrobatics. Her reputation was established in San Francisco with the then famous John McCollough of the California Theatre.¹⁴ She began touring the Antipodes with the *Gaiety Company* in 1887, premiering in Sydney on 5 February 1887 at the Theatre Royal, as the lead in “The Tomboy.”¹⁵ Her tour had garnered significant review attention in major newspapers, and her Sydney premier, following Melbourne and Adelaide shows, was much anticipated and well received by the local press.¹⁶ Her celebrity won her a spot on the front cover of the *Illustrated Sydney News* and a spot in *Pets of the Public: A Book of Beauty Containing Twenty Five Portraits of the Favourite Actresses of the Australian Stage* (figs. 4 & 5).¹⁷

To my knowledge no script of “The Tomboy” still exists yet fortunately media publications describing the play do and from these we can piece together a sketch of the plot. According to the *Sydney Morning Herald* the plot centred on a street waif, “The Tomboy,” also named “Carrie,” and her involvement in a family drama in which Robert Cobb, a “polished” yet unprincipled uncle, had designs to take possession of the family’s fortune by getting rid of his blind sister-in-law, her daughter, “Carrie,” and Cobb’s cousin. A “wideawake” gasfitter, Thomas Burns, who is in love with Carrie, assists her in frustrating uncle Cobb’s plot. In the end Carrie and her crew prevail. Burns is presumably “wideawake” to the designs of Cobb, yet the phrasing suggests awareness to further concealments. Carrie’s play of the “trousers role,” and the romantic alignment of the two panting characters against a patriarchal figure who is causing family discord, lends itself to queer readings not only in the insinuation of same-sex love bonding but also in the role of a masculine female playing the hero of the play.

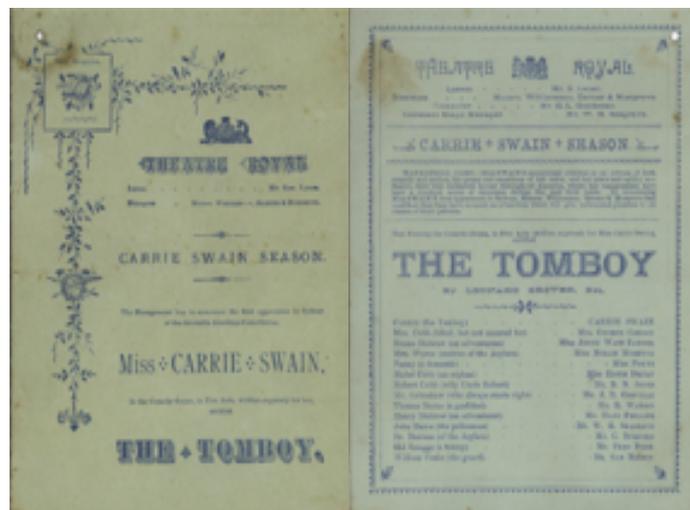


Figure 3: “The Tomboy” Playbill, The Tomboy / Leonard Grover, 1886–87, Theatre Royal, Sydney, Starring Carrie Swain. National Library of Australia, J. C. Williams’s collection of theatre programs in the Australian Performing Arts Programs and Ephemera (PROMPT) collection

Alias Carrie Swain, the female impersonator

Within the journalistic and legislative context of the Cleveland Street Scandal, as discussed above, the problematics of old régime class and aged based hierarchies, exploitation and abuse, as well as the disproportionate punishment of telegraph boy workers, proved to be central, and sodomitically legible issues made up the content of the scandal. So what can we say of the situation of Carrie Swain’s “trouser role” as a telegraph boy, and Harrison/Swain subsequently adopting her name in his own gender-transitive publicities on the streets of Sydney? If we can say the figure of the telegraph boy was circulating as a sign of precarious youth employment, pederastic prostitution, aristocratic norms, and the class-based injustices of criminal prosecution, particularly of “unnatural crime,” then the female transvestic performance of lumpenproletariat youth on the popular stage, considering the basic plot and lauding of the actress, here enacts the Telegraph Boy as hero rather than as someone persistently harried—a character who overcomes the odds and prevails. *Pets of the Public* features “Miss Carrie Swain,” and a photograph of her in Telegraph Boy uniform, in a triumphant pose with her foot resting on a rock (fig. 4). Further, her telegraph delivery is held in both hands at her groin, extending out along her thigh. The enveloped phallus centres the photograph, our eye is then draw up along her casually posed arms to Swain’s face, which looks out solemn and serious, gazing out to the side and beyond the vantage of the viewer/photographer’s gaze. Admiration of Swain is continued in the *Pets of the Public* biographic sketch, “Thus in the *Tomboy* when it is a case of a mere street waif against the world, you back the waif for all you are worth.”¹⁸



Figure 4 “Miss Carrie Swain,” in Ellis, *Pets* (Sydney: Edward Ellis, 1888), 60.



Figure 5: Cover Page, “Miss Carrie Swain.” *Illustrated Sydney News*, 17 May 1887, 1.

By playing the lumpen boy as heroic subject rather than service object such a theatrical world inverts residual aristocratic status-based hierarchies and asymmetries of erotic power relations, and inverts emergent bourgeois male gender as a natural and private category. Harrison's adoption of Carrie Swain's name mirrors such a representational positionality; that is, lumpen youth prostitute and hero. The sodomitic and prostitutional layering signified in the stage name "Carrie Swain" is resignified in the street name "Carrie Swain." The tour of "The Tomboy" and Swain's appearance on the front cover the *Illustrated Sydney News* both occurred in the months immediately preceding Harrison's first arrest, suggesting Harrison may have seen "The Tomboy," and most likely did see Swain on the cover of the *Illustrated* (fig. 5).

Theatre houses, especially the Theatre Royal, were known as places of sodomitical cruising and prostitutional promenades, suggesting that Harrison may even have worked the promenade at a showing of "The Tomboy."¹⁹ I here suggest that Harrison drew inspiration for his own sodomitical publicity, in at least his name but more significantly in the audacity of his actions which placed him in the way of disciplinary regulation, from Carrie Swain as "The Tomboy." Take the July 1887 *Evening News* report, "George Harrison, otherwise known as 'Carrie Swain,' and James Baker, otherwise known as 'Mary Ann,' were charged with having no lawful means of support ... it appears the prisoners were in the habit of patrolling the streets together after dark, painted, powdered, and bedecked with jewellery, impersonating females ... the constable watched them in Pitt, Gipps and George streets jostling and accosting men" ("Horrible Accusation"). In the street the reappropriated force of sodomitical publicity is disseminated. Harrison's imitation of Swain's imitation centres women (Swain), gender-transitive femininity (Harrison's) and gender-transitive masculinity (Swain's) as central to early sodomitical subculture and resistance to both residual aristocratic and solidifying bourgeois norms and power in the nineteenth century. Harrison's use of Swain's name brought such a topsy-turvy world—where the theatre acts as sodomitical carnival—into the streets. Where the power structures of nineteenth century social organisation placed working boys in the position of sex trade with aristocrats for minor cut,²⁰ low wage youth employment by the state as telegraph boys and exposure to the disciplinary force of state imprisonment and labour, Swain appears as the brassy heroine of "The Tomboy," and playing reappeared as forceful parade—in a once-again re-appropriated playing—on the streets of the colony's capital.

Likenesses of Carry Swain²¹

I'll do as you, flatter
tomboy the role playing carry a street waif
and sweet song they say alongside swimming
a singing telegraph boy at the theatre royal

for trifles, little shilling, admittance to the promenade
pennies for variety and seatless so walking
unassigned women

George Harrison alias "Carrie Swain," an effeminate-looking
"Carrie Swain" with "Mary Ann" otherwise known as no lawful visible
and yet getting away with it

A Sun-Shady Customer—was that a girl had given it to him to mind, but that he had forgotten
her name and address
the following persons for having made use of disgusting language on public roadways

Miss Vivienne, as Fanny, a domestic thoroughly convinced everybody that she understood the
rights of labour

Mr. Hoytes, as Henry Dinsow, the somewhat subservient husband, made the most of the part

the Tomboy Carrie assisted by Thomas Burns, a wideawake
in love with Carrie

Miss Swain in her clever impersonation of Carrie

two youths of very effeminate appearance
a Rose sounds sweeter
is Rose so sweet
a portable bunch
in Pitt, Gipps and George
jostling and accosting men
the story repeated
in Burrowa News, over the month of November
Cootamundra Spring Meeting, A Detestable Character
George Harrison, alias "Carrie Swain," an effeminate youth
vagrancy
in the habit of frequenting
Hyde Park and College-street

personating a female for Domain vagrancy
described as a waiter

George Cooper Thomas Ryan and George Harrison alias Carry Swain
each months idle and disorderly persons three
Vagabonds Home Once More

“A Thorough Gaol Bird”

In early 1889, after serving a six month hard labour sentence, Harrison/Swain was arrested again for a similar charge, as the *Australian Star* reported, for “Domain vagrancy” (“The Female Impersonator” 5) After being locked up at the Erskine-street gaol house, Harrison (by now using the alias of George Tremain; see fig. 6) made an attempt to escape the prison. The *Star* headline read “The Female Impersonator. Attempt to Break Gaol”; while the *Evening News* ran a wittier headline: “A Thorough Gaol Bird.” Compellingly, the *Sydney Morning Herald* January 1887 report on the showing of “The Tomboy” at the Theatre Royal in Sydney is directly followed by a review of “Little Jack Sheppard,” a burlesque comedy on Jack Sheppard—the thief famous for escaping Newgate Gaol in London—where Jack Sheppard is played by a woman. The *Australian Star* article, “Female Impersonator: Attempt to Break Gaol,” also reported that while Harrison/Tremain/Swain was “in the semi-decayed lock-up in Erskine-street, he made a bold attempt to Jack Shepherdism.”²² Sodomitical citations were nothing if not diverse.²³ The street “Carrie Swain,” I have argued in this article, was in conversation with the stage “Carrie Swain,” thus giving historical insights into the performances each played. While materiality of the street attracted a greater disciplinary force than the theatre in this period, this queer history documents the significance of theatrical and pedestrian, rather than sexological and elite literary, nineteenth century genealogies of subcultural formation and resistance to hetero-hegemonies. The parades and haunts of inner east Sydney of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, in direct proximity to College-street, despite the increasing pricing out of possible street publicities and people, are today world renowned for their “sodomitical” intensities; and Hyde Park is the site from which the original 1978, and all subsequent, Gay Mardi Gras marches either began or ended.²⁴ The street and park based sodomitical subculture of nineteenth century Sydney anticipates, as proto-political public parade, collective demands for queer political futures.

To the Royal, the citizens flocked—

plainly gaudily Girls

matrons and men of promiscuous rank

“The Tomboy,” ‘foorsooth, the had sampled before

Flush with the stage,
so whetted on
this side
in the third act eight feet deep

Her natural talents have been further
the eye of anticipation can reach
gorgeous lies
Miss Swain’s reappearance



Figure 7: Holm & Co., “Carrie Swain, in a trouser role.” Cabinet Photoprint, 1887–88, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

NOTES

¹ “Impersonating Females”; “A Suspicious Character”; “A Detestable Character”; “Fashions for November”; “Elizabeth Street and Hyde Park”; “Hyde Park by Night”; “Some time ago”; “Oscar Wildes”; Windeyer; *Depositions, R. v Albion alias Moore, Buckley and McKenna*; Dowling; Blanchot 68.

² Sworn Information, Charles Thomas Swinscow, Marlborough Street Police Court, July 6, 1889, *TNA*: DPP1/95/3, file 5, *R. v. Veck and Newlove*, 105–13

³ Here I am relying on the DPP case files held at The National Archives, UK (*TNA*) and on secondary scholarship. *TNA*: DPP1/95/1–7, “The Cleveland Street Case”; Hyde, *The Cleveland Street Scandal*; Cocks, *Nameless Offences* 144–54; Thomas, *Postal Pleasures*, 43–46; and Hindmarch-Watson, “Male Prostitution and the London GPO.”

⁴ On the Vere Street coterie, see Kaplan 23–24; Haggerty 45–50; Edelman 173–74; King, *Gendering of Men*, vol. 1, 10–11. On the Park and Boulton case see Kaplan 19–101; Cohen 73–129. On Wilde see Kaplan 224–51; Sinfeld, *Wilde Century*; Cohen, *Talk on the Wilde Side*.

⁵ Hyde, *Cleveland Street*; Weeks 84–89; Cocks 61–67, 90–93; Thomas 39–69.

⁶ Drawing on analyses of sixteenth and seventeenth century English literary sources such as Pepys’s infamous *Diary* commenting on Restoration London life, Thomas King develops the concept of “residual pederasty” in *The Gendering of Men* Vol. 1 *English Phallus*, 5, 89–112.

⁷ If, as King argues, this process whereby male subjection became culturally intolerable emerged in the early modern period, it is unsurprising that the political project persists in the nineteenth century where bourgeois class interests and cultural norms were finally solidifying their cultural dominance in British imperial society. On the rise of bourgeois political dominance in nineteenth century Britain, see Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*.

⁸ See for example: Darlinghurst Gaol Photographic Description Card, George Harrison, February 26, 1889, NRNSW: NRS2138, [3/3060], 4408.

⁹ “A Detestable Character,” *Evening News* (Sydney) November 17, 1887, 5. See also, “A Horrible Accusation: Impersonating Females,” *Evening News*, Jul 6, 1887, 5.

¹⁰ “Elizabeth Street and Hyde Park,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 10, 1867, 6. For a similar report see, “Hyde Park by Night,” *Protestant Standard* (Sydney), April 9, 1870, 7.

¹¹ Mead and Bodkin, in their legal notes to the section 11 of the *Criminal Law Amendment Act* (the act famous for criminalising “male-male” sex in private under the crime of gross indecency) interestingly cite prior case law where certain places have been held to be in public including “the inside of a urinal open to the public, and by the side of a footpath in Hyde Park [London]” and “An open place where the public were in the habit of trespassing.” *Criminal Law Amendment Act*, ed. Mead and Bodkin, 68–69.

¹² This count excludes rape charges [rather than sodomy charges that appear construed as rape], bestiality charges and sex involving minors under thirteen; and including sodomitical charges of gross indecency, indecent assault and other variants (see de Waal, *Unfit*).

¹³ Significantly, as de Waal has also discovered, Harrison/Swain’s photographic description card contains the first known recording of the Australian pejorative “pooftah,” suggesting gender-transitivity may define the origins of this, albeit now dated, Australian colloquial insult. See de Waal, “1889, George Harrison,” in *Unfit*.

¹⁴ See Edward Ellis, *Pets of the Public* 60–62; and “Miss Carrie Swain,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, June 25, 1887, 13.

¹⁵ See, for example, “New Music,” *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), January 24, 1887, 6.

¹⁶ For an example of advertising, see “Advertising,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 20, 1888, 2. For an example of a reviews, see “Amusements: Theatre Royal,” *Sydney Morning Herald* March, 5, 1887, 9.

¹⁷ “Miss Carrie Swain,” *Illustrated Sydney News*, May 17, 1887; Ellis, *Pets* 60–62.

¹⁸ Ellis, *Pets* 61.

¹⁹ See OED definition of “promenade”: “2c. *Brit.* An area without seats at a theatre or concert venue; *spec.* a gallery at a music hall, commonly thought to be frequented by prostitutes and their clients (now *hist.*.)” *OED Online*, s.v. “promenade, (n.),” accessed January 8, 2019, www.oed.com/view/Entry/152405. See also Holbrook 56 for discussion of popular theatres in London as “homosexual” meeting places in the twentieth century. The alley next to the Theatre Royal in Melbourne, was in the 1870s, Wayne Murdoch claims, a cruising site.

²⁰ Each boy testified that the gentlemen paid half a sovereign for each “go,” which the boys gave to Hammond who, in turn, paid each four shillings, therefore, indicating a 60/40 commission fee in favour of the landlord (Wright, Witness Testimony 99).

²¹ “A Thorough Gaol Bird”; “A Detestable Character” *Burrowa News* 2; “Miscellaneous Items” *Burrowa News* 3; “Miss Carrie Swain” *Sydney Morning Herald* 13; “Elizabeth-Street and Hyde Park” 6; “Police” 7; “Amusements: Theatre Royal” *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney) 10; “The Female Impersonator: Attempt to Break Gaol” 5; “Sundry Shows” *Bulletin*, June 9, 1888, 7; “Sundry Shows,” *Bulletin*, October 13, 1888, 6; “The Tomboy” 7; “Criterion Theatre” 13; “Oscar Wildes” 2.

²² “Amusements”: “Miss Carrie Swain”; & “Little Jack Sheppard,” *Sydney Morning Herald* June 25, 1887, 13; “Female Impersonator.”

²³ On the sodomitical legibility of penal disorder in the colonial context, see Peart, “Sodom Island.”

²⁴ See Wotherspoon, *Gay Sydney*.

²⁵ “Sundry Shows.” *Bulletin*, June 9, 1888, 7.

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