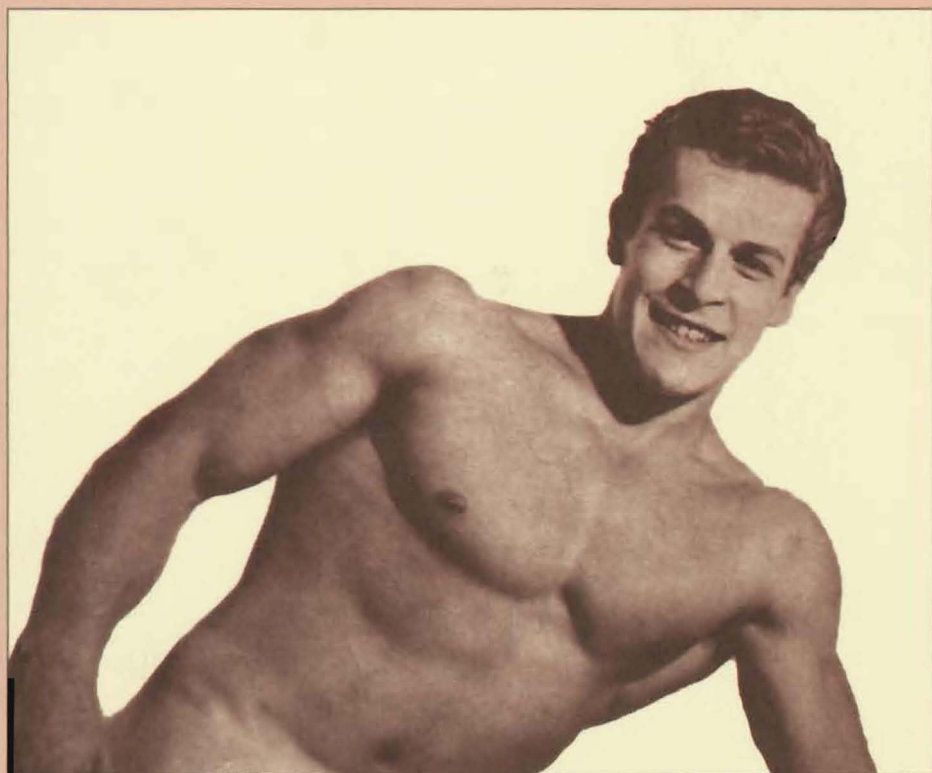


A Brief History of GAY

CANADA'S FIRST GAY TABLOID, 1964-1966

Donald W. McLeod



FOR THOSE WHO THINK GAY

A Brief History of **GAY**, Canada's First Gay Tabloid, 1964–1966

Also by Homewood Books

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Donald W. McLeod, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada: A Selected Annotated
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A Brief History of **GAY**

CANADA'S FIRST GAY TABLOID, 1964–1966

Donald W. McLeod

TORONTO

HOMWOOD BOOKS

2003

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This book is for
Richard L. Schlegel
pioneering gay activist
and philanthropist

Contents

9	List of Illustrations
11	Preface
14	Introduction
16	The Origin of <i>GAY</i>
21	Early Growth and Expansion of <i>GAY</i>
26	The Beginnings of Competition in the Canadian Gay Press
28	The Rise of <i>TWO</i>
31	<i>GAY</i> 's Search for Identity
36	<i>GAY</i> Reaches for an American Audience
40	<i>GAY</i> 's Transformation under Robert Mish Marsden
44	<i>GAY</i> Gets a Makeover
53	The <u>Q</u> uest for American News-stand Distribution
58	Searching for Style and Substance
62	A New Venture
65	Distribution Woes and Financial Trouble
70	The End of <i>GAY International</i>
74	The Demise of Robert Mish Marsden
75	The Legacy of <i>GAY</i>
78	Notes
90	Index
96	A Note on the Author

List of Illustrations

NOTE: All images reproduced in this book are courtesy of the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, Toronto, except the photograph of Robert Mish Marsden, which is reproduced courtesy of Richard L. Schlegel

- 19 GAY, volume 1, number 1 (30 March 1964)
- 22 GAY, volume 1, number 2 (13 April 1964)
- 23 GAY, volume 1, number 3 (15 May 1964)
- 24 GAY, volume 1, number 4 (29 May 1964)
- 27 ASK Newsletter, volume 1, number 4 (July 1964)
- 30 TWO, number 1 (July 1964)
- 33 GAY, volume 1, number 5 (15 June 1964)
- 34 GAY, volume 1, number 6 (30 June 1964)
- 37 GAY, volume 1, number 7 (15 July 1964)
- 38 GAY, volume 1, number 8 (30 July 1964)
- 39 GAY, volume 1, number 9 (15 August 1964)
- 42 Robert Mish Marsden, ca. 1960
- 45 GAY, volume 1, number 10 (31 August 1964)
- 46 GAY, volume 1, number 11 (15 October 1964)
- 49 GAY Publishing Company, 980 Queen Street East, Toronto,
November 1964

- 50 GAY's Toronto staff members, November 1964. Left to right:
James Morton, Mervyn Davies, Harry Keene, and Frank Lizotte
- 51 *GAY International*, volume 1, number 12 (16 November 1964)
- 56 *GAY International*, volume 1, number 12 (January 1965). The first
issue for large-scale news-stand distribution in the United States
- 57 *GAY International*, volume 2, number 1 (number 13, February 1965).
The pilot issue for distribution in Toronto
- 60 *GAY International*, volume 2, number 1 (number 13, April 1965).
This version was distributed widely
- 63 *GAY International*, number 14 (June 1965). The issue with this
cover was distributed widely
- 64 *GAY International*, number 14 (June 1965). The alternate cover
issue, distributed in Toronto
- 71 *GAY International*, number 15 (February 1966)

Preface

This book owes its existence to serendipity. I have been a volunteer archivist at the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives for many years. Through hanging around the CLGA I had come to know of the existence of Canada's first gay tabloid publication, *GAY*, because of copies held there. One day in October 1996 I decided to visit the Human Sexuality Collection at Cornell University Library in Ithaca, New York, out of general curiosity, to see if they had much gay Canadiana. I had but a single day to spend at Cornell and made the most of it, poking around and seeing the wonders of that collection.

Late in the afternoon, while looking through a general listing of the Collection's finding aids, I saw an entry for records relating to *GAY Publishing Co. Ltd.*, Toronto. A spark went off in my mind. Could it be? I ordered up the two cubic foot boxes that comprise the collection. The *GAY* papers, which include files rich with correspondence and business documents, turned out to be an undiscovered and untapped gold mine of Canadian gay history. I spent the rest of the afternoon looking through the papers, and arranged for copies of the more interesting documents to be sent to me in Toronto. Unfortunately, the pressure of work and other writing projects that I completed in the next few years relegated *GAY* to the back of my mind. But I never forgot the papers at Cornell, and vowed to one day write a scholarly paper on them.

A second serendipitous event occurred in the fall of 1998. I was working my regular Thursday evening shift at the CLGA when Marc Stein, a professor of history at York University, happened to visit. Marc was putting the finishing touches to his book *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945–1972* (University of Chicago Press, 2000) and was donating some files to the CLGA that he no longer needed. We talked about his book, and Marc mentioned that while doing interviews for it he had met someone who had known the people who ran *GAY*. I secured the man's e-mail address from Marc and was soon engaged in a long correspondence with the formidable Richard L. Schlegel of Lewisburg, Pennsylvania.

Richard Schlegel is something of a gay living legend. Schlegel had been a high-level civil servant with the Department of the Army when he was unceremoniously fired in 1961 for being a homosexual. He sued, and the case of *Schlegel v. United States* eventually ended up at the Supreme Court, where it was turned away in 1970. During the early 1960s Schlegel rebuilt his life and was hired by the State of Pennsylvania to oversee spending for its

multi-billion dollar interstate highway system. This position was short-lived also, as he was dismissed again because of his homosexuality. Schlegel dropped out and spent the rest of his working life as a consultant. He spent some time with H. Lynn Womack's Guild Press operation in Washington, D.C. (including stints as editor of *Male Swinger* magazine, as well as the *International Guild Guide*) and later started the independent, but short-lived, *FAST PACE!: A Digest of Sex & Humor* as a successor to *DRUM Magazine* in Philadelphia.

By living a modest life in Lewisburg, and combining thrift with budgetary and investment skills, Schlegel eventually became a self-made millionaire. During the 1990s he established trusts to benefit gay and lesbian students at several universities (Bucknell, Penn State, American). In 2002 the Richard L. Schlegel National GLBT Legion of Honor Award was inaugurated at American University in Washington, D.C., "to honor individuals who have exhibited outstanding leadership and significantly contributed to the dignity and freedom of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people."

My contact with Richard Schlegel was crucial to this project. The evidence concerning *GAY* was scattered and incomplete before we met. Most of the issues of the publication were at the CLGA, and the business papers and correspondence were at Cornell. But it was Schlegel's memories of the major figure in *GAY*'s history, Robert Mish Marsden, which helped to bring everything together. During the past three years I have been able to use information provided by Richard Schlegel, plus additional study trips to Cornell University Library and the New York Public Library, to try to complete this brief history of *GAY*. In May 2002, I spent a week in Pennsylvania, visiting with Schlegel and picking up the trail of *GAY* and Robert Marsden in libraries and archives, and in some of Marsden's personal haunts.

The result of this research is the present, brief history of *GAY*. I entitled this work a "brief history" because that is what it is. It is an overview of the publication and the important events of its publishing history. The story is surprisingly complicated for a little publication that lasted only fifteen issues. Some questions about *GAY* remain unanswered (for example, biographical details of the founders of the publication), and I hope these will be illuminated by subsequent investigators. I also hope that this work will stimulate others to examine the history of gay journalism and publishing in detail. Finally, I think the history of *GAY* is a fascinating story, one that you will find as interesting to read as I did to research and write.

I would like to thank the following people for their contribution of

information or helpful comments: Harold Averill, Rick Bébout, Clifford Collier, Kenneth Victor Doolin III, Janis Ford, George Hislop, George Mish Marsden, Brenda J. Marston, Alan V. Miller, Douglas Sanders, Marc Stein, Fraser Sutherland, and Keith Walden. Special thanks are due to Richard L. Schlegel, for his enthusiasm and hospitality, and to Edna Barker, a great editor. I would also like to thank the staff of the following institutions for providing research assistance: Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives; Rare and Manuscript Collections, Carl A. Kroch Library, Cornell University; International Gay Information Center Collection, Manuscripts and Archives Section, New York Public Library; Pennsylvania State Library, Harrisburg; Toronto Reference Library; John P. Robarts Research Library, University of Toronto.

Don McLeod
Toronto, July 2003

Introduction

The Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives (CLGA) possesses one of the largest collections of gay/lesbian periodicals in the world (more than 6,570 titles).¹ As of June 2003, the CLGA held 1,225 gay/lesbian periodical titles published in Canada. These run the gamut from obscure single-issue 'zines to sophisticated, multi-issue, national publications like *The Body Politic*. These holdings represent only a good sampling of Canadiana, as many dozens of titles have been published in addition to those found at the CLGA. If we exclude a few proto-gay physique magazines, all but a handful of Canadian gay and lesbian periodicals were published after 1969.

The fact that the gay periodical press in Canada is so young is remarkable, but not surprising. For it was only in the summer of 1969 that the first reports of the Stonewall riots in New York City (28–29 June), which marked the symbolic beginning of the modern gay liberation movement, began to drift north to Canada. For Canadians, an even more significant event occurred on 26 August 1969, when amendments to the Canadian Criminal Code, passed in Bill C-150, came into effect, decriminalizing “gross indecency” and “buggery” between two consenting adults – twenty-one years of age or older – in private.²

It is now a cliché to state that 1969 was a watershed year in gay and lesbian history. It was clearly much more difficult to be openly homosexual or lesbian in North America before that time. There were those brave souls who formed homophile groups in the 1950s and early 1960s, or started gay publications like *ONE* (Los Angeles, 1953) and *Mattachine Review* (San Francisco, 1955) in the United States. Others found their own ways to challenge the status quo.³

If we look back beyond the year 1969 to find evidence of Canadian gay organizing and resistance, the year 1964 stands out. In that year, a number of cathartic events occurred that propelled Canadian gays and lesbians into the mainstream public eye. On the national scene, Jane Rule's classic novel of lesbian desire, *Desert of the Heart*, was published in Toronto in February. Canada's first homophile organization, the Association for Social Knowledge (ASK), was formed in Vancouver in April. Also in April, there was the first glimmer of hope on the legal front as Member of Parliament Arnold Peters (NDP-Temiskaming) prepared to introduce a private Member's bill calling for the modification of the Canadian Criminal Code to decriminalize

homosexual acts between consenting adults in private. Unfortunately, the bill was never introduced.⁴

In 1964, Toronto in particular seemed a hotbed of public gay activity. Homosexuals were much in the newspapers, whether in Nathan Cohen's "Monday Miscellany" column in the *Toronto Star*, which noted local police concerns about certain after-hours clubs that had become "hangouts for male and female homosexuals,"⁵ or the frightful "shadow world" of the homosexual as examined by Ron Poulton in a three-part series entitled "Society and the Homosexual," published in the *Toronto Telegram*.⁶ The first full-scale articles in a mainstream, national Canadian publication to take a generally positive view of homosexuality, Sidney Katz's two-part series "The Homosexual Next Door: A Sober Appraisal of a New Social Phenomenon," were published in *Maclean's* on 22 February and 7 March.⁷ Lady Bessborough's catty gossip column on local gay personalities and events, "The Gay Set," was published weekly in the tabloid newspaper *TAB*. At least seventeen bars and after-hours clubs catering to a substantial clientele of gay men and lesbians of differing tastes and class flourished in the city, even if under the watchful eye of the police.⁸ Informal discussions on gay life, sometimes with guest speakers, were held regularly at one club, the Music Room. Toronto was a vibrant place for gay people in 1964. Things were happening. In June 1964 the Canadian poet Edward A. Lacey wrote to a friend:

But there are now three, or more, gay dancing clubs, open until 3 or 4 a.m., & since they're theoretically private, anything goes in them. And the parks, which used to be strictly patrolled by the police, are now wide open ... the homosexual population ... of the city seems, to me, to have quadrupled, so that it's hard to get a good-looking hustler to oneself anymore – no sooner does he walk into a bar than he's surrounded. There's a great deal of public interest in homosexuality, too, which is prob. what gave birth to GAY; there was even a series of two quite restrained & interesting, if completely straight & naïve articles on "The Homosexual Next Door" in *Maclean's*, a national magazine, plus articles in various daily papers. And one can now get *ONE* & all sorts of skin books, including the sado-masc-&-transvestite ones at downtown bookstores.⁹

What is most remarkable about Toronto's burgeoning gay community of 1964 is that all this activity was informal. There was no central force or organization behind it. In fact, Toronto did not have a formal gay organization until the University of Toronto Homophile Association was formed in October 1969, two months after the changes to the Criminal Code. And the larger gay community was not served by a gay organization until the Community Homophile Association of Toronto (CHAT) was formed in February 1971.¹⁰

One of the most important events of 1964 was the formation of a Canadian gay press. During that year, three gay publications were founded in rapid succession. *GAY*, published in Toronto by the GAY Publishing Company, was Canada's first gay tabloid, with an inaugural issue dated 30 March 1964. It was followed closely by the *ASK Newsletter*, published in Vancouver by ASK, from April 1964, intermittently for at least thirty issues, until February 1968. The third publication was *TWO*, published by Gayboy Publishing (later the Kamp Publishing Company, of Toronto), for a total of eleven issues between July 1964 and August 1966. This paper will examine in detail the unusual history and specific experience of *GAY*, the most ambitious of these publications, and subsequent activities of the GAY Publishing Company during the period 1964 to 1966.

The Origin of *GAY*

Meeting other gay people, particularly in rural areas or small towns, was a difficult problem in the days before gay liberation and community became widespread. Introduction services were one way to connect and became very popular in the 1960s. In the early months of 1964, a gay introduction service based in Toronto called Miss Muffett Enterprises regularly placed advertisements in local tabloids such as *TAB*. A typical ad read: "**Gay Partners.** Male, Fem or Couples. Complete introduction assured via mail or money refunded. Send \$2.00 and particulars to: MISS MUFFETT, Box 969, Adelaide St. W. [sic] P.O., Toronto, Canada." Miss Muffett's reply to those who sent \$2 was a standard one-page form letter and the name, address, city, province or state of another interested party. A note at the bottom of the form stated, "requests for additional introductions must be accompanied with \$2.00."¹¹

By March 1964 the operators of Miss Muffett Enterprises were sufficiently emboldened to publish a new, twice-monthly tabloid called *GAY*. As

Edward Lacey remarked to his friend, it was likely the increasing tide of interest in homosexuality and gay life, particularly in Toronto, that spurred them on. Certainly there was a large and growing gay community in Toronto, who were perhaps tired of the gossipy musings of Lady Bessborough in *TAB*, and who thirsted for their own publication, produced from a homosexual viewpoint. Later, it was claimed that the four people who started *GAY* did so almost as a joke, even if a well-planned one.¹²

On 21 March 1964, the *GAY* Publishing Company applied for incorporation as a private company in the Province of Ontario. Three thousand preferred shares with a par value of \$10 each were issued, as were 10,000 common shares without par value. The number of shareholders was limited to fifty, excluding employees of the company. The four directors of the company were: John Stephen Foster, Harry Patrick Keene, Frank Lizotte, and James Morton, all of Toronto.¹³

The *GAY* Publishing Company was the publisher of *GAY*, Canada's first gay periodical and one of the first homosexual periodicals anywhere to use the word "gay" in its title.¹⁴ From its origin *GAY* was resoundingly male oriented. The inaugural issue, dated 30 March 1964, was eight pages, printed in black on pink newsprint, 28 x 21.5 cm. Its cover was racy for the time, cleverly designed to attract attention. The word "GAY" was printed 7 cm tall, and was surrounded by a playful assortment of clip art and provocative headlines. For example, the headline "Sexually Stimulated By High-Heels: For Story See P. 7" was placed next to a photo of shapely legs in leather knee boots.

The contents included an odd mixture of clip art, old photographs of movie scenes and transvestites, and a diagram of the male genito-urinary organs. There was a reprint of "The Prisoner," from Pietro Aretino's *I Ragionamenti*, translated by Bernhardt J. Hurwood, as well as a recipe for veal cutlet supreme. Obviously the publishers were having fun. A "Letter from the Editor" in the first issue welcomed readers to "this new and different tabloid." The editor felt that a paper of this nature had been needed for some time, and vowed that *GAY* would "relate strange, and unusual, happenings, from all over the world." A heartfelt appeal for reader feedback and content followed.

Perhaps one of the most popular features of *GAY*, right from the first issue, was "GAYbrial's Column," a classified section of personal advertisements. Issue one featured thirteen ads under a heading "NEW MEN." There were seven from Ontario, two from Manitoba, two from New York State,

and one each from Missouri and Pennsylvania. They sought everything from “real love” to “old fashioned discipline.” Costs were \$2 each to advertise, and \$1 each, plus postage, to have replies forwarded. All correspondence was sent through the Miss Muffett postal box address.¹⁵

Who were the four men behind *GAY*, and how did they contribute to its founding?¹⁶ John Stephen Foster was the president and founding editor. Harry Patrick Keene, a salesman at Brown’s Bread in Toronto, was the public relations manager. Frank Lizotte helped out as the assistant production manager. James M. Morton, the production manager, held the key role. Every successful publisher requires the services of a reliable printer. This is especially true for gay publications; most printers in 1964 would have refused to print *GAY* because of its content and intended audience. But James Morton was a printer and lithographer of many years’ experience. He had worked in Toronto for Harris Lithography, the Millprint Corporation, and since the late 1950s for Reproductive Printing Service (RPS), located in the Smith Building at 122 Wellington Street West. Not only did RPS act as *GAY*’s printer, it also became the fledgling company’s landlord. RPS invoiced *GAY* for office rent and telephone costs beginning 15 March 1964 at the rate of \$50 per month; long distance telephone calls were charged separately.¹⁷

RPS and *GAY* shared the basement of the Smith Building, near the heart of Toronto’s old manufacturing and garment district. The ground floor housed a Liquor Control Board of Ontario outlet. The upper floors were filled with small manufacturers and sales offices of everything from children’s wear and footwear to the Cheerio Yo-Yo and Bolo Company. The building would be demolished, a victim of urban renewal, in 1966.

After securing a reliable printer and office space, the proprietors of *GAY* began to concentrate on meeting the relentless deadlines and workload of producing a twice-monthly tabloid, all in their spare time. The first issue of *GAY*, which was printed in a modest edition of 500 copies, sold out almost immediately.

The publication’s novelty likely drove early sales. Certainly, reader response to the launch of *GAY* was mixed. Issue two (13 April 1964) contained a letter to the editor and a letter from the editor. Both sent mixed signals about what expectations were of Canada’s first gay tabloid. R.R. of Toronto said he was “utterly disgusted” with the first issue of *GAY*:

... at the first mention of this paper I was deeply interested since the name indicates a paper that this city has needed for a long time. My



Sexually Stimulated By High-Heels

FOR STORY SEE P. 7

NEW LOOK AT HOMO PROBLEM

FOR STORY SEE P. 8.



main reason for this disgust is the content of your first edition. In this I do not mean that its [sic] wrong morally, but rather it puts the spot-light on the homosexual. If anyone purchasing a copy of this edition (a non-homo that is) would naturally [sic] believe that, its content is about [the] Gay world. When this is not true. The majority of homosexuals in this country are decent, clean living normal (normal in that they know what they want) human beings.¹⁸

R.R. does not state specifically which items in the first issue offended him; it is his worry about a "spot-light" being put on homosexuals that is significant.¹⁹ Although the need for a gay publication was widely recognized, gay paranoia about the exposure of "the homosexual lifestyle" ran deep.

The editor's response to R.R. attempted to still any fears about the intentions of *GAY*:

The first edition of *Gay* was a PILOT. It was not aimed at any specific group or class of people. Since this edition, the paper has taken everything into consideration and has decided to become primarily a *Gay* paper bringing news to, and defending the homosexual. As well as enlightening the rest of the world in a manner [sic] that will not be derogative to homosexual life.²⁰

A separate "Letter from the Editor" in the same issue only seemed to reinforce gay equivocation of the day. The editor discussed the results of an informal survey of *GAY*'s readers in Toronto, undertaken by the editor. The survey revealed deep-seated conflicts. Some thought the publication's name was too blunt, others that it came to the point and was unmistakable. Some readers admitted to being embarrassed about buying *GAY* at newsstands, and would prefer a subscription. Overall feeling towards the new gay tabloid was perhaps best captured in the comment, "I think its [sic] wonderful, as long as it does not get out of hand." The first line of the "Letter from the Editor" was blunt in its insistence that the concerns of gay readers would be the focus of *GAY*: "This is addressed to all gay readers, the rest are unimportant." The editor concluded, "THIS IS YOUR PAPER, a place made available to you, to air your frustrations. It will only be what you MAKE IT, so lets [sic] hear from you soon."²¹

Early Growth and Expansion of GAY

The publishers, emboldened, increased the print run from 500 to 5,000 copies for the second issue.²² Issue two (13 April 1964) had a similar layout and was printed on pink newsprint. The second issue, however, increased from eight to twelve pages, and without raising the cover price of twenty-five cents. The content was similar and included an article on male menopause, the continuing "Diary of a 'Call Boy,'" and an installment of a gay fiction serial, "The 'Pathfinder.'" Nineteen personal ads adorned the issue's Gabriel Club listings. A new column, "Local Topics," by Steele, specialized in the catty innuendo and sleazy reportage common to Toronto's tabloid gay columns of the 1950s and 1960s. This reportage typically lacked precise detail but delighted in gossip, and the information was instantly decipherable by anyone in the know. Sordid public spats and affairs were particularly popular topics, as in the following description by Steele:

Who, but Vic and Sandy would dare have a row right out on King Street W. and who but pretty Sandy after being slapped silly by the party of the first half would go sit and bleed an eyeball on the table of a fancy King Street eatery.²³

By issue three (15 May 1964), GAY's print run had subsided to 2,000 copies, where it remained through issue five. The issue's editorial outlined GAY's rapid growth and announced that "... our staff now includes two columnists, a journalist, a fashion editor, an illustrator, and a staff photographer."²⁴ New additions to the third issue included a fashion page and a current events column featuring reviews and previews of local theatrical productions. "Diary of a 'Call Boy'" continued, as did the serial "The 'Pathfinder'" and the Gabriel Club personals. An interesting addition was the column "The Biased I," by Don Philip (pseudonym of Don Schrank), which was devoted to political commentary and criticism. The full-page column in issue three was a major critique of Ron Poulton's series of three articles on "Society and the Homosexual," recently published in the *Toronto Telegram*. Philip maintained that the outlandish generalizations and oversimplification in the articles served only to prove the *Telegram*'s "own contention that 'ignorance outweighs wisdom and fancy outruns fact.'" Philip eventually became a contributing editor to GAY, and "The Biased I" appeared through issue number fourteen.²⁵



GAY, volume 1, number 2 (13 April 1964)

TWENTY
FIVE
CENTS

GAY

TWICE
MONTHLY

VOL. 1 NO. 3

TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA

FRIDAY, MAY 15TH 1964

INSIDE THIS ISSUE



GABRIEL CLUB

FASHIONS

THE BIASED I

IMPRESSIONS

PLATFORM

DIARY OF A CALL BOY

LOCAL TOPICS

GAY, volume 1, number 3 (15 May 1964)

TWICE
MONTHLY

GAY

TWENTY
FIVE
CENTS

VOL. 1 No. 4

TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA

FRIDAY, MAY 29TH, 1964



INSIDE THIS ISSUE

DAY and NIGHT

SEE PAGE 6

TORONTO PICTORIAL

SEE PAGES 8 and 9

FASHIONS

SEE PAGE 13

The Homosexuality of Ancient Greece

SEE PAGE 12

GAY, volume 1, number 4 (29 May 1964)

Letters to the editor published in issue three were all complimentary, but two letters noted the lack of photographs, particularly physique pictures, in the tabloid. For example, J. MacDonald wrote, "I would like to know if you will be publishing many physique pictures. I know that some people like to read a lot, but I like to look at pictures."²⁶ Certainly, *GAY* did not contain any beefcake photographs in its first ten issues, a fact that must have seemed puzzling to some gay readers who were used to the high-quality physique studies published in such Canadian publications as *Face & Physique* or *Physique Illustrated*. The editor of *GAY* explained, "*GAY* is not a physique magazine. It is a variety paper. Therefore you won't find an overabundance of figure studies."²⁷ Perhaps *GAY* was not averse to the idea of including physique photographs, at least to boost circulation, but had not yet developed contacts with photo studios.

The editorial in issue three of *GAY* boasted that "beginning with our next edition, we shall be presenting a tabloid unparalleled in quality by any publication of this kind."²⁸ While certainly overstating its achievement, by issue four (29 May 1964) *GAY* had made remarkable progress. Within two months of its founding, it had been able to double its size from eight to sixteen pages, increase its print run from 500 to 2,000 copies per issue, and keep its news-stand price steady at twenty-five cents. In addition to offering subscriptions (\$3 for six months, \$5 for one year), by issue four *GAY* was being sold at "all the popular bookstores and newsstands in downtown [Toronto]," and in Montreal.²⁹ Except for the addition of more photographs, in particular a two-page section entitled "*GAY* Photographs Toronto," and new features such as the "Mothers Advice" column, the appearance and content of *GAY* remained unchanged.

Issue four contains three photographs of the Regency Club, located at 31 Prince Arthur Avenue. These are likely the only photographs ever published of one of Toronto's earliest private gay clubs. Other new features included a gay serial, "The Middle Sex," and an article entitled "The Homosexuality of 'Ancient Greece,'" the first of a proposed series. Space advertisements were introduced, with set rates.³⁰ The first two issues of *GAY* contained no advertisements, and issue three had only one (for Mister Al's Men's Shop). By issue four, *GAY* featured regular advertisements for local gay establishments and hangouts, including the Metropole Hotel, the Music Room, the Melody Room, the Gateway Restaurant (all in Toronto), and the Down Beat Club (Montreal).

Reader feedback concerning *GAY* remained volatile in issue four. The

published letters were mostly positive, and sometimes even effusive (“What a beautiful magazine”), but could occasionally sting (“Your magazine is full of nothing at all. Nobody’s interested in the stupid crap you print”).³¹ Despite brickbats and bouquets, by issue four *GAY* was established as a voice in the gay community, particularly in Toronto.

The Beginnings of Competition in the Canadian Gay Press

GAY had a serious Canadian competitor for gay readers right from the start. The first issue of the *ASK Newsletter* was published in Vancouver in April 1964. The newsletter was the official publication of the Association for Social Knowledge, Canada’s first homophile organization, which had also formed that month.³² The newsletter was typed and printed by mimeograph on white paper, 35.5 x 21.5 cm, and was stapled. It was typically between six and fifteen pages, printed single side. It was published monthly from April 1964 through June 1965, and later, in a revised format, occasionally from December 1966 through February 1968.

ASK was formed “to help society to understand and accept variations from the sexual norm.”³³ As one might expect, the *ASK Newsletter* was filled with association and local news. But it also contained a number of serious articles, some reprinted from other sources, both gay and mainstream, including publications as diverse as *The Ladder*, *Ladies’ Home Journal*, and *Time*. The issues through June 1965, edited by L.L. (Lee Livingston), were refreshingly literate compared to the early issues of *GAY*. Some of the more serious articles were written by Douglas Sanders, a Vancouver lawyer who was the second president of ASK from mid-1964 to November 1967. His particular interest was homosexuality and the law. Sanders wrote several articles as well as an occasional column (“Straight Talk”) that examined legal and moral considerations relating to homosexuality from a Canadian viewpoint. Sanders interviewed Everett George Klippert in the Prince Albert Penitentiary, and some of their conversation appeared in the February 1968 issue of *ASK Newsletter*.³⁴

The *ASK Newsletter* was the sort of publication Toronto (and the rest of Canada) lacked. But how influential was it? It was certainly very important to the small group of West Coast homophiles who made up the core membership of ASK. But it was an in-house publication, and a small print run greatly restricted its distribution. Although it was a worthy and educational

ASK *newsletter*

association for social knowledge
p o box 4277 vancouver 9 bc

"MAN'S TILLS ARE DUE TO HIS IGNORANCE OF NATURE."

— "Holbach"

JULY, 1964

VOL.1, No.4

EDITORIAL.....

This is a sad month for ASK. It is only our fifth month in existence, and we have had to sustain the news of the loss to the Association of both our Executive Advisor and our President.

Jaye has been a member of the Board of Directors since ASK's inception, and has been of invaluable help to us through her knowledge and work in the social field. She has been eloquent at business meetings and panel discussions, and also at the weekly executive coffeebar luncheons, where she has had a leading hand in the formulating of many of the Association's executive decisions. She leaves us to take up a post in the San Francisco area, and we wish her well in her new venture. We are certainly going to miss her cheery "Committee Round-Up" news, but have the consolation of her promise to contribute a column from San Francisco on activities of other organisations. We are pleased to announce that these will appear as often as we receive them. Good luck to you, Jaye, from all in ASK. We know we will be seeing you from time to time, so this is just an revoir.

Bruce has been our President from the beginning too, having been a leader in the early discussion groups that led to the formation of ASK. He guided the formative meetings through the initial stages, outlining to us all the need for ASK in Canada, the aims that the Association should have, the constitution and by-laws that the first members would have to handle over, thrash out and weld into something meaningful and binding, the division of members into suggested committees and the work they would be expected to do for the betterment of the sexual variant in contemporary society. He was elected President of ASK by acclamation, and has worked tirelessly and selflessly to one end: to get ASK on its feet as a decent, effective organisation working for the understanding and acknowledgment of homosexuals by themselves and the general public. Through press releases and reports of our activities we have established a small but sure footing on the contemporary scene, and there are many thousands of people throughout this world of ours who are aware of our existence and our purpose as a direct result of his efforts.

Being a president is not an enviable job. It involves levelheadedness when everything around you is chaotic and when everyone around you is hysterical; it involves foresightedness in making decisions which might appear to the less perceptive to be over-cautious or over-ambitious; it involves responsibility of person and of position, and the awareness of that responsibility at all times; it involves calmness of nature and temperament in the face of shortsighted pettiness; it involves firmness of conviction and principles in the face of setbacks and criticism; and, above all else, it involves dedication in the highest degree to the ideals and whole purpose of the corporation or organisation which a president represents. Bruce has not been an unsuccessful president. He has displayed possession of all these qualities, and our best way to express appreciation to him for his work would be to aspire individually to these qualities in our continued efforts for ASK, and to emulate his sincere enthusiasm for all that ASK stands for.

Bruce leaves for Ottawa in August, and we wish him every success. It is with a heavy heart that we bid you adieu, Bruce; we will miss you.

/ * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * /

"THE FIRST GREAT GIFT WE CAN BESTOW ON OTHERS IS A GOOD EXAMPLE." — Morell

* / * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * / * /

ASK Newsletter, volume 1, number 4 (July 1964)

publication, without more copies and more sophisticated distribution – including news-stand sales – it was doomed to obscurity.

ASK's membership was small in its first months, and rose to only sixty-five by March 1965.³⁵ The association's fiscal report for 1964–65, which was published in the *ASK Newsletter*, gives clues to the newsletter's print run. Paid-up members of the association received the newsletter free; additional copies were available by subscription for \$3 per year. The treasurer's report for the fiscal year ending 23 March 1965 reveals that \$53 was collected for subscriptions to the newsletter. This amount allows for seventeen subscriptions for non-members. This suggests a small print run, perhaps not many more than 100 copies per issue.³⁶

ASK ceased activity in the summer of 1965, but was reconstituted in December 1966. By November 1967, the association had more than 150 members, and the newsletter may have been published in 200 or more copies, although diminished in both quality and in size.³⁷ The final issue of the *ASK Newsletter* was published in February 1968. ASK disbanded early in 1969, only months before the amendments to the Canadian Criminal Code passed in Bill C-150 came into effect.

The Rise of TWO

A publication that appeared in Toronto in July 1964 posed a much greater potential threat to GAY's quest for the attention of gay readers, particularly in Toronto. Gayboy Publishing (later Kamp Publishing Company) launched *TWO* magazine, which listed its editorial office as the Melody Room club, 457 Church Street. Its name was inspired by the publication *TWO* (*Truth Will Out*), a supplement to the American homophile magazine *ONE*, which first appeared in April 1954.³⁸

Subtitled "The Homosexual Viewpoint in Canada," *TWO* hoped to find a community to "join in an effort to establish the rights and responsibilities of homosexuals." *TWO*'s specific purpose was to

promote knowledge and understanding of the homosexual viewpoint among the general public and to educate homosexuals as to their responsibilities as variants from the current moral and social standards.³⁹

Richard (Rick) Kerr, the owner of the Music Room and Melody Room clubs in Toronto, was the publisher of *TWO*. He was a Scottish-born entrepreneur with design and photography skills.⁴⁰ Under the pseudonym Alex Edmond, Kerr used these skills to ensure that *TWO* exhibited a professional standard of design and content through its eleven-issue history. *TWO* was published irregularly in the standard physique format (21 x 14 cm) and was printed in black on white paper. After starting at sixteen pages (plus an eight-page insert) *TWO* expanded to its regular size, 36 pages, and sold for 75 cents. The text was interspersed with quality physique photographs (without frontal nudity) supplied by Kerr's studios, R.A. (Rik Art) Studios and Can-art Photographers. Editorial content was eclectic and mostly of local interest. A typical early issue contained an editorial, a "Cameo" section on local drag performers (with photographs), one or more book reviews, the gossip column "Grapes from the Vine," the local happenings column "Very Much Out ... and About," as well as the physique pictures. The novel "Wrong Road to Happiness" by Edmond Kaye (another pseudonym for Richard Kerr) was serialized beginning in issue one.

Clifford Collier (under the pseudonym Claude Collier) compiled the editorial content of the first three issues of *TWO*. Collier recalls that *TWO* was started very much as a reaction against contemporary articles or publications that spread negative stereotypes of homosexuals or, in the case of the tabloids, exploited the camp "scandal of 'The Set.'" Even so, Collier believes that Kerr started *TWO* as a kind of in-house newsletter:

I think he was really aiming at the membership of the clubs. If it was going to go further, that was fine. I mean on a news-stand, or something. But it clearly wasn't the type of magazine that the news-stands would pick up. It was circulated primarily through the two clubs – the Music Room and the Melody Room – that Rick Kerr owned.⁴¹

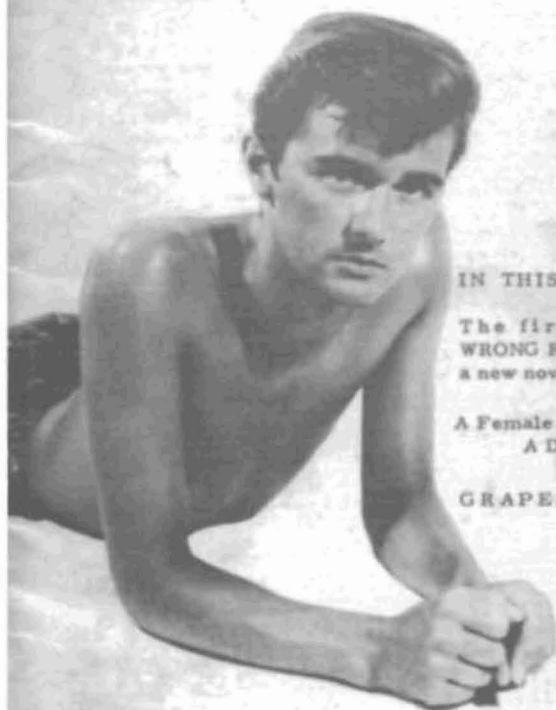
Collier fell into this work accidentally. He had no previous editorial experience but had worked as an unofficial greeter at the old Maison d'Lys club in Toronto, which later became the Music Room. He recalls that he would assemble and type the text for each issue at his apartment, and Kerr would take the typescript, lay it out, insert the photos, and arrange for printing.

Clifford Collier does not recall meeting any of the Toronto staff members associated with *GAY*, but he does remember that its original incarnation

two

75¢

THE HOMOSEXUAL VIEWPOINT IN CANADA



IN THIS ISSUE:

The first instalment of
WRONG ROAD TO HAPPINESS
a new novel by EDMOND KAYE

A Female Impersonator is NOT
A Drag Queen.

GRAPES from the vine.

TWO, number 1 (July 1964)

as a pink newspaper “grabbed everybody’s eye.” He doesn’t think there was much competition for readers between *GAY* and *TWO* as they were designed for different audiences: a general audience for *GAY*, and the local Toronto club crowd for *TWO*. Collier remembers *GAY* as being “more tabloidish, and you looked at it and it just struck me as being something very gossipy.”

Collier left *TWO* after issue three (1964). As he recalls:

I only did the three issues.... I broke from *TWO* partly because Kerr was making a physique magazine of it. He seemed less and less interested in what I’d call copy, and [was] more and more pushing the photographs. And that didn’t interest me.⁴²

With issue four, Alex Edmond (Kerr) assumed the editorship. And although many of the established features continued, the physique photographs certainly came to dominate *TWO*’s space, particularly in the Special Supplements, usually eight to twelve page inserts that highlighted the models of the Can-art or Frank Borck Enterprises studios in Toronto. The professional design and content never slipped and were certainly of a higher standard than that exhibited by *GAY*. But *TWO* was never really able to compete with *GAY*, certainly not internationally. *TWO* focussed on local content, which led to its dual failure to establish a profile in the American market and to secure reliable American news-stand distribution. The final issue of *TWO* (number eleven) was published in July–August 1966. The reason for the magazine’s demise is unclear, although Collier speculates that Richard Kerr sold his interest in the clubs and gave up the publication as well.

***GAY*’s Search for Identity**

Issues five (15 June 1964) through nine (15 August 1964) of *GAY* continued the general format and content established in the first two months of the tabloid’s existence. Each issue contained sixteen pages with a mixture of columns, features, cartoons, and occasional photos. Most were on pink newsprint, although issues seven and eight were printed on yellow and pale green respectively. The quality of the contents was decidedly mixed, with intelligent and literate contributions by Don Philip (especially in “The Biased Eye” column, the title having a slight change in spelling) competing with more ephemeral items. Editorial and proofreading quality varied greatly, but was generally poor.

During this period GAY was trying to consolidate its identity. Despite a genuine attempt to publish thoughtful articles on gay life, the tabloid also contained dreadful personal attacks masquerading as “humour.” In issue five a column entitled “The Funny Side” by Dorian attacked Peter Marshall, one of the leading members of Toronto’s gay community:

LADY MARSHALL of the international set always accused of having had seven face lifts and it is assumed that she is older than her creator. Rumor even has it that with all her money she was able to have hair riveted into her scalp to replace what had waved “bye-bye.”⁴³

This attack raises the important issue of GAY’s “voice.” Which voice did GAY wish to present to the world? The voice of reasoned argument, which tried to defend the rights (and essential normality) of gay people living in a hostile world, or the voice of the stereotypical bitchy queen, intent on backstabbing members of the community?

The issues of voice and presentation of the gay community to the outside, mainstream world are ancient and continuing. Positions generally fall between two extreme camps, those representing the “respectable gay” advocates of restraint and assimilation (“gays are just like straights, and should be treated as their equals”) and the in-your-face liberationists (“gays are not like straights, and do not require straight approval to live their lives”). GAY had not yet adopted a single position, and presented material that could be approved of (or rejected) by either side. As the editorial in issue six stated:

We’re still going through drastic changes in our format. This will continue for the next few editions as we feel our way about, and establish a general policy concerning content. We are relying on you, our readers, for critical appraisals.⁴⁴

A debate about GAY’s role in community identity played out in the Letters to the Editor column of issues five through eight. The exchanges here are much more interesting than the other contents and reflect the struggle for identity occurring in Toronto’s gay community of the day. For example, an unsigned letter in issue five commends GAY on improvements in the publication and effusively remarks that with further work:

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VOL. I No. 5

TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA

Monday 15th. 1964



INSIDE THIS ISSUE

◆
DAY and NIGHT

◆
The Funny Side

◆
Reflections

◆
Home Life Of
A Homo
Marriage

GAY, volume 1, number 5 (15 June 1964)

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VOL. 1, No. 6

TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA

Tuesday, June 30th. 1964



INSIDE THIS ISSUE

The Wicker Report

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**Pornography
Harmful
or Not**

• •

**Educate
the
Public**

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GAY, volume 1, number 6 (30 June 1964)

...GAY could conceivably [sic] be the voice in the wilderness that will be finally heard and could be the Moses that will lead our people to the point of receiving the acceptance we so earnestly yearn.⁴⁵

Written by a self-declared closeted gay man, this letter is strictly assimilationist in viewpoint. The author believed that recent additions to GAY, such as Don Philip's column, had raised the quality of the publication. He believed that GAY must aim for a "continuance of the refinement that has so proficiently been initiated" and to convey to straight society that "we of the gay world are not all 'wash-room-lovers', child-molesters, bar-flies, mid-night street walkers and such." He concludes:

We are merely individuals seeking to live as individuals with the same protected rights to which all Canadians are supposed to be entitled.⁴⁶

This viewpoint is expressed in two letters in issue six, one signed "Happily Married Montrealer," the other by F.Y. But F.Y. is also critical of GAY, stating that previous correspondents were too optimistic about the positive impact of GAY on the heterosexual mainstream. Certain regular features, such as "Diary of a Call Boy" and the Gabriel Club personals, only served to "retard the straight person's acceptance of the homosexual."⁴⁷

These advocates of a "respectable" homosexual image appear to have held some sway, as GAY's editorial in issue six announced that "Diary of a Call Boy" and "Gabriel Club" were being excluded from the issue, and that the "resumption of these two features will depend on your response."⁴⁸ GAY tried to gauge reader response to its action by printing a clip-out survey in issues seven and eight. The survey requested yes or no answers on three topics: There should be a muscle picture in this paper; Should the lonely hearts column reappear [sic] in GAY?; I would like to see "Diary of a Call Boy" again. Of course, discussion continued to rage in the Letters column. In issue eight, one letter claimed that the inclusion of personal ads and "Diary of a Call Boy" catered to "the unrepresentative few of the lunatic fringe who view 'GAY' as another weird tabloid." This view was rejected in the same issue by R.F., who complained that recent changes in content were "a complete disappointment" and that these sorts of articles had "brought you all the patrons and now you let us down."⁴⁹ The battle was short-lived, however, as the Gabriel Club personals were reintroduced beginning with issue eight. As the edito-

rial in issue nine stated, "We've brought Gabriel's club back into the fold. Had to. Couldn't spend all day opening letters of protest at it's [sic] discontinuance. Your wish is our command."⁵⁰

GAY Reaches for an American Audience

During the summer of 1964 GAY used several methods to increase its readership base, centred in Toronto. GAY secured news-stand distribution in Montreal by issue four, and the editorial in issue six requested readers to send in news from Montreal and other cities. In issue seven a new column appeared, "Hamilton Roll-Call," by Lord and Lady Chatterly, with gossip about local happenings in Hamilton, Ontario. GAY also tried to boost subscription levels by offering a special offer to new subscribers: four back issues free with every one-year, \$5 subscription.

The proprietors of GAY knew, though, that although these measures were important, the true hope for boosting the tabloid's circulation lay in the United States, specifically in New York City. Founding editor John Stephen Foster visited New York in June 1964 to secure news-stand distribution. His visit was mentioned in the *New York Mattachine Newsletter*, which announced that Foster had been successful in arranging for distribution of 3,000 copies of GAY on local news-stands. Foster's stated purpose was "to make GAY this country's [America's] first national homosexual tabloid."⁵¹ His success is verified by a copy of an invoice to Liberty News Distributors of New York, dated 19 June 1964, for 3,025 copies of issue six of GAY. The copies were on consignment and were fully returnable. The unit price was 12.5 cents, a discount of fifty percent off the list price; GAY would have received \$378 US if all the copies had sold.⁵²

As part of its plan to make inroads into the American marketplace, GAY began filling its pages with reprinted material directed primarily at an American audience. This thrust came at a good time, as GAY needed new content to fill the space left open by the suspension of "Diary of a Call Boy." Randy Wicker's gay news compendium, "The Wicker Report," debuted in issue six and appeared through issue eleven. Reprinted from the *New York Mattachine Newsletter*, Wicker's column focussed on American organizations and personalities and often filled an entire page. In issue six, GAY also reprinted a pamphlet published by the Mattachine Society of New York, "How Can I Ever Face the World?," which outlined the activities of the society. GAY's republication of material often involved simply cutting out the

TWICE
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GAY

TWENTY
FIVE
CENTS

TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA Wednesday, July 15th. 1964
VOL. 1. No. 7

INSIDE THIS ISSUE

- The Wicker Report
- The Biased I
- New Yorks Middle Class Homosexuals



• The Third View

• Reflections

GAY, volume 1, number 7 (15 July 1964)

TWICE
MONTHLY

GAY

TWENTY
FIVE
CENTS

TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA

Thursday July 30th 1964

VOLUME 1 NO. 8



INSIDE THIS ISSUE

•
**New York's Middle
Class Homosexuals**

•
The Biased I

•
**THE FURTIVE
FRATERNITY**

•
**The
Wicker Report**

GAY, volume 1, number 8 (30 July 1964)

TWICE
MONTHLY

GAY

TWENTY
FIVE
CENTS

Saturday August 15th. 1964 TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA Monday August 31st. 1964
VOLUME 1. No. 9



INSIDE THIS ISSUE

•
The Third View

•
The Wicker Report

•
The Biased I

•
The First
Woman Doctor

GAY, volume 1, number 9 (15 August 1964)

original article, pasting it up, and reprinting it in the tabloid. This resulted in uneven reproduction quality, as in *GAY*'s reprinting of Gaeton J. Fonzi's "The Furtive Fraternity," a profile of Philadelphia's gay community, originally published in the *Greater Philadelphia Magazine*. This article was reprinted over eight pages in issues eight and nine; the small type and poor reproduction quality make the article unreadable in parts. *GAY* was also not averse to reprinting large articles without permission or attribution. For example, William J. Helmer's article "New York's 'Middle-Class' Homosexuals" was pasted up and printed in its original form in *GAY* from issues seven through ten, taking up eleven pages, without attribution. In issue eleven, *GAY* was forced to print an apology to *Harper's* magazine and William J. Helmer for using the article without permission.

***GAY*'s Transformation under Robert Mish Marsden**

An editorial in issue nine (15 August 1964) boasted that within four months of its first appearance *GAY* had secured news-stand distribution not only in Toronto, Montreal, and Hamilton, but also in New York and Chicago. There were subscribers in Canada, the United States, and elsewhere. *GAY* was set for continued expansion across Canada and into the United States, but would need additional capital to accomplish this. The editorial stated that, "Due to this intercontinental expansion we are prepared to sell an interest in *GAY* Publishing Company Limited, to an active or investing partner. Investment fully secured."⁵³ This notice was reprinted in issue ten (31 August 1964). For all the bravado and optimism of this statement, the reality of *GAY*'s financial position was entirely different. It was on the verge of bankruptcy. As a later editorial noted, "... last July the first editor of *GAY* [John Stephen Foster] wrote a check on the company account for \$2,000 and absconded leaving a balance of \$34.45 in the treasury."⁵⁴ *GAY* needed an outside investor or buyer, and fast. That person was Robert Mish Marsden.

There is some debate as to how Robert Marsden of Middletown, Pennsylvania, first became aware of *GAY*. His long-time friend and travelling companion, Kenneth Victor Doolin III, recalls that he and Marsden were visiting Toronto in the summer of 1964 and picked up an issue of *GAY*. Marsden saw the notice about the investment opportunity, was intrigued, and contacted *GAY*.⁵⁵ Another long-time friend, Richard L. Schlegel, claimed that he visited Toronto, bought a copy of *GAY*, and gave it to Marsden in Pennsylvania, where his interest was piqued.⁵⁶ In any case, Robert Marsden

contacted the proprietors of GAY Publishing Company and by August 1964 was in negotiation with them to purchase the enterprise. The exact details of the financial agreement are unknown, but by September 1964 Marsden was in control of GAY and had assumed its editorship, using the pseudonym Robert Maynard.

Robert Mish Marsden was born in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on 18 February 1937, the eldest son of a prominent Middletown family.⁵⁷ His father, Robert Samuel Marsden (1905–1960), was a clergyman and educator, active in various positions in the Orthodox Presbyterian Church. He eventually became executive secretary of the Westminster Theological Seminary. Marsden's mother was M. Bertha Mish (1912–1983), a schoolteacher and descendant of one of Middletown's oldest families. Robert Marsden's only sibling, George Mish Marsden, was born in 1939; he became one of the leading historians of Christianity in America and in 1992 was appointed the Francis A. McAnaney Professor of History at University of Notre Dame.

Marsden's early life was filled with promise and privilege. He majored in social studies and in 1959 graduated from Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He enrolled in law school at Villanova University, but his restless nature began to assert itself, and he never finished. He moved back to the family home at 460 North Union Street in Middletown, which he shared with his recently widowed mother as well as his widowed grandmother, Edith Baxtresser Mish (1874–1968). The home on North Union Street was always an anchor for Marsden. He spent almost all his life living there, in private quarters. The home was the site of various activities related directly to the operation of GAY and became an extension of the Toronto base of GAY, as we shall see.⁵⁸

In 1961 Robert Mish Marsden was living at home and was at loose ends. He enjoyed a comfortable existence, supported by a modest trust fund, but was restless. About this time he saw a business opportunity, arranged a bank loan guaranteed in part by his trust fund, and used the loan to become co-owner of the Air-Tite Company, Inc. The small insulation and electrical contracting company was later known as Atco Mechanical and Electrical Contractors, Inc. Marsden ran the office and did the bookkeeping. But the business held few thrills for an ambitious young man. By 1964 Marsden had sold his interest in Air-Tite and was looking for new challenges.

Robert Marsden's homosexuality was certainly manifest by the early 1960s. He had gay friends like Doolin and Schlegel as early as 1962, and was well acquainted with the nascent homophile movement of the time, partic-



Robert Mish Marsden, ca. 1960

ularly in Philadelphia, Washington, and New York, cities he visited often. Marsden was an inveterate traveller and went on many road trips in one of his several cars, often with Doolin in tow. Such trips always involved cruising for casual sex. In his mid-twenties, Marsden was particularly attracted to teenaged boys and was noted for being surrounded by a gaggle of young companions or admirers, often local Middletown boys or transients. These young men came to play a role in Marsden's new hobby, photography, which he took up as a serious amateur in the early 1960s. Marsden was a devoted follower of the male physique magazines of the day and began to experiment photographically in an attempt to emulate them. He would eventually own a number of expensive cameras, including a Hasselblad and a Speed Graphic, which he used to photograph teenaged boys in the nude in both natural settings and in his home. The black-and-white results of his hobby were developed in a darkroom in the basement.

When Robert Marsden purchased control of *GAY* in August 1964 he had no interest in having it continue in its present form. Marsden admitted that *GAY* had run out of "enthusiasm, ideas, and talent," and that some of the tabloid's issues had been "just plain dull."⁵⁹ He was out to change all that. In particular, Marsden was determined to transform *GAY* into a quality international publication. He planned to use his line of credit and the small profit from his Air-Tite investment to do so.

The content and appearance of *GAY* did not change immediately. Issue ten (31 August 1964) was a twenty-five cent tabloid, sixteen pages, printed on yellow newsprint. Some letters to the editor continued to be harshly critical: "You must be very busy answering complaints about your last issue. May I suggest that you keep your proof readers and printers sober for at least one day a week. This would certainly improve the quality of the publication." Others said that with additional work, and "an ever-growing circulation, plus some advertising, you should be able to produce a somewhat better product."⁶⁰ There were advertisements for the Regency Club, the Metropole Hotel, and Formula 71 hair tonic; there were twenty-two personal ads for the Gabriel Club. The editorial content of issue ten illustrates how *GAY* had fallen into a rut. There were the established columns: Don Philip's "The Biased I" examined sexual promiscuity; Dov Seeger's "The Third View" reviewed John Rechy's recently published novel *City of Night*. Yet another installment of William J. Helmer's "New York's 'Middle-Class' Homosexuals" took up four pages, a quarter of the issue. One unusual feature was a one-page, six-photo spread of Terry, a female impersonator described as "an

accomplished accordionist." Terry was "one of the leading practitioners of his art in England, [where] he specializes in songs and patter and a striptease act. Patrons find it difficult to believe that the performer is a man, especially with the impressive results of his bust operation."⁶¹ Another interesting feature is a full-page advertisement for "four beautifully-illustrated booklets showing some of North America's best-built male bodies." The booklets *Jason* (number 2), *Olympians* (number 2), *Ajax* (number 1), and *Trojans* (number 2) were offered as a set, at the discounted price of \$1.50 (regularly \$2) by the Toronto News Company, listed at the same address as *GAY*.

Issue eleven of *GAY* (15 October 1964) was in the old familiar form. It included a piece on the gay-friendly atmosphere of Fire Island ("GAY Goes to Cherry Grove"), another article designed to interest readers living in the huge New York market. While claiming to publish twice per month, the issue's publication date was actually one and a half months after issue ten; this likely reflects publication delays caused by the change in ownership and by Marsden's plans for overhauling *GAY*. The most significant feature of issue eleven, however, is the appearance of an uncredited photograph of two artistically posed naked youths, a sign of things to come.

GAY Gets a Makeover

Marsden's plans for *GAY* were grand, indeed. *GAY*'s makeover was to be comprehensive, and Marsden devoted the summer and fall of 1964 to implementing it. Consolidation and expansion of the staff were the first requirements. Marsden assumed the editorial duties using the name Robert Maynard. Don Philip (Don Schrank) became the associate editor and art director. Marsden hired R. Mervyn Davies as general manager; his duties included office management, distribution, and advertising. Donna Walmer, a friend of Marsden's from Pennsylvania, became the research supervisor. The three remaining founders of *GAY* retained their positions: Harry Keene was responsible for public relations; Frank Lizotte was the assistant production manager; and James Morton looked after printing and production. A formal roster of contributing editors included Dov Seeger and Randolphe (Randy) Wicker, both of New York.⁶²

One addition to the staff fit especially well with *GAY*'s dreams of expansion in New York City. On 10 September 1964, James Ward wrote a letter to *GAY* commending the "frank and honest tabloid," but complaining that it lacked a column from New York that would help "your paper sell very well

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GAY

TWENTY
FIVE
CENTS

Monday August 31st, 1964 TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA
VOLUME I, No. 10



THINKING OF "TOGETHERNESS" ??

INSIDE THIS ISSUE

•
The Third View

•
The Biased I

•
**New Yorks Middle
Class Homosexuals**

GAY, volume 1, number 10 (31 August 1964)

TWICE
MONTHLY

GAY

TWENTY
FIVE
CENTS

VOLUME 1, No. 11 TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA Thursday, October 15th. 1964

FIRE ISLAND'S GAY POLICE!



GAY, volume 1, number 11 (15 October 1964)

in our city." Ward volunteered to write a sample column on New York's gay scene. "I have no desire to accept a salary for this, but only for the satisfaction of doing so," he wrote.⁶³

James Greenville-Kirk Ward was then twenty-two years old, a high school graduate from West Virginia who worked as a host in the Playbill Restaurant at the Hotel Manhattan. He claimed to be a published writer and said he had worked at a number of gay bars in New York City and was intimate with the gay scene there. Marsden was very excited by Ward's idea, as it was exactly what he was looking for: content and contacts in New York City. He immediately sent a reply to Ward by Western Union telegram:

NEW YORK SCENE IDEA EXCELLENT STOP WE WELCOME
SAMPLE COLUMN FOR NEXT EDITION SHOULD REACH US BY
SEPTEMBER TWENTY FIFTH STOP LETTER AND LATEST COPY
GAY TO FOLLOW⁶⁴

Ward supplied the copy on deadline, and the first "New York Scene" column, under the pseudonym E. James, appeared in issue twelve (16 November 1964). Ward soon became the tabloid's official New York representative, and a contributing editor.

In September 1964, Marsden hired the Toronto patent attorneys Marsden & Bromley (no relation) to conduct a preliminary trade mark search and report on the use of the word "GAY" for the title of a periodical publication or magazine, in Canada or the United States. This was conducted no doubt to prepare for a change in title and distribution agreement, particularly in the United States.⁶⁵

Marsden also arranged for new quarters for GAY Publishing Company. This move gave the whole operation more visibility. GAY signed a two-year lease with the Bowes Company Limited, effective 15 October 1964. The lease cost \$175 per month and included heat, light, and water rates.⁶⁶ GAY's new address, at 980 Queen Street East in Toronto, included two floors of office space. Marsden was delighted that the operation was moving to "Queen" Street. He decorated the exterior of the new headquarters with the words "GAY Publishing Co. Ltd." Marsden wrote to Richard Schlegel,

The "GAY" is bright yellow 24" letters. Most of the older folks who passed seemed to respond little, but the teenagers know the word quite well!⁶⁷

The biggest changes to *GAY* involved an entire overhaul of the appearance of the publication. Issue eleven (15 October 1964) was the last to appear in the old format. Issue twelve (16 November 1964) was named *GAY International*. The tabloid was now a monthly magazine priced at fifty cents. The magazine had the same measurements and general layout, but had increased to twenty pages. The headline on the cover of issue twelve was printed in orange, with some additional orange print inside; the rest of the contents were in black ink, all printed on pale yellow coated stock. The word *GAY* on the cover was printed in 8 cm type, with the addition of the words "ADULTS ONLY" printed in small, discreet letters to the left. The cover layout was striking, and provocative for the day. The bright orange headline above the banner read "NAZIS BRING VASOLINE [sic] TO CONVENTION." Below the banner was a photo of two handsome Nazi stormtroopers in profile. A second, smaller title appeared at mid-cover: "HOW TO BE A CHICKEN QUEEN." The lower left corner of the cover included a table of contents, complete with page numbers.

The interior pages of the new *GAY International* were completely redesigned and the content was diverse, to say the least. For the first time, the contributors and staff were listed (on page three). Issue twelve included a photograph of the staff members of the Toronto office: James Morton, Mervyn Davies, Harry Keene, and Frank Lizotte.⁶⁸ New columns were introduced, including "JD's *GAY* Corner," a syndicated column written by J.D. Kuch of Alexandria, Virginia, and "New York Scene," by E. James (James Ward). Don Philip's column "The Biased I" continued, as did Dov Seeger's "The Third View." Issue twelve also saw the introduction of several professional-quality cartoons, all uncredited, some of which took up an entire page.

The cover headline about the Nazis related to a news item entitled "Nazis Bother Homosexuals," concerning the second annual convention of the East Coast Homophile Organizations (ECHO), recently held in Washington, D.C. A young member of the American Nazi Party, headquartered in nearby Arlington, Virginia, had crashed the convention. According to the article,

He had classic arian [sic] features complete with blue eyes and blonde hair and carried a large plainly marked box ... never mind the basket ... which was labeled TWENTY-FOUR QUARTS OF VASOLINE [sic] (when the Nazis buy Vasoline [sic] they don't fool around!) The lad



GAY Publishing Company, 980 Queen Street East, Toronto, November 1964



GAY's Toronto staff members, November 1964. Left to right: James Morton, Mervyn Davies, Harry Keene, and Frank Lizotte

NAZIS BRING VASOLINE TO CONVENTION



GAY

INTERNATIONAL



ADULTS ONLY

VOLUME I. No. 12

TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18th. 1964

HOW TO BE A CHICKEN QUEEN

INSIDE THIS ISSUE

HORACE THE HOMO HORSE - poem	2
ORGY EQUIPMENT - humor	J.D. 2
NAZIS INVADE HOMOSEXUAL CONVENTION	12
NEW YORK SCENE	E. JAMES 3
JUST BETWEEN US GIRLS - gossip	3
REPORT FROM THE GLORY HOLE - satire	4
EDITORIALS	4
E.C.H.O. KEY-NOTE ADDRESS	ROBERT KING 5
HOUSE and HOMOS - congressional record	6
THE ATTACK - humor	8
THE BIASED "I"	DON PHILIPS 9
SALUTE TO CANADIAN YOUTH - pictorial	10
CLASSIFIED SECTION	12
THE THIRD VIEW	DOY SEEGER 14
NEW YORK MATACHINE MEMBERSHIP	17
CONFESSIONS OF A CHICKEN QUEEN - interview	16
DO IT THE GAY WAY - robin hoods request	20



GAY International, volume 1, number 12 (16 November 1964)

said the vasoline [sic] was a present for Rabbi Lipman, one of the members of the panel of clergy who was to participate in the session.... the visitor was still carrying the vasoline [sic] when he was escorted from the meeting by the police.⁶⁹

This brief news story shows that Marsden was not averse to hinting at the homoerotic possibilities of Nazis and Vaseline on the cover – which would certainly stand out on the news-stand – and then ridiculing the Nazis throughout the piece. Marsden was brazen enough to mail a complimentary copy of the issue to George Lincoln Rockwell, commander of the vehemently anti-gay American Nazi Party, with a letter that stated in part:

We have the pleasure of enclosing a copy of the current issue of “GAY.” We *know* that *some* of your boys will take more than routine interest in it.⁷⁰

GAY International’s ambition to attract American readers was evident throughout the issue. The keynote address given by Robert King at the ECHO conference held on 12 October 1964 was reprinted, covering two full pages.⁷¹ Two more pages were dedicated to an article on the attempt by Franklin Kameny of the Mattachine Society of Washington, D.C., to register the society as a charitable, educational organization in the District of Columbia. *GAY International* reprinted a collage of the resulting fallout in the debates of the United States House of Representatives, originally published in the *Congressional Record*.

The most controversial article in issue twelve was undoubtedly “Anatomy of a Chicken Queen: A Startlingly Frank Interview with a ‘Successful’ Homo.” Marsden, referred to as Bob, interviewed an anonymous, “thirtyish” man, Mr. S., in an unidentified city. The interview, almost two full pages set in three columns, discussed the man’s (illegal) sexual interest and relationship with youths aged sixteen to twenty. The contents are not explicit, but mundane. Marsden attempted to distance *GAY International* from the man’s sexual interest in a preface to the interview:

The individual whose interview is transcribed here has interests, values, and attitudes which are very different from those of most people. He is not a normal person. Society considers him to be one of the worst sort of criminals; by almost any culturally accepted religious

standard he is a depraved and wicked sinner – and even the most modern of Psychiatrists would agree, we think, that he is severely maladjusted.⁷²

Then Marsden tipped his hand by stating, “But he is a person ... and a rather happy one at that.” Marsden concluded by asking readers “to maintain the same non-judgmental attitude that *GAY* held for this truly rare interview.”⁷³ Marsden was at least correct in saying that the interview was very rare. But it was hardly non-judgmental, especially when we consider the images on the pages preceding the interview. Mr. S. spoke of exactly the sorts of youths that so attracted Robert Marsden, examples of which are seen in six black and white photographs, some taking up a full page, printed in issue twelve. Only three of the figures are nude; none exhibit full frontal nudity. A caption under one photo speaks of the “natural beauty of Canada” and how *GAY International* feels that the natural beauty of the Canadian Boy has been neglected. The photos are uncredited. In fact, they were all taken by Marsden and developed in the basement darkroom of his North Union Street home in Middletown. The scenes were all shot in Pennsylvania, using his favourite local youths as models; one picture, complete with fireplace, was taken in the basement of Marsden’s home. The publication of these photographs represented a point of no return for Marsden, and for the future of *GAY International*.

The balance of issue twelve was cartoons, ads, and information. There were a few full-page comic illustrations. Small advertisements were included and were advertised as a free service to subscribers (four ads per year), or \$1.50 per line for commercial customers. And, for the first time, *GAY International* included a list of other organizations in the homophile movement. The list was similar to one published regularly in Philadelphia’s *DRUM Magazine* and was likely copied from it. Twenty-three organizations were listed: thirteen in the United States, one in Canada [Garfield D. Nichol’s short-lived Committee on Social Hygiene, Stittsville, Ontario⁷⁴], and nine in Britain and Europe.

The Quest for American News-stand Distribution

John Stephen Foster had arranged news-stand distribution in New York with issue six. Marsden wanted to consolidate distribution and extend it across America. He tried to develop contacts independently in several American

cities, but knew that GAY could only grow by using a distributor with nationwide reach.

On 25 September 1964, R. Mervyn Davies, the newly appointed general manager of GAY, mailed a copy of the tabloid to Louis Elson, president of the Acme News Company, a major American distributor of magazines, based in New York. An accompanying letter introduced the publication. Davies awkwardly declared that GAY was “directed to a section of the populace of all countries who suffer from the unfortunate sickness of being homosexual in their habits.”⁷⁵ This introduction was hardly auspicious. But the letter was essential in that it introduced Robert Marsden (under his own name) to Louis Elson and stated that Marsden would visit New York at the end of September to discuss distribution possibilities with the Acme News Company.

Marsden and Elson did meet, and if we are to judge from their subsequent correspondence, the meeting was cordial but blunt. Elson knew the gay magazine market well, as he was the distributor of *DRUM Magazine*, the most popular general interest gay magazine of the day. After their meeting Marsden returned to Toronto and arranged for a number of copies of issue eleven to be printed on coated stock and shipped to Elson for examination. Elson thought the coated stock was “a tremendous improvement” over newsprint, but saw other problems with GAY:

I agree with you that people interested in this subject matter will not balk at a 50¢ price, but you still have to give them an interesting publication that they find entertaining and/or informative. I really don't think that you have achieved this standard or goal as yet in your publication. Actually, I would frankly tell you that I don't think it represents a good 50¢ value from the standpoint of content, despite the improved appearance on coated stock.

Elson also voiced concerns about continued “regularity and frequency of issuance” and GAY's own efforts to secure direct news-stand distribution in certain cities. He concluded,

Right now, I think you are going through a trial and error period in both your publishing and distribution efforts. I think you will have to learn that just because you put together a package that may look sen-

sational, does not mean you will sell it unless it is backed up by ... editorial content that is interesting, entertaining and/or informative.⁷⁶

Marsden's reply of 21 October declared that the forthcoming issue of *GAY International*, number twelve, would have not only more pages but "a great many more substantive features." He also reiterated that GAY had in fact kept a regular publication schedule. It had been published twice monthly, and now monthly. GAY also had "a substantial backlog of material for future issues." Finally, Marsden confessed that GAY already had secured news-stand distribution in New York, Buffalo, Detroit, and the District of Columbia, and that negotiations were currently underway with one distributor on the West Coast and another in Philadelphia. He still needed coordinated national distribution, though, and left the door open for the Acme News Company: "Naturally, if you accept GAY for national distribution, the responsibility for these areas will be yours."⁷⁷

Issue twelve, the new, redesigned *GAY International*, was printed in Toronto in late October but was dated 16 November 1964. Its improved appearance, enhanced size and content, and coated stock spoke to most of Louis Elson's concerns. Marsden's additional assurance of regular publication and the offer of exclusive, national news-stand distribution rights in America sealed the deal. On 30 October 1964, GAY Publishing Company Limited signed a distribution contract with the Acme News Co. Inc. for exclusive news-stand sales and distribution of *GAY International* in the United States. GAY would receive 22 cents for every copy sold at the 50-cent retail price. The contract was to commence with the January 1965 issue of *GAY International*, which was to be published no later than 10 November 1964.⁷⁸

Marsden and the staff of *GAY International* had little time to meet their deadline. They did it by reprinting the 16 November 1964 issue twelve, altering the cover date to January 1965, and making a few subtle changes to allow for American distribution. The content of the issue was the same, except that a telegram reproduced on page seventeen from Sidney Zilbert Wander, dated 12 October and regarding membership in the New York Mattachine Society, was replaced by a telegram from Franklin E. Kameny of the Mattachine Society of Washington, D.C., dated 5 November. The January issue also switched the headline to read "NAZIS INVADE HOMO CONVENTION." The new cover included a small notice "LITHO'D IN CANADA" to the left of the masthead, and "Acme" to the right. Finally, the place of publication, "TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA" was removed from the cover.

NAZIS INVADE HOMO CONVENTION

LITHO IN CANADA

50 CENTS



GAY

INTERNATIONAL



ADULTS ONLY

VOLUME 1 No. 12

JANUARY 1965

HOW TO BE A CHICKEN QUEEN

INSIDE THIS ISSUE

HORACE THE HOMO HORSE — poem	2
ORGY EQUIPMENT — humor	J.D. 2
NAZIS INVADE HOMOSEXUAL CONVENTION	12
NEW YORK SCENE	E. JAMES 3
JUST BETWEEN US GIRLS — gossip	3
REPORT FROM THE GLORY HOLE — satire	4
EDITORIALS	4
E.C.H.O. KEY-NOTE ADDRESS	ROBERT KING 5
HOUSE and HOMOS — congressional record	6
THE ATTACK — humor	8
THE BIASED "IT"	DON PHILIPS 9
SALUTE TO CANADIAN YOUTH — pictorial	10
CLASSIFIED SECTION	12
THE THIRD VIEW	DOV SEGER 14
NEW YORK MATACHINE MEMBERSHIP	17
CONFESSIONS OF A CHICKEN QUEEN — interview	16
DO IT THE GAY WAY — robin hoods request	20



GAY International, volume 1, number 12 (January 1965). The first issue for large-scale news-stand distribution in the United States

FOR THOSE WHO ARE HAPPY AND GAY

GAY

INTERNATIONAL

50
Cents

LITTED IN CANADA

ADULTS ONLY

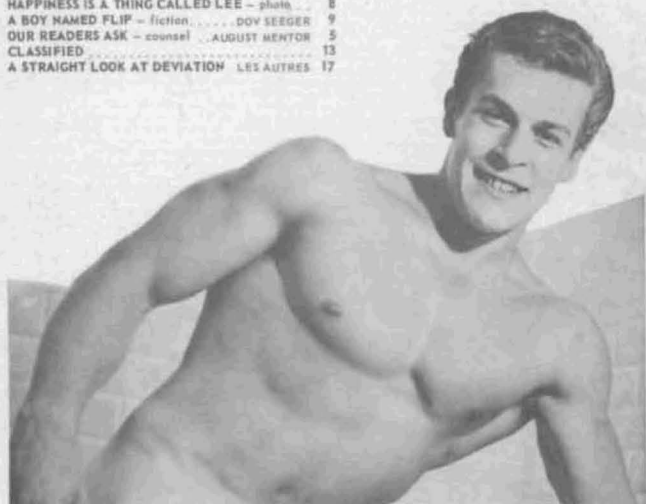


Vol. 2 No. 1

Feb.

INSIDE THIS ISSUE

WHEN KNIGHTS WERE BOLD - article	11
AROUND THE WORLD - news	STAFF 12
"MENAGE A TROIS" - fiction	MARSH HARRIS 6
A PASSERBY - poem	J.D. 17
SYMBOLIC SEX - humor	J.D. 15
HAPPINESS IS A THING CALLED LEE - photo	8
A BOY NAMED FLIP - fiction	DOV SEGER 9
OUR READERS ASK - counsel	AUGUST MENTOR 5
CLASSIFIED	13
A STRAIGHT LOOK AT DEVIATION	LES AUTRES 17



GAY International, volume 2, number 1 (number 13, February 1965). The pilot issue for distribution in Toronto

Searching for Style and Substance

Volume two, number one (issue thirteen, February 1965) of *GAY International* was printed in December 1964 as a pilot edition of 2,500 copies for distribution in Toronto.⁷⁹ Marsden and the staff of *GAY International* were still searching to improve the visual style and editorial substance of the magazine. Marsden's humble, yet hopeful, editorial in the issue outlined progress to date, and stated

GAY is now emerging from the transitional stage between being a local tabloid and an established national magazine and although we can certainly use more of the sort of able assistance which our readers have supplied to us, it can be said with assurance that each day brings some new improvement!⁸⁰

The pilot issue thirteen was in the same general format established in issue twelve: twenty pages printed in black ink on coated yellow paper. The cover featured a striking beefcake pose. A letters to the editor column ("The Mail Basket") contained four letters, generally complimentary. E.M.L., a reader from Vancouver, however, felt that the magazine still lacked depth:

I have just read your sample, and although I find it interesting, I felt it lacked something. However, you're relatively new in this field and will eventually iron out the nonsensical and replace it with better material.⁸¹

The problem of finding good material would remain a continuing challenge for *GAY International* and is evident throughout issue thirteen, which contains numerous filler items, including odd cartoons and illustrations. The issue is largely comprised of fiction (the short story "Menage a Trois" by Marsh Haris), poetry, cartoons, and three physique photographs (one of which, taking a full page, was by Richard Kerr's Can-art Studios of Toronto). The standard advertisements were printed as well as a prominent new ad, headed "Queers!," for *DRUM Magazine*, published in Philadelphia by the Janus Society. Regular columns by Dov Seeger ("The Third View"), E. James ("New York Scene"), and J.D. ("JD's GAY Corner") were present, as was the standard listing of homophile organizations. One new feature was "Our Reader's [sic] Ask?," a personal help column written by August Mentor, a

pseudonym of Marsden's old friend Richard L. Schlegel. "Mentor" was supposedly a representative of the non-denominational Universal Church of Brotherhood, an affiliate of the American Academy of International Morality, located at a postal box address in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Perhaps the most interesting (and political) section of issue thirteen was the news snippets relating to gay activities around the world. Some of these items were reprinted from gay publications like *Citizens News* and the *New York Mattachine Newsletter*. The lead item reports (with a photograph) on a homophile picket line at the U.S. Army Induction Center in New York City, designed to protest the Army's discriminatory policies towards homosexuals. Another item details a recent police raid on the Melody Room club in Toronto. A third reports on comments made in Vancouver by the Rev. William Nicholls, head of the Department of Religious Studies at the University of British Columbia and an Anglican minister, at a meeting of the Association for Social Knowledge (ASK), on the possibilities of gay marriage. Printing these and other news items in one place was a community service, as such stories were not usually covered in the mainstream press of the day, and certainly not from a gay point of view.

The final item of interest in issue thirteen was an advertisement for *GAY International's* "practical guide to New York City," offered for fifty cents per copy. This brief listing of gay-friendly clubs, bars, hotels, baths, beaches, restaurants, and clothing stores was compiled by James Ward, *GAY International's* contributing editor based in New York. It represents yet another attempt by *GAY International* to position itself in the American – particularly New York – marketplace.⁸²

The April 1965 issue of *GAY International*, also numbered volume 2, number 1 (issue thirteen), was printed and released for the wider market. The February pilot issue had tested the local Toronto market and allowed Louis Elson and others to suggest slight modifications to improve a larger printing. The April issue was very much like the pilot, but with significant changes. For example, although the covers were printed on the same coated yellow paper stock as the pilot, the interior contents were printed on uncoated white paper. The cover was redesigned and toned down, the young beefcake model replaced with a campy movie still of an eighteenth-century soldier with the caption "WILL YOU BE MY VALENTINE?" Interior changes were minor, including the replacement of a cartoon on page fourteen and the redrawing of cartoons on pages fifteen and sixteen. The "Queers!" *DRUM* advertisement was replaced by a smaller ad for *DRUM*, fea-

FOR THOSE WHO ARE HAPPY AND GAY

GAY

INTERNATIONAL

50
Cents

USPS 0-100-000

ADULTS ONLY



Vol. 2 No. 1

April

INSIDE THIS ISSUE

WHEN KNIGHTS WERE BOLD - article	11
AROUND THE WORLD - news	12
"MENAGE A TROIS" - fiction	6
A PASSERBY - poem	17
SYMBOLIC SEX - humor	15
HAPPINESS IS A THING CALLED LEE - photo	8
A BOY NAMED FLIP - fiction	9
OUR READERS ASK - counsel	5
CLASSIFIED	13
A STRAIGHT LOOK AT DEVIATION	17



WILL YOU BE MY VALENTINE?

GAY International, volume 2, number 1 (number 13, April 1965). This version was distributed widely

turing the comic character Harry Chess, That Man from A.U.N.T.I.E.⁸³ In addition, the April 1965 issue of *GAY International* included a tipped-in business reply card, offering a one-year subscription for \$5 (a saving of \$4 off the regular price). The card's business reply address was 110 W. 71 Street, New York, the home address of James Ward.

Although the search for quality and substance was ongoing, issue fourteen (June 1965) delivered mixed results. George Marshall (a pseudonym), described as the "acknowledged Queen Mother of the Queen City," had become the magazine's general manager by issue fourteen, and his influence is evident throughout the issue. Marshall was the somewhat notorious author of *The Beginner's Guide to Cruising* and *Advanced Guide to Cruising*.⁸⁴

Under Marshall's influence, issue fourteen of *GAY International* was filled with unusual cartoons and clip art, designed to add to the magazine's stated goal to provide "tasty morsels of wit, wisdom, and winsome waywardness."⁸⁵ This material, more than five of the issue's twenty-four pages, added little to the depth of the magazine. The content was eclectic and without focus. This view is supported by a letter to the editor in issue fourteen from Dick Leitsch, of the Mattachine Society, Inc., of New York, who stated:

My big gripe with GAY and the reason I find it hard to read is that you have no point of view. You are not part of the social protest movement, you aim only at being campy and amusing. That is fine, but you are trying to please everyone. I think you ought to try to please yourself.⁸⁶

Issue fourteen was not without value, however, and did contain some interesting works. For example, Franklin E. Kameny's article "The Homophile Movement" filled a full page in three columns. Don Philip's brief article "Facts about Sex Changes" discussed Christine Jorgensen. E. James (James Ward) published a profile/interview of Ty Bennett, one of the leading female impersonators of the day. Then there were the standard features – "The Mail Basket," columns by Dov Seeger ("The Third View") and J.D. ("JD's Corner"), fiction ("Taboo" by James Ramp and "Hello, Moose" by George Marshall), the international news section, and advertisements.

Issue fourteen had several unusual features. For example, the "Gay Glossary" by Claeys may have served as filler but it was witty (Cruise: a see

voyage; Sister: a member of the family). Another unusual item was an advertisement for George Marshall's GAYME, the "world's first gay game," based on his work *The Beginner's Guide to Cruising*. It was advertised at \$5 per set, available from GAY Publishing Company.⁸⁷

In issue fourteen Robert Marsden was again able to indulge his photographic passion. The photograph accompanying J.D.'s article "How to Clothe a Naked Wall," in which a nude young man arranges a painting on a wall, was taken in Marsden's home. More significantly, issue fourteen includes a single-sheet insert of four colour photographs printed on coated paper. The accompanying text involves a fantasy in which "a German lad" poses nude while working in a picturesque *bierstube* in Frankfurt. The photos were in fact posed, and were taken in the *rathskeller* Marsden had built in the basement of his Middletown home.

Issue fourteen was the largest to date and was bulked up with inserts. The first issue of *Geo. Marshall's Queen City Gazette*, a four-page compendium of ads, listings, and opinion focussed on gay Toronto, printed in navy ink on newsprint, was inserted into copies destined for sale in Canada. A second illustrated insert, *Jim Ward of New York 1965 Beachwear Imports*, highlighted Ward's nascent import business of Kamp shorts, bikini briefs, and posing straps for men.

Two variant covers were printed for issue fourteen of *GAY International*. The original, with the winking head of a Regency dandy as the main figure, was printed in black ink on coated yellow paper; the rest of the issue was printed on uncoated white paper. A revised cover featured a Marsden photograph of a nude male sitting on a large boulder. This cover is printed in black ink on uncoated white paper. The copy of this version I examined contains a cover sticker, printed in green, announcing the enclosed *Geo. Marshall's Queen City Gazette*, which was for local Toronto distribution only.

A New Venture

Kenneth Victor Doolin III believes that it was always Robert Marsden's dream to own a physique magazine.⁸⁸ And, by 1965, with the apparent stability of *GAY International*, Marsden was able to fulfill this wish.

Early in 1965 Marsden started planning the debut of Peter York Studios, using his own photographs as the basis for the enterprise. He established Peter York through a mailbox drop in New York City (475 Fifth Avenue), and by mid-1965 the firm's inaugural project was completed. Marsden created

NEW -- FULL COLOR PICTURES INSIDE -- NEW

FOR THOSE WHO THINK GAY

GAY

INTERNATIONAL

50 cents

NUMBER 14
 Art: T. M. Regé
 Adults only



INSIDE

A GERMAN LAD-color photo
 IN & OUT-color photo 20 pages
 HOW TO ARRANGE A PARTY 31
 THIRD VIEW-interview 30-32
 J.D.'S CORNER-173 28-30
 TV REMOTE-interview 31-32

Little's in Canada

GAY International, number 14 (June 1965). The issue with this cover was distributed widely



GAY International, number 14 (June 1965). The alternate cover issue, distributed in Toronto

and published the first issue of *Like, Young Annual*, “an amazing new kind of magazine for writers and artists.” It was 21 x 14 cm (the standard physique format), fifty-two pages, and initially sold for \$1 (later raised to \$1.25). *Like, Young Annual* featured black-and-white photographs of several of Marsden’s favourite Middletown teenaged models. Marsden took all the photographs, many in his own home. Although all the models posed in the nude, no genitalia were shown. The photographs, some recycled from *GAY International*, were arranged around the fantasy theme of the activities surrounding an imaginary boys’ college, the Shawville College for Problem Boys, in which the youths engaged in “progressive education.” The brief text related to themes such as “play therapy,” “nature study,” or “physical education,” and was set up as a sort of yearbook. Readers interested in the pictures could choose from five sets of photos offered for sale at the back of the magazine.

Editorial and business records relating to *Like, Young Annual* do not survive in the papers of GAY Publishing Company located at Cornell University, and may not have survived at all. It is therefore impossible to deduce some of the most basic details of this publication, including the number of copies printed, the name of the printer, and whether it was sold on news-stands. *Like, Young Annual* was not distributed by the Acme News Company as there is no Acme stamp on the cover. It was advertised in issue fourteen of *GAY International* (June 1965):

Artists and photographers asked for it. The publishing world has acclaimed it. NOW – after months of preparation, PETER YORK ASSOCIATES are proud to present one of the most unusual picture reference books ever created.⁸⁹

Like, Young Annual was also advertised later in the year in *TAB* in an ad placed by Kamp Publishing (the publisher of *TWO*), and was described as a “collector’s item, all boys under 18.”⁹⁰

Distribution Woes and Financial Trouble

Detailed but incomplete financial records and correspondence concerning distribution after October 1964, when *GAY International* signed with the Acme News Company, survive in the GAY Publishing Company papers at Cornell University. They provide a fascinating glimpse into the harsh realities of American news-stand distribution for a fledgling gay magazine during the mid-1960s.

Acme was a distributor whose reach extended to consignee news-stands, both large and small, across the United States. Correspondence and sales reports from Acme reveal the mechanism for distribution. Earle Smith of Acme News sent a letter and package to the Toronto office of *GAY International* on 13 November 1964, which contained labels for shipping the January 1965 issue (number twelve). The letter detailed special instructions to be followed by *GAY International* to prepare the printed copies for shipment to consignees by the Magazine Shippers Association:

All bundles are to be stamped for cars designated. 1 key bundle for each consignee label affixed. Each bundle must list name of publication. If possible ship on skids.⁹¹

So, for issue twelve, 18,000 copies were bundled and labelled according to these instructions and were consigned to Acme News, at 119 Fifth Avenue, New York, then transferred through the Magazine Shippers Association and placed on the proper rail cars or trucks for delivery. Surviving documentation from the Magazine Shippers Association lists the names and cities of news-stand consignees, arranged geographically (Cleveland Car, Detroit Car, Frisco Car), with the number of bundles, copies and weight assigned to each. By examining these records it is possible to determine the exact news-stand distribution pattern for *GAY International* across the United States. The surviving reports for May 1965 state that Cuyahoga News in Cleveland (five hundred copies) and the Tri-State News Agency in East Liverpool, Ohio, (fifty copies) were the only two consignees on the Cleveland Car to receive the magazine. Additional reports detail copies sent to other consignees:

Atlanta Truck:

Muscogee News Company, Columbus, Georgia (25)
Knoxville Magazine Company, Knoxville, Tennessee (100)

Charlotte Truck:

Carolina News Company, Fayetteville, North Carolina (100)

Dallas:

Concho News Agency, San Angelo, Texas (100)

Detroit Car:

Ludington News Company, Detroit, Michigan (500)

York News Company, Lansing, Michigan (100)

Frisco Car:

Redwood News Agency, Healdsburg, California (50)

Gilroy Agency, Oakland, California (150)

L.S. Distributors, San Francisco, California (1,000)

D.A. Milligan News Agency, San Jose, California (200)

Hawaiian Magazine Distributors, Honolulu, Hawaii (100)

Houston:

Weiner News Company, San Antonio, Texas (100)

Kansas City:

Joplin News Company, Joplin, Missouri (50)

Los Angeles Car:

California Magazines, Los Angeles, California (1,200)

Miami:

Sunshine State News, Miami, Florida (400)

St. Paul:

Rochester News Agency, Rochester, Minnesota (25)

Seattle:

Fred N. Bays News Company, Portland, Oregon (150)

J. and R. Distributors, Seattle, Washington (200)

Each agency passed the copies on to local news-stands, where they were displayed for sale. These shipping records are incomplete. There are no details, in this case, for shipments along the East Coast – Philadelphia, Washington, New York, Boston – or for Chicago, certainly some of the most fertile soil for magazine sales. But the example as it stands is impressive: a total of 5,100 copies, distributed from Miami to Seattle to Los Angeles, even to Hawaii.⁹²

Widespread news-stand distribution does not necessarily lead to impressive sales, however. Although *GAY International* had substantial access

to American news-stands from November 1964, this did not result in large or increasing sales. In fact, surviving financial records concerning sales returns reveal a disastrous situation. For example, 18,000 copies of the January 1965 issue of *GAY International* were shipped to Acme News in December 1964 for distribution in the United States. Returned unsold copies totaled 12,723 by the end of May 1965. The issue had sold 5,277 copies. At twenty-two cents net per unit for the publisher (the distributor/wholesalers received the balance of twenty-eight cents per unit on the fifty cent sale), *GAY International* received \$1,160.94 for this issue, minus shipping costs and any last-minute returns.⁹³ In March, Acme received 20,000 copies of the April 1965 issue of *GAY International* (volume 2, number 1) for distribution; by the end of May, 11,935 copies were returned unsold. For 8,065 copies sold the publisher would receive \$1,774.30, minus shipping costs. Additional copies were likely returned after May, lowering the net figure.⁹⁴

Clearly, Marsden was printing too many copies to fill the demand for *GAY International*. Money from news-stand sales was the chief source of revenue for the magazine, but was insufficient to support the myriad costs of running the publication. Of course, *GAY International* relied on other receivables as well, including Canadian news-stand sales, subscriptions, and sales of advertising. Canadian news-stand sales were likely small, reflecting the potential market, and *GAY International* still coordinated these sales itself.⁹⁵ An invoice for 300 copies of the June 1965 issue (number fourteen), sold to KK Books of Toronto, shows a discount of fifty percent off the list price; *GAY International* would have received only \$75 for this sale, excluding any unsold returns.⁹⁶ There is also documentation revealing that *GAY International* supplied 500 copies of the June 1965 issue directly to the Pacific News Company, of North Hollywood, California, at twenty-four cents per unit net (\$120 due), but there is no record of how many copies sold.⁹⁷ With this limited return on investment and steady costs, *GAY International* would eventually face a financial crisis.

The crunch came in June 1965. Surviving bank statements issued by the Bank of Nova Scotia reveal that GAY Publishing Company Limited's receiving account had a balance of \$203.61 as of 28 June 1965.⁹⁸ A hand-written petty cash statement, likely from James Ward of the New York office, listed a balance of \$18.18 on 30 June 1965.⁹⁹ These modest funds were no match for ongoing weekly expenses, including rent and the relentless costs of printing supplies and services. The company spent more than \$1,000 on payments to United Paper Mills for supplies between February and May 1965 alone.¹⁰⁰ By

June 1965, *GAY International* was technically insolvent and had to rely on the wealth of Robert Marsden to survive.

Unfortunately Marsden also found himself in financial difficulty during this period, no doubt due to his expenditures on *GAY International* and other projects, such as *Like, Young Annual*. Marsden defaulted twice, on 1 July and 1 October 1965, on interest payments due on a loan of \$34,000 from the Harrisburg National Bank and Trust Company.¹⁰¹ *GAY International* had become a money pit, and Marsden did not have much more leverage to keep it afloat.

GAY International unofficially suspended publication after issue fourteen, in June 1965. Subscribers soon began to complain about not receiving issues that were supposed to be published every second month. Numerous letters of complaint survive in the archives of *GAY*. A few enterprising subscribers even complained to other gay publishers. For example, an employee of Guild Book Service replied to one disgruntled *GAY International* customer from Georgia in November 1965:

We are sincerely sorry to hear of your unfortunate experience with Gay Publishing Co. We regret that there is nothing we can do for you. However, write to them again and if you do not hear from them promptly, notify the Fraud and Mailability section of the Post Office Department and file a complaint.¹⁰²

Against all odds, Marsden was determined to complete yet another makeover of *GAY International* beginning with issue fifteen, which he hoped to publish by the end of 1965. The magazine would finally be published in the physique format, with fifty-two pages and a four-colour cover on coated stock. A photograph of a fully clothed S.M., Marsden's favourite model, adorned the cover. The issue's price was raised to \$1. Robert Maynard (Marsden) was listed in the masthead as the editor, J.D. Kuch as the associate editor, and Don Philip, Dov Seeger, and E. James as contributing editors. The only staff members listed were Frank Lizotte (assistant production manager) and Donna Walmer (research).

The contents of issue fifteen, printed in black on white paper, displayed the usual eclecticism in an improved design. A highlight of the issue was the short story "Green Leaves," by Kyle Mead, reprinted from *ONE* magazine. Letters in "The Mail Basket," cartoons, a "News in Action" section, and advertisements (for Peter York Studios, *Like, Young*, *TWO*, and *Citizens News*)

were used as filler. J.D. Kuch and Dov Seeger provided their regular columns, and photographs from Rik Art Studios (Richard Kerr) of several of Toronto's leading female impersonators accompanied a brief article entitled "A Female Impersonator Is Not a Drag Queen."

Issue fifteen was dominated by Marsden's obsession with young men, and included an eight-page insert of photographs, many recycled from *Like, Young Annual*. More to the point, Marsden included a six-page interview, in two columns, entitled "A Gay Interview with a Boy Lover." In it, Marsden interviewed an adult man, "Jim," who relates his personal experience of being seduced as a teenager by an older man. The interview is in effect an apologia for this situation and was Marsden's attempt to justify his own desires. Marsden's need to bring this story to public view was certainly bold but transparently biased (particularly when surrounded by some of the photographs from *Like, Young*, which he had taken). Robert Marsden was playing with fire and was about to be burned.¹⁰³

The End of GAY International

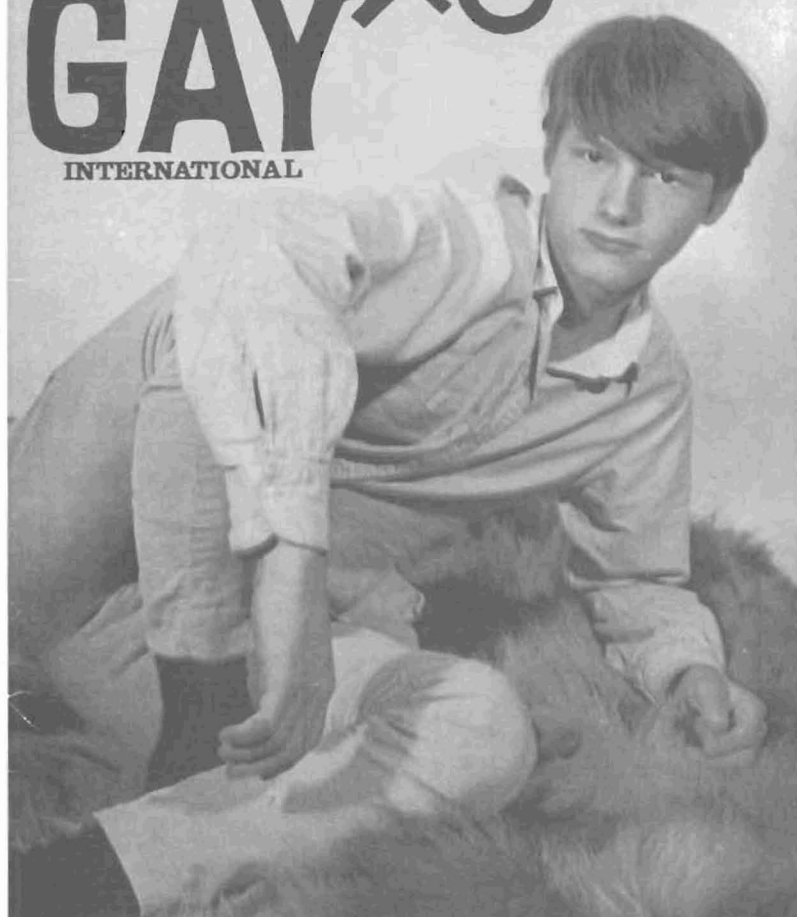
Robert Mish Marsden's career in publishing ended on 10 January 1966. On that date the Pennsylvania State Police filed a criminal complaint against him and Gerald Thomas Burkhardt, of Elmont, New York.¹⁰⁴

On the previous evening, Marsden and Burkhardt were caught by the police with two teenaged youths in an isolated cabin in Wheatfield Township, Perry County, Pennsylvania.¹⁰⁵ The four had gone to the cabin to take photos of the youths and to have sex. The police interviewed the youths, and on their testimony filed charges against Marsden and Burkhardt, who were accused of corrupting the morals of a minor and sodomy. Marsden and Burkhardt were arrested on a warrant, and the Hasselblad and Speed Graphic cameras and other photographic equipment in their possession were seized. The two men were held in the Perry County Jail and attended a preliminary hearing on 18 January. A defendant's recognizance was drawn up in which Bertha Mish Marsden and George Marsden pledged \$7,500 to ensure that Marsden would attend the Court of Quarter Sessions and Oyer and Terminer of Perry County, located in New Bloomfield, Pennsylvania, on 14 February. Marsden was released on bail about 24 January and returned to the family home in Middletown. Marsden's lawyer petitioned the court to quash the charges relating to one of the youths after it was discovered that the teenager was eighteen years old when the events

FOR THOSE WHO THINK GAY

GAY

INTERNATIONAL



HOW TO HAVE FUN WITH YOUR CLOTHES ON

PLUS

Eight pages of physique photographs



ADULTS ONLY

Acme

Litho'd in Canada

GAY International, number 15 (February 1966)

occurred and was technically not a child according to Pennsylvania law. The charges concerning this youth were withdrawn.

A jury convened on 14 February 1966 to consider the bill of indictment, *Corrupting the Morals of a Minor*, relating to the remaining youth. The men were specifically charged with committing acts

corrupting or tending to corrupt the morals of ... a minor to wit: supplying him with intoxicating beverages, committing larceny in his presence, taking lewd and obscene pictures of him, soliciting him to lead an immoral life, touching him indecently, exhibiting lewd and obscene pictures to him, committing sodomy upon him and other indecent and corrupting acts.¹⁰⁶

Marsden and Burkhardt pleaded not guilty. Seven witnesses were called, among them the two youths and the arresting officer. The jurors returned a guilty verdict on 18 February. The imposition of a sentence was deferred to allow for a mental examination of both men. Marsden was sent to the Harrisburg State Hospital for thirty-four days for observation, therapy, and treatment; Burkhardt was sent to the Eastern Penitentiary Correctional Diagnostic and Classification Center.

On 21 February, Marsden's lawyer moved a motion for a new trial but was unsuccessful; the appeal for a new trial was withdrawn in exchange for the dropping of the sodomy charge. The mental assessment was completed on 2 April, and Marsden was released with instructions to appear before the Court of Quarter Sessions of Perry County on 5 April for sentencing. On that date Robert Marsden was sentenced to pay court costs (\$110) plus a fine of \$500. He was also sentenced to be imprisoned in the Allegheny County Work House, in Pittsburgh, for a period of no less than one and a half years and no more than three years, less credit for time already spent in custody. Burkhardt was sentenced later in April to the same prison term, but was fined only seven cents.¹⁰⁷

Marsden's conviction and imprisonment were deathblows to *GAY International*, as they removed him from effective control of the publication and cut off the financial underpinnings of the operation. As soon as Marsden was arrested, the Toronto office of *GAY International* was thrown into turmoil. Issue fifteen, although months late, was ready for printing. Richard L. Schlegel, Marsden's friend from Pennsylvania, drove to Toronto in mid-January to help quell the chaos in the office and to ensure that issue

fifteen was printed and distributed. He also spent time attempting to answer correspondence from irate subscribers and creditors, using GAY Publishing Company letterhead and under Robert Maynard's name.¹⁰⁸

The most pressing matter was a Writ of Summons issued by the County of York relating to an amount of \$623.47 long overdue to Photographic and Mapping Services of Toronto. In a reply to the company, Schlegel wrote:

We acknowledge this debt, and intend to discharge it fully as and when our resources permit. We have suspended publication since summer 1965. If all our current assets were liquidated, we should be able to pay our creditors less than five cents for each dollar owed. Rather than declare bankruptcy, we are attempting to reorganize our corporate structure and to attract advertisers for publications yet to come. If this succeeds, we shall endeavor to discharge our obligations progressively, with each creditor receiving small payments on account until all debts are terminated.¹⁰⁹

GAY International was running out of options, but Schlegel did not give up. He examined the magazine's financial records and tried to raise funds by sending invoices to outstanding accounts. For example, he sent an invoice to Guild Book Service for the 2,400 copies of *Like, Young Annual* that had been shipped to them on 3 October 1965. Terms were 35 cents per unit (a discount of sixty-five percent), for a total of \$840, to be paid to GAY's New York address. Guild had paid \$500 on 5 November, leaving \$340 outstanding. H. Lynn Womack, the president of Guild, sent a blistering reply, complaining that the shipment had been three months late and as a result had required a separate mailing, triggering heavy financial losses. Womack concluded:

It is a matter of some curiosity to me as to who now constitutes "Gay Publishing Co." I understand Mr. Marsden is in jail. In any event, our dealings were so complicated and unpleasant, for us, that we regard all business associations and dealings with "Gay Publishing Co." as terminated.¹¹⁰

Schlegel recalls that George Marshall had completed most of the design and paste-up of issue fifteen by the time he arrived. Printing was completed in early February, in an edition of 3,000 copies. The printing bill was paid by cheque on an account that was already overdrawn; Schlegel recalls that the

long-suffering Bertha Marsden eventually paid the bill.¹¹¹ On 18 February 1966, Schlegel filled his Corvair with fourteen packages of *GAY International*, the entire print run, and crossed the border at Niagara Falls, New York. The Canada Customs export bill of lading, signed by J. Morton, survives and lists GAY Publishing Company of 114 Jarvis Street as the originator of the shipment and GAY Publishing Company of 1133 Broadway, New York, N.Y. as the consignee. Note the change of address for *GAY International*. The Queen Street office had been abandoned, and 114 Jarvis was the address of the printer. The goods were described as "Gay Magazine, No. 15 (Winter, 1965). Published quarterly." The copies were not for sale but were "to be used for advertising promotion, and to be mailed as samples."¹¹² In fact, *GAY International's* New York address was no more than a mail drop, located in the same building as the New York Mattachine Society. GAY Publishing had signed a lease for suite 1608 at 1133 Broadway, to commence in June 1965, but it is unlikely that the room was occupied for long. Schlegel drove straight to his home in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, where he arranged for mailing of the copies to *GAY International's* subscribers and for sales through other means.¹¹³ Invoices for outstanding accounts were also mailed out, including one to Acme News Company for \$3,296.25 for 14,650 copies of the June 1965 issue of *GAY International*, shipped in June 1965. Payment was to be made to the American Academy of International Morality, in care of Schlegel's home address.¹¹⁴ The invoice was never paid, due to heavy news-stand returns of the issue. Schlegel's activities in promoting and selling the final issue of *GAY International*, and of attempting to collect outstanding payments, continued for several months, even after he moved to Schoolcraft, Michigan. But late in 1966 this, too, ceased, and the history of *GAY International* was at an end.¹¹⁵

The Demise of Robert Mish Marsden

Robert Marsden spent more than two years at the Allegheny County Work House and was paroled on 19 August 1968; he was released from parole six months later, on 19 February 1969.¹¹⁶ During his time in prison he underwent additional physical examination and was discovered to be suffering from a variety of schizophrenia, for which he received medication. Upon his release, he returned to Middletown to live with his mother at the house on North Union Street. He never worked again. After his period of parole Marsden spent time driving around to different cities, often with Doolin or other young men, indulging in the new youth culture that came to the fore

in America in the late 1960s. He eventually drifted into the drug culture, experimenting with a variety of illegal substances. These, combined with his medication and alcohol, formed a potent and dangerous cocktail that could only lead to trouble. Marsden's physical decline was evident by 1973. He gained weight, neglected personal hygiene, and was always broke. Matters only worsened over the coming months when depression set in.

On 23 September 1975 Robert Marsden attempted suicide by throwing himself in front of a moving train near Royalton, Pennsylvania. He lost the lower portion of his left leg, but survived.¹¹⁷ After a period of recuperation in hospital, he returned home to North Union Street. On 4 November, Marsden borrowed a shotgun from a friend, on the pretext of wanting to go hunting, returned home, and fatally shot himself. He was thirty-eight years old. Robert Mish Marsden was buried in the Middletown Cemetery, next to his father.¹¹⁸

The Legacy of *GAY*

What was the legacy of *GAY*? What effect did it have on the quest for gay liberation? In most ways, of course, the tabloid was a failure. *GAY* was an enterprise started on a whim; it never established a clear self-identity and never found an audience large enough to sustain it. It was intended to be a light, general interest publication for a perceived "mainstream" gay population. Many of its issues were filled with lightweight cartoons and clip art. It was mostly non-political. *GAY* never exhibited a particular sense of style, and was redesigned three times in fifteen issues before the publisher settled on an undistinguished physique format.

And yet, *GAY* was the first gay tabloid publication in Canada, and the first to offer content beyond physique photographs. It also made a huge, though unsuccessful, effort to become a force in the American marketplace. This is perhaps its most remarkable feat. It is incredible that in 1965 a Toronto-based gay publication would be shipping twenty thousand copies *per issue* to the United States for news-stand distribution. According to figures published by Rodger Streitmatter in *Unspeakable: The Rise of the Gay and Lesbian Press in America*, in 1965 this figure equalled the monthly combined circulation of nine of America's leading gay and lesbian publications: *DRUM* (10,000), *ONE* (3,000), *Mattachine Review* (500), *Tangents* (2,000), *Citizens News* and *Cruise News & World Report* (2,000 combined), *The Ladder* (1,000), *Vector* (600), and *Homosexual Citizen* (400).¹¹⁹ Looked at another way, no Toronto-

based gay publication reached this sustained level of print production again until XTRA! began circulating 20,000 copies per issue in 1990, most of which were given away.¹²⁰

It is grimly amusing, considering his fate, that the most attention Robert Marsden received after the demise of *GAY International* was not for the magazine itself, but for the single issue of *Like, Young Annual* he produced. The magazine caused a sensation when it appeared in mid-1965. The concept for *Like, Young* was soon expropriated, and revived, by other publishers, among them both Clark Polak of Trojan Book Service and H. Lynn Womack of Guild Book Service. The physique magazine "*Like, Young*": *A New Kind of Magazine for Writers and Artists* was published quarterly beginning in Summer 1967 by 101 Enterprises Inc. (Box 444, New York, N.Y.) and survived for at least two issues. Clark Polak used the name in 1967 for the debut of *Like, Young: Male Nudist Review*, which published at least four issues by 1968. Womack jumped on the bandwagon, probably in 1967, with the undated *Like, One* (issue one), "the new magazine featuring the male teenager in photos from private collections of amateur photographers," a series that continued with *Like, Two* (issue two), and perhaps more.¹²¹

In Toronto, the non-physique gay press went into a slump after the discontinuation of *TWO* in the summer of 1966. It did not revive until 1970, with the rise of the *UTHA Newsletter* (later *Gayokay*), published by the University of Toronto Homophile Association beginning in April 1970, and *Phalia*, the club newsletter of Spearhead Toronto (June 1970). In the rest of Canada, after the demise of the *ASK Newsletter* in February 1968, there was not a significant gay newspaper or magazine that survived publication for more than a few issues until the 1970s.¹²²

The Stonewall riots in June 1969 (and, in Canada, the Criminal Code amendments of August 1969) marked the symbolic beginning of the modern gay liberation movement. They also represent a break from the homophile past. By 1969 the youth culture of the baby boomers was very much ascendant in both gay and straight cultures. For gay people this led to a new thrust for political organizing. In-your-face sexual liberationists came to control the gay agenda, while old-style homophile politeness and the lure of the closet were out. This generational shift was evident in New York in a newspaper founded in late 1969 by Al Goldstein, the publisher of *SCREW* magazine. Also called *GAY*, the paper was edited by Lige Clarke and Jack Nichols and highlighted and promoted gay liberationist strategies in the United States.¹²³ In Canada, the new liberationist concerns came to the fore-

front in the fall of 1971 with the establishment in Toronto of *The Body Politic*, Canada's first effective national political gay newsmagazine.¹²⁴ The staffs of both *GAY* and *The Body Politic* would have viewed *GAY International* as a quaint, and awful, relic. The struggles and defeat of *GAY International* soon slipped from memory and were forgotten in the heady quest for liberation that characterized the new gay movement.

Notes

1 Alan V. Miller, curator of the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives's periodical collection, provided figures concerning the extent of the CLGA's holdings. There is some debate as to which archives houses the largest collection of gay and lesbian periodicals. The ONE Institute & Archives, located in Los Angeles, claims on its website that as of January 2001 its lesbian and gay periodicals collection included more than 6,850 titles. See "Brief Description of Our Collections" at www.oneinstitute.org/

2 See Donald W. McLeod, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada: A Selected Annotated Chronology, 1964–1975* (Toronto: ECW Press and Homewood Books, 1996), pp. 41–42, 44.

3 The present work intends to examine one small corner of the history of gay life in Canada, and the historic role of gay men in challenging the sexual status quo. Scholarly study of the history of gay men in Canada is a developing field. Some excellent scholarship has been published in recent years but many areas of Canadian gay history, particularly before 1970, remain unexplored. Here is a sampling of the existing key texts in this field of study, with a focus on Toronto.

Two excellent studies for the early part of the twentieth century are Steven Maynard, "'Horrible Temptations': Sex, Men, and Working-Class Male Youth in Urban Ontario, 1890–1935," *Canadian Historical Review* 78 (June 1997): 191–235, and Steven Maynard, "Through a Hole in the Lavatory Wall: Homosexual Subcultures, Police Surveillance, and the Dialectics of Discovery, Toronto, 1890–1930," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 5 (October 1994): 207–42.

The period of mid-century is examined in several important works: David Stewart Churchill, "Coming Out in a Cold Climate: A History of Gay Men in Toronto during the 1950s" (Master of Arts thesis, Graduate Department of Education, University of Toronto, 1993), Jim Egan, *Challenging the Conspiracy of Silence: My Life As a Canadian Gay Activist*. Compiled and edited by Donald W. McLeod (Toronto: Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives and Homewood Books, 1998), and Eric Setliff, "Sex Fiends or Swish Kids? Gay Men in Hush Free Press, 1946–1956," in *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays on Femininity and Masculinity in Canada*. Eds. Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy M. Forestell (Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 1999).

For an examination of the anti-gay discrimination campaign conducted by the Canadian state from the 1950s through the 1970s see Gary Kinsman and Patrizia Gentile, with the assistance of Heidi McDonell and Mary Mahood-Greer, "In the Interests of the State": *The Anti-gay, Anti-lesbian National Security Campaign in Canada: A Preliminary Research Report* (Sudbury, Ont.: Laurentian University, 1998), and Daniel J. Robinson and David Kimmel, "The Queer Career of Homosexual Security Vetting in Cold War Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 75 (September 1994): 319–45.

Valuable overviews of Canadian gay history are provided in Gary Kinsman, *The Regulation of Desire: Homo and Hetero Sexualities*, second ed., rev. (Montréal: Black Rose Books, 1996), Miriam Smith, *Lesbian and Gay Rights in Canada: Social Movements and Equality-Seeking, 1971–1995* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), and Tom Warner, *Never Going Back: A History of Queer Activism in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

- 4 For an overview of events concerning gays and lesbians in Canada in 1964 see McLeod, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada*, pp. 1–15.
- 5 Nathan Cohen, “Monday Miscellany” (column), *Toronto Daily Star*, night ed., 13 January 1964, p. 18.
- 6 [Ron Poulton], “Society and the Homosexual,” *Toronto Telegram*, final ed., 11 April 1964, p. 7 (part 1); 14 April 1964, p. 7 (part 2); 15 April 1964, p. 7 (part 3). See also McLeod, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada*, pp. 7–8.
- 7 Sidney Katz, “The Homosexual Next Door: A Sober Appraisal of a New Social Phenomenon,” *Maclean’s*, 22 February 1964, pp. 10–11, 28–30, and Sidney Katz, “The Harsh Facts of Life in the ‘Gay’ World,” *Maclean’s*, 7 March 1964, pp. 18, 34–38. See also Egan, *Challenging the Conspiracy of Silence*, pp. 79–83, and McLeod, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada*, p. 3.
- 8 Clubs and bars frequented by lesbians and gays in Toronto during this period are listed in “A Preliminary Checklist of Lesbian and Gay Bars and Clubs in Canada, 1964–1975,” appendix three of McLeod, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada*, pp. 281–82.
- 9 Edward A. Lacey to Charles Hayden, Jr. (later known as Randy Wicker), 1 June 1964. Edward A. Lacey papers, in the possession of Fraser Sutherland, Toronto. Sutherland was Lacey’s literary executor, and I thank him for permission to publish excerpts from this letter.
- 10 McLeod, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada*, pp. 46–47, 59–61.
- 11 See the correspondence and advertisements relating to Miss Muffett Enterprises in the GAY Publishing Company Records, collection number 7442, box 1. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, N.Y., (subsequent references to this collection are cited as Cornell, collection 7442). Similar Canadian gay introduction services operating in 1964 included the Atlantic Pen Pal Club (for men only, based in Halifax, N.S.) and the Socrates Pen Pal Club (based in Toronto, for “sophisticated men interested in a gay exciting way of life”). See TAB, 28 March 1964, p. 13, and TAB, 18 April 1964, p. 14.
- 12 Robert Maynard (pseudonym of Robert M. Marsden) to Mary McIntosh, Department of Sociology, Leicester University, 6 March 1965, in Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 13 Copy of the completed form “Application for Incorporation of a Company,” dated 21 March 1964, in Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 14 Copies of GAY are very scarce. The Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives in Toronto is the only institution I have located that contains a complete set. Incomplete sets are located in the International Gay Information Center Collection, Manuscripts and Archives Section, New York Public Library, and in Cornell, collection 7442. Comments made in this work concerning the content of issues of

GAY have been made possible through examining the copies at the CLGA.

- 15 See GAY 1, no. 1 (30 March 1964): 6. Note that the spelling of "GAYbrial" was inconsistent through the life of the column.
- 16 I traced the names of these men in the Toronto city directories of the 1950s through the 1970s. I was able to glean only limited information about them, and have not been able to locate them today. Some of the circumstantial evidence concerning them is fascinating, and suggests that several of these men had been married (perhaps even during the time of GAY), and some fathered children: "... three of the four members of the permanent Board of Directors have children; one is separated from his wife." Robert Maynard (Marsden) to Mary McIntosh, Department of Sociology, Leicester University, 6 March 1965, in Cornell, collection 7442, box 1. I was also unsuccessful in locating people who remember any of these men. Neither Clifford Collier, the first editor of TWO magazine in 1964, nor George Hislop, Toronto's leading gay activist of the late 1960s and 1970s, recalls meeting any of them, or even recognized their names. Clifford Collier interview, Toronto, Ont., 30 November 2002; George Hislop interview, Toronto, Ont., 24 July 2002.
- 17 There are numerous invoices from RPS in the GAY Publishing Company papers. Most relate to the printing of the tabloid (and include the number of copies printed); others relate to rent charges. See Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 18 R.R., letter to the editor, GAY 1, no. 2 (13 April 1964): 8.
- 19 Jim Egan, Canada's leading gay writer and activist of the day, faced exactly the same fears and opposition to his work in Toronto in 1964. See Egan, *Challenging the Conspiracy of Silence*, p. 84, in particular.
- 20 "Editor's Note," GAY 1, no. 2 (13 April 1964): 8.
- 21 "Letter from the Editor," GAY 1, no. 2 (13 April 1964): 8.
- 22 All figures concerning print runs have been taken from the RPS invoices to GAY Publishing Company. See Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 23 Steele, "Local Topics" (column), GAY 1, no. 2 (13 April 1964): 6.
- 24 "Editorials," GAY 1, no. 3 (15 May 1964): 2.
- 25 Don Philip, "The Biased I" (column), GAY 1, no. 3 (15 May 1964): 7. Note that the name of this column was inconsistent and sometimes appeared as "The Biased Eye."
- 26 J. MacDonald, letter to the editor, GAY 1, no. 3 (15 May 1964): 3.
- 27 Editor's note, "Letters to the Editor," GAY 1, no. 3 (15 May 1964): 3.

- 28 "Editorials," *GAY* 1, no. 3 (15 May 1964): 2.
- 29 See editorial note in "Letters to the Editor," *GAY* 1, no. 3 (15 May 1964): 3, and "Editorials," *GAY* 1, no. 4 (29 May 1964): 3.
- 30 In June 1964 the rates for space advertising were \$100 for a full page, \$60 for a half-page, \$35 for a quarter-page, and \$20 for an eighth of a page, plus artwork and set-up charges. The rates were increased in October 1964: \$180 for a full-page, \$95 for a half-page, and \$50 for a quarter-page. John Stephen Foster to World-Live Clubs, 11 June 1964, Cornell, collection 7442, box 1; Advertising rate sheet, effective 25 October 1964, Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 31 Unsigned letter to the editor, *GAY* 1, no. 4 (29 May 1964): 2. A letter to Charles Hayden, Jr., written by Edward A. Lacey on 1 June 1964, managed to express disgust at the poor quality of *GAY*, as well as awe that it simply existed, in the same sentence: "I am sending you a copy of *GAY*, which I picked up purely out of curiosity at a news-stand, & the contents ... rather startled me. As much by their vulgarity and puerility, their pure middle-class, high-school-news-letter crassness, as by their explicitness & the very fact of such a paper's existing in puritan Toronto..." Edward A. Lacey to Charles Hayden, Jr. (later known as Randy Wicker), 1 June 1964. Edward A. Lacey papers, in the possession of Fraser Sutherland, Toronto.
- 32 The Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives holds a complete run of the *ASK Newsletter*, which has also been microfilmed by McLaren Micropublishing. Also, Douglas Sanders, the second president of ASK, has donated his papers to the CLGA (accession 2003-025). They contain much correspondence and files relating to both the organization and the newsletter.
- 33 "Editorial from the Chairman's Desk," *ASK Newsletter* 1 (April 1964): 1.
- 34 In August 1965, Everett George Klippert was sentenced to a prison term of three years after being found guilty of four counts of gross indecency involving non-violent acts with consenting adults in private; in March 1966 the courts declared him a dangerous sexual offender. The Klippert case became one of the most important criminal cases in Canadian history to deal with gay sexuality and prompted the introduction of amendments to the Criminal Code (Bill C-150) that came into effect in August 1969. See McLeod, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada*, pp. 20, 23-24, 32-33.
- 35 K.K., "Membership Committee Annual Report," *ASK Newsletter* 2 (March 1965): 12.
- 36 See "Treasurer's Report for ASK's First Fiscal Year Up to and Including March 23, 1965," *ASK Newsletter* 2 (March 1965): 5. We know that at this time there were nearly 100 subscribers to the *ASK Newsletter*, which would have included the paid members of ASK. As well, ASK spent \$348.78 for "publication supplies" during 1964-65. This was ASK's largest expense during the period. See K.K., "Membership Committee Annual Report," *ASK Newsletter* 2 (March 1965): 12.

- 37 Doug [Sanders], "President's Corner," *ASK Newsletter*, November 1967, p. 1.
- 38 The Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives has an incomplete run of *TWO*, and I have been unable to locate a complete set in any institution.
- 39 Claude Collier (pseudonym of Clifford Collier), Editorial note, *TWO*, no. 1 (July 1964), p. 2.
- 40 Clifford Collier provided the biographical information about Richard Kerr. Clifford Collier interview, Toronto, Ont., 30 November 2002.
- 41 Clifford Collier interview, 30 November 2002.
- 42 Clifford Collier interview, 30 November 2002.
- 43 Dorian, "The Funny Side" (column), *GAY* 1, no. 5 (15 June 1964): 6. For more information on Marshall, see the obituary "Peter Kirkland Marshall: Continued Family's Role in Canadian Horse-racing Industry," *National Post*, 10 February 1999, p. A16.
- 44 "Editorials," *GAY* 1, no. 6 (30 June 1964): 3.
- 45 Unsigned letter to the editor, *GAY* 1, no. 5 (15 June 1964): 2, 8.
- 46 Unsigned letter to the editor, *GAY* 1, no. 5 (15 June 1964): 2, 8.
- 47 Happily Married Montrealer, "Platform" (column), *GAY* 1, no. 6 (30 June 1964): 6; F.Y., Letter to the editor, *GAY* 1, no. 6 (30 June 1964): 2.
- 48 "Editorials," *GAY* 1, no. 6 (30 June 1964): 3.
- 49 See Pete and Friends, and R.F., "Letters to the Editor," *GAY* 1, no. 8 (30 July 1964): 2.
- 50 "Editorials," *GAY* 1, no. 9 (15 August 1964): 3. The Gabriel Club personals were dropped entirely after issue ten.
- 51 See the editorial note under the heading "Canada" in *GAY* 1, 9 (15 August 1964): 2. See also "The Wicker Report: Canada," *New York Mattachine Newsletter* 9 (July 1964): 9.
- 52 Copy of invoice from *GAY* Publishing Co. to Liberty News Distributors, 19 June 1964. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1. Issue six of *GAY* was printed in two batches in June 1964: 2,000 copies for Canada, and 3,000 copies for the United States. See the RPS invoices dated 15 June and 22 June 1964 in Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 53 "Editorials," *GAY* 1, no. 9 (15 August 1964): 3.
- 54 "From the Editor's Desk," *GAY International* 2, no. 1 (February 1965): 4.

- 55 Telephone interview with Kenneth Victor Doolin III, Buffalo, N.Y., 22 March 2002.
- 56 E-mail letter from Richard L. Schlegel, Lewisburg, Pa., 24 January 2002.
- 57 I have confirmed biographical details of Marsden's life through a telephone interview with Kenneth Victor Doolin III, Buffalo, N.Y., e-mail correspondence with George Mish Marsden, Notre Dame, Ind., and e-mail correspondence and interviews with Richard L. Schlegel, Lewisburg, Pa.
- 58 I was able to visit Marsden's home in Middletown, Pa., in May 2002, in the company of Richard L. Schlegel. I would like to thank the current owner, C. Curtis Vreeland, for allowing us to tour the grounds and the interior of the home.
- 59 "From the Editor's Desk," *GAY International* 2, no. 1 (February 1965): 4.
- 60 George Black, Letter to the editor, *GAY* 1, no. 10 (31 August 1964): 2; L.J., Letter to the editor, *GAY* 1, no. 10 (31 August 1964): 2.
- 61 *GAY* 1, no. 10 (31 August 1964): 12.
- 62 Staff members were not listed in the masthead of *GAY* until issue twelve, after Marsden had assumed control. See *GAY International* 1, no. 12 (16 November 1964): 3.
- 63 James Ward to the Editor, "Gay" Ltd., 10 September 1964. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1. Biographical details about Ward were located in a copy of Ward's completed application for employment form for Trans World Airlines, Inc., dated 22 January 1965, which survives in the GAY Publishing Company papers, as above.
- 64 R. Maynard (Marsden) to James Ward, Western Union Telegram, 15 September 1964. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 65 Invoice and statement from Marsden & Bromley, Patent Attorneys, Toronto, to GAY Publishing Co. Ltd., 24 September and 30 November 1964. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1. There was no relation between Robert Mish Marsden and the Marsden of this company.
- 66 Copy of lease indenture between Bowes Company Limited and GAY Publishing Company Limited, 5 October 1964. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 67 Robert Maynard (Marsden) to Richard Schlegle [sic], 16 November 1964. Richard L. Schlegel papers, Rare and Manuscript Collections, Carl A. Kroch Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., collection 7306, box 1. For details of the sign, see the invoice from Allied Sign Letters Limited to GAY Publishing Co. Ltd., 5 November 1964. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 68 This photograph was particularly daring for the day, because the staff members were all identified by their real names, as opposed to pseudonyms. It is significant that Marsden was not in the photograph. He always used the pseudonym

Robert Maynard during his career with GAY; it is unlikely that he would have allowed his photograph to appear in the publication.

- 69 "Nazis Bother Homosexuals," *GAY International* 1, no. 12 (16 November 1964): 12. For a more detailed account of this affair see Kay Tobin, "ECHO Report '64; Part Three: A Nazi Stunt Fails," *The Ladder* 9 (January 1965): 20–22.
- 70 Robert Maynard (Marsden) to Lincoln Rockwell, 28 October 1964. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 71 *GAY International* forged strong ties with the East Coast Homophile Organizations (ECHO). GAY Publishing Company printed one of ECHO's most important public documents: a four-page, wallet-sized brochure with tips on "How to Handle a Federal Interrogation" and what to do "If You are Arrested." A copy of this publication may be seen in the ECHO papers, International Gay Information Center Collection, Manuscripts and Archives Section, New York Public Library.
- 72 [Robert Marsden], "Anatomy of a Chicken Queen: A Startlingly Frank Interview with a 'Successful' Homo," *GAY International* 1, no. 12 (16 November 1964): 16, 18.
- 73 [Marsden], "Anatomy of a Chicken Queen," p. 16.
- 74 For more on the Committee on Social Hygiene see McLeod, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada*, pp. 5, 7.
- 75 Mervyn Davies to Acme News Co., Attention Mr. L. Elson, 25 September 1964. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 76 Louis Elson to Robert Maynard (Marsden), 13 October 1964. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 77 Robert Maynard (Marsden) to Lou Elson, 21 October 1964. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 78 Distribution contract between Acme News Co., Inc. and GAY Publishing Co. Ltd., 30 October 1964. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 79 Robert Maynard (Marsden) to Lou Elson, 14 December 1964. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 80 "From the Editor's Desk," *GAY International* 2, no. 1 (February 1965): 4.
- 81 E.M.L., letter to the editor, *GAY International* 2, no. 1 (February 1965): 3.
- 82 A typescript copy of this guide is located in the GAY papers at Cornell University, but may represent an editorial version rather than the final product. I have been unable to determine the size or appearance of this work as it was sold to the public.
- 83 Harry Chess first appeared in *DRUM Magazine* and became the central character in

the first comic strip to appear in the American gay and lesbian press. See Rodger Streitmatter, *Unspeakable: The Rise of the Gay and Lesbian Press in America* (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1995): 98–99.

- 84 George Marshall's real name was George Henderson, and he was prominent as a gay writer and physique photographer from at least 1963 to 1966. George Henderson Studios (of Montreal) was listed in physique magazines in 1963–64 and was active in submitting material to American publications such as *Fizeek* and *Manorama*. Henderson was appointed the Special Events and Special Features editor of *Fizeek* in the April 1964 issue. The May 1964 issue of *Manorama* included photographs of Henderson taking pictures of young models ("So You Want to Be a Physique Photographer ...," *Manorama*, no. 17 [May 1964], pp. 8–11). By mid-1964, though, Henderson's studio in Montreal was no longer listed, and the name George Henderson disappeared forever from the physique scene.

About that time, "George Marshall" began to make a name for himself in Toronto. He published *Geo. Marshall's Queen City Gazette* for at least two issues in 1965, became involved with *GAY International*, and was also published in *TWO*. His *The Beginner's Guide to Cruising* (Washington, D.C.: Guild Press Limited, 1964) and *Advanced Guide to Cruising* (Washington, D.C.: Guild Book Service, 1965), concerning techniques for picking up men, were internationally popular. They were heavily promoted and sold by both the Guild Book Service and Trojan Book Service, were excerpted in Clark Polak's *DRUM Magazine*, and were advertised in physique publications such as *Manorama*.

Richard L. Schlegel met Marshall in February 1966 and recalls that he had a military background. This is confirmed in an interview with Marshall published in *TWO* ("This Is the Army Mr. Jones," *TWO*, July-August 1965, pp. 11–14) concerning his twelve years of service in, and dismissal from, the Canadian army.

Shortly after the demise of *GAY International*, the Marshall pseudonym was abandoned and George Henderson decided to leave the gay scene. He established a used book, comic, and movie memorabilia store, Viking Books (also known as The Comicollector), at 227 Queen Street West, Toronto. In July 1966 Robert Fulford interviewed Henderson for the *Toronto Daily Star*. Fulford noted that Henderson was a "reformed pornographer, very glad to be going straight." He continued:

He wrote dozens of cheap sex books and then got sick of it. 'It was a dirty business.' Some of his sex books, published under other names, are still on sale in shops farther along West Queen.

Fulford's article included a photograph of Henderson in his shop, the same man in the photographs published in *Manorama* in 1964.

George Henderson later became well-known as Captain George, the proprietor of Memory Lane, a movie and magazine memorabilia shop located at 594 Markham Street in Toronto, and as the publisher of the fanzine *Captain George's Whizzbang*. Memory Lane closed in 1992 and Henderson died in Toronto about 1999. See Robert Fulford, "A Quiet Growth of Sub-Bohemia over on Queen," *Toronto Daily Star*, night ed., 23 July 1966, p. 26; Guild Book Service advertisement in *Manorama*, no. 27 (January 1966), p. 41; George Marshall, "The Beginner's Guide to Cruising," *DRUM Magazine* 5, no. 1 (March 1965): 12; and Miles Johns, review of

The Beginner's Guide to Cruising, TWO, July-August 1965, p. 31.

- 85 "A Word from the Publisher," *GAY International*, no. 14 (June 1965), p. 1.
- 86 Dick Leitsch, letter to the editor, *GAY International*, no. 14 (June 1965), p. 3.
- 87 I have been unable to locate a copy of this game. See the advertisement in *GAY International*, no. 14 (June 1965), p. 19.
- 88 Telephone interview with Kenneth Victor Doolin III, Buffalo, N.Y., 22 March 2002.
- 89 Advertisement, *GAY International*, no. 14 (June 1965), p. 22.
- 90 Advertisement, *TAB*, 20 November 1965, p. 8.
- 91 Earle Smith, Acme News Co. Inc., to Robert Maynard (Marsden), 13 November 1964. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 92 Magazine Shippers Association, Inc., shipping reports for *GAY International*, May 1965. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 93 Acme News Co. sales and returns report for *GAY International*, January 1965 issue. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 94 Acme News Co. sales and returns report for *GAY International*, April 1965 issue. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 95 The figures quoted for number of copies sent to the United States for news-stand distribution do not take into account the copies that were sold on Canadian news-stands, to subscribers, or simply given away as promotional copies. As the invoices for printing *GAY International* do not survive in the papers of GAY Publishing Company at Cornell, it is not possible to estimate the total print run of issues of *GAY International*.
- 96 Invoice from GAY Publishing Co. Ltd. to KK Books, Toronto, 6 May 1965. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 97 GAY was dissatisfied with distribution and sales in the Los Angeles area and decided to use Pacific News in an attempt to boost sales. See James Ward to Pacific News Co. Inc., Attn. Tony Rizzo, 22 June 1965. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1. See also GAY Publishing Co. Ltd.'s shipment record to Pacific News Co., 28 June 1965. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 98 GAY Publishing Co. Ltd. Receiving Account statement of current account, Bank of Nova Scotia, 28 June 1965. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 99 GAY Publishing Co. Ltd. Petty Cash statement, 1965. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.

- 100 GAY Publishing Co. Ltd. Printing Equipment and Supplies expenditures ledger, 1964–65. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 101 Samuel M. Pursel, Administrative Vice President, Harrisburg National Bank and Trust Company, Harrisburg, Pa., to Robert Mish Marsden, 5 October 1965. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 102 Copy of a letter from Bill Simpson, Associate Editor, Guild Book Service, to John J. Hill, Jr., 29 November 1965. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1. Although letters of complaint regarding nondelivery were pouring in by November 1965, Marsden was still publicly upbeat about *GAY International's* prospects. See Rick Low and Laas Leivat, "Gay, a Magazine for the City's Homosexuals," *The Ryersonian* (Toronto), 24 November 1965, p. 6.
- 103 Marsden's sexual interest in teenaged boys was illegal in his day. Laws prohibiting same-sex sexual activities were considerably more restrictive in 1965 than today, in both Canada and the United States. In Canada, any same-sex activity, even between consenting adults in private, was illegal until the amendments to the Canadian Criminal Code decriminalizing "buggery" and "gross indecency" between two adults twenty-one years of age or older, in private, were passed in August 1969. "Gross indecency" remained in the Canadian Criminal Code until January 1988, and the term "buggery" was changed to "anal intercourse." Today the age of consent for most sexual activities is fourteen years except in relationships involving trust, authority, or dependence, or for "consideration," in which case the age of consent is eighteen years. The age of consent for anal intercourse is also set at eighteen. See the *Canadian Criminal Code. Part V: Sexual Offences, Public Morals and Disorderly Conduct*, sections 150.1–153.1 and 159.

In Pennsylvania, sodomy (also known as voluntary deviate sexual intercourse, section 3124) was illegal, but this statute has since been repealed. Today, in Pennsylvania the age of consent is thirteen, or sixteen if one partner is four or more years older than the other. See the *Pennsylvania Consolidated Statutes. Crimes and Offenses* (Title 18). Article B. Offenses Involving Danger to the Person. Chapter 31: Sexual Offenses. See also Richard A. Posner and Katherine B. Silbaugh, *A Guide to America's Sex Laws* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

Could the photographs that Robert Marsden published during the 1960s be considered child pornography? Marsden was never charged as a pornographer, and none of the photographs published in *GAY International* or *Like, Young Annual* showed genitalia or depicted any sexual acts.

Laws concerning child pornography were not codified in Canada until the 1990s. The legislation focusses on materials in which persons are (or are depicted as being) under the age of eighteen years and are engaged in explicit sexual activity. Sexual organs or the anal region cannot be the dominant characteristics of the depiction. Also, written material that advocates explicit sexual activities with a person less than eighteen years is illegal (with certain exceptions for material that is deemed to have "artistic merit or an educational, scientific or medical purpose"). See the *Canadian Criminal Code. Part V: Sexual Offences, Public Morals and Disorderly Conduct*, section 163.1 in particular. Pennsylvania's statute (section 6312), enacted in 1977, has similar prohibitions against the depiction or simulation of sexual acts by a person under eighteen years old.

- 104 Details of the charges and court case against Marsden and Burkhardt related here are contained in records located in the Office of the Prothonotary, Perry County Courthouse, New Bloomfield, Pa. Richard L. Schlegel and I visited the office in May 2002 and were allowed to examine the file and records relating to the case. I would like to thank Brenda J. Albright, the Prothonotary and Court of Clerks, Perry County Courthouse, New Bloomfield, Pa., for allowing access to these records.
- 105 I have been unable to determine the relationship between Marsden and Burkhardt, or indeed how they met these youths. These questions were not answered in the records of the case.
- 106 Bill of Indictment, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania vs. Robert Mish Marsden and Gerald Thomas Burkhardt, Criminal Courts of Perry County, Pennsylvania, no. 58, October term 1965. Quarter sessions. Dated 14 February 1966.
- 107 The local newspaper reported the charges and the sentences in general omnibus crime articles. See "Cumberland Man Pleads Guilty," *Perry County Times*, 10 March 1966, p. 3; "Liverpool RD 1 Man Fined \$300, Jailed for Assault," *Perry County Times*, 14 April 1966, p. 2; "New York Man Sentenced on 2 Morals Counts," *Perry County Times*, 28 April 1966, p. 1.
- 108 E-mail correspondence (1 May 2002) and interview with Richard L. Schlegel, New Bloomfield, Pa., 16 May 2002.
- 109 Robert Maynard (written by Richard L. Schlegel) to Photographic and Mapping Services, Toronto, 19 January 1966. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 110 Invoice from GAY Publishing Co. Ltd. to Guild Book Service, 13 January 1966; H. Lynn Womack, Director, Guild Press, Ltd., to GAY Publishing Co., 17 January 1966. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 111 E-mail correspondence with Richard L. Schlegel, Lewisburg, Pa., 1 May 2002.
- 112 Canada Customs. Export Entry Bill of Lading, 18 February 1966. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 113 Schlegel recalls that both Clark Polak and H. Lynn Womack were very interested in issue 15 of *GAY International*: "Eventually Clark Polak sent freight haulers to truck the cartons from Lewisburg to Trojan Book Service quarters in Philadelphia. He fanned them out to his mail orders, his bookstores, and to Womack, and maybe to others. It was that issue of *GAY* that became such a runaway best-seller that Polak set about looking for the masters in Toronto for a reprint." (E-mail correspondence with Richard L. Schlegel, Lewisburg, Pa., 4 April 2003.) Schlegel also recalls that *GAY International*'s subscription list was modest, only about 100 names. He later used this list as the basis for a promotional mailing when he started his own magazine, *FAST PACE!: A Digest of Sex & Humor*, in 1970, which was the successor to *DRUM Magazine*. (Interview with Richard L. Schlegel, New Bloomfield, Pa., 16 May 2002.) For more about Clark Polak, see Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay*

- Philadelphia, 1945–1972* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), particularly chapter 9. H. Lynn Womack's career is examined in Rodger Streitmatter and John C. Watson, "Herman Lynn Womack: Pornographer as First Amendment Pioneer," *Journalism History* 28, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 56–65.
- 114 Invoice from GAY Publishing Co. Ltd. to Acme News Co. Ltd., 3 March 1966. Cornell, collection 7442, box 1.
- 115 Interview with Richard L. Schlegel, New Bloomfield, Pa., 16 May 2002.
- 116 Details of Marsden's release from prison and parole are contained in a Petition for the Return of Evidence (relating to Marsden's trial), which was initiated by Bertha Marsden as the administratrix of the Estate of Robert M. Marsden, dated 25 June 1976. This document is in the Marsden case file at the Office of the Prothonotary, Perry County Courthouse, New Bloomfield, Pa. Details of Robert Marsden's life after prison have been verified through e-mail correspondence with George Mish Marsden and Richard L. Schlegel.
- 117 See "Area Man Loses Leg in Accident," *Harrisburg Evening News*, 24 September 1975, p. 23; "Local Man Loses Leg in Accident," *Middletown Press and Journal*, 24 September 1975, section 1, p. 4; "Man, 37, Loses Portion of Leg in Accident," *Harrisburg Patriot*, 24 September 1975, p. 7.
- 118 Robert M. Marsden obituary, *Harrisburg Patriot*, 6 November 1975, p. 4.
- 119 Streitmatter, *Unspeakable*, p. 357, chapter 3, note 5. Gay-oriented physique magazines had much larger circulations. Compare these figures to the ones quoted by Thomas Waugh in *Hard to Imagine: Gay Male Eroticism in Photography and Film from Their Beginnings to Stonewall* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 217.
- 120 This figure was taken from the front cover notice printed on issue number 150 of *XTRA!*, 15 June 1990.
- 121 See the listings for these publications in Alan V. Miller, *Our Own Voices*, on-line version at www.clga.ca
- 122 One publication that deserves brief mention is *Arcade*, a monthly magazine published in Vancouver by August Holdings Ltd., Randell M. Knight, publisher. Issue one was dated October 1968. *Arcade* was literate and well designed and was the kind of gay publication that GAY had aspired to be. *Arcade* published three issues, through December 1968, and perhaps more. Copies of *Arcade* are very scarce; the only ones I've been able to locate were donated by Douglas Sanders to the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives in 2003.
- 123 For information on GAY (New York), see Streitmatter, *Unspeakable*, pp. 121–23.
- 124 An excellent, detailed memoir of the life and times of *The Body Politic* is found in Rick Bébout's "On the Origin of *The Body Politic*: 1971 (& Before) through 1974 (& Beyond)" at <http://www.rbebout.com/oldbeep/beepint.htm>

Index

- Acme News Company 54–55, 65–68, 74
Advanced Guide to Cruising (Marshall) 61, 85n.84
Air-Tite Company, Inc. 41
Ajax 44
Allegheny County Work House (Pa.) 72, 74
American Academy of International Morality 59, 74
American Nazi Party 48, 52
American University (Washington, D.C.) 12
“Anatomy of a Chicken Queen” (Maynard) 52–53
Arcade 89n.122
Aretino, Pietro 17
ASK Newsletter 16, 26–28, 81n.32, 81n.36
Association for Social Knowledge (ASK) 14, 16, 26–28, 59
Atlantic Pen Pal Club 79n.11
August Holdings Ltd. 89n.122
- Bank of Nova Scotia 68
Beginner’s Guide to Cruising, The (Marshall) 61, 62, 85n.84
Bennett, Ty 61
Bessborough, Lady (pseud.) 15, 17
“Biased I, The” (spelling varies slightly; Philip) 21, 31, 43, 48
Bill C-150 (Canada, 1969) 14, 28, 81n.34
Body Politic, The 14, 77
Bowes Company Limited 47
Burkhardt, Gerald Thomas 70, 72
- Canada. Criminal Code 14–15, 16, 28, 76, 81n.34, 87n.103
Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives (CLGA) 9, 11, 14, 78n.1, 89n.122
Can-art Photographers 29, 31, 58
Captain George’s Whizzbang 85n.84
Chatterly, Lord and Lady (pseuds.) 36
Citizens News 59, 69, 75
City of Night (Rechy) 43
City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves (Stein) 11
Claeys (pseud.) 61–62
Clarke, Lige 76
Cohen, Nathan 15
Collier, Claude. *See* Collier, Clifford
Collier, Clifford 29, 31, 80n.16
Committee on Social Hygiene (Stittsville, Ont.) 53
Community Homophile Association of Toronto (CHAT) 16
Congressional Record (United States) 52
Cornell University Library 11, 12, 65
Cruise News & World Report 75
- Davies, R. Mervyn 44, 48, 50, 54
Desert of the Heart (Rule) 14
“Diary of a ‘Call Boy’” 21, 35, 36
Doolin, Kenneth Victor, III 40, 41, 43, 62, 74
Dorian (pseud.) 32

Down Beat Club (Montreal) 25
DRUM Magazine 12, 53, 54, 58, 59, 61, 75, 85n.84, 88n.113
 East Coast Homophile Organizations (ECHO) 48, 52, 84n.71
 Eastern Penitentiary Correctional Diagnostic and Classification Center (Pa.) 72
 Edmond, Alex. *See* Kerr, Richard (Rick)
 Egan, Jim 80n.19
 Elson, Louis 54–55, 59
Face e' Physique 25
 "Facts about Sex Changes" (Philip) 61
FAST PACE!: A Digest of Sex e' Humor 12, 88n.113
 "Female Impersonator Is Not a Drag Queen, A" 70
Fizeek 85n.84
 Fonzi, Gaeton J. 40
 Foster, John Stephen 17, 18, 36, 40, 53
 Frank Borck Enterprises 31
 Franklin and Marshall College (Lancaster, Pa.) 41
 "Funny Side, The" (Dorian) 32
 "Furtive Fraternity, The" (Fonzi) 40
 "Gabrial's Column" (name varies slightly) 17–18, 21, 35–36, 43, 80n.15
 Gateway Restaurant (Toronto) 25
GAY (New York) 76, 77
 "Gay Glossary" (Claeys) 61–62
 "GAY Goes to Cherry Grove" 44
 "Gay Interview with a Boy Lover, A" (Maynard) 70
 "GAY Photographs Toronto" 25
GAY Publishing Company 17, 47, 49, 55, 62, 68
 "Gay Set, The" (Bessborough) 15
Gayboy Publishing 16, 28
GAYME (Marshall) 62
Gayokay 76
Geo. Marshall's Queen City Gazette 62, 85n.84
 George Henderson Studios (Montreal) 85n.84
 Goldstein, Al 76
 "Grapes from the Vine" 29
Greater Philadelphia Magazine 40
 "Green Leaves" (Mead) 69
Guild Book Service 69, 73, 76, 85n.84
Guild Press 12
 "Hamilton Roll-Call" (Chatterly) 36
 Haris, Marsh 58
Harper's 40
 Harrisburg National Bank and Trust Company (Pa.) 69
 Harrisburg State Hospital (Pa.) 72
 "Harry Chess, That Man from A.U.N.T.I.E." (comic strip) 61, 84n.83
 Hayden, Charles, Jr. 36, 44
 "Hello, Moose" (Marshall) 61
 Helmer, William J. 40, 43

Henderson, George 61, 62, 73, 85n.84
 Hislop, George 80n.16
 "Homophile Movement, The" (Kameny) 61
Homosexual Citizen 75
 "Homosexual Next Door, The: A Sober Appraisal of a New Social Phenomenon" (Katz) 15
 "Homosexuality of 'Ancient Greece', The" 25
 "How Can I Ever Face the World?" (Mattachine) 36
 "How to Clothe a Naked Wall" (Kuch) 62
 "How to Handle a Federal Interrogation" 84n.71
 Hurwood, Bernhardt J. 17

 "If You are Arrested" 84n.71
International Guild Guide 12

 James, E. *See* Ward, James Greenville-Kirk
 Janus Society 58
Jason 44
 "JD's GAY Corner" (Kuch) 48, 58, 61
Jim Ward of New York 1965 Beachwear Imports 62
 Jorgensen, Christine 61

 Kameny, Franklin 52, 55, 61
 Kamp Publishing Company 16, 28, 65
 Katz, Sidney 15
 Kaye, Edmond. *See* Kerr, Richard (Rick)
 Keene, Harry Patrick 17, 18, 44, 48, 50
 Kerr, Richard (Rick) 29, 31, 58, 70
 King, Robert 52
 KK Books 68
 Klippert, Everett George 26, 81n.34
 Knight, Randell M. 89n.122
 Kuch, J.D. 48, 58, 61, 62, 69, 70

 Lacey, Edward A. 15, 17
Ladder, The 26, 75
Ladies' Home Journal 26
 Leitsch, Dick 61
 Liberty News Distributors 36
Like, One 76
Like, Two 76
 "Like, Young": A New Kind of Magazine for Writers and Artists 76
Like, Young Annual 65, 69, 70, 73, 76, 87n.103
Like, Young: Male Nudist Review 76
 Livingston, Lee 26
 Lizotte, Frank 17, 18, 44, 48, 50, 69
 "Local Topics" (Steele) 21

 MacDonald, J. 25
Maclean's 15
 Magazine Shippers Association 66-67

"Mail Basket, The" 58, 61, 69
 Maison d'Lys (Toronto) 29
Male Swinger 12
Manorama 85n.84
 Marsden, George Mish 41, 70
 Marsden, M. Bertha Mish 41, 70, 74
 Marsden, Robert Mish 12, 40; family 41; early life 41-43; purchases *GAY* 43; sexual interest in youths 43, 53, 70, 87n.103; photographs youths 43, 44, 53, 62, 70; remakes *GAY* 43-44, 47-48, 53-55, 69-70; publishes *Like, Young Annual* 62, 65; financial difficulties 67-69; arrest and imprisonment 70, 72, 74; death 75
 Marsden, Robert Samuel 41
 Marsden & Bromley (Toronto) 47
 Marshall, George. *See* Henderson, George
 Marshall, Peter 32
Mattachine Review 14, 75
 Mattachine Society of New York 36, 55, 61, 74
 Mattachine Society of Washington, D.C. 52, 55
 Maynard, Robert. *See* Marsden, Robert Mish
 Mead, Kyle (pseud.) 69
 Melody Room (Toronto) 25, 28, 29, 59
 Memory Lane (Toronto) 85n.84
 "Menage a Trois" (Haris) 58
 Mentor, August. *See* Schlegel, Richard L.
 Metropole Hotel (Toronto) 25, 43
 "Middle Sex, The" 25
 Mish, Edith Baxtresser 41
 Miss Muffett Enterprises 16, 18
 Mister Al's Men's Shop (Toronto) 25
 "Monday Miscellany" (Cohen) 15
 Morton, James 17, 18, 44, 48, 50, 74
 "Mothers Advice" 25
 Music Room (Toronto) 15, 25, 29

 New Bloomfield, Pa. 70
 New York Mattachine Newsletter 36, 59
 New York Public Library 12
 "New York Scene" (James) 47, 48, 58
 "New York's 'Middle-Class' Homosexuals" (Helmer) 40, 43
 "News in Action" 69
 Nichol, Garrfield D. *See* Nichols, Gary
 Nicholls, William 59
 Nichols, Gary 53
 Nichols, Jack 76

Olympians 44
 ONE 14, 15, 28, 69, 75
 ONE Institute & Archives 78n.1
 101 Enterprises Inc. 76
 "Our Reader's [sic] Ask?'" (Mentor) 58-59

 Pacific News Company 68, 86n.97

“‘Pathfinder’, The” 21
 Pennsylvania State Police 70
 Perry County, Pa. 70
 Peter York Studios 62, 65, 69
 Peters, Arnold 14–15
Phalia 76
 Philip, Don. *See* Schrank, Don
 Photographic and Mapping Services (Toronto) 73
Physique Illustrated 25
 Polak, Clark 76, 85n.84, 88n.113
 Poulton, Ron 15, 21
 “Prisoner, The” (Aretino) 17

Ragionamenti, I (Aretino) 17
 Ramp, James 61
 Rechy, John 43
 Regency Club (Toronto) 25, 43
 Reproductive Printing Service (RPS) 18
 Richard L. Schlegel National GLBT Legion of Honor Award 12
 Rik Art Studios 29, 70
 Rule, Jane 14

 Sanders, Douglas 26, 81n.32, 89n.122
 Schlegel, Richard L. 9, 11–12, 40, 41, 47, 58–59, 72–74, 85n.84
 Schrank, Don 21, 31, 35, 43, 44, 48, 61, 69
SCREW 76
 Seeger, Dov 43, 44, 48, 58, 61, 69, 70
 Smith, Earle 66
 “Society and the Homosexual” (Poulton) 15, 21
 Socrates Pen Pal Club 79n.11
 Spearhead Toronto 76
 Steele (pseud.) 21
 Stein, Marc 11
 Stonewall riots (1969) 14, 76
 “Straight Talk” (Sanders) 26
 Streitmatter, Rodger 75

 TAB 15, 16, 17, 65
 “Taboo” (Ramp) 61
Tangents 75
 “Third View, The” (Seeger) 43, 48, 58, 61
 Time 26
 Toronto News Company 44
Toronto Star 15
Toronto Telegram 15, 21
 Trojan Book Service 76, 85n.84, 88n.113
Trojans 44
 TWO (Toronto) 16, 28–31, 65, 69, 76, 85n.84
 TWO (*Truth Will Out*) 28

 United Paper Mills 68

United States. House of Representatives 52
Universal Church of Brotherhood 59
University of Toronto Homophile Association (UTHA) 16, 76
Unspeakable: The Rise of the Gay and Lesbian Press in America (Streitmatter) 75
UTHA Newsletter 76

Vector 75
"Very Much Out ... and About" 29
Viking Books 85n.84
Villanova University 41

Walmer, Donna 44, 69
Wander, Sidney Zilbert 55
Ward, James Greenville-Kirk 44, 47, 48, 58, 59, 61, 62, 68, 69
Wicker, Randy (Randolphe). *See* Hayden, Charles, Jr.
"Wicker Report, The" 36
Womack, H. Lynn 12, 73, 76, 88n.113
"Wrong Road to Happiness" (Kaye) 29

XTRA! 76



A Note on the Author

Donald W. McLeod is the author or compiler of several works on Canadian gay history, including *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada: A Selected Annotated Chronology, 1964–1975* (ECW Press and Homewood Books, 1996) and (with Jim Egan) *Challenging the Conspiracy of Silence: My Life As a Canadian Gay Activist* (Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives and Homewood Books, 1998). He works as a librarian at the John P. Robarts Research Library, University of Toronto.

GAY

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GAY

INTERNATIONAL

GAY was the first gay tabloid publication in Canada. In most ways it was a failure. An enterprise launched on a whim, **GAY** never established a clear self-identity and never found an audience large enough to sustain it. Although it was intended to be a light, general interest publication for a perceived "mainstream" gay population, many of its issues were filled with lightweight cartoons and clip art used as filler. The content was mostly non-political. **GAY** never exhibited a particular sense of style, and was redesigned three times in fifteen issues before the publisher settled on an undistinguished physique format.

And yet, against all odds, **GAY** did make a huge, though unsuccessful, effort to become a force in the North American marketplace. This is perhaps its most remarkable feat. It is incredible that in 1965 – four years before Stonewall – a Toronto-based gay publication would be shipping twenty thousand copies per issue to the United States for news-stand distribution. At the time this equalled the monthly combined circulation of nine of America's leading lesbian and gay publications. Looked at another way, no Toronto-based gay publication reached this sustained level of print production again until *XTRA!* began circulating 20,000 copies per issue in 1990, most of which were given away.

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