

SPECIAL ISSUE ARTICLE

Entering the archive of second-wave trans feminist print culture: The *journal of male feminism*

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Abstract

Common stories of second-wave feminism equate the period either explicitly or by reference to its presumed biological essentialism, with trans-exclusionary feminism. This article deep-dives into issues published between 1977 and 1979 of the *Journal of Male Feminism*, an underground newsletter for a predominantly North American-based male-to-female (M-T-F) cross-dressing community. It argues that these texts contain a rich set of theoretical resources and nuanced perspectives on sex and gender developed by trans people in the 1970s and therefore deserve to be read as part of an expanded canon of second-wave feminism.

Common accounts of second-wave feminism in the USA tend to equate the period with trans-exclusionary feminism. This association takes a couple of different forms. Often, it emerges through the repetition of stories of trans people being excluded from the feminist activist groups of the day.¹ Alternatively, it is inferred by the understanding that second-wave feminist theory relied on a biologically essentialist ‘coat rack’ approach to sex and gender according to which sexed bodies are like coat racks and ‘provide the site upon which gender is constructed’.² On this view, sex is uncritically accepted as binary and immutable; two presumptions that elide trans, non-binary and intersex existences, experiences and knowledges (which for the purpose of this article will be collected under the umbrella of ‘trans epistemologies’). Whilst these characterisations have a clear narrative function within stories of disciplinary progress and are often academically rewarded, they also – as Finn Enke has highlighted – ontologise, naturalise and ahistoricise a separation between cisgender women and trans people in feminism’s recent past that plays into divisive narratives today.³ These overdetermined histories not only rest on wilful misreadings of many canonical second wave thinkers but, more significantly, they obscure countless contributions, particularly those from feminists of colour, queer feminists and trans feminists who, ‘worked

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hard to develop critical insights and knowledges that move us today'.⁴ Presumed outside, or other to, the canon of second-wave feminism, historicising trans pasts becomes a necessary means for recalling the varied investments and influences that trans people had in feminism's second wave.

For historians of queer and trans studies, the lively activism of trans people prior to and contemporaneous with the women's liberation movement of US feminism's second wave is well documented. The Cooper Donuts Riot in Los Angeles in 1959, the picket and sit in at Dewey's lunch counter in Philadelphia in 1965, the Riot at Compton's Cafeteria in San Francisco in 1966, and the Stonewall uprising in New York in 1969 were all examples of trans of colour rage leading the resistance to police violence, harassment and arbitrary arrest in the years preceding women's liberation.⁵ In the feminist movement's watershed year of 1970, trans liberation announced itself as an official movement: '[t]rans liberation is here: what it will become no one knows' announced Angela Douglas, a prolific journalist and founder of Transsexual Action Organisation.⁶ As was common between the liberation movements of the period, there was a cross-fertilisation between women's liberation and transgender liberation and, as Susan Stryker and Talia Mae Bettcher remind us, 'radical trans activism drew upon tenets of the women's movement perhaps even more than it did from gay liberation rhetoric'.⁷ Yet whereas the mutual influences between queer and trans organising during the 1960s and 1970s have been explored and inform the foundations of queer and transgender histories today, a similar exploration of the trans individuals shaping feminism's political and intellectual development has not been undertaken. In this article, by turning to the *Journal of Male Feminism (JMF)*, I intend to explore how a relatively small subset of trans individuals at the time of the second wave were crafting their identities as 'feminists' and strategically mobilising the discourses of women's liberation to articulate a distinctively trans engagement with second-wave feminism.

The *JMF*

The *JMF* was the bi-monthly newsletter of the International Alliance for Male Feminism (Alliance), a membership organisation of a few hundred 'male women' – an umbrella term for those on the transfeminine spectrum who identified in the language of the day as cross-dressers, femmiphiles (FPs), transvestites (TVs), transsexuals (TSs), transgenderists (TGs) – and their wives.⁸ The Alliance begun in 1976 as a splinter group from Tri-Sigma, the pioneering but socially conservative transvestite social club created by Virginia Prince, who was a widely recognised authority on sex, gender and transvestism at the time. The Alliance offered an alternative to Prince's 'one person control and decision making' and her hostility to homosexuality and TSs – she was insistent that transvestism is related to gender-crossing, presenting it as unthreatening and unrelated to 'sexual deviance' (opposite sex attraction or identification).⁹ In contrast to glossy TV publications such as *Female Mimics* and *Drag* which were widely available nationwide and easy to stumble across in adult book stores, the dependency of organisations like the International Alliance of Male Feminism on word of mouth made these predominantly membership-focussed publications harder to find. At \$5 a copy, or free with a \$20 a year membership of the Alliance (translating as around \$80 in 2023 money), the *JMF* (see Figure 1) was expensive, underground, and most likely its readership was confined to the mailing list of Alliance members who were concentrated in North America, with a few based in Canada and Europe.

The journal functioned as a vital resource for Alliance members and its forty plus pages were full of valuable information for those on the transfeminine spectrum. Relevant newspaper cuttings were shared, and there was almost always up-to-date information about electrolysis and important facts for survival as a transfeminine person in the 1970s, such as where to buy clothes or stockings in the right size, safe public spaces to go when dressed and hotels and shops which will allow you



FIGURE 1 Ms. Bob Davis, founder and director of the Louise Lawrence Transgender Archive and Isaac Fellman, Reference Archivist, GLBT Historical Society Archives for their help and permission for the image to be reproduced. *Journal of Male Feminism* Vol. 77, No. 3 (1977). [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

to use the dressing room. Issues include the sharing of techniques: there are how-to guides for hair, beauty, covering-up beards and make-up. Much of the content is comprised of personal stories, such as first-hand experiences of ‘coming-out’ at work or to wives and family, and writers offer advice and encouragement for other members looking to do the same. The Alliance also operated a twenty-four-hour helpline for those seeking ‘[p]ride in Female and Male Womanhood and Feminism’.¹⁰ Whilst second-wave periodicals often served as how-to guides, for the trans community, this aspect is particularly important and the *JMF* shared information and offered support for living a non-normatively gendered life in the 1970s.

There is no one authority on the definition of male womanhood and the pages are a space where both individual and group identities can be expressed, negotiated and contested. The open listings where members wanting to make contact with one another can post their contact details create a platform for additional categories and identifications to be voiced: ‘dresses at home’, ‘dearly love to dress, and do so every day’, ‘in closet’.¹¹ These classifieds enabled readers to meet others who would only know them as their ‘femme selves’, therefore offering an important space not only for contact but the crafting of one’s femme identity. Just as today, the internet and social media provide platforms through which to share, communicate and negotiate gendered subjectivities and identities, in the 1970s print created this space for discovering and connecting with people like oneself.

The community imagined and represented on the pages of the *JMF* are predominantly white, heterosexual, transfeminine and middle to upper class. Many had well-paid professional jobs, or even served in the military in their male lives, and the relatively privileged preoccupations of much of the membership is further reflected in the topics that do and do not get covered. For instance, whilst workplace discrimination was an issue affecting all trans people, it is notable that the publication includes multiple articles about discrimination in the army whilst sex work is never touched upon. Key issues facing trans women of colour and poor trans women were police scrutiny, surveillance, criminalisation and incarceration. Neither these, nor the intersections of transgender discrimination with the policing of other ‘problem bodies’, such as sex workers and immigrants, are explored.¹² Nonetheless, by turning to one journal, produced by one community who would now fall under the umbrella term ‘trans’, during American feminism’s second wave, I hope to lay the groundwork for a more plural understanding of second-wave feminism: its actors and aspirations, and in so doing, to reassess its more enduring political and theoretical contributions.¹³

Whilst the journal continued to be published until at least 1980, I will focus on issues published between 1977 and 1979, the close of the decade most associated with US feminism’s second wave. In pursuing the argument that the *JMF* deserves to be read alongside second-wave feminist texts, this paper makes two further claims: the first is that print culture is an overlooked site of intersectional second-wave feminist knowledge production and the second is that turning to the print culture produced by and for trans folk during this period demonstrates that not only were trans people among, to use Enke’s terms, the ‘movers and shakers’ of second-wave feminism, they were also producing some of the period’s most valuable knowledge on sex and gender.¹⁴

Second-wave trans feminism

What I am terming ‘second wave trans feminism’ – the trans feminist perspectives that circulated at the time of and in dialogue with second-wave feminism – is far from monolithic and the *JMF* is certainly not reflective of a broad trans constituency.¹⁵ However, the *JMF* is a particularly interesting document in the context of second-wave trans feminism because, unlike other trans community journals from the period, it directly aligned its philosophy and politics with the language of the women’s liberation movement. Likewise, its interpellation of its readers as ‘feminist’ subjects makes it notably distinct among the transgender community newsletters of the time. Morgan Di Cesare notes that ‘the term “feminism” in the journal’s title refers to femininity rather than the feminist movement’ and she is certainly correct to point out that the overarching goal of the journal, and broader cross-dressing literature from the period, is to celebrate and promote acceptance of femininity in subjects assigned male at birth. However, the *JMF* also aligns itself throughout with the mainstream women’s liberation movement of the US second wave.¹⁶ There are advertisements for membership of NOW (the National Organisation for Women, the mainstream liberal division of the Women’s Liberation Movement), and pages are littered with stamps reproducing key second-wave feminist slogans such as: ‘woman power’, ‘we try harder and get paid less’, ‘the best MAN for a job may be a WOMAN’, ‘Stop Double Standards’, ‘free to be’ and ‘biology is not destiny’.¹⁷ A 1977 edition contains information and stamps in

favour of the Equal Rights Amendment and a 1979 edition contains an advert for the journal *Feminist Studies*.¹⁸ There are reflections on the meaning of feminism for the readership and original perspectives on the subjects of sex, gender and liberation. Thus, whilst the celebration and normalisation of feminine expression in subjects assigned male at birth, especially the wearing of women's clothes, was sought, discourses of women's liberation were engaged as the vehicle through which to pursue these goals.

I have chosen to employ the contested wave metaphor rather than to speak in terms of decades or to confine my focus to specific aspects of women's liberation, in order to argue for the potential of 'second wave feminism' to be re-read, not as overburdened with essentialism and exclusionarity, but signifying a style of feminism; utopian, collaborative and improvisational. In pursuing this argument, this paper seeks to engage the affective resonances that the term 'second wave' conjures; it is, in Sara Ahmed's words, a 'sticky' phrase, one which is saturated with negative affect, an embarrassment to feminism's more academically refined and demographically inclusive third or fourth waves, and one which students and professors tend to distance themselves from or disavow.¹⁹ The negative stories that circulate about this period are an important part of feminist history and it is not my intention to counter these. More modestly, I seek to propose that this is not the whole picture, and that when we presume that theoretical sophistication and political inclusion arrived later, a host of second-wave subject positions, including second-wave trans feminists, become epistemically inconceivable.

I am interested in the transformative sentiment that the notion of feminism's 'second wave' expressed – and how diverse groups of women felt catalysed by revolutionary spirit of the era to pursue wide-scale structural change, without compromising the specificity of subject positions; Chicana women's liberation, Black women's liberation and lesbian liberation for example. As Sylvia Wynter reminds us, 'that original moment of feminism, as it emerged in the opening provided it by the black, non-white and other social protest movements of the sixties, held a tremendously transformative promise'.²⁰ At the turn of the 1970s, inspired by their involvement in the civil rights movement, and the anti-Vietnam war organising of the previous years, the women that labelled themselves feminism's 'second wave' really did believe that anything was possible and that 'economic and social justice could be achieved, the family reorganised, and all hierarchies based on gender, race, or class erased'.²¹ This was a period not of answers, but of asking, and to write it off, is to overlook – as Enke characterises it – 'feminism's deeply questioning, queer, coalitional and anti-imperialist past', to 'miss some of the grappling of that era, and the way that the grappling itself offers useful lessons'.²²

Trans community print culture as second-wave feminist theory

Print culture, rather than academically authored books, best captures what I have proposed is the spirit of second-wave feminism; its collaborative and revolutionary impetus and its heterogeneity. The mimeograph had made self-publishing and duplicating extremely quick and cost-effective, and therefore newspapers and newsletters were the communications methods of activist ideas. They were integral to the concurrent activism of the New Left and had a specific importance for trans communities at the time, given their ability to share information that could be consumed in private. Rejecting the patriarchal and capitalist control of knowledge, independently produced publications also became central to the knowledge production and dissemination of second-wave feminism.²³ It was not just that universities and traditional publishing houses were likely to reject books by women, especially non-elite women, or that the resource and time intensive process of writing a book meant that only a narrow group of women could find their way into monographs or journals. Books were also far too slow and too convoluted for the ambitious dissemination of radical ideas that second-wave groups sought. The changes that many second-wave feminists envisioned required mass mobilisation, quickly! Thus, much second-wave theory circulated in community produced journals and newsletters, and not in reputed academic publications. As feminist consciousness raising groups were forming at speed across

the country, many crafted collective identities and developed distinct political philosophies which were co-created and disseminated through the group's print publication. On one count between March 1968 and August 1973, over 560 new publications produced by feminists appeared in the USA.²⁴ From the Third World Women's Alliance's *Triple Jeopardy* (1971–1975) to *Black Belt Woman: The Magazine of Women in the Martial Arts and Self Defence* (1975–1976), each collective had its own magazine, newsletter or newspaper and the number of people reading a given periodical was 'usually three or four times the number of women known to be participating in consciousness-raising groups in the city of publication'.²⁵ Print was a political and intellectual resource in feminism's second wave, and one that enabled alternative epistemologies to be established and shared. Trans feminist knowledges were among these.

Not only does the sheer ubiquity of print publications produced during feminism's second wave make them 'a dynamic and important source of feminist knowledge production'.²⁶ These texts are also a valuable source of collaborative ideological development on major issues and provided the space where trans feminists in the period could craft their own individual and collective identities, and participate in the feminist debates. User-generated journals and newsletters collapsed the boundary between theory and practice, writer and reader, expert and novice. 'Letters sections in feminist periodicals reflected both the editors' commitments to presenting a range of different women's voices and readers' willingness to take the position of the writer, even if informally', and in the *JMF*, letters and articles from members are granted as much significance as editorials.²⁷ This democratisation of authority has a distinct resonance for trans people who, as Stephen Whittle writes, 'have questioned the whole notion of objectivity – they do not try to claim it and instead they have built upon the tradition the community has of autobiographical writing to give a voice to their self-acknowledged subjectivity'.²⁸ Print documents the real-time working out of ideas in tandem, making definitions constantly up for grabs. Issues of the *JMF* track the evolution of language within community and illustrate the 'way subcultural language emerges and circulates in dynamic relationship to contextual landscapes and changing community leadership'.²⁹ In a climate where taxonomies were rapidly evolving, print is especially valuable as a container for the documentation of trans feminist epistemologies.

The development of an autonomous US trans community print culture started in the 1960, with the bimonthly publication of Prince's *Transvestia*, a magazine which catered to the largely underground community of transfeminine cross-dressers and TVs – the labels many readers used to describe their cross-gender identifications. Prince's newsletter became a vital space where readers 'came to see themselves not as isolated members of a deviant category but as an empowered community'.³⁰ The *JMF* shared many of the functions of *Transvestia*. Through the social and intellectual space provided on the pages, and the Chapter events that subscribers attended, self-identified cross-dressers, TVs and TSs 'became the authors of their own stories rather than the subjects of regulatory medical and stigmatising cultural discourses'.³¹ The *JMF* was a space for knowledge sharing, community formation and importantly pride in one's femininity. In many ways, the development of trans community print culture played a similar role to the print publications of the pre-Stonewall homophile movement, which Martin Meeker has argued was essential in not only sharing ideas, but enabling the very formation of a collective homosexual identity.³² As a form of 'participatory media' issues function as 'spaces in which individuals become creators rather than simply consumers of culture' and the textual community interacted with the social events and Chapter meetings in the articulation of a 'male feminist' identity and culture.³³

Contesting the idea that 'life change is not structural change' but a retreat inwards, Ahmed affirms that 'when a life is what we have to struggle for, we struggle against structures'.³⁴ Therefore, whilst the journal's inclusion of fashion advice and beauty regimes in a different context might be read through the lines of capitulation to capitalist or patriarchal imperatives, in this context, articles about where to buy clothes in the right size and how to try them in a store on is a clear structural challenge. As one of the stamps says: 'You be you and I'll be me'. And when this basic ontological status has to be fought for, lifestyle politics and radical politics are not so easily separated. As discussed above, politically the *JMF* aligns itself with the key milestones of the mainstream liberal feminist movement: equal

rights, freedom from sex roles and women's equality. However, contributors also resignify second-wave radical feminist slogans. A recurrent stamp, 'Liberated MEN are better', derives from Prince's interpretation of women's liberation as the liberation of the inner woman in every man. Meanwhile, the playful yet sincere stamps 'Stereotypes are a BORE', and 'BIOLOGY IS NOT DESTINY' both echo the women's movement's rhetoric whilst challenging dominant presumptions of binary gender through the contention that shedding oppressive stereotypes is not only important for women in their subordination to the male role, but also for men – who are unable to access conventionally feminine attributes, styles and characteristics. The subjectivities expressed on the page are of self-identified 'male feminists' who aligned themselves with the women's liberation movement – even as they gave new meanings to both 'women' and 'liberation'. The *JMF* thus mobilises second-wave feminist rhetoric in pursuit of a trans interpretation of women's liberation; thereby reading as a distinctively second wave and distinctively trans feminist document.

The *JMF* contains both radical and more conservative elements and contributions in the *JMF* elide conventional distinctions between different branches of feminism at the time. Contributors were both liberal, aligning with the state as a means of securing legitimacy and vital protections, and radical, calling for an end to patriarchy and sexism in all its forms. Moreover, the journal as a whole has much in common with cultural feminism: celebrating and revaluing femininity in bodies assigned male at birth. The community enlisted through the publication, however, was a relatively secretive one – not seeking radical social upheaval for all marginalised groups but merely a liveable life in a world where gender transgression would lead to social marginalisation. In contrast to the heavily politicised group identities of much of the women's liberation movement's radical print, fairly conservative gendered scripts are often appealed to in order to argue for accommodation within the mainstream. Nonetheless, by becoming themselves, and embracing femininity and womanhood in bodies assigned male at birth, readers are refusing the structural imposition of the gender binary and challenging the violent social structures of cisnormativity which compel people to assume a gender at birth and stay that way.

Adding the *JMF* to the long list of feminist print publications produced during the US second wave complicates the idea that we can tell the history of feminism without centring the presence of trans people. Not only was American feminism in this period gaining much of its theoretical grounding by engaging with the emerging sexological literature of Harry Benjamin and Robert Stoller, which had been made possible due to influential trans individuals in the 1950s and 1960s: notably the lectures, knowledge and contacts of Louise Lawrence, the philosophies of Prince and the finances of philanthropist Reed Erickson.³⁵ The conversations in print clearly demonstrate how trans folk were at the forefront of knowledges of sex and gender in this period, and sought to update and inform the medical and political orthodoxies of the day. That the contributors to the *JMF* drew on feminist perspectives to construct their arguments complicates notions of a necessary antagonism between feminists and trans people during this era. Beginning here, with an enquiry into how editors and readers of the *JMF* crafted identities at the intersection of feminism and white heterosexual transvestism, and how they resignified liberal feminist commitments in the process, offers an insight into an overlooked dimension of second-wave feminism.³⁶

The creation of a 'male feminist' community

The automatic flinch of my students when I introduced them to the *JMF* reflects the fact that from the vantage point of the present the alignment of 'male' and 'feminism' conjures transphobic or misogynistic associations. However, the name 'male feminism' had been chosen for its distance from the pathologised medical and social categories available for those who 'cross-dressed' either occasionally, regularly or full-time. Prince had invented the term 'male woman', along with 'femmiphile', as a way to recast transvestism in terms that made it easier for both individuals who experienced dual gender identification, and society, to embrace. It is therefore preferred by many contributors of the *JMF* to the 'unfortunate medical prefix' of 'trans'.³⁷ As a 'primer' to the 'jargon' around sex and

gender articulates, 'many people don't like the term transvestite or TV because of adverse social usage and hence the terms male-woman or female-man are used in their place'.³⁸ Throughout the *JMF*, 'male woman' comes to stand as an umbrella term for a range of feminine identifications in subjects assigned male at birth, from '20% feminine' to 'womanly all the way'.³⁹ As such, what the *JMF* makes visible is a spectrum of transfeminine subjectivities and corresponding investments in the women's liberation movement as a movement for the celebration and liberation of femininity in everyone. The *JMF* exemplifies Emma Heaney's argument that discourses of 'woman-identification' had a 'specific valence for women of trans experience whose battle to be recognised as women also included defying their assigned sex'.⁴⁰ As an editor's note reassures readers, the Alliance 'encourages and fosters the full development of femininity in males on as open and full-time basis as our members' individual circumstances permit'.⁴¹ The male women of the *JMF* celebrate femininity and regard the women's liberation moment as a vehicle towards its social revaluation.

The construction of a 'male feminist' collective identity is facilitated through a combination of deference to Prince's philosophies of sex and gender, the influence of medical perspectives in circulation at the time, and a reliance on the community of readers as ultimate authorities. K.J. Rawson and Cristan Williams employ the framework of a 'rhetorical landscape' to explore the emerging and evolving nature of terms that come to constitute a shared identity and to 'emphasise the deeply contextual and rhetorical nature of community language development'.⁴² The notion of a landscape is useful here as it brings to the fore the spatial dynamics of identity formation, and the way in which multiple discourses can be at play in the non-linear construction of selves, subjectivities and communities. Editions of the *JMF* track the development of a 'trans' community that were creating their own self-identifications and fashioning complex gender identities amidst the backdrop of increased visibility thanks to the media interest in what were at the time widely referred to as 'sex change' operations, and in the aftermath of a decade of feminist, lesbian and gay liberation politics which had heavily influenced sexuality and gender norms. Editors and contributors drew on available medical perspectives and feminist discourses to narrate their own gendered embodiments, yet creative and often critical engagements with both provided the basis for a distinct community formation and a specifically trans feminist subjectivity to emerge.

Prince's philosophy of transvestism relied on the distinction between sex and gender, and her interest was in the possibilities for freeing gender expression from the confines of compulsory masculinity or femininity.⁴³ She advocated a philosophy of 'dual personality expression' which 'contended that every human being has both masculine and feminine traits, attributes and capacities' and therefore the expression of femininity in men was natural and normal.⁴⁴ Initially for Prince, 'dual personality' meant having two selves; a masculine self and a feminine self, the latter more likely confined to private spaces and carefully selected social activities – with other like-minded people, the former present in public and professional life. However, as she herself began to live full time as a woman, she developed the term 'transgenderal' in 1969 which focussed on the fluidity of feminine and masculine performances, and in 1979 identified as a 'transgenderist', 'an anatomically heterosexual male who lived socially and privately as a woman without having a sex change operation'.⁴⁵ Prince's influence is keenly felt in the letters to the *JMF*. Betty Lou describes how she hopes that 'the day will come when I will be able to perform my daily duties as a wholesale milk man, come home, shower, and become Betty Lou', appealing to Prince's notions of a feminine 'second self' which is distinct from her masculine, professional and productive self.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, in Merissa Sherrill Lynn's essay on cross-dressing, she echoes Prince's narrative that a full personality requires both the masculine and the feminine:

Being human, I am aware and capable of building upon my sensuality. Being male, I am very familiar with the pleasures and prides of the masculine sensual experience. However, being the special person that I am, I am also familiar with the incredibly exciting and happy world of feminine sensuality. There is really no describing the sense of satisfaction, the sense of complete wholeness, and of a unique sense of wisdom that being able to

transcend gender distinctions affords me. I am at peace with my masculinity because I am at peace with my femininity.⁴⁷

While the social meanings of gender are not transcended by either Lou or Sherrill Lynn – femininity is presented as softness, masculinity as resolve and social standing – both of these contributors draw on the frameworks that Prince had put into circulation to challenge the notion that the sex one is assigned at birth has any bearing on social or psychological gender.

Hegemonic sex and gender scripts circulate throughout the *JMF* via the inclusion of, often dubious, reprints of scientific news articles or op-eds on gender related issues. Yet, despite the reprints of tabloid articles, editors and contributors convey a clear disdain for the authority and gatekeeping of the medical establishment and ‘so-called “experts”’.⁴⁸ Key goals of the Alliance are education and counselling, and only other readers and members of the ‘paraculture’ or ‘lifestyle’ are trusted to perform these functions. ‘Actually we can counsel each other in most cases on cross dressing problems better than the professionals because we are a) smart, and b) understand the problem’.⁴⁹ The lack of deference to the medical frameworks of the time and the prioritisation of self-acknowledged subjectivity as the basis for the development of taxonomies and knowledges further highlights the value of print as a resource for exploring the development of trans communities’ politics and priorities in this period. As an editorial by Susan Canon makes clear, the *JMF* and its readers are the ultimate authority on gender:

Our Journal, then, is in a position to be the leading journal of opinion on our subjects [...]. One thing is clear: we must have input, a direct input of experiences, from the membership. We cannot be factual, authoritative, believable, on the basis of what poorly-briefed reporters and psychologists say about us. We must go back to the sources again and again; and on most of our subjects, our sources are not Freud or Kinsey or Johns Hopkins or the nearby Gender Orientation enthusiast. The sources of knowledge about ourselves are ourselves.⁵⁰

This valorisation of experience as relevant epistemology mirrors second-wave feminist principles of consciousness raising and was distinctly important for the establishment of an early ‘trans’ community who would have previously had knowledge of one another chiefly through police and medical records, and sensationalised media coverage. Many contributors’ life stories and letters similarly speak to a privileging of experience as the basis of knowledge. As Linda B. remarks: ‘all the reputable books and articles I have read on such matters are in error to the point that one wonders if sociologists and psychologists falsify deliberately. The answer is no they don’t, but the results are as if they did’.⁵¹ Editor Canon proposes that the journal, and individuals’ experiences, can establish a community-generated sociology of the self, offering the necessary reassurance that ‘your experience will be taken seriously, as primary data about ourselves’.⁵² The Alliance sought to provide both a social and intellectual platform for the formation of group consciousness and community among professional, largely heterosexual, transfeminine individuals.

Autobiography and self-narratives further contribute to this pedagogical tapestry of shared experiences. Reflections on Chapter and Alliance events offer a space for processing and sharing the experience of being able to go out of the house as one’s femme self, including the feelings of exhilaration and self-acceptance that this gave rise to. After one dinner, a reader of the journal and member of the Alliance with the femme name Gypsy penned a letter to the editor, thanking the organisers of the Baltimore DC Alliance Dinner Party and sharing her experience:

The dinner Saturday night was my first public appearance [...] It also left me with a real sense of acceptance, for probably the first time in my life and as I write this I wonder how many male women have yet to venture outside, and to be able to feel all these beautiful and wonderful feelings that I felt Saturday night.⁵³

These reflections often include encouragement of other readers to participate in the next Chapter event so that they too can step out of the ‘locked room stage’ and ‘experience the happiness and reassurance that came with greater degrees of sociality and interaction’.⁵⁴

The *JMF* existed to be a celebration of its readers and pages are dedicated to photographs of members, each image transmitting knowledge of male women and enabling the creation of a community. Images, which create a ‘visual archive of photographic presentations of self’, are particularly prized – cultivating visibility among a community that was otherwise hidden, and readers are constantly enlisted to send in more pictures: ‘One picture is worth a thousand words’ an editorial solicits.⁵⁵ Alongside an article discussing Anita Bryant’s assault on lesbian and gay rights and what this means for future co-operation with the (frequently hostile) gay liberation movement, is a photograph of ‘Canadian Alliance gal’ Micheline Johnson perched on the side of an armchair, wearing a knee-length black skirt and a white shirt with a sleeveless cardigan on top. In keeping with the Alliance’s aesthetic which mandated a no “swinger” or “drag queen” type of image’, her sandals have a small heel, her make up is minimal and the background is a simple white wall with a bookshelf on one side. The accompanying caption: ‘A penny for your thoughts. They seem serious’, addresses Micheline’s formal style and concentrated expression. On the following page, alongside newspaper cuttings, is a slightly more party-ready Cathy P, in a white blouse and a bouffant skirt just grazing her knees.⁵⁶ Reflecting with what Flannery describes as the ‘darkly comic’ character of many feminist periodicals from the period, the caption this time reads: ‘All dressed up and nowhere to go’.⁵⁷ The interspersion of these loving photographs of members, regularly accompanied by tongue-in-cheek captions, highlights the centrality of photographic contributions in community formation. The focus is on affirming members as themselves, with members being described throughout as ‘lovely’ and ‘beautiful’.

As a site where narratives of belonging are produced, the images also function to communicate standards regarding the respectable male feminist style, thereby circumscribing the borders of the community. Editors publish out a clear set of decency standards:

What we do not want to publish are: (1) Only pictures of people standing by a motel door, (2) pornography, and (3) gaudy cheesecake and flashy drag-queen crap. We simply wish to document our female and male women in everyday situations having a good time in a proud and unashamed manner.⁵⁸

Whilst pride and avoiding shame were central to the transmission of images, more sexualised styles of cross-dressing remained stigmatised. The strict guidelines for what photos are acceptable represents a racialised and class bias wherein the male women of the *JMF* present other transfeminine people such as drag queens as tacky or inauthentic in their impersonation of women. Instead, this community sought to present themselves as simply ‘plan, ordinary, basic, dull, hetero TVs’ and therefore as no threat to racial capitalism or the status quo.⁵⁹ Nonetheless, by writing in and sharing experiences and photographs, these male women and their wives built the data set that would create the contours for a new ‘trans’ social category at the time of the feminist second wave.

The *JMF*, transnormatively and the women’s liberation movement

If in its function, appeal to community-generated knowledge and employment of affirmative affect, the *JMF* was ‘standard fare for DIY periodicals created by and for trans women’, why make the extra claim that the *JMF* can also be read alongside second-wave feminist publications?⁶⁰ First, one way of being sensitive to the anachronistic imposition of identity categories onto the past is to follow Jack Halberstam for whom ‘all must be read and remembered according to the narratives they meticulously circulated about themselves when they were alive’.⁶¹ Given that contributors to the *JMF* authored themselves as feminists and drew on the available discourses of second-wave feminism to do so, it is necessary to receive them as they intended. Hil Malatino, however, writes that the ‘phrase

male feminism' indicated 'a strategic alignment of trans subjects assigned male at birth with the feminist movement'.⁶² The notion of a strategic element to the feminist identification of contributors is interesting. I interpret this to refer to the decision to align with the white, liberal, mainstream branch of the feminist movement and to distance from some of the more radical, post-Stonewall politics of the era. Inheriting Prince's understanding that normalising transvestism required forging gender identities in relation to white heteropatriarchy, the mainstream women's liberation movement offered a vehicle for social change, without threatening many of the race, class and sexuality-based norms that an increasingly right-wing political climate sought to uphold.

At a time where there was a lot of mutual animosity between sexual and gender minorities which were in the process of 'sorting out' their own constituency from the single category of sexual deviance, the liberal feminist movement was potentially regarded as the socially acceptable route to transvestism.⁶⁵ That the movement had achieved mainstream recognition was flagged for readers by the inclusion of a cutting from the *New York Times* which announced approvingly: 'NOW's new president, Eleanor C. Smeal, bills herself as a housewife, a description any good feminist would have disdained seven years ago'. The article continued to reference the movement's deradicalisation as a positive development: 'The women's movement is learning, as the civil rights movement did before it, that beyond the heady early victories lies the hard scrabble of institutional reality. The contributions of the women's movement have already been enormous, and it appears that NOW is prepared to lead the movement down the harder roads ahead'.⁶⁴ The choice to include this seal of approval from a mainstream newspaper, suggests that for the readers of the *JMF*, Malatino is correct that women's liberation was a strategic source of political affiliation.

The discursive alignment of white, professional transfeminine subjects with the discourse of liberal women's liberation (equal rights and inclusion rather than structural transformation), reflects the *JMF*'s transnormativity, understood as an 'adherence to respectability politics, heteronormative standards, and class privilege'.⁶⁵ This respectability politics is most marked by the role of wives which occupy a significant proportion of the *JMF*'s content. Robert Hill, in the context of *Transvestia*, explains how wives were central to the normalising mission of heterosexual, professional TVs. Standing as markers of manhood and heterosexuality, 'they served as conduits for the politics of respectability that infused every aspect of the magazine'.⁶⁶ Alliance membership dues 'cover two women, provided at least one is female' meaning that wives and girlfriends get a free membership of the Alliance and are encouraged to join, to understand their husband's femininity, and to relieve other wives of any concerns – especially around gender and (hetero)sexuality. Wives put a big emphasis on their man's manliness, often through the appeal to heterosexual prowess. 'Who is going to argue about the masculinity of the best guy you have ever slept with?'.⁶⁷ Their partners' feminine side, then, becomes incorporated into the domestic scene, either as irrelevant 'a harmless pastime', or an added bonus to an already ideal heteronormative coupling: building trust, communication and occasionally the relief from filling the domestic duties of the female partner single handedly.⁶⁸

There are repeated discussions about when and how to disclose one's cross-dressing status to your wife, and wives are described as 'class A' if they are fully accepting of their husbands' femme side, will support them, help them with their hair, and introduce them to make up. (They are class C or below if they are hostile). One lengthy article titled 'How to catch a class A wife' offers advice to the 'single TV who is looking for a relationship'. Readers are reassured that 'A TV who has his head together is a damn good catch. A TV husband is above average in intelligence, usually well educated and good looking'. However, given that 'the "cross-dressing hurdle" must be surmounted', 'the TV needs everything going in his favor' which means he cannot afford to overlook 'the old rule of brushing three times a day and flossing twice, seeing the dentist twice a year, and by all means the daily bath is essentially important'. Where to find single people? Churches and special interest groups with a single's component—for example, 'single backpackers' are good places to start – but beware, however, 'single's bars can be very good or very very bad. Exercise due caution'. Finally, while it is not recommended to bring up cross-dressing status early on, later, and certainly before marriage, 'the lady must be told' and strategies of how to ease her into this information are suggested.⁶⁹ The centrality

given to the role of accepting wives indicates a distinctly transnormative and heteronormative agenda to the journal.

Nicholas Matte discusses the liberal American transnormativities that shaped much of the US transgender rights activism of the late twentieth century, and these are present throughout the *JMF*.⁷⁰ As such, the publication is not representative of any broader trans community and reads primarily as a resource for respectable liberal subjects, assigned male at birth, to affirm one another in the pursuit of a class A wife, a class A job and a class A middle-class lifestyle, no longer hampered by one minor impediment: the idea that to be a entitled to liberal economic and citizenship rights, one cannot also be a woman. The feminist subjectivity that emerges is one where equal rights and respectability for women and male women on a par with what white, middle class men are entitled to, is sought.

Nonetheless, I propose that the engagement with feminism goes further than an appeal to the respectability of its liberal branch. Sex and gender are consistently theorised from the basis of lived experience, and the transformations in gender roles that the wider women's liberation movement sought were made more ambitious by the dismantling of sex and gender binaries on the pages of the *JMF*. Opening a 1979 double issue with a three-page spread 'Feminism: An Editorial', the editor Canon offered a challenge to cisnormative understandings that 'womanhood' could be determined on either an anatomical or binary basis:

A woman is a woman is a woman [...] A woman with male sexual organs is conditioned in some ways in her womanliness; but so too is a woman 4 ft.0 in. height. And both can be more womanly than a handsome female 5 ft. 10 in. who has a dull face and no energy or enthusiasm.

Canon went beyond simply reproducing second-wave feminist discourses here and advanced a distinctly trans feminist engagement with the philosophy and phenomenology of womanhood. She contested prevailing biomedical orthodoxies, instead advancing a straightforward understanding of 'woman' as a sign under which anyone who chooses to, can operate:

We are what we are, and attempts to fit us into medical categories or even biological ones are so misleading that even the Federal Courts have wisely given up on it [...] The power to define is the power to abolish your existence by fiat [...] So I am not a trans-woman, or an off-brand woman, or anything but a woman; and I am fairly sure that my most basic conduct forming biological feature is the fact that I am over six feet tall and have been since I was 14. People this large live, I am convinced, in a different physical and emotional world from those who are five feet and under.⁷¹

This combination of dry wit and direct engagement with medical and juridicial frameworks was intended to expose the absurdity of a bi-gender system which proposes that two categories have the power to neatly separate and divide complex, heterogenous human beings. As such, the editorial is an example of how contributors to the *JMF* de-essentialised the category of woman throughout feminism's second wave. Moreover, Canon's elucidation of the 'power to define' being the power to define out of existence, speaks to the enduring priority of self-determination for all gender-variant people, and sadly prefigures contemporary battle lines over the parameters of 'womanhood'.

Throughout issues, via contributors' invocation of male women *as* women, the category of womanhood is destabilised and de-essentialised. In creating the space for a community of (white, middle class, professional) male women to be established, the *JMF* does serve to illustrate the confluence between (some) transgender women and women's liberation goals in the second wave. Claiming the labels of 'feminist' and 'woman', the community challenged the naturalisation of a separation between women and trans people in the prevailing medical and political culture. Contributions to the *JMF*, then, speak to a prefigurative politics, characteristic of the second wave, which put into motion

the seemingly straightforward argument that what constitutes womanhood is feeling like a woman. That to *feel* like a woman is enough to *be* a woman in this journal, there is a phenomenological ontology and radical politics to be derived from what on the surface could be a largely liberal set of investments.

Such unabashed, uncompromised faith in the promise of women's liberation for trans women (here 'male women') is almost unrecognisable from the vantage point of the present. But I contend that it speaks not only to the contingency of contemporary battle lines, but to a simultaneously straightforward and radical philosophy of gender where male womanhood did not stand as a contradiction in terms, merely one of the many modifiers available to an ever expanding and increasingly differentiated constituency of politicised feminists. Following in the revolutionary upheaval of the first half of the 1970s, during which different women's liberation groups were catalysed to articulate the specificities of these terms, the struggle *for* women's liberation that was central to US feminism's second wave, was also the struggle over the meaning of 'women' and the meaning of 'liberation'. The male women of the *JMF* contributed important, largely overlooked perspectives in this moment of historical rupture.

For Malatino, the optimism expressed in this journal by trans women's identification with feminism is 'simultaneously moving and saddening' in light of the neglect and oppression of trans women by feminists that subsequent decades would bring.⁷² I agree. On an affective level and from the vantage point of the present, reading issues is to experience a sense of loss and then rage for the possibilities that did not emerge, and for the optimism that did not deliver. However, alongside the loss for what could have been, and rage at what has become, I think there is something to be salvaged in the, perhaps naive, aspirations of the time. Moreover, the world-building promise of these journals is what is quintessentially second wave about them and while accounts of trans exclusion have been epistemically elevated both as a symptom of second-wave feminism's failings and a cause of current divisions, such a story authorises exclusions in the present which are in fact called into question by histories of trans people's identification with, and participation in, second-wave feminist groups and discourses. Turning to the feminist identifications that were taking place in the *JMF*, reminds us, as Enke explains, that 'feminism reached far beyond its most explicit proponents' and 'trans people and men across sexuality, race, class and political inclination built vehicles for this truly vast movement'.⁷³ Moreover, while the impasses of second-wave feminism, and the impossibility of sisterhood, have been taken as reasons to move past the second wave, I propose instead that we think with Lauren Berlant who writes in defence of attaching oneself to a failed political movement as a political strategy that enables a radical rethinking of failure and time.⁷⁴ These journals were published at the latter end of a decade in which it really did seem that anything was possible and the transformations envisaged – the sense that real change was on the horizon – were as relevant to trans women as the rest of the movement.

Conclusion: expanding the canon of second-wave feminism

In turning to the literal archive of second-wave feminism, I have asked questions about the metaphorical archive; the politics of knowledge production whereby certain lives are incorporated into the stories of second-wave feminism and others, presumed in advance to be other to, and outside of, this canon.⁷⁵ The material dimensions and the theoretical dimensions of the transgender archive are inseparable and in mining recent historical materials, I have sought to make an epistemological challenge.⁷⁶ My own turn to the archive, then, has been a citation tactic, a means of intervening in the chronology of both trans and second-wave feminism, which places the former always in the future and the latter as firmly in the past. The *JMF* disrupts chronologies of trans feminism as a distant horizon, the transgender body as 'futurity itself, a kind of heroic fulfilment of postmodern promises of gender flexibility' and refutes prevailing characterisations wherein 'second wave trans feminism' emerges as a contradiction in terms.⁷⁷ Although far from an 'ideal' object, the journal's very existence offers 'the possibility to

tell different types of stories about feminism's recent history whilst simultaneously rendering visible previously obscured narratives about feminism'.⁷⁸ That there were always second-wave trans feminists, and that there are avenues for alliances between second-wave feminism and trans studies in the present are key possibilities advanced by expanding the canon of second-wave feminism to include print culture. Moreover, it has enabled subjectivities and experiences that had previously gone unacknowledged – here transfeminine women's liberationists – to emerge as one of the various utopian investments in second-wave feminism.

The erasure of trans feminisms from the history of feminism is a violent act of exclusion which contributes to willfull misrepresentations in the present. As Enke writes, '[i]t's possible to narrate [feminist] histories in ways that don't perpetuate the abjection and removal of trans from feminism' and the *JMF* contributes to one such story.⁷⁹ As one example of US trans feminist history, I understand the *JMF* to be a resource, not only of how to survive in the world, but how to conceptualise and make changes in a world, and how to negotiate a coercive system of sex and gender – that far from abstract and intellectual, is lived, felt and embodied. However, the *JMF* also offers important insights into how subcultures can become scenes of exclusions themselves, and presents cautionary tales about how border skirmishes and logics of disavowal ultimately reinforce hegemonic and oppressive norms. Pursuing a respectability politics made possible on the basis of the whiteness and wealth of the readership, the *JMF* reflects a largely white, heteronormative set of trans feminist interests. Moreover, what is clear is that rather than gender being the primary predictor of identification with the women's movement, race, class, sexuality and style of femininity played a significant role in whether trans women saw themselves or invested in the aspirations of the liberal women's liberation movement – a future free of compulsory gender roles and the misogynistic devaluation of femininity, but which, as feminists of colour critiqued, paid insufficient attention to the way that these experiences are always traversed by race, class and nation. Alongside complicating a narrative of second-wave feminism as trans exclusionary, and pointing to a longer genealogy of trans feminisms, the *JMF* also demonstrates how the era's exclusionary dynamics were not just a feature of the mainstream, white, middle-class movement and cannot be tidily mapped onto a mainstream/grassroots, cis/trans binary.

Whilst it is impossible to discern a representative story of second-wave feminism, what I hope to have made clear in this paper is that histories of second-wave feminism cannot be told without including the investments of trans people in the movement and their contributions to its related knowledge production. These journals comprise part of a distinctively second-wave trans feminist print culture, contain important knowledges on sex and gender and deserve to be consulted within an expanded canon of second-wave feminism.

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ENDNOTES

¹ For elaborations of this argument, see Finn Enke, 'Collective Memory and the Transfeminist 1970s', *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 5 (2018), pp. 9–29 and Emma Heaney, 'Women-Identified Women', *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 3 (2016), pp. 137–45.

² Linda Nicholson, 'Interpreting Gender', *Signs* 20 (1994), here p. 81.

³ Enke, 'Collective Memory', p. 12; On disciplinary progress narratives, see Robyn Wiegman, *Object Lessons. Next Wave* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012); Clare Hemmings, *Why Stories Matter: The Political Grammar of Feminist Theory. Next Wave* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), particularly Chapter 1 'Progress', pp. 31–58. On the concept of 'Queer Feminism', see Jay Prosser, *Second Skins: The Body Narratives of Transsexuality. Gender and Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998). For a critique of dominant stories of Queer Theory's emergence, see Kadji Amin, 'Haunted by the 1990s: Queer Theory's Affective Histories', *Women's Studies Quarterly* 44 (2016), pp. 173–89.

⁴ Enke, 'Collective Memory', p. 11. For a re-reading of canonical second-wave thinkers, see: Lisa Downing and Laura Cox, 'Queering the Second Wave: Anglophone and Francophone Contexts [Special Issue]'. Paragraph (Modern Critical Theory Group) 41 (2018).

- ⁵For more on the protests at Cooper's donuts, Dewey's lunch counter and Compton's cafeteria, see: Susan Stryker, *Transgender History: The Roots of Today's Revolution* (Berkeley: Seal Press, 2008) pp. 59–69.
- ⁶Angela Douglas 'Gays turn the other cheek', *Los Angeles Free Press*, 25 December 1970, p. 45.
- ⁷Susan Stryker and Talia M. Bettcher, 'Introduction,' *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 3 (2016), p. 9; See also Joanne J. Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004) for a discussion of the emergence of autonomous trans organisations across the USA.
- ⁸By 1979, the journal was being produced on a quarterly basis. Many of the identities that circulated in the journal now carry negative, pathologising connotations. Throughout this article, I weave a faithfulness to the subjectivities and identities expressed with more contemporary language and vernacular where appropriate.
- ⁹Journal of Male Feminism Vol. 77, No. 1 (1977). *Digital Transgender Archive*, (1977), pp. 5–6. <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net/files/z316q178t> (accessed September 08, 2022). Prince's Tri-Sigma originated as the Foundation for Personality Expression and later was renamed Tri-Ess, the name under which it still operates today.
- ¹⁰Journal of Male Feminism Vol. 77, No. 3, (1977). p. 2. *Digital Transgender Archive*. <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net/downloads/9c67wm95d> [accessed March 30, 2023].
- ¹¹Journal of Male Feminism Vol. 77, Nos. 4 & 5 (1977), p. 2. *Digital Transgender Archive*. <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net/files/05741r89r> [accessed September 08, 2022].
- ¹²See Clare Sears. *Arresting Dress: Cross-dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015) for a discussion of 'problem bodies'.
- ¹³I take the term 'gender outlaws' from Kate Bornstein's book, *Gender Outlaw: On Men, Women and the Rest of Us*. (London: Routledge, 1994).
- ¹⁴Enke, 'Collective Memory' p. 11.
- ¹⁵Whilst I have focussed on the *Journal of Male Feminism* here, there were many other trans community publications, and trans people also contributed to the letter's sections of mainstream and lesbian feminist publications, such as *The Second Wave*, *the Ladder* and *Sister*. Trans liberation also had its own 'second wave' – a more radical, less assimilationist current that was influenced by post-Stonewall activism. See Suzy Cooke's comments in her interview with Susan Stryker for a categorisation of trans liberation in waves. Susan Stryker. *Suzan Cooke Interview*. GLBT Historical Society. (1998), p. 29. https://docs.glbthistory.org/oh/Cooke_SuzanCooke1-10-1998_web.pdf
- ¹⁶Morgan DiCesare, 'Revisiting Transvestite Sexualities through Anita Bryant in the late 1970s,' *Peitho: Journal of the Coalition of Feminist Scholars in the History of Rhetoric & Composition*, Vol. 22 (2020). <https://cfshrc.org/article/revisiting-transvestite-sexualities-through-anita-bryant-in-the-late-1970s/>
- ¹⁷For an exemplary issue, see 'Journal of Male Feminism Vol. 77, No. 3 (1977)'. *Digital Transgender Archive*, (1977).
- ¹⁸See Journal of Male Feminism Vol. 77, No. 3 (1977), p. 24 and Susan Cannon. 'Journal of Male Feminism Nos. 1–2 (1979)', *Digital Transgender Archive*, (1979), p. 36, <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net/files/7p88cg698> [accessed September 08, 2022].
- ¹⁹Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004).
- ²⁰David Scott & Sylvia Wynter. 'The Re-Enchantment of Humanism: An Interview with Sylvia Wynter', *Small Axe* (2000), pp. 119–207.
- ²¹Alice Echols, *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967–1975*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), here p. 19.
- ²²Enke, 'Collective Memory and the Transfeminist 1970s', p. 10.
- ²³For the role of print culture in the development of second-wave feminism see: Agatha Beins. *Liberation in Print: Feminist Periodicals and Social Movement Identity*, (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2017) and Trysh Travis, *The Women in Print Movement: History and Implications*. *Book History* 11 (2008), pp. 275–300.
- ²⁴Ann Mather quoted Kathryn Thomas Flannery *Feminist literacies, 1968–75*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), here p. 24. See also Myra Marx Ferree and Beth B Hess *Controversy and Coalition: The New Feminist Movement across Three Decades of Change*. 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2000), here p. 78 for a discussion of the purpose of print for individual consciousness raising groups.
- ²⁵Maren Carden quoted in Flannery, 'Feminist Literacies', p. 35.
- ²⁶Julie R. Enszer and Agatha Beins, 'Inter- and Transnational Feminist Theory and Practice in Triple Jeopardy and Conditions,' *Women's Studies* 47 (2018), p. 22.
- ²⁷Beins, 'Liberation in Print', p. 87.
- ²⁸Stephen Whittle, 'Where Did We Go Wrong? Feminism and Trans Theory—Two Teams on the Same Side?', in Susan Stryker & Stephen Whittle (eds) *The Transgender Studies Reader* (2006), p. 199.
- ²⁹K.J Rawson and Cristian Williams. 'Transgender*: The Rhetorical Landscape of a Term'. *Present Tense: A Journal of Rhetoric in Society*. Vol. 3 (2014), p. 2.
- ³⁰Robert S. Hill, 'As a Man I Exist; as a Woman I Live': Heterosexual Transvestism and the Contours of Gender and Sexuality in Postwar America (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2007), p. 13.
- ³¹Robert S. Hill's 'As a Man I Exist' is a remarkable dissertation exploring the first US Trans community journal: *Transvestia*. It is well worth a read for its incisive exploration of how identities were co-created on the page, resisting the medicalisation and pathologisation of cross-dressing, and offering an early articulation of a 'trans' subjectivity. Here, p. 13.

- ³² Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s–1970s*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).
- ³³ Piepmeier, Alison. *Girl Zines, Making Media, Doing Feminism*. (New York: New York University Press, 2009), pp. 29–30.
- ³⁴ Ahmed, 'Living', p. 214.
- ³⁵ Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press, (2008) and Patrick Califa, *Sex Changes: The Politics of Transgenderism* (Berkeley: Cleis Press, 2001).
- ³⁶ Prince's Tri-Sigma had also been 'open to feminists of any sex' meaning that wives of heterosexual cross-dressers were very much encouraged, to learn about their husband's femininity, and to be able to share in it as a source of pride. Indeed, as Prince's book *The Crossdresser and His Wife* indicated, she felt that wives played a very important role in a transvestite's life and social standing. However, the Alliance shed Prince's harsh restriction to heterosexual men, her exclusive vetting policy – including a requirement to purchase three copies of *Transvestia* before joining – and her 'dictatorial' organisational structure.
- ³⁷ Cannon. 'Journal of Male Feminism Nos. 1–2 (1979)', p. 4.
- ³⁸ Glenda Rene Jones. 'Journal of Male Feminism No. 3 (1979)', *Digital Transgender Archive*, (1979), p. 41. <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net/files/np193931r> (accessed February 23, 2023).
- ³⁹ Cannon. 'Journal of Male Feminism Nos. 1–2 (1979)', p. 28.
- ⁴⁰ Emma Heaney. 'Women-Identified Women.' *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 3 (2016), p. 141.
- ⁴¹ 'Journal of Male Feminism Vol. 77, No. 3 (1977)', p. 27.
- ⁴² K.J Rawson and Cristian Williams. 'Transgender*: The Rhetorical Landscape of a Term'. *Present Tense: A Journal of Rhetoric in Society*. Vol. 3 (2014), p. 14.
- ⁴³ Hill, 'As A Man'.
- ⁴⁴ Hill, 'As A Man', p. 8.
- ⁴⁵ Hill, 'As A Man', p. 176.
- ⁴⁶ Glenda Rene Jones, 'Journal of Male Feminism No. 4 (1979)'. *Digital Transgender Archive*, (1979), p. 7, <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net/files/h702q6560> [accessed September 08, 2022].
- ⁴⁷ Jones. 'Journal of Male Feminism No. 3 (1979)', pp. 10–11. Whilst not much is known about many of the contributors to the *JMF*, Merissa Sherill Lynn went on to be an important activist and organiser within the West Coast trans community. She later lived as a trans woman and published an autobiography: Merissa Sherrill Lynn, *Merissa Sherrill Lynn: Her History As She Wrote It*. (Independently published, 2018).
- ⁴⁸ This phrase appears regularly. One example is Susan Canon's editorial, in Canon 'Journal of Male Feminism Nos. 1–2 (1979)', p. 5.
- ⁴⁹ Jones, 'Journal of Male Feminism No. 3 (1979)', p. 5.
- ⁵⁰ Cannon. 'Journal of Male Feminism Nos. 1–2 (1979)', pp. 4–5.
- ⁵¹ Cannon. 'Journal of Male Feminism Nos. 1–2 (1979)', p. 32.
- ⁵² Cannon. 'Journal of Male Feminism Nos. 1–2 (1979)', p. 5.
- ⁵³ 'Journal of Male Feminism Vol. 77, No. 3 (1977)', p. 28.
- ⁵⁴ Hill, 'As A Man' pp. 105–109.
- ⁵⁵ Hill 'As A Man', p. 42.
- ⁵⁶ Journal of Male Feminism Vol. 77, No. 3 (1977)', pp. 3–4.
- ⁵⁷ Flannery, 'Feminist Literacies', p. 39.
- ⁵⁸ 'Journal of Male Feminism Vol. 77, No. 3 (1977)', p. 18.
- ⁵⁹ DiCesare, 'Revisiting Transvestite Sexualities'.
- ⁶⁰ Hil Malatino, 'The Promise of Repair: Trans Rage and the Limits of Feminist Coalition.' *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 46 (2021), p. 827.
- ⁶¹ Jack Halberstam. *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives*. (New York: New York University Press 2005), p. 48.
- ⁶² Hil Malatino, 'The Promise of Repair', p. 828.
- ⁶³ For a discussion of the intersection between trans narratives, race, sexuality and class, see Emily Skidmore, 'Constructing the "Good Transsexual": Christine Jorgensen, Whiteness, and Heteronormativity in the Mid-Twentieth Century Press', *Feminist Studies*, 37 (2011), pp. 270–300.
- ⁶⁴ 'Journal of Male Feminism Vol. 77 (1977)', p. 37.
- ⁶⁵ Julian Kevon Glover, 'Redefining Realness?: On Janet Mock, Laverne Cox, TS Madison, and the Representation of Transgender Women of Color in Media'. *Souls* (Boulder, Colo.) 18 (2016), p. 340.
- ⁶⁶ Hill, 'As A Man', p. 746.
- ⁶⁷ Jones, 'Journal of Male Feminism No. 3 (1979)', p. 17.
- ⁶⁸ Jones, 'Journal of Male Feminism No. 3 (1979)', p. 17.
- ⁶⁹ Jones, 'Journal of Male Feminism No. 4 (1979)', pp. 13–16.
- ⁷⁰ Matte, 'Historicising Liberal American Transnormativities'.
- ⁷¹ Cannon. 'Journal of Male Feminism Nos. 1–2 (1979)', p. 4.
- ⁷² Malatino, 'The Promise of Repair', p. 828.
- ⁷³ Finn Enke. *Finding the Movement: Sexuality, Contested Space, and Feminist Activism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), p. 256.

⁷⁴ Lauren Berlant. '68, or Something', *Critical Inquiry* 21 (1994), p. 52.

⁷⁵ See Susan, and Paisley Currah, 'General Editors' Introduction'. *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 2 (2015), pp. 539–43.

⁷⁶ See Kate Rawson on transgender history and the archive: K.J. Rawson, 'Archive'. *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 1 (2014), pp. 24–26; K. J. Rawson, 'Introduction'. *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 2 (2015), pp. 544–52.

⁷⁷ Halberstam. *In a Queer Time and Place*, p. 18.

⁷⁸ Kate Eichorn. *The Archival Turn in Feminism: Outrage in Order* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014), p. 21.

⁷⁹ Enke, 'Collective Memory', p. 11.

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