

## 10 Queer Memory in (Re)constituting the Trans Lesbian 1970s in the UK

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**T**itled *Lesbians Come Together*, the January 1972 issue of the UK Gay Liberation Front's (GLF) newspaper *Come Together* (Issue 11) is an important textual moment in the herstory of lesbian and transgender social life and organising of the early 1970s. The issue, the second produced by women and in this case by the Faraday Road women's commune,<sup>1</sup> opens with a statement that affirms the intent of its editors to 'publish in this issue all the articles that were submitted':

We have not edited or censored anything. This is not simply an act of blatant Sisterhood, but a conscious attempt by us not to ape the values of heterosexual society.<sup>2</sup>

The issue contains half a dozen articles alongside photographs, graphics and an open letter calling for women to attend the 29th January Gay Women's Think-in. The articles including pieces on feminist collective housing (rosily describing life in the Faraday Road commune), the need for a GLF Women's Centre, on-going GLF trials and the national think in, the GLF Transvestite, Transsexual and Drag Queen Group (GLF TS/TV Group), and a piece about going out in drag as a woman for the first time. In Lisa Power's reading, the issue makes important arguments for lesbian separatism.<sup>3</sup> The texts provide a sense of the meetings and discussions on-going at the time between non-trans and trans lesbians, and other gender non-conforming people, developing radical, political consciousness of their situations. For instance, the article addressing the need for 'A Woman's Place...' or a 'gay women's centre' within the context of the GLF specifically addresses the need for somewhere to socialise and build common cause among gay women:

QUEER PRINT IN EUROPE

Front cover of *Lesbians  
Come Together*, January  
1972.



Women's projects would develop organically out of a situation in which we could get to know each other and discover our common problems as women, particularly as gay women: lesbians, bisexuals, transvestites and transsexuals.<sup>4</sup>

The article goes on to describe potential uses and possibilities for the women's centre, envisioning a 'central place where women could get together and rap' (that is, discuss life

and issues). The space could be used to hold meetings, for street theatre rehearsals, workshops and classes to share knowledge, and for parties and discos; to undertake 'art and craft work' and produce printed matter such as 'papers, magazines, posters and leaflets'; for child care and twenty-four hour 'advice, emotional support, information' for 'sisters from abroad, from prison, in domestic crises etc'; where some could live communally and the GLF Women's Group could be co-ordinated; a place generally to 'Do things to raise bread'.<sup>5</sup> Signed by Frankie and Edith, the article brims with the possibilities of self-organisation, presenting the potential of developing projects, dialogue and consciousness for and by women while centring diverse gay women within the context of a feminist, separatist collective space. The proposal foresees opportunities for solidarity and support, creativity and self-expression, discussing oppressions, sharing knowledge and organising.


### REMEMBERING A TRANS LESBIAN SEPARATIST '70S?

This essay undertakes a reparative reading of fragments of print media from the archives of the UK Gay and Women's Liberation movements, addressing the contributions and memories of those who self-defined as trans lesbians (transsexual lesbians and transvestite lesbians) at the time. By centring the countercultural writing along with memories of trans and non-trans women (from the 1970s to the 2010s), reflecting on their experiences within the movements and moments of solidarity and sisterhood between women, I present a liberationist vision of trans life that explicitly emerges from a feminist revolution and from lesbian separatism. With a focus on the London GLF's TS/TV Group and two of its members Rachel Pollack and Roz Kaveney, the essay approaches this material as providing an alternative worldview to that of white progressivist transgender histories that have emerged recently such as that of Christine Burns' *Trans Britain*,<sup>6</sup> and personal accounts including those of celebrities from the period such as Jan Morris and April Ashley.<sup>7</sup> The essay concludes by addressing reflections on the trans 1970s in radical trans print from the 1990s and work by socialist feminist and sociologist Carol Riddell. This essay emerges from an intergenerational public conversation between writer, poet and activist Roz Kaveney and myself, held as part of *Between the Sheets: Radical Print Cultures before the Queer Bookshop*, in Glasgow, Scotland, in February 2017.<sup>8</sup> Parts of Kaveney's recollections from the event on trans organising and cultural production in the queer seventies are cited in this text.


While queer histories and queer memories may at times seem to operate in distinct ways, my work here follows Laura Doan's elucidation that these two practices 'continually rub up against the other', in a manner that may be fruitful for critical historians.<sup>9</sup> I account for moments in the archive where memory is seemingly presented as history, delegitimising and effacing marginal herstories in the process. The essay demonstrates and counters the structuring role that transphobia and transmisogyny play in the memory and historicisation of Gay Liberation in the UK. These forms of oppression enact processes that produce what Charles Morris and K.J. Rawson, following Berlant

and Warner (1998), describe as an ‘amnesia archive’, whereby particular memories and presences of queer people are erased – erasures that, as in this case, may be ‘bequeath[ed] and enact[ed]’ by queers ourselves.<sup>10</sup> As transfeminist scholar Finn Enke describes, the recovering of histories, in the context of disciplinary functions and ‘purifying purges’ of collective memory, ‘creates portals and connections and communities across time, a possible antidote to alienation and abjection’.<sup>11</sup> The essay thus provides a ‘portal’ into scenes of trans and feminist sisterhood in the seventies, in which trans lesbians played significant roles in the liberation movements. These are scenes representative of what Abram Lewis describes as the ‘eccentric and recalcitrant qualities’ of trans archives,<sup>12</sup> moments that the collective memory of gay liberation casts as improbable, rendering their claims to queerness and lesbian sisterhood as inassimilable to that collective memory. These trans lesbian portals are spaces of solidarity that, by the accounts of its participants, would within a few years seem foreclosed.<sup>13</sup>

Numerous scholars have emphasised that collective memory may tell us more about its own present than the past.<sup>14</sup> Erasures or purges within the archives and collective memory carry considerable affective force,<sup>15</sup> and they occur alongside (and potentially supplement) trauma and active processes of forgetting by the subjects who have experienced harm.<sup>16</sup> In an on-going context of anti-trans political backlash from the far right and transphobic feminists, the stakes of transfeminist herstory and stories remain significant. However, queer memories of trans life in the seventies are by no means lucid. Processes of remembering and historicising key contributions to Gay Liberation by transsexual women and men, drag queens and kings and other gender non-conformists have been active since the late 1980s and early 1990s – most notably in the recovery of Sylvia Rivera, Marsha P. Johnson, Storme DeLarverie and Miss Major as key figures in the Stonewall Riot who were also interconnected with Black and Third World Liberation movements.<sup>17</sup> The material precarity, marginalisation and at times the excesses that marked lives of poor trans people in the seventies are infused into both the archive (or the lack of it) and into the bodies that remember. Memory is, as Kaveney attests, an assemblage built from documentation, other people’s stories, health and the ‘random cells of the brain that you suddenly learn to access again’,<sup>18</sup> and it interfaces with the traumas experienced through marginalised bodies and lives and their access to healthcare (or the lack of it). These two factors materially affect these bodies.<sup>19</sup> The traumas of transphobia and transmisogyny (as lived ‘historical truths’) forge what Dipesh Chakrabarty describes in another context as a ‘historical wound’ – a ‘mix of history and memory’ formed dialogically – that exists within both trans collective memory *and* historical bodies.<sup>20</sup> This historical wound makes the prospect of trans lesbian lives blooming within lesbian separatism seem historically improbable, and moreover difficult to bear in the memory of those who lived it. Documentary fragments and traces of trans lesbian life within the Gay Liberation archive, which exist



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Lesbianism is  
revolution

A voice rings out and deservingly crushes on so such want  
opposing the sin of the mass etc  
The male speaker from whom it came is tall  
Why don't you shut your big bad mouth by a little girl  
The male speaker is upset but does not upset himself  
Deciding not to feel as silly as he suspects  
He may look now also to quench any appearance of visible shaking  
Controls his hands  
Carries on as usual  
Just the same comes a glance warily in the direction of his shaker  
She is impossible  
Why don't you have a look at yourself  
At this the poor speaker speaks himself  
Freaks out and sits down  
Having been noticed by a brother himself  
Experienced in like situations  
Who considers himself to be a  
Frustrated Master of the Problem  
Of making himself heard and understood promptly  
Sips out a great voice full of concern and high regard  
Let there be outst  
The little girl nudges him with her petit little elbow  
You are a riot  
Now the Frustrated Master braces himself to inform her  
I have travelled far and done many things Sister  
That have you done and seen tell me she tells him

### "Don't call me mister, you fucking beast"

The Transvestite Transsexual Drag Queen group has been sweet for several weeks. So far about forty people have called or visited. Some have come regularly, some have drifted off. Almost all have been women—people born males who live as women, or more casually, dress as women whenever they get the chance. Transvestites aren't people born female who live or dress as men (if the language confuses you it confuses us too. It's not meant to include us) have so far not come forth. We're working to break down these barriers but for now this article will be the experience of transvestite women. Not an article really, just some notes of things we've learned talking to each other.

How many of us are there? Nobody knows has any real statistics but there are 50,000 people in the United Kingdom taking sex hormones. And to this the people who want these and those doctors won't give them, the people who want them are afraid to ask, and all the transvestites who at the moment aren't interested in hormones. The amazing thing is, most of us think we're a tiny minority. One tv thought she was the only person in the world who did this strange thing until she saw the movie "Psycho" in which the detective uses the word, "transvestites" and she thought, "There a word for it!"

When we're alone we tend to accept the stereotypes. In getting together we've discovered how ridiculous they really are. No one in the group has ever said, "What horrible trick of nature has made me a woman trapped in a man's body. We just don't think that way. The psychiatrists who electro-shock us think we're pathetic or tragic, but even those who are in very such in the closet enjoy being transvestite as long as there's some outlet. We don't follow any single profession. Recently a girl brother said he thought most transvestites were upper class and in the art world. At one meeting we had, among others, a student, a house cleaner, an office worker, an engineer, a prostitute, a pub entertainer, and a taxi driver. Most of all, we are not heavily rouged

leashed hair, parodies of anybody's traditional role. Some of us dress that way—why not, some "regular" women dress that way— but we're just people and our taste covers the whole spectrum. From middle-aged matron to hot pants to mini-axi-skirt, even to butch.

The whole question of roles needs to be examined, and particularly what we, as transvestites, transsexuals, and drag queens can contribute to a new understanding of how they operate. Some of us are opposed to roles because they can limit self-discovery. We don't want to discard the role role just to take on the female role. Others think that transvestites can show people that roles can be fun, if you're free to take the ones you want and discard the important things. No one should tell you, as a man or a woman, that is the role you have to play, and you have to play it all the time. One tv, when told by a regular woman, "You're just parading a role," replied, "Who said it's your role?"

There are many questions we are just beginning to examine. Why is Benny Luke a west End Institution when we got kicked out of our flats for wearing a skirt? Apparently it's all right if you're doing it for money, but prevented if you do it for personal satisfaction.

A more central question is how to relate to other women, when we talk about our hopes and fantasies it becomes apparent that what we want above all is to be accepted as women, primarily by other women, but still we achieve this by looking for ways in which we share experience with regular women or by developing a unique transvestite consciousness?

Sometimes the second approach seems real militant and proud, but at other times it seems a cop-out, accepting the prejudiced view that we're not women, that we're some freaky third or fourth or fifth's. Possibly we can find some light by considering the situation of black women and gay women, who develop black pride and gay pride, but still explore their feelings as women. Think how much more inspiring and beautiful the women's revolution will be when it joyously includes all women. Think of a Holloway dress with transvestite, transsexual and drag queen women, gay women and heterosexual women, black, yellow, brown and white women, mothers, daughters, poor women,

in the first place due to moments of sisterhood and solidarity in publishing practices, *Lesbians Come Together*, are a means to hold up and affirm what was experienced, lived and what might have 1972, pp.17-18. become. Though seemingly few, it is due to lesbian (and) feminist praxis in print and publishing that the materials I discuss exist in the first place.

While the focus of this essay is primarily on trans and non-trans lesbians, it is important to acknowledge that the spaces discussed overlap with spaces inhabited by trans masculine people and trans men.<sup>21</sup> One significant example is Stephen Whittle's involvement in radical, lesbian separatist groups in the mid-1970s. Whittle describes how, after attending the 1974 Women's Liberation National Conference in Edinburgh as part of a Lesbian Collective, he announced to the collective that he 'was in fact a man'.<sup>22</sup> While expecting to face ostracisation, Whittle's self-definition was supported by the group: 'I was listened to, I was given gifts of shirts and ties out of the back of 'formerly identified as butch' women's wardrobes', and he was introduced to clubs frequented by trans people.<sup>23</sup> Whittle describes the experience as 'confirming' his then-belief in radical separatism.

### DISPATCHES FROM THE GLF TS/TV GROUP

Citing Holly Woodlawn of Warhol's Factory in the title, the article 'Don't Call Me Mister, You Fucking Beast' in *Lesbians Come Together* details the development and experiences of the GLF TS/TV Group.<sup>24</sup> The article opens noting that around forty people have attended the group, all of who are described as transvestite (or transsexual) women, and the article itself has nine signatories including Rachel Pollack and Roz Kaveny.<sup>25</sup> It is written in a tone that holds the undercurrents of serious harm (including medical treatments such as Electro-Convulsive Therapy or ECT, and getting kicked out of one's house for wearing feminine clothing) alongside moments of possibility and humorous relief. It anticipates and challenges many of the subjects that have dominated public discourse around transgender identities and expressions for the forty-eight years since it was written. The article addresses issues around trans stereotypes and narratives, accessing medical treatment, discrimination and street harassment, and questions of trans pride, 'passing', gender roles and solidarity between diverse women. It details statistics (or the lack of them) of the number of trans people in the UK and problems around medical treatment for trans people, including access to sex hormones; and discusses challenging isolation around trans expression and the need to unravel stereotypes of transgender narratives. In debunking stereotypical conceptions of transsexuality while offering an alternative perspective of consciousness, the group writes, 'No one in the group has ever said, 'What horrible trick of nature has me a woman trapped in a man's body?' *We just don't think that way*'.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, they highlight that compared to 'The psychiatrists who electro-shock us [and] think we're pathetic and tragic', there is much enjoyment in being transvestite.<sup>27</sup> They emphasise the cross-class character of those who have attended the group, their various senses of dress, and discuss the specificity that transvestite and transsexual experience can bring to the wider discussion of gender roles playing out in the Gay Liberation movement at the time:

Some of us are opposed to roles because they can limit self-discovery. We don't want to discard the male role just to take on the female role. Others think that transvestites can show people that roles can be fun, if you're free to take the ones you want and discard them when you don't want them any more. The most important thing is, no one should tell you, as a man *or* a woman, this is the role you have to play, and you have to play it all the time.<sup>28</sup>

The article here expresses a multiplicity of what can be done with gender roles – it points towards the play and possibility in the performativity of gender.<sup>29</sup> With the refusal of one's limited gender role as assigned at birth, and furthermore refusing to merely be reassigned to a limited female role under the terms of socially-conservative and sexist psychiatry, the authors underline the potential pleasure in a free 'play' of gender roles.

The Group's discussion of gender roles resonates with, as DM Withers describes, the Women's Liberation Movements' 'sustained revolt 'against natural laws' and its use of the word 'gender' to 'emphasise the repressive aspects of social conditioning, rather than foreground[ing] gender's liberatory potential'.<sup>30</sup> However, the Group are also interested in trans gender expression as a means to joy as part of a politic of liberation. This is juxtaposed with the difference between going stealth – i.e. to not disclose one's trans history, a common demand of Gender Identity Clinics (GICs) after changing gender as an aspect of social assimilation<sup>31</sup> – and the pride in being out as trans. 'One sex-change said she's torn between two desires, one to disappear and be accepted as a regular woman after struggling so many years, the other to shout up and down the street how beautiful it is to be transsexual'.<sup>32</sup> The authors suggest that the 'young' seem the most militant: 'Those who came out long ago are often the proudest [...] But they also know that if you pass you're treated as a human being'.<sup>33</sup>

With self-exploration and group consciousness-raising as important elements of group activity and discussion, a 'more central question' that emerged for the group was 'how to relate to other women' and build solidarity with the Women's Movement.<sup>34</sup> 'When we talk about our hopes and fantasies, it becomes apparent that what we want above all is to be accepted as women, primarily by other women.' This attests to what cárdenas describes as trans desire or 'gender longing',<sup>35</sup> where resonances within social worlds open up to political practices, here rooted in a desire for social acceptance by other women. The article explicitly envisions and imagines a coalitional, intersectional Women's movement – after pointing toward the forms of pride developed by Black women and gay women, the group write:

Think how much more inspiring and beautiful the women's revolution will be when it joyously includes all women. Think of a Holloway [Women's Prison, North London] demo with transvestite, transsexual and drag-queen women, gay women and heterosexual women, black, yellow, brown and white women, mothers, daughters, poor women, rich women, working women, housewives and career women.<sup>36</sup>

Indeed, the issue of *Lesbians Come Together* represents a dialogue that was then occurring between non-trans and trans women within spaces such as the Faraday Road women's commune, where these women met under one roof, a utopian vision from within which such coalitions may not have seemed farfetched.<sup>37</sup> As the opening statement of the issue valorises, a multiplicity of points of view and expressions, including 'polarisations, conflicts and arguments', are 'good' and can have the effect of enriching understanding and resilience within a movement.<sup>38</sup> The sense of possibility contained within the pages of the issue read, in the context of how queer history and lesbian and trans herstory have unfolded, as a utopian 'queer world-making' project,<sup>39</sup> imagining the forging of a

sisterhood that struggled to be. The struggle for transsexual women to be accepted by the Women's Movement would flare up significantly by the end of the seventies, in particular with the controversy created by Janice Raymond's *The Transsexual Empire*.<sup>40</sup> Yet the GLF TS/TV Group's article represents a discursive space to consider one's 'hopes and fantasies', within which a nascent imaginary of trans liberation was emerging with the promise of potential political practices that could be forged within a wider Women's Movement, such as being present at demonstrations in solidarity with incarcerated women. The issue of *Come Together* was published in the month preceding the decision of the women of the London GLF to split from the gay men of the organisation in February 1972, and included indications that the movement was already 'split anyway', the article by Frankie and Edith on 'A Woman's Place...' noting that 'we need better liaison with the brothers, [...] but we're fragmented amongst ourselves – we could be so much stronger together'.<sup>41</sup>

### REMEMBERING TRANS LONDON 1971

Rachel Pollack started the GLF TS/TV Group in 1971, the same year that Pollack and Edith (Edie, her partner) had moved to London from the USA and in which Pollack came out 'as a woman and a lesbian'.<sup>42</sup> In a recent essay, 'trans central station', reflecting on her life, activism and highlights of her career as a renowned science fiction author, Pollack describes the transformative effect of the Women's and Gay Liberation movements on her life and on the lives of those in the spaces that she and Edie created:

They [the Movements] gave me models of how to trust your own experience rather than society's rules and stereotypes. When Edie and I moved to London in 1971 we joined GLF but also sought out trans groups. At first, I found this frustrating. I was looking for a political consciousness, a framework of ideas. The groups that existed seemed, well, light. And then I realized something. The liberation groups took everything very seriously, constantly arguing, theorizing. The trans group liked to have *fun*. And that was when I understood that being trans was *about joy almost more than anything else*.

That did not mean I gave up on the idea of a group dedicated to consciousness raising. If one didn't exist, I would start it myself. Edith and I began to host weekly meetings in our flat in the Notting Hill section of London. My desire to discuss theory never got very far, but something important happened. We provided a place where people could *be*, and explore, themselves, at whatever level seemed comfortable.<sup>43</sup>

The weekly meetings of the GLF TS/TV Group created a social, political and affective space for trans expression and consciousness raising, rooted in a feminist principle of 'trust[ing] one's own experience'. The group enabled the exploration of selves and desires among its members, and the opportunity for them to collectively share trans joy. Pollack here juxtaposes this space to the 'seriousness' of discussions and theorising among other



Liberation groups. She describes a few members of the group, including Roz Kaveney and an unnamed Japanese trans woman who features as a character in Pollack's short story 'The Beatrix Gates' in a brief scene set in 1971 London.<sup>44</sup>

GLF meetings and groups played a significant role in consciousness-raising: the transformation and politicisation of one's perspective about one's own life, experiences and oppressions. For instance, in *A Life in Three Acts*, actor and drag queen Bette Bourne recalls both the somatic and psychological effect of attending GLF meetings.<sup>45</sup> Bourne describes how 'suddenly when you become conscious it affects your whole body' and how it is a 'thrilling' affective experience that fundamentally changed his outlook, leaving Bourne feeling 'Ripped off' about his previous life.<sup>46</sup> In the context of the GLF TS/TV Group and perspectives undergirding their article in *Lesbians Come Together*, consciousness raising played a role in enabling 'self-discovery', developing positive affect in relation to self-expression across genders and beyond limited gender roles, while growing one's own awareness of one's body. As Pollack describes of her own coming out, 'I realized I was in exactly the *right* body, for my body told me what it – what I – wanted'.<sup>47</sup> This perspective developed through what Pollack describes, citing the words of Nor Hall, as an 'abandonment to the body's desire' that is 'in itself a form of revelation'.<sup>48</sup>

Kaveney discusses meeting Rachel and Edie during the period, after receiving their telephone number from the GLF and calling from a phonebox. She describes Pollack as 'one of those people that changes your life':

Rachel and Edie were amazing. It never occurred to me that people could identify as trans and not be straight. It was totally gratifying to meet people that were actually writers, because I had this terrible concern that maybe if I was trans it meant that I wouldn't be able to be a writer, because the only trans writer I'd ever heard of was Jan Morris.<sup>49</sup>

While Pollack remembers the importance of her flat and the group for Kaveney, then still in the closet, to 'explore her secret self',<sup>50</sup> Kaveney emphasises the importance of Pollack as a role model as a trans science fiction writer and a lesbian, engaged in the spinning of new worlds while lampooning the moralities and stereotypes of the dominant one. The latter is crystallised in Pollack's satirical article 'The Twilight World of the Heterosexual', published in *Ink* and reprinted in *Come Together* (Issue 12). Kaveney describes how Pollack, compared to the psychiatrists running the Gender Identity Clinics, provided an alternate worldview on trans, which 'got me over myself to quite a remarkable extent'.<sup>51</sup> She recalls how this was '[i]n large part because of Rachel and [her] 'bad attitude', because she was American and no damn British shrink was going to tell her what to do.' She adds that Pollack played a pivotal role in assembling networks and building community, 'finding people who wanted to be found'.

**TARNISHING THE MEMORY: AGGRESSIVE MISGENDERING IN THE GLF ARCHIVE**

These memories of life trans-formed, of alternative worlds and possibilities of life and writing, are met with the harsh historical truths of violent transphobia and transmisogyny in the archive and memory of the Gay Liberation Movement. In the public memory of the GLF, the tensions around trans people in general within gay liberation appears to have been amplified by gay men and radical queens. Cloud Downey, a radical queen who briefly attended the GLF TS/TV Group, notes that the ‘big clashes’ were between transvestites and ‘the men’.<sup>52</sup> In comparison, lesbians within gay liberation – such as those of the Faraday Road commune – primarily seemed to have a problem with practices of drag rather than having problems with transsexual women. Discussing radical drag in the context of an offending incident at a gay liberation ball, Lisa Power claims that ‘Drag or transvestism as an issue was always clearly separated from transsexuality in the minds of most GLF women. Indeed, for much of the life of the GLF women’s group, transsexuals were welcomed by many lesbians and seen as less problematic politically than straight transvestites’.<sup>53</sup> In one of the two oral histories within Power’s book that comments on trans lives, Nettie Pollard discusses how transsexual women attended the women’s group, describing their different gender expressions and the mix and dynamics of (non-trans and transsexual) women at the Faraday Road commune.<sup>54</sup> Pollard describes her ambivalence as someone both welcoming of transsexual women, while recognising differences in experience between trans and non-trans women. She ‘felt extremely torn on the subject myself because I felt that transsexuals were perfectly valid, and didn’t feel that they should be excluded, but at the same time I realized that their history wasn’t entirely the same as women’.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, she remembers an anecdote about Rachel Pollack and Edith attending the Women’s Think-In at All Saints Hall, where discussions on whether Rachel should be allowed to attend evolved when a straight, drunken man aggressively misgendered Rachel, leading the women to throw the drunken man out in ‘a nice bit of solidarity’: ‘[W]e think we’ll have our differences to ourselves but if a straight man comes in we’re not taking it from him’.<sup>56</sup>

Transphobia and transmisogyny permeate two of the significant accounts of Gay Liberation in Britain: Aubrey Walter’s 1980 introduction to the *Come Together* anthology, and Stuart Feather’s more recent *Blowing the Lid: Gay Liberation, Sexual Revolution and Radical Queens* which provides an account of the London GLF.<sup>57</sup> These accounts are replete with aggressive misgendering of trans women, which Pollack subsequently describes as ‘either a deliberate insult or something worse, a casual obliteration of the person’s identity’.<sup>58</sup> While discussing the London GLF’s split in February 1972, and its seeming inevitability given the development of feminist consciousness among the GLF’s women and the ongoing ‘ego tripping’ and ‘chauvinism of many gay men’, Walter’s 1980

*Come Together* introduction consigns the fate of the GLF TS/TV group to a footnote. The footnote includes a graphic denunciation of one transsexual woman, over and above a substantiation of the perspective of the group:

The impact of the very just critique of male chauvinism made by the women at this time was confused by the actions of the Transvestites and Transsexuals group, who insisted that they were doubly oppressed within GLF, by the women as well as the men. One transsexual actually handed round photos at the meeting of himself (sic) with both male (sic) genitals and breasts. From the feminist point of view, they were simply playing the game of the chauvinist men.<sup>59</sup>

The concept of ‘double oppression’ alluded to by Walter had currency in the seventies, describing the intersections of sexist and homophobic oppressions as experienced by gay women, or the intersections of anti-Black, racist and sexist oppressions as experienced by Black women and other women of colour.<sup>60</sup> Rather than considering its terms as claimed by the members of the GLF TS/TV Group – here seemingly unrecoverable from the archive – Walter anecdotally undermines the idea that transsexual and transvestite women could experience double oppression. A classic move of transmisogyny via an epistemological disqualification as described by trans historian Susan Stryker, whereby the ‘radical potential’ of the knowledge rooted in ‘antinormative bodily difference’ is ‘circumscribed’ and rendered ‘merely subjective’,<sup>61</sup> trans subjectivity itself is here casually obliterated.<sup>62</sup> The ‘actions’ of the GLF TS/TV Group are stripped of agency, rendered as ‘simply playing’ a game determined by ‘*the* chauvinist men’ from *the* feminist standpoint, presented as a singular perspective. Indeed, GLF women challenge this claim to a singular feminist standpoint: in her account of the GLF split, Elizabeth Wilson recalls that David Fernbach and Aubrey Walter ‘made this totally disingenuous argument. *The feminist line* was that women should meet separately, that women should not meet within the GLF but separately, period. That was *their* radical feminist line’.<sup>63</sup>

While Walter seems unable to cognise the possibility that the members of the GLF TS/TV Group might develop a different feminist standpoint rooted in their particular experiences as described in *Lesbians Come Together*, he is quick to follow this footnote with the development of the politics of the GLF’s radical queens. The radical queens were ‘Fem gay men’ who challenged masculine gender roles and male privilege through practices of radical drag both public and domestic (such as in the Notting Hill drag commune, where there was a practice of sharing clothes), and politically identified with Women’s Liberation and its struggles.<sup>64</sup> Invoking a sense of consciousness developed in response to the Radicalesbians’ influential ‘Woman-Identified Woman’ manifesto, Walter describes these Fem gay men as making political identifications ‘from the position of being psychically and emotionally more woman-identified than man-identified’, adding that they were ‘definitely seen as a

fifth column in the male sex, working to undermine its privilege and masculinity'.<sup>65</sup> Walter is quick to valorise those working 'within' the male sex to bring about its demise, while dismissing transsexual and transvestite women who refuse to be defined by it.

Walter's transmisogyny and transphobia, coupled to an affirmation of the radical queens, is not alone in the memory of Gay Liberation in the UK. The recent, sizable account of the London GLF by Stuart Feather (who was a radical queen) includes a chapter on transvestites and transsexuals, and reproduces the GLF TS/TV Group's article in *Lesbians Come Together* alongside writing by Rachel Pollack and Julia B from *Come Together* (Issue 14) ('Coming Out as a Transsexual'). Feather's chapter begins with graphic, deprecating descriptions of three trans women in the GLF, aggressively misgendering them and using 'he'/'him' pronouns alongside offensive language.<sup>66</sup> The three women are the same as those described by Nettie Pollard – whose oral history account in *Power*, cited above, is also cited by Feather following his own descriptions – and Feather's account may be read as attempting to revise the memory of these three women. Furthermore, Feather 'stresses' that the GLF TS/TV Group 'never visited or came out at the all-London meetings'.<sup>67</sup> Having claimed that the GLF TS/TV Group article, with its nine signatories, was written by Pollack alone, he says that 'Pollack is not enlightening' on the 'subject' of transvestites and transsexuals.<sup>68</sup> In this regard, Feather's primary concerns are defining and separating these labels from each other, reinstating the primacy of medical models of transsexuality and undermining Pollack's identity as a lesbian woman.<sup>69</sup> Feather is however invested in challenging a binary system of gender roles, and is interested in theoretical accounts written by Bob Mellors and Mario Mieli.<sup>70</sup> Having both refused trans lesbian identities and claimed that transsexual women such as Julia B are socially conformist, Feather claims he is 'certain [...] that transsexuals, just like homosexuals, challenge the immoral and undemocratic, offend the moral and the aesthetic standards of the hegemony, and will be part of the new'.<sup>71</sup> Reasserting a separatist position around building liberation, 'the feminist line' discussed above, he writes 'transvestites and transsexuals must fight their oppression for themselves'.<sup>72</sup>

While Feather appears to have missed any developments in transgender or LGBT coalitional organising in the time between 1972 and the publication of *Blowing the Lid*, the aggression and ignorance of his account of trans life and organising within Gay Liberation are impactful – Feather's account reflects and embodies transphobia and transmisogyny as historical sentiments. Such accounts have purchase on the memory of trans people in Gay Liberation broadly, salting historical wounds that effect the work of trans activists and scholars involved in remembering or unarchiving trans presence in the movement. The flash of political possibility of a liberated trans lesbian consciousness witnessed in the work of the GLF TS/TV Group, and the potential feminist solidarity leave an afterimage, a queer memory of a trans seventies that doesn't seem to reappear until the tail end of the decade. This is a seventies that scholars in the nineties sought to recover.

### RADICAL DEVIANCE: TRANS '90S SEEKS THE '70S

In the pages of *Radical Deviance: A Journal of Transgendered Politics* (initially incarnated as *Genderfuck* zine), published and co-edited in the mid to late 1990s largely by UK-based trans theorist and activist Kate More, is located the beginning of a counter-memory to the transmisogyny of the gay men of the GLF. This emerged at a moment when remembering the contributions of trans people to the UK Gay Liberation movement gained a new political importance. Moreover, the significance of *Radical Deviance* itself appears to have been glossed over in the history of trans studies, although a portion of its theoretical content is reproduced in the first trans studies anthology *Reclaiming Genders: Transsexual Grammars at the Fin-de-Siècle* (1999/2016), co-edited by More and Stephen Whittle. The journal was produced in Middlesbrough, England and connected to the Gender and Sexuality Alliance (G&SA); its contributors included More and Whittle alongside key contributors to trans and LGBT politics and culture in the '90s, such as Clare Hemmings, Roz Kaveney, Surya Munro, Zach Nataf, Zoë-Jane Playdon and Riki-Ann Wilchins.<sup>73</sup> The journal included trans theory; trans legal and cultural news, including detailed accounts of contemporary trans cultural events and conferences; updates from organisations including Press for Change and on activism such as pursuing provisions for trans people from Rape Crisis Centres; and interviews with leading poststructuralist feminist thinkers, including Judith Butler and Hélène Cixous, and activists.

The trans counter-memory of Gay Liberation is demonstrated in an issue of *Radical Deviance* published on the eve of London Pride 1996, the first London Pride where 'transgender' was explicitly included in the constitution and celebrations of Pride, as part of the development of 'LGBT' coalitional politics. As *Radical Deviance* attests, this move of inclusion came on the back of counter-narratives of the Stonewall riot that highlighted the key roles of lesbians and trans masculine people, alongside drag queens. This was also a period of the development of concepts, culture and politics under the banner of transgender in the UK. An article by Diane Morgan that discusses this moment of inclusion and the development of the term 'transgender' itself as an umbrella term, connects the contemporaneous moment to aspects of transgender history. Transgender is here

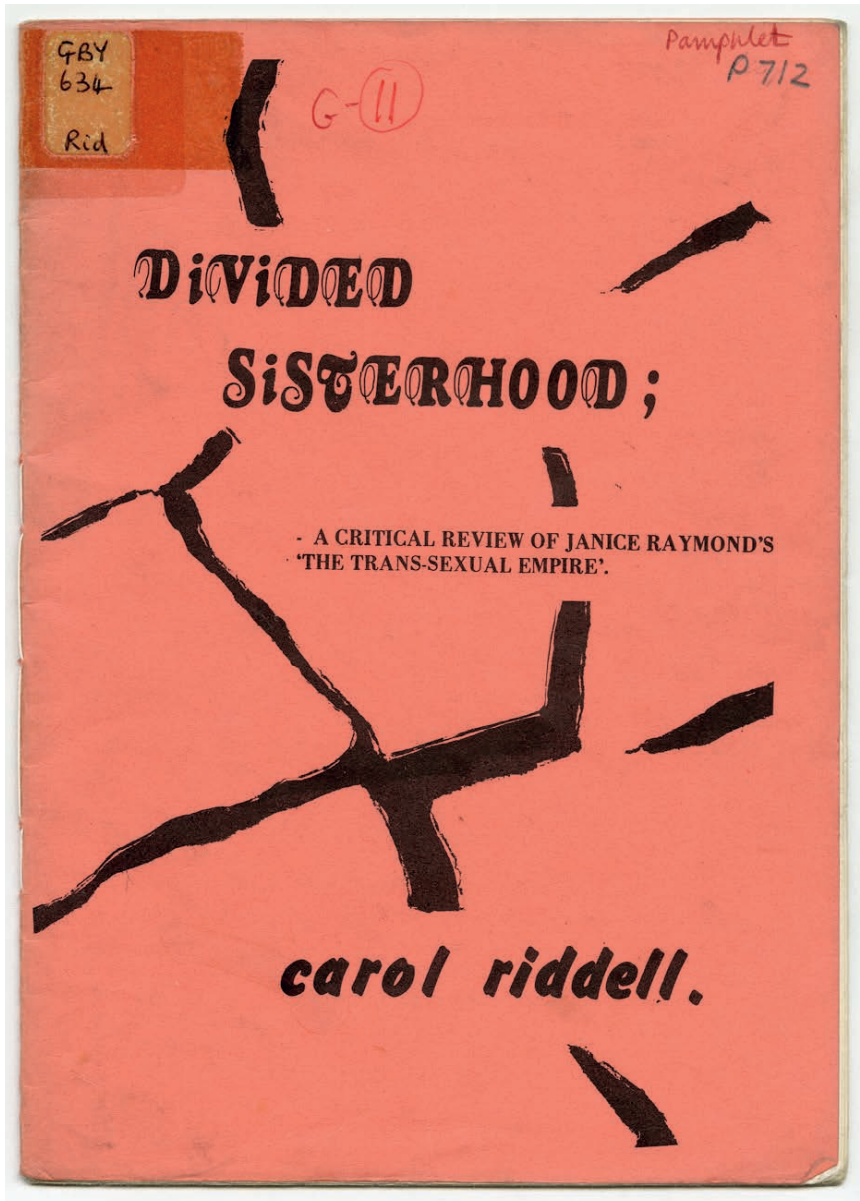
Front cover of *Radical Deviance*, Volume 2, Issue 3, November 1996. (permission TBC)

conceptualised to include drag queens and kings alongside transsexuals and transvestites, which in turn brings (back) together people who may identify as LGB or straight.<sup>74</sup> It thus works to overturn historical conflicts and boundaries between people of different modes of gender expressions and experiences. As More states elsewhere, transgender is ‘an umbrella term’ that includes a historical sense of conflict: ‘in fact the whole gamut of ‘gender complex’ people fighting together instead of against each other’.<sup>75</sup>

Emphasising the importance of drag queens and radical drag within the GLF and the Pride marches and celebrations initiated by the group in the UK, Morgan gives significant space to More’s comments on *Gay Lib*.<sup>76</sup> More argues that ‘the lack of alternative readings [of the British GLF] means the writing on TG [transgender] involvement offends a lot of people’, and states that ‘this is getting better: last year’s book by Lisa Power on the GLF, *No Bath But Plenty of Bubbles* may have included almost nothing about TVs and TSs, but does cover much of the ‘radical drag’.<sup>77</sup> The issue of *Radical Deviance* includes a discussion between Kate More and GLF activist and lesbian feminist Angela Mason (née Weir), who was then director of Lesbian and Gay rights charity Stonewall UK. Stonewall had just published *Queer Bashing*, their first report on lesbian and gay hate crime in the UK. Pressed by More to discuss transgender issues, given that organisations like Stonewall and Outrage ‘seem strangely silent about the issue’, Mason admits that she doesn’t know much about transgender politics, while also referencing numerous significant flash-points of the trans ‘70s. She comments on the existence of the GLF TS/TV Group; that ‘Rachel Pollack lived with us at one point’; and that she was friends with Carol Riddell in the Women’s movement.<sup>78</sup> She notes the fraughtness of the GLF, and that Kaveney ‘felt very excluded in GLF’.<sup>79</sup> Discussing the lack of discussion of transgender hate crime in *Queer Bashing*, Mason describes walking with Pollack while she faced ‘a constant stream of abuse’ as a visible, lesbian transsexual woman in the early seventies.<sup>80</sup> Mason’s testimony represents an attempt to attest to and reconcile historical wounds in the memory of the GLF, forging solidarities in this new coalitional queer moment. *Radical Deviance* functions as a discursive space to trial and address the possibilities and pitfalls of queer and feminist coalitional politics in the context of an emergent transgender culture and politics, addressing gaps and posing difficult questions to the historicisations and accounts of the queer seventies that were emerging in the nineties.

### CONCLUSION: SISTERHOOD AMID A DIVIDE

This essay has elucidated particular moments within the Gay Liberation movement where solidarity among trans and non-trans lesbians enabled the spread of radical consciousness and perspectives in printed matter, through a then-emergent politic of lesbian separatism. I have shown how the memory of trans lesbians articulates a counter-narrative to transphobic and transmisogynist historicisations of the London GLF, memories that emerged through feminist dialogues in print and in public



Front cover of *Divided Sisterhood*, 1980.

between the '90s and the 2010s. To conclude, I turn briefly to an important text by feminist socialist trans lesbian woman Carol Riddell. Riddell, a 'radical professor of sociology at Lancaster University',<sup>81</sup> was active in the Women's Liberation movement across the 1970s, presenting papers at Women's Lib and socialist feminist conferences,

contributing to *Spare Rib*, living in women's housing co-operatives, and playing keyboard in the Northern Women's Liberation Rock Band.<sup>82</sup>

Alongside co-authoring a sociology textbook with socialist feminist Margaret Coulson,<sup>83</sup> Riddell's critical writing outlined structural critiques of patriarchal capitalism focused on women's role in social reproduction, lesbian perspectives on the Women's movement, and her important, early transfeminist text *Divided Sisterhood*.<sup>84</sup> A rebuttal of Janice Raymond's *The Transsexual Empire*, *Divided Sisterhood* was published by News From Nowhere, Liverpool's feminist bookshop, in 1980,<sup>85</sup> and reprinted in Stryker and Whittle's *The Transgender Studies Reader*. The text interweaves a critical review, poems, and an excerpt of an unpublished novel, connecting a politics of 1970s transsexual women's experience to the structural critique of patriarchy while extensively challenging the claims and modes of argument made by Raymond, arguing that Raymond's attempts at denouncing transsexual women through 'ideological purity' are harmful to feminist culture at large.<sup>86</sup> While the critique of Raymond itself is not my interest here, and an account of Riddell's work in the '70s remains to be undertaken, it is important to note that, like other trans lesbian feminists at the time, Riddell's critical analysis and theory emerges from *within* the context of lesbian separatism and living a separatist life. Her writing and ideas from this period emerged from dialogues within the Women's movement, circulating through its publications and forums. Discussing the unlearning of patriarchal cultural values that feminists undertake, itself a significant aspect of consciousness-raising groups, Riddell writes:

The separation adopted by some women to undertake this struggle is a result of the degree of sexual oppression, intentional and unintentional, shown by men in our societies. But trans-sexual women's transformation in the same way is not incompatible with that of other women, who, as separatists, are able to accept, and work with transsexual feminists.<sup>87</sup>

In this comment, as a response to an oppressive patriarchal context, separatism provides an opportunity for unlearning and forging 'the condition of female humanness'.<sup>88</sup> Such a condition entails a personal 'struggle' that must involve others – intentional communities and groupings between women can enable this work. Speaking from her own experiences in the Women's movement, Riddell understands that transsexual and non-trans women are able to work together on such endeavours.<sup>89</sup>

The possibilities in working together – collaborating and co-operating, printing each other's words, building coalitions and new forms of feminist understanding – emerged tangibly under the roof of the Faraday Road women's commune in 1971, producing *Lesbians Come Together*; and within the Women's movement through the work of transsexual feminists like Riddell. Such possibilities re-emerged in part in feminist organising in the eighties and nineties in groups such as Feminists Against Censorship and in organising



against Section 28. Queer and feminist print media from across these decades, driven by radical editorial ethos, reflect the heterogeneities perspectives of trans and lesbian feminisms. The result of the editorial decisions, such as in *Lesbians Come Together* to print all submissions to the issue, is visible traces of trans and non-trans lesbian life and solidarity. These are documents of the politics and discussions inaugurated with Gay Liberation and Women's Liberation and of active dialogues that challenged the elision of trans people in these movements and in the memories of them. Riddell's defence of trans lesbian life in the seventies forms the tip of an iceberg of what was already lived and experienced, and what may yet be unarchived, reconstituted and remembered.


ENDNOTES

- 1 In an article on feminism and squatting in 1970s London, Christine Wall includes a comment from GLF member Lee Nurse on ‘women-only housing’, naming the Faraday Road commune as ‘the first women’s house, lived in by women who were in the GLF, and before they split from the men in GLF. It was a very odd concept actually at the time and all the ideas around it seemed really radical [...] that house became a very important lesbian separatist house’. Christine Wall, ‘Sisterhood and Squatting in the 1970s: Feminism, Housing and Urban Change in Hackney’, *History Workshop Journal* 83, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 79–97, <https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/dbx024>. Citations are from online version, which does not contain page numbers.
- 2 All citations from *Lesbians Come Together* are from its reprint in Aubrey Walter (Ed.), *Come Together: The Years of Gay Liberation 1970–73*, London and New York: Verso, 2018, 156.
- 3 Lisa Power, *No Bath but Plenty of Bubbles*. London: Cassells, 1995, 233.
- 4 Walter, *Come Together*, 158.
- 5 Walter, *Come Together*, 158–159.
- 6 Christine Burns (Ed.), *Trans Britain: Our Journey from the Shadows*. London: Unbound, 2018, 31–38.
- 7 For a discussion of the contemporary significance of Morris and Ashley’s memoirs in the context of the transsexual memoir genre, see Georgina Juliet Buckell (Jacques), *Variations: Transgender Memoir, Fiction and Theory*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Sussex, 2019. In Burns’ *Trans Britain*, Carol Steele provides a personal account which discusses the Manchester TS/TV Group of the mid 1970s (68–81); and Adrienne Nash also provides a personal account that discusses aversion ‘therapies’ including Electro-Convulsive ‘Therapy’ (ECT)(39–50).
- 8 Roz Kaveney in conversation with Nat Raha and Jonathan Bay, part of *Between the Sheets: Radical print cultures before the queer bookshop*, 23–24 February 2017 CCA, Glasgow, Scotland. Hereafter cited as ‘Kaveney et al, *Between the Sheets*’. A live transcription of the event by Nicola Osborne forms the basis of my citations of the conversation.
- 9 Laura Doan, ‘Queer History/Queer Memory: The Case of Alan Turing.’ *GLQ* 23, no. 1 (2017), 116.
- 10 Charles E. Morris III and K. J. Rawson, ‘Queer Archives/Archival Queers.’ In *Theorizing Histories of Rhetoric*, by Michelle Ballif (Ed.), Carbondale & Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 2013, 84.
- 11 Finn Enke, ‘Collective Memory and the Transfeminist 1970s: Towards a Less Plausible History.’ *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* 5, no. 1 (2018), 9–10.
- 12 Abram J. Lewis, ‘I Am 64 and Paul McCartney Doesn’t Care’: The Haunting of the Transgender Archive and the Challenges of Queer History.’ *Radical History Review*, no. 120 (2014), 14.
- 13 Rachel Pollack, whose organising work and memories I discuss in the next section, describes quitting the women’s movement and moving to Amsterdam in 1973. Rachel Pollack, *The Beatrix Gates*. Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2019, 60. In an American example, Enke narrates the important work of Beth Elliot in 1971–73, including her role in the San Francisco chapter of the Daughters of Bilitis. Enke, ‘Collective Memory’.
- 14 Doan, ‘Queer History/Queer Memory’; Enke ‘Collective Memory’.
- 15 Lewis, ‘I Am 64 and Paul McCartney Doesn’t Care’, 15.
- 16 Kaveney et al, *Between the Sheets*.
- 17 These accounts were seemingly disappeared from the collective memory of the Stonewall riot until David Isay, *Remembering Stonewall*. Radio Broadcast. Storycorps. Weekend All Things Considered, July 1, 1989, <https://storycorps.org/stories/remembering-stonewall/> and Martin Duberman, *Stonewall*, New

- York: Dutton; Plume, 1993, in which Sylvia Rivera actively represents herself as an agent within the uprising. For contemporary readings of this legacy, see the work of Tourmaline including the film *Happy Birthday Marsha* (2018) and Tourmaline [Reina Gossett], Eric A. Stanley and Johanna Burton (eds), *Trap Door: Trans Cultural Production and the Politics of Visibility*, Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 2017.
- 18** Kaveney et al, *Between the Sheets*.
- 19** At *Between the Sheets*, Kaveney discussed that the number of anaesthetics she had undergone in the 80s, to address medical problems arising from her gender confirmation surgery, had impacted on her memory of the 70s and 80s (Kaveney et al, *Between the Sheets*). For an account of the relation between queer memory and historical trauma, in the context of post-Soviet ‘postness’, see Ana Hoffner, *The Queerness of Memory*, Berlin: b\_books, 2018.
- 20** Dipesh Chakrabarty, ‘History and the politics of recognition.’ In *Manifestos for History*, by Keith Jenkins, Sue Morgan and Alun Munslow (eds), Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2007, 77–78.
- 21** In their *Come Together* piece, the GLF TS/TV Group recorded that no transvestite men or transsexual men were attending their group (Walter, *Come Together*, 165).
- 22** Stephen Whittle, ‘Where Did We Go Wrong? Feminism and Trans Theory—Two Teams on the Same Side?’ In *The Transgender Studies Reader*, Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle (eds), New York: Routledge, 2006, 195.
- 23** Whittle, ‘Where Did We Go Wrong?’, 195.
- 24** Walter, *Come Together*, 164–167.
- 25** Walter, *Come Together*, 164, 167. The article’s signatories are Roz, Paula, Rachel, Della, Edith, Susan, Perry, Patty and Christine. The article is quick to define (transsexual and transvestite) ‘women’ as ‘people born males who live as women, or more commonly, dress as women whenever they get the chance.’ They add that ‘transvestite men – people born female who live or dress as men (if the language confuses you it confuses us too, its not meant to include us) have so far not come forth’ (Walter, *Come Together*, 164–165). These definitions notably combine the terms transsexual and transvestite – this discursive move ought to be considered historically in the context of social divisions discussed below.
- 26** Walter, *Come Together*, 165, emphasis added.
- 27** Walter, *Come Together*, 165. In her personal account of seeking trans-specific healthcare across the 1950s to the 70s, Adrienne Nash describes being offered and refusing ECT as aversion therapy by Dr John Randell at Charing Cross Gender Identity Clinic in 1971 (Burns, *Trans Britain*, 45–48). In 1975, on being referred again to Randell, Nash recalls how Randell had bought up her prior refusal of a then-discontinued treatment, noting that it didn’t work and had been withdrawn. ECT was widely challenged within the Gay Liberation, Mental Patients’ Liberation and Anti-Psychiatry Movements in the UK and North America – an important early critique was made by Don Jackson in ‘dachau for queers’, originally published in *Gay Sunshine* (No. 1, Issue 3, November 1970), and reprinted in *The Gay Liberation Book*, Len Richmond and Gay Noguera (eds), San Francisco: Ramparts Press, 1973, 42–49. For an account of the London GLF’s Counter-Psychiatry Group, see Lucy Robinson, ‘Three Revolutionary Years: The Impact of the Counter Culture on the Development of the Gay Liberation Movement in Britain’, *Cultural and Social History* 3 (2006), 458–463. I discuss the violence of ECT and Gay and Mental Patients’ liberation activism against it, in the context of 1960s and 70s Massachusetts, USA in my Doctoral Thesis Natalia Raha, *Queer capital: Marxism in queer theory and post-1950 poetics*. Doctoral thesis

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- (PhD), University of Sussex, 2019. For a recent critique regarding the ongoing use of the practice in North America, see Don Weitz, 'Electroshock: Torture as 'Treatment'.' In *Mad Matters: A critical reader in Canadian Mad Studies*, by Brenda A. Lefrançois, Robert Menzies and Geoffrey Reaume (eds), Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2013, 158–169.
- 28** Walter, *Come Together*, 165–166, original emphasis.
- 29** As DM Withers describes, the modern sense of gender, first used by Ann Oakley in her 1972 book *Sex, Gender and Society*, was 'appropriated' from research undertaken by psychiatrists on transsexual and intersex people, D. M. Withers, 'Laboratories of gender: Women's Liberation and the transfeminist present.' *Radical Philosophy* 2, no. 4 (Spring 2019 2019), 4.
- 30** Withers, 'Laboratories of gender', 4 quoting Fraser and Sebestyen 1968, 5.
- 31** Critically addressing the small scale of GICs in the 1960s and 70s, Carol Riddell writes that the GICs 'strove to justify themselves by their conformity – hence all the ghastly gender-amendment training which trans-sexuals have to suffer'. Carol Riddell, 'Divided Sisterhood: A Critical Review of Janice Raymond's The Transsexual Empire.' In *The Transgender Studies Reader*, by Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle (eds), London & New York: Routledge, 2006, 151.
- 32** Walter, *Come Together*, 166–167.
- 33** Walter, *Come Together*, 167.
- 34** Walter, *Come Together*, 166.
- 35** cárdenas, micha, *Trans Desire*, New York and Dresden: Atropos Press, 2010, 26–27.
- 36** Walter, *Come Together*, 166.
- 37** Nettie Pollard describes the Faraday Road commune as a space where 'there might be ten transsexuals and about twelve women', although she points towards their differences in experience. She suggests that some of the transsexuals were at the 'very early stages' of self-exploration, and describes these meetings as becoming 'like a mixed group' (Power, *No Bath*, 244).
- 38** Walter, *Come Together*, 156.
- 39** Berlant, Lauren, and Michael Warner. 'Sex in Public.' *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1998: 547–566.
- 40** The controversy around Raymond's book is canonical and in the interest of building a supplementary historical account of the 70s, I do not address it here. For detail, see Riddell, 'Divided Sisterhood'; Sandy Stone, 'The Empire Strikes Back: A Posttranssexual Manifesto,' In *The Transgender Studies Reader*, 221–235; Susan Stryker, *Transgender History*/ Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008; Cameron Awkward-Rich, 'Trans, Feminism: Or, Reading like a Depressed Transsexual.' *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 42, no. 2 (Summer 2017) (2017): 819–841. It ought to be noted that the publication of *The Transsexual Empire* in the UK by The Women's Press also raises questions around criticality and feminist publishing practices.
- 41** Walter, *Come Together*, 160.
- 42** Rachel Pollack, *The Beatrix Gates*, Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2019, 50.
- 43** Pollack, *The Beatrix Gates*, 59. All emphasis in this quote are added.
- 44** Pollack, *The Beatrix Gates*, 60.
- 45** Bourne was a resident of the Notting Hill drag commune around this period, and involved in assembling *Come Together 15* (Spring 1973). Bette Bourne and Mark Ravenhill, *A Life in Three Acts*. London: Methuen Drama, 2009, 15.
- 46** Bourne and Ravenhil, *A Life in Three Acts*, 15, 16.
- 47** Pollack, *The Beatrix Gates*, 50.
- 48** Pollack, *The Beatrix Gates*, 50. Countering the medical narrative of being 'trapped in the wrong body', Pollack adds: 'No, I was not trapped in the wrong body. I was trapped in the wrong universe. In order to become who I was, I had to break the world open' (*The Beatrix Gates*, 50). She describes science fiction as one of the important means to do this

- world-breaking and world-making.
- 49** Kaveney et al, *Between the Sheets*.
- 50** Pollack, *The Beatrix Gates*, 60.
- 51** Kaveney et al, *Between the Sheets*
- 52** Power, *No Bath*, 244.
- 53** Power, *No Bath*, 243.
- 54** Power, *No Bath*, 244–245. Pollard describes the gender expressions of Claudia, Bobbi and Rachel Pollack.
- 55** Power, *No Bath*, 244.
- 56** Power, *No Bath*, 245.
- 57** Stuart Feather, *Blowing the Lid: Gay Liberation, Sexual Revolution and Radical Queens*, London: Zero Books, 2015.
- 58** Pollack, *The Beatrix Gates*, 54.
- 59** Walter, *Come Together*, 32.
- 60** Iris Morales, *Through the Eyes of Rebel Women: The Young Lords 1969–1976*. New York: Red Sugarcan Press, 2016.
- 61** Susan Stryker, ‘Transgender History, Homonormativity, and Disciplinarity.’ *Radical History Review*, Issue 100, 2008, 154.
- 62** I discuss Stryker’s conceptualisation of transmisogyny at length in my essay ‘Transfeminine Brokenness, Radical Transfeminism’, connecting it to the devaluation of the labour power of trans women and trans femmes. Nat Raha, ‘Transfeminine Brokenness, Radical Transfeminism.’ *South Atlantic Quarterly* 116, no. 3 (2017): 632–646.
- 63** Power, *No Bath*, 240, emphasis added.
- 64** Walter, *Come Together*, 33. For an account of the Notting Hill drag commune, see Bourne and Ravenhill, *A Life*, 22–23. For a historical account of the 1972 actions of the radical queens, also known as the Rad Fems, see Robinson, ‘Three Revolutionary Years’, 469–471.
- 65** Walter, *Come Together*, 33.
- 66** Feather, *Blowing*, 319–320.
- 67** Feather, *Blowing*, 321.
- 68** Feather, *Blowing*, 321, 323.
- 69** Feather, *Blowing*, 329–330, 323–325.
- 70** For an analysis of Mieli’s theory of transsexuality and his radical politics of transvestitism, see Roberto Filippello, ‘On Sequins and Shit: The Epistemology of Radical Dress in Mario Mieli’s Transsexual Utopia’, *Third Text*, Vol. 34, forthcoming. 
- 71** Feather, *Blowing*, 332.
- 72** Feather, *Blowing*, 329.
- 73** The mid ‘90s saw the publication of two influential books from these contributors: Zachary Nataf’s *Lesbians Talk: Transgender*, London: Scarlett Press, 1996; and Riki Anne Wilchins’ *Read my lips: sexual subversion and the end of gender*, Ithaca, NY : Firebrand Books, 1997.
- 74** Diane Morgan, ‘Le[T’S]sbigay Together’, *Radical Deviance: A Journal of Transgendered Politics* 2, no. 2 (1996), 51.
- 75** Morgan, ‘Le[T’S]sbigay Together’, 51. More’s definition of transgender, in her introduction to *Reclaiming Genders*, in full reads: ‘an umbrella term including all cross-living and cross-dressing people, in fact the whole gamut of ‘gender complex’ people fighting together instead of against each other. In the past we have raised all sorts of dubious boundaries: drag queens and kings were cast out as homosexual perverts, transvestites were fetishists, and perhaps most destructive, transsexuals were raised close to sanctity (unless they were gay or enjoyed sex or something). Transgender’s pluralist politics – based on coalition, bringing in the gay community for the first time – offers something seriously to look forward to’, Kate More and Stephen Whittle (eds), *Reclaiming Genders: Transsexual grammars at the Fin-de-Siecle (1999)*, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016, 2–3.
- 76** Morgan, ‘Le[T’S]sbigay Together’, 50.
- 77** Morgan, ‘Le[T’S]sbigay Together’, 50. In her introduction to *Reclaiming Genders*, More refers to the importance of the political and intellectual

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- contributions of the GLF, as remembered by Stuart Feather in *No Bath But Plenty of Bubbles*. She describes this as 'One of the reasons for this book' and its consideration of the relationship between trans-activism and trans-theory (More and Whittle, *Reclaiming Genders*, 1). This is suggestive of the stakes of transmisogyny and transphobia within queer memory – there may be neither a bath nor a baby to negotiate, but the offence it causes can have both lasting and unintended consequences.
- 78** Kate More and Angela Mason, 'Coalitions, Common Issues, & Hate Crime', *Radical Deviance: A Journal of Transgendered Politics* 2, no. 2 (1996), 48.
- 79** More and Mason, 'Coalitions', 48.
- 80** More and Mason, 'Coalitions', 48.
- 81** Susan Stryker and Talia L. Bettcher, 'Introduction: Trans/Feminism.' *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* 3, no. 1–2 (2016), 10.
- 82** Carol Riddell, 'Divided Sisterhood', 158; Women's Liberation Music Archive, 'N', Online at <https://womensliberationmusicarchive.co.uk/n/> (accessed 8th June 2020).
- 83** Margaret Coulson and Carol Riddell, *Approaching Sociology* (1972).
- 84** Carol Riddell, 'Notes, In Lieu of an Editorial,' *Socialist Woman*, no. May-June (1973); Riddell, 'Divided Sisterhood'.
- 85** In a 2016 interview with Combined Academic, a member of the News From Nowhere co-operative emphasises the importance of solidarity with the political movements of the late 70s and early 80s. While there are no comments on the Bookshop's own publications, the piece points out that the Bookshop became a women's co-operative in 1981. Combined Academic, 'News from Nowhere: The Co-operative Bookshop run by Women', *Verso* blog, 2nd March 2016, <https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/2532-news-from-nowhere-the-co-operative-bookshop-run-by-women>.
- 86** Riddell, 'Divided Sisterhood', 157.
- 87** Riddell, 'Divided Sisterhood', 153.
- 88** Riddell, 'Divided Sisterhood', 153.
- 89** Riddell, 'Divided Sisterhood', 153.