University of Reading

Whip in my valise: British punk and the Marquis de Sade, c. 1975–85

Article

Published Version

Creative Commons: Attribution 4.0 (CC-BY)

Open Access

Worley, M. ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3049-8714 (2022) Whip in my valise: British punk and the Marquis de Sade, c. 1975–85. Contemporary British History, 36 (2). pp. 277-321. ISSN 1743-7997 doi: 10.1080/13619462.2022.2051487 Available at https://centaur.reading.ac.uk/104006/

It is advisable to refer to the publisher's version if you intend to cite from the work. See Guidance on citing.

To link to this article DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13619462.2022.2051487

Publisher: Routledge

All outputs in CentAUR are protected by Intellectual Property Rights law, including copyright law. Copyright and IPR is retained by the creators or other copyright holders. Terms and conditions for use of this material are defined in the End User Agreement.

www.reading.ac.uk/centaur

CentAUR

University of Reading

Central Archive at the University of Reading

Reading's research outputs online

Contemporary British History

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/fcbh20

Whip in my valise: British punk and the Marquis de Sade, c. 1975–85

Matthew Worley

To cite this article: Matthew Worley (2022) Whip in my valise: British punk and the Marquis de Sade, c. 1975–85, Contemporary British History, 36:2, 277-321, DOI: 10.1080/13619462.2022.2051487

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/13619462.2022.2051487

© 2022 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.

Published online: 21 Jun 2022.

Submit your article to this journal

Article views: 1238

View related articles

View Crossmark data

Full Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at
https://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?journalCode=fcbh20

CONTEMPORARY BRITISH HISTORY
2022, VOL. 36, NO. 2, 277–321
https://doi.org/10.1080/13619462.2022.2051487

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

HISTORY FROM THE TOP SHELF: CULTURAL POLITICS AND SEX IN POST-WAR BRITAIN

OPEN ACCESS Check for updates

Whip in my valise: British punk and the Marquis de Sade, c. 1975–85

Matthew Worley

Department of History, University of Reading, Reading, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

ABSTRACT

British punk emerged in tandem with the formation of Sex Pistols, a band framed by a style and an aesthetic constructed, in part, by Malcolm McLaren and Vivienne Westwood via their London shop SEX (1974–76). The shop displayed fetishwear and accoutrements designed to fuse youth and sexual subcultures, deploying sex as a cultural weapon to provoke and confront. This article examines the Sadean influences that found expression through punk, suggesting that the Marquis de Sade had a seminal if diffused impact on the punk-informed cultures that evolved through the 1970s into the 1980s. Though often indirect—and bound to broader interpretations of sexual behaviour—the actions, aesthetics and ideas associated with the 'Divine Marquis' seemingly tallied with the *mood* of a country caught in a period of socio-economic and political change.

KEYWORDS

Punk; sex; Britain; Marquis de Sade; goth; industrial

It's a striking image (Fig. 1). The model is Jordan (Pamela Rooke), sometimes referred to as the first Sex Pistol and an integral component of the shop SEX run from London's Kings Road by Malcolm McLaren and Vivienne Westwood in 1974–76. Soon to become an iconic figure of the 1970s, Jordan was the living embodiment of an attitude and aesthetic she further helped apply through the early Adam and the Ants. Here, in the magazine *Gallery International*, she is cast in a red-rubber bodice with dominatrix eyes and a Ricci Burns haircut that evokes both the pop singer Dusty Springfield and the Moors murderer Myra Hindley.[1] Looking back to the pin-ups of the early 1960s and forward to punk, the picture ushers in an extended interview with McLaren positing sadomasochism (S&M)—signified by the leather and rubber fetishwear sold in SEX—as indicative of an emergent *mood* driven by a mix of sexual repression and economic crisis. The interviewer, David May, takes us on a tour of the shop: beneath 'studded and leather masks' hung high on the wall; through displays of whips and 'zipped ciré briefs'; along a rack of rubberised raincoats and into an alcove of 'French-letter suits' and latex T-shirts. He then asks McLaren to explain SEX's rationale, noting as he does so trace of Wilhelm Reich's theories on sex and

CONTACT Matthew Worley m.worley@reading.ac.uk

This article is dedicated to Jordan (1955-2022): the original Sex Pistol, forever defying gravity.

© 2022 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.
This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Figure 1. Jordan in *Gallery international*, 1, no. 4 (1976)—courtesy of the Paul Gorman archive.

fascism amidst the shop's dark aesthetic. In reply, McLaren talks of rubber's restrictive appeal and the possibilities of S&M practice leading to death. 'There are always moods', he argues. '[But] it takes someone to articulate them'. Fetishism and sexual violence are extreme reflections of 'the environment you live in [. . .]', he suggests. And while their dissemination might pave the way for a more brutal future, McLaren felt it was 'the inability to understand your own sexual reasoning' that caused society's problems. 'If I take my fantasies to the extreme it is because the extremity is where it is at'.[2]

The interview and photoshoot took place in late 1975. The 'mood' McLaren referred to was an ominous one, relating to various factors coalescing across the post-war world: a difficult coming-to-terms with the horrors of World War Two; the nuclear shadow cast by the on-going Cold War between capitalist West and communist East; the dynamics of consumerism and generational fissures occasioned by social mobility and pop culture;

technological changes that promised dystopian—as well as utopian—futures; an ever-expanding media spectacle that codified experience, brought war into the living room and, in the realms of film, art and literature, pushed at the limits of censorship/morality/taste. By the mid-1970s, parts of the West were plagued by economic recession, stalling the steady rise in living standards that complemented the changing socio-cultural patterns of post-war reconstruction. The optimism of the 1960s was being overtaken by pessimism and concern; liberalisation was tethered by reaction; protest then terrorism provided a backdrop to proxy wars and the fallout from Vietnam.

In Britain specifically, the faultlines that forever lay beneath the 'consensus' of the post-war settlement were fracturing.[3] Economic pressures brought industrial tensions to the fore, paving the way for more than a decade of picket-line conflict. Racial antagonisms flared in the inner-cities, a product of crude policing and the UK's uneasy response to the existential challenge of life after empire. With inflation and unemployment rising, a succession of beleaguered governments struggled to assert their power. In their wake, a lexicon of 'crisis' and 'decline' began to determine 1970s reality—especially around such moments as the 1973–4 oil crisis and miners' dispute that helped bring down Ted Heath's Tory administration; or the International Monetary Fund loan of 1976 that seemingly confirmed Britain's fiscal failure; or the flurry of strikes that would inform the so-called 'winter of discontent' (1978–9). Here was a landscape of abandoned factories and desolate dockyards. Cities were depopulating; football hooligans ruled the terraces; graffiti scrawled the walls. Even more seriously, the IRA had moved to the mainland and the National Front marched to revive British fascism.[4]

Quite rightly, historians have questioned the totalising nature of any such depiction. They have noted the possibilities opened up by social movements and technology in the 1970s. Attention has turned to the continuities and mundanity of everyday life as well as the ruptures and disorders. The intellectual and cultural vibrancy of the period has been recognised and explored. Equally, the *construction* of contemporary and historical interpretations that posit the struggles of the 1970s as bound to the shortfalls of social democracy—not to mention the bullishness of trade unionism or the degenerative influence of permissiveness—have been re-read in political terms to enable/explain/justify the counter-emergence of Thatcherism and, later, New Labour.[5] Nevertheless, there is no doubt that a *sense* of decline, a *feeling* of social dislocation, an *inclination* towards impending crisis infused the decade and fed into the politics and socio-economic changes that, in turn, shaped the 1980s. It was there in the newspaper headlines and plots to novels and television series that Andy Beckett has exhumed to capture a 'state of mind' attuned to 'declinism'.[6] It was there in the doomsday prophecies penned by social and political commentators, through which Britain was beset by multiple agonies as its 'sick man' diagnosis became terminal.[7] It was there in the diaries of political mandarins, as with the 'sense of doom' that Ronald McIntosh recorded in April 1976 as he realised 'the financial collapse, which so many people have said was imminent at various times over the last two years', was 'really on its way'.[8] It was even there, as Joe Moran dissected, in the soliloquies of light entertainers: hence Hughie Green's ending his

Opportunity Knocks talent show in December 1976 by asking viewers whether they too saw a Britain 'old and worn, on the brink of ruin, bankrupt in all but heritage and hope, and even those were in pawn'.[9]

And it was there in punk, captured brilliantly through Johnny Rotten's lyrics for the Sex Pistols that posited 'no future in England's dreaming' and Jamie Reid's associated artwork: a ripped union jack held together by safety pins and bull clips ('Anarchy in the UK'); Queen Elizabeth II blinded and muted with ransom-note lettering ('God Save the Queen'). More generally, punk's aesthetics were barbed and provocative: they honed in on urban decay and a mix of political, psychological and sexual extremes.[10] They tallied with the 'terrorist chic' that the US critic Michael Selzer wrote about in 1979, a 'cluster of interconnected themes' that culturally coalesced across the 1970s to fixate on violence, degeneracy and, to paraphrase Susan Sontag's 1974–5 essay, a fascination with fascism and fetishism.[11] Brought all together, as in Jon Savage's 1976 fanzine *London's Outrage*, punk presented what Raymond Williams described as a 'structure of feeling' that both reflected and helped shape emergent perceptions of the time.[12]

> Take a Depression [. . .] spice with a castrating bureaucracy [. . .] and a sexually & socially frustrated people living off past (WW2) glories & violence Recycled ad nauseam—add an accepted intolerance-as-a-way-of-life at all levels (ask any West Indian) and the vacuum tedium of a country OD'd on its own greed—and you get a steaming totalitarian stew [. . .] The punx offer themselves & their music as a solution [. . .] energy & outrage [. . .] As for the kink gear & Nazi ephemera—it fits a peculiarly English kind of decay; perversity thru repression given true expression [. . .] At last the English fascination w/ WW 2 finds the darker side [. . .] & shifts to a current obsession with Nazism. The English have always been great ones for emotional & physical S&M—now we are as weak as so many kittens, nationally, the bully-boy sex-power of Nazism/fascism is very attractive & an easy solution to our complex moral and social dilemmas [. . .] I see punk as the first stirrings, on a mass level, of a peculiarly English kind of fascism [. . .] ratty, mean, pinched, hand in glove with Thatcher as mother sadist over all her whimpering little public school boys [. . .] Why does punk fit so good? Cos it's a dance with death baby [. . .] the dance of the repressed [. . .] the final vomit of a rotted society [sic].[13]

And so we return to the mood sensed by McLaren, as Savage's fanzine also comprised spliced extracts from Reich's *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* (1933) amidst collages of pop imagery, media debris and Nazis. Where Savage designated Margaret Thatcher as the 'mother sadist' (two-and-a-half years before she became prime minister), so *Gallery International* presented Jordan as the embodiment of 'sado sex for the seventies'. In both cases, a ghost of the Enlightenment—the Marquis de Sade—was summoned as evocation, his howls reverberating through time and space to conjure the fears and desires of the late twentieth century.

This article traces the Marquis de Sade's haunting of the cultures that emerged through and around British punk from the mid-1970s into the 1980s. It begins by outlining how Sade's life and ideas informed cultural discourse prior to the mid-1970s, before then going on to examine three discreet areas of punk-related culture: the milieu around SEX (later renamed Seditionaries) and the Sex Pistols; the proto-gothic culture that evolved into the early 1980s; the industrial culture that developed parallel to punk and goth but often overlapped in terms of personnel and creative focus. The objective is to demonstrate how certain youth-based cultures grappled with and sometimes embodied emergent political and socio-economic change over the 1970s and 1980s. To do so, the article borrows from Amanda Fernbach's notion of

'decadent fetishism' and embraces Williams' recognition of *felt* social experiences 'still in process'.[14] More generally, it locates Sade as a marginal but seminal influence on the creative practice and aesthetic of punk-related culture, albeit one dismembered by the intellectual co-option of the 'Divine Marquis' and scattered across the commercialised battlegrounds of modernity.

'Who taught you to torture?': Sade's cultural pervasion

Though he died long ago, on 2 December 1814, Donatien Alphonse François de Sade continues to haunt the (post)modern imagination. A scandalous libertine in his own time, Sade's name retains the power to arouse contorted scenes of sex, violence and murderous excess. In brothels and châteaux, petites maisons and prison cells, the Jesuit-educated veteran of the Seven Years War (1756–63) envisioned, catalogued and acted out evermore extreme permutations of debauchery. In pursuit of 'exquisite pleasure', Sade sought gratification that was oft-rooted in abjection and forever splattered with a residue of blood, sperm and shit. His writings, beyond their almost functional depiction of carnal abandon, presented philosophical treatises on nature and morality that both embraced and challenged the prevailing Age of Enlightenment. 'Oh mankind, is it for you to say what is good or what is evil?', Sade wrote in a letter of 1782, just a few years before the revolutionary upheavals that transformed Europe. Disdainful of religion, he saw nature as an 'enigma' and virtue as merely the prejudice of one value over another. 'Seek out pleasure, my friend, and do not judge'.[15] By turn he was accused of blasphemy and sodomy, lunacy and pornography, depravity and paraphilia, genius and prophecy.

Quite where Sade-the-man and Sade-the-myth coalesce remains an issue for his biographers.[16] He was born in 1740 and spent some 29 of his 74 years in prison or confined to an asylum, the result of a complicated marriage and a series of 'episodes' involving a heady mix of sacrilege, flagellation, intoxicants and sexual entrapment. He lived through the French Revolution (1789) and—with much anxiety—*la Terreur* (1793–4), addressing the National Convention whilst publishing political tracts under his own name and 'spicy' novels anonymously.[17] These last he tended to combine with philosophical reflections, most notably in *La philosophie dans le boudoir* (1795), but it was the perceived obscenity of such works as *Justine ou les malheurs de la vertu* (1791) and *L'Histoire de Juliette, ou les prospérités du vice* (1797) that led to his final incarceration from 1801. Sade's masterwork, *Les 120 Journées de Sodome ou l'école du libertinage*, was written, hidden and thought lost in the Bastille in 1785, later being recovered and published by the German psychiatrist Iwan Bloch in 1904. Therein Sade descends to the depths of sexual depravity, with a coterie of wealthy male libertines and decrepit female debauchees enjoying tales of perversion whilst overseeing the torture and murder of selected boys, girls, servants, family members, well-endowed 'fuckers' and aged 'duennas'. By the end, we have travelled from a first day beginning with the four libertines' relatively restrained induction of their young quarries to a month of murder ushered in by a last 'orgy hour' where dismembered children are raped and a foetus ripped from the womb. 'Their sufferings were long, cruel and various'.[18]

Sade's fascination with sexual violence and all things scatological was not informed without practice. In 1767, the chief inspector of Parisian vice Louis Marais , accustomed as he was to tales of aberrant sexual behaviour that he compiled and communicated back to Louis XV in salacious detail, warned of 'horrors' to come from the Marquis.[19] Indeed, the scandals that did for Sade make for vivid reading, as do his mechanisms for—and careful logging of—masturbation. Nevertheless, the Marquis evidently did not do all that he imagined; nor was all that he did wholly unusual.[20] It is clear, moreover, that Sade's life as understood through his actions, writings and reputation has since been disaggregated and transfigured across time and space.

For our purposes, there are three strands to pull on and then bind (tight!) to punk and post-punk culture. First, the influence of Sade's writings and philosophy; second, the perceived meaning of his sexual practice; third, the associated aesthetic of S&M that developed through a combination of sexual desire, mediated representation and commodification. By the mid-1970s and the emergence of punk, all three strands had conjoined to leave trace on a youth cultural body that became and evolved into the 1980s.

With regard to Sade's writing, his influence was apparent across a select band of nineteenth-century authors and poets, among whom were Baudelaire, Flaubert, Huysmans and Swinburne. Nevertheless, Sade's books remained hard to acquire and his reputation more one of libertinism than literary prowess. Come 1909, however, and the Marquis was being hailed as 'the freest spirit that ever lived' by Guillaume Apollinaire and, subsequently, provided inspiration for surrealists keen to assault the limits of bourgeois respectability in the wake of World War One.[21] As this suggests, André Breton and others adopted Sade for his power to disturb and disrupt rather than his ability to reason. He was a 'surrealist in sadism', to quote the first Surrealist Manifesto of 1924, someone Breton later described as journeying 'inside the spewing volcano' to breach the 'moral night'.[22] Accordingly, Sadean references informed the artworks of Salvador Dali, René Magritte, André Masson and Man Ray, not to mention Toyen and Clovis Trouille. Sade's writings also inspired the surreally-pornographic novellas of Apollinaire, Louis Aragon and Georges Bataille, while Luis Buñuel's films consistently bore the Marquis' influence, most notably in *L'Age d'Or* (1930).

For the surrealists, Sade represented sex as revolt and gave glimpse of untrammelled desire. His blasphemy and celebration of non-reproductive sex marked a challenge to prevailing moral strictures. Thus, Paul Éluard named Sade a precursor to Pierre-Joseph Proudhon: a revolutionary 'apostle of absolute freedom' urging 'all men' to follow 'the course of their own instincts' and see themselves as they are.[23] But even this was not enough for some. Bataille, whose relationship with Breton was always tense, focused more on the base materialism of Sade's writing: his obsession with excretion, blood and dirt.[24] By conjuring disorder and experiencing the darkest recesses of the psyche, Sade not only revealed the human mind 'as it really is', but he further offered a 'first step' towards understanding transgression.[25] Like Nietzsche with a hard-on, Sade's passions were interpreted as means to annihilate the subjective—all too human—self.

Such readings would prove especially influential after the horror of World War Two. Surrealists—including Hans Bellmer, Jean Benoît and Roberto Matta—continued to venerate the sexual imagination exposed by Sade. More famously, perhaps, Albert Camus

located Sade as 'the first theoretician of absolute rebellion', while Simone de Beauvoir argued persuasively to retrieve Sade's 'ability to disturb us' from the flames of those who wished to burn him as an antecedent to the Holocaust.[26] The violent sexual aesthetic philosophised by Sade and Bataille was maintained through such novels as Pauline Réage's (Anne Desclos') *Histoire d'O* (1954)—available as a Corgi paperback in the UK from 1972—and Jean de Berg's (Catherine Robbe-Grillet's) *L'image* (1956). Some of these, in turn, filtered into the UK via Maurice Girodias' Olympia Press, which translated Sade's writings and published English-language 'DBs' (dirty books) that straddled art and porn via manuscripts provided by Réage, Alexander Trocchi, Iris Owens, Diane Bataille and others, many of which bore S&M plotlines.[27] Arthouse films soon followed, including Buñuel's study of female masochism *Belle de Jour* (1967) and, with a dominatrix to the fore, Barbet Schroeder's *Maîtresse* (1976).[28] But see also the post-war proliferation of Sade-informed analysis, as with Pierre Klossowski's discerning a 'moral nihilism' in the Marquis' writings that proffered no solution to the frighteningly violent but simultaneously liberating flux of nature; or Maurice Blanchot's recognition of Sade's conflating both life-affirming and life-negating drives.[29] Among the lettrists and, from 1957, the situationists whose praxis fed into the Sex Pistols via McLaren and Jamie Reid's pre-punk explorations, Sade remained part of a revolutionary lineage that stretched through dada and surrealism to the upheavals of 1968.[30] Evoked in the title of Guy Debord's film *Hurlements en faveur de Sade* (1952), the Marquis was admired for saying the unsayable as he exposed the hypocrisies of power and excavated the debris of the human psyche.[31]

As should be clear, Sade's texts have been scrutinised across a range of critical positions, providing intellectual stimulus for theorists—including those from the influential *Tel Quel* group—and writers keen to interrogate the Enlightenment's faultlines and explore the dynamics of sex, power and human relations.[32] In Britain, Angela Carter even used Sade to intervene in an on-going feminist debate on sexual representation, positioning the Marquis as a 'moral pornographer' whose writing liberated female desire as it exposed the brutality of patriarchal subjugation (Fig. 2 and Fig. 3).[33] But while Sade's philosophy now reads as a combination of laboured self-justification and a tangle of germane assertions (all things are relative, there is no universal law, nature bares no moral compass), his literary texts pushed so far to the extreme as to intern him forever in the ivory tower, bound by the straightjackets of critical theory and condemned to the remote asylum(s) of postmodernism.[34] For this reason, Sade forms an integral part of Western cultural discourse. He remains 'our contemporary', Camus insisted, observing our struggles for freedom and power—as in Peter Weiss' 1964 play *Marat/Sade*—and renowned enough to become the first exhibit for anyone keen to engage with humanity's dark heart: *la nature dévoilée*.[35]

Second, and most notoriously, Sade's name has become synonymous with what Richard von Krafft-Ebing defined in 1886 as 'the association of active cruelty and violence with lust'.[36] 'Sadism', moreover, was situated by Krafft-Ebing as the opposite to 'masochism', a sexual pathology defined as 'the association of passively endured cruelty and violence with lust' also named after a literary exemplar: Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, whose *Venus in Furs* (1870) provided the template.[37] Consequently, both Sade and Sacher-Masoch informed the emergence of sexology over the nineteenth century, feeding into Sigmund Freud's theories of psychoanalysis and thereby shaping sexual perceptions of modernity.

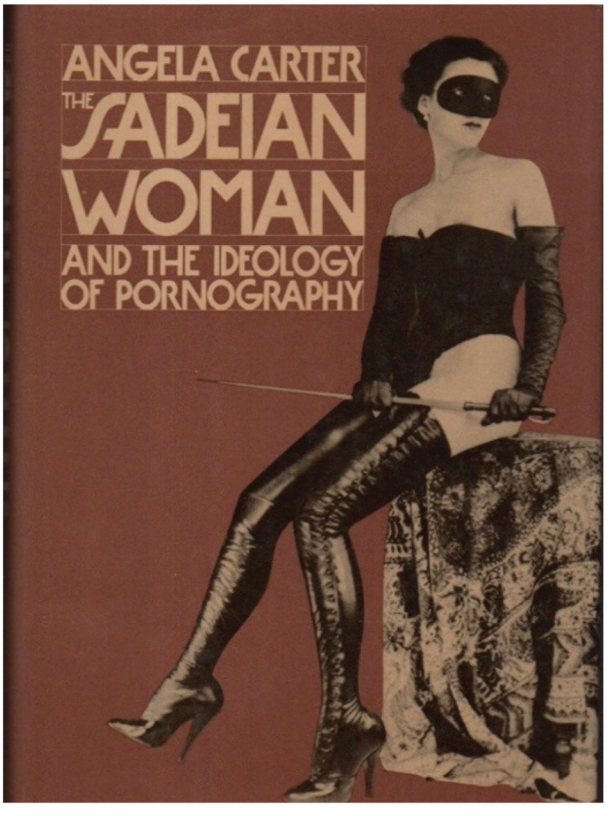

Figure 2. Angela Carter's *The sadeian woman* (Pantheon Books, 1978)—courtesy of Rosie Garland.

Figure 3. Back cover to Adam and the Ants' debut single, 'Young Parisians' b/w 'Lady' (Decca Records, 1978).

In time, Freud would conjoin sadism and masochism to denote sadomasochism, eschewing the congenital and evolutionary diagnoses of his predecessors in favour of his own oedipal precepts.[38] Debate as to the root, meaning and rationale of sexual practice then rumbled on throughout the twentieth century, finding and fuelling fetishes of every hue. Crucially, however, such ideas would also be used to explain far more than just the sexual tendencies of individuals. Long before the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, sexual pathologies had been connected to broader social developments: the state of the nation or the processes of civilisation. This, in turn, helped forge national, racial and political stereotypes with distinct—frequently 'deviant'—sexual drives.[39] Come the advent of fascism and explanation was likewise sought beyond the politics, often through a combination of Freudian and Marxist analysis. So, for example, Reich's *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* applied psychosexual impulses to Nazism, defining both the practice and aesthetic of fascism as sadomasochistic products of a sexually repressed people.[40] Erich Fromm, too, developed the idea of 'social sadism' to explain the 'human destructiveness' of which Nazism served as prime example, while Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer linked Sade and the Enlightenment to Nazism and the Holocaust: that is, the 'bourgeois individual freed from all tutelage' to seek pleasure in a violence that could be scientifically rationalised but, simultaneously, revealed sadistic urges and, more contentiously, repressed homosexuality. In the UK, Geoffrey Gorer had in 1934 used Sade's writings to find psychological explanation for Hitler's appeal.[41]

Herein, Alison Moore argues, lay the seeds of sexual myth: the combination of psychoanalytic speculation and poetic assertion coalescing to assume fascism bore sexual charge.[42] Myth or not, the association of sexual and political extremes found cultural expression from 1945. So, for example, Jean Genet's *Funeral Rites* (1948) offered one early exploration of fascism's disturbing—often sadomasochistic—allure, replete with uniforms, jackboots and Hitler imagined in homosexual trysts.[43] Roberto Rossellini's films—including *Germania anno zero* (1948)—also connected Nazism to sexual deviance, as did Luchino Visconti's *The Damned* (1969). Released in 1963, Roger Vadim's *Le Vice et la Virtue* even relocated Sade's *Justine* to Nazi-occupied France, before Bob Fosse's *Cabaret* (1972) and Tinto Brass's *Salon Kitty* (1976) added cinematic gloss to the decadence of 1930s Berlin. In the US, post-war 'pulp' magazines such as *Man's Story* and *Battle Cry* regularly offered tales of perverted (or buxom) Nazis fusing violence with debauchery (Fig 4). By the 1970s, too, a slew of 'Nazi-porn' had begun to emerge (e.g. *Fräuleins in Uniform* (1973)), some of which bled into S&M via scenarios set in concentration camps. This often combined sexual titillation and schlock horror, as with *Ilsa, She Wolf of the SS* (1975), which reimagined the legend of Ilse Koch, the wife of a Buchenwald camp commandant, as crude sexploitation.[44] Even so, 'specialist' publications and productions adopted similar themes, with the leather aesthetic and power dynamics of S&M finding resonance in the political stylings and practice of Nazism, blending together to forge an enticing taboo.[45] Indeed, Liliana Cavani's *The Night Porter* (1974) offered a more high-brow examination of such obsession in its depiction of an erstwhile SS-officer's sadomasochistic relationship with a camp survivor he had known during the war.

Undoubtedly, the most explicit fusion of Sade, sex and fascism came with Pier Paolo Pasolini's *Salò* (1975). Based on *Les 120 Journées de Sodome*, the film transferred Sade's tableau of power and degradation to the town on Lake Garda where Mussolini saw out the last days of Fascist Italy. It's a tough watch: beautifully shot but comprising

Figure 4. Pulp Nazisploitation, a Soho typescript, *Janus* and an *Atomage* supplement—courtesy of RAM Books.

coprophagia and unfathomable cruelty amidst a series of staged humiliations designed to equate sexual violence with political violence. For Pasolini, the exploitation and desecration of the human body was the very essence of fascism, to which end his film does not flinch in its depiction of brutal abjection. Not surprisingly, *Salò* proved controversial in Italy and was censored in Britain. By this time, however, theories connecting sadism and fascism were circulating outside the realms of the academy and avant garde, informing everything from parliamentary debate (as with the 1972 Longford Report on pornography) to popular history (William Shirer's best-selling *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*

(1960)), criminality (Moors murderer Ian Brady's obsession with Sade and Nazism) and countercultural analysis.[46] In Jeff Nuttall's *Bomb Culture* (1968), Sade provided the cord that fastened both the creative and the destructive upheavals of the twentieth century.[47]

Third, and beyond select examples of 'Nazi-porn', motifs from Sade's life and writing helped frame and align the construction of a recognisable S&M aesthetic over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Most obviously, tools of flagellation—and power-based scenarios located in subterranean spaces of 'torture' à la the dungeons of *Sodom*'s Château de Silling—provided signifiers of the sexual practices to which Sade and Sacher-Masoch gave their names. These changed in form and focus over time, often dissolving into a mesh of fetish styles and preferences. But cultural and, in particular, pornographic depictions of each and every imaginable sexual act have served to document the evolution of S&M through a relatively hidden or private underground to the more visible realms of fashion, pop music and club life.[48]

For Robert V. Bienvenu, at least four overlapping stages of this development may be discerned up to the 1970s, stretching from the European fetishism of the nineteenth century to the gay leatherman style evident in the US from at least the 1950s and photographed by Robert Mapplethorpe in the 1970s.[49] In between, the aesthetics of fetish evolved from around the 1920s, moving from the 'soft' frills, furs, petticoats and fleshy buttocks of the previous century to the 'hard' leather, rubber and metal accoutrements of the mid-to-late twentieth century 'master' or 'governess'.[50] Whips and canes were overtaken by a more 'bizarre' range of instruments and restraining devices, with the adverts and letters to *London Life*—or, for example, the photos taken in Jacques and Charles Biederer's Paris studio—providing glimpse of such transition.[51] Following suit, a distinctly American S&M aesthetic came into play over the 1940s/50s, captured most expressively in the illustrations of John Willie (John Coutts) and Eric Stanton or the photography of Irving Klaw that featured the iconic pin-up Bettie Page.[52] All this, Bienvenu shows, was facilitated by a combination of factors, including the formation of transnational practitioner networks, the economics of production and the shifting boundaries of legality. Put succinctly, 'as distribution systems for fetishistic products diversified and expanded, conventions [. . .] standardised and reached a broader, popular culture audience'.[53]

By the 1970s, therefore, practices cultivated in underground networks and catalogued by fetishists and niche entrepreneurs had seeped into the public consciousness. In Britain, there had for some time been tabloid exposés revelling in tittle-tattle or casually connecting sexual violence to sexual fetishism.[54] The John Profumo affair of 1963 brought with it tales of S&M scenarios amidst the wider scandal engulfing the secretary of state for war. There were, too, quasi-academic studies of sexual fetishism, such as Maurice North's *The Outer Fringe of Sex* (1970) or Desmond le Monde's *The Lure of Leather* (1969), casting eyes over 'leather-skirted girls' and rubber 'fantasy undies' whilst referencing the theories of sexologists such as Henry Havelock Ellis.[55] 'Fetish' and 'kinky' became part of the lexicon, fuelling notions of permissiveness and sexual liberation.[56] Likewise, in the US, Michael Leigh's *The Velvet Underground* (1963) used the small ads from glossy magazines to find a way into documenting the 'sexual corruption' on-going behind America's white picket fence. With its S&M-infused cover, the book provided the name for one of punk's most influential forebears and connected to a fascination captured starkly in Andy Warhol's film *Vinyl* (1965).[57]

As the bonds of censorship were toyed with, so the restrains of what Peter Bailey calls the 'parasexual' loosened.[58] That is, the remit of what was deemed racy/naughty/saucy-but-licit began to open. This, typically, was geared towards heterosexual men (tits, bums, innuendo) and remained relatively constrained in Britain compared to the US and Europe. But fetish elements (including S&M) were evident, especially as the newsagent's top-shelf began to expand and sultry pouts—not to mention spread legs—replaced the 'cheese-cake' smiles and flashed undies of *Spick, Span* or *Beautiful Britons*.[59] There was even a rather tame version of Sade's *Justine* among the flurry of British sexploitation films produced over the 1970s, by which time Pete Walker had already fused Sadean impulses with English moral rectitude in his purposely provocative *House of Whipcord* (1974).[60]

More broadly, Valerie Steele talks of 'playful' fetish imagery being assimilated into fashion from the 1950s via Christian Dior and Yves St Laurent.[61] 'Kinky boots' and the leather catsuits of 'Cathy Gale' or 'Emma Peel' from *The Avengers* (1961–9)—designed by Michael Whittaker, whose personal tastes suggested a homosexual penchant for uniforms and bondage—offered the UK glimpse of a sexuality otherwise hidden behind closed doors or the blacked-out windows of 'specialist' shops.[62] Therein, what had once been depicted in the recycled stories of pulp-novels or captured on grainy amateur film began to infuse the emergent sex industry.[63] In print form, imported titles from Olympia Press sat alongside 'Soho Typescripts' (cheaply-pressed booklets comprising convoluted stories and a smattering of staged photos or drawings (Fig 4)) to compete with a growing number of magazines featuring spanking, rubber and bondage (Figs 4). Gillian Freeman's 1967 survey of the 'undergrowth of literature' estimated that the majority of pornography available in UK sex shops bore sadomasochistic traits, describing magazines arranged along walls depicting 'every variation and perversion of the sexual act, and each one included flagellation and torture'.[64] Underground networks remained, catered for in cottage-industry magazines such as *Accord, Relate, Madame* and *Spanking Spectrum*. By the early 1970s, however, there was also *Janus*, specialising in British 'fladge' for the connoisseur of hoist-up skirts and smarting cheeks (Fig 4). For the prurient, illegally-imported hardcore offered tougher S&M material. For the dilettante, the likes of Ben's Books in Acton produced and distributed a dizzying array of mags akin to—and alongside—the US' *Bizarre*-style 'capers'.[65]

One specialist magazine, *Atomage* (1972–80), was conceived by John Sutcliffe, a long-time leather enthusiast from Hampstead who manufactured 'weatherproof' clothing and pioneered rubber suit designs.[66] Available by mail-order, the A5 publication encompassed a range of related fetishisms that oft-pointed towards S&M practice in photoshoots or specialist supplements concentrated on bondage (Fig 4).[67] As a side-line, Sutcliffe designed costumes for stage productions and the artist Allen Jones, whose work—recalling Sade's description of people as 'physical furniture' and the character of Minski from *Juliette*[68]—comprised female sculptures bound, trussed and transformed into chairs, tables or hat stands.[69] Sutcliffe also connected to Westwood and McLaren, as documented by John Samson's *Dressing for Pleasure* (1977), a film that effectively captured the moment when the accoutrements of sexual fetish, including S&M, transmitted from private pleasure to street style through SEX and punk.[70]

Such transitions were not uncontested. Moral crusaders against the 'permissive society' and feminists opposed to both the cultural and actual reproduction of male violence each saw S&M as a most vile/explicit manifestation of their respective concerns.[71] Allen Jones' aforementioned work was a case in point, bringing much criticism for its 'narcissistic fantasies' of objectified and dehumanised women.[72] Helmut Newton's photography, too, courted controversy with high-fashion shoots featuring heels, crops, saddles and leather.[73] Gradually, however, across the 1980s 'porn wars' and despite the controversy surrounding the 1987 conviction of various homosexual men for engaging in consensual S&M practice ('Operation Spanner'), sociological perspectives began to overtake the psychoanalytical, recognising S&M to be a culture and a performance; an interaction driven by scripted fantasies that symbolised, dramatised and sometimes inverted the power structures embedded in society.[74]

Today, Sadean signifiers form part of a commodified playpen of sensual experience replete with an amorphous-but-codified aesthetic that began to find open and defiant display in the early 1980s through an array of clubs (Skin Two/Maîtresse, Der Putsch), magazines (*Skin Two*), photographers (Grace Lau, Bob Carlos Clarke), shops (She-an-Me, BOY, Fetisch or Die) and designers (Daniel James).[75] Sade's 'freedoms' are now protected by safe words; his libertinage defined through props and couture. Indeed, the Marquis was himself a performer, an aspiring playwright whose sexuality was displayed in staged situations with prearranged props and accessories. His sexual preferences were also more fluid than his designated pathology suggested, both in terms of gender and receiving what he liked to give. But while the multiplicities of his desires may have found easier outlet by the onset of the twenty-first century, quite whether Sade would have felt satiated in a world of consensual exchange is open to question. As it was, Sade's transgressions could still be understood as provocations in the context of the 1970s—a challenge to the authority of both man and god. And therein, perhaps, lay correlation with what became punk.[76]

'I paid a packet for a new straitjacket': SEX and the early punk milieu

'There is only one criterion', the Sex Pistols' in-house publication *Anarchy in the UK* stated in late 1976: 'does it threaten the status quo?'[77] As this suggests, the impulse and the aesthetic that gave form and function to British punk was designed as a provocation. From the outset, the Sex Pistols' confrontational rock 'n' roll complemented the clothes produced by McLaren and Westwood. These, taken altogether, comprised a mix of clashing political symbols, irreligion, criminality and overt sexuality; they bore swastikas, Marx, inverted crucifixes, tits and cocks. Where SEX's precursors—Let it Rock and Too Fast to Live Too Young to Die—had occasionally combined rock 'n' roll iconography with 1950s nudie-pics, SEX drew from a range of extremes to incite, challenge and disturb. 'We've always been about provoking', Westwood said in 1977. 'If you want to find out how much freedom you have, make some kind of explicit sexual statement and wait for it all to crash down around you'.[78]

Sexuality, especially *deviant* sexuality, was therefore an essential component of punk's assault.[79] Integral to McLaren and Westwood's innovation was the transformation of fetishwear into fashionwear, employing the disruptive charge of sexual aberration as a cultural weapon. Accordingly, beyond the use of orgiastic, paedophilic, profane

and homosexual imagery, SEX's pre-punk stylings included Sadean influences refracted through an aesthetic that soon proved iconic. On the 1974 T-shirt 'You're gonna wake up one morning and know what side of the bed you've been lying on!', effectively a manifesto listing 'Hates' and 'Loves', the latter referred to 'RUBBER' hoods, Barry Humphries' 1965 compendium of all things *Bizarre* (that included a quote by Sade prefacing snippets of 'decadent' erotica) and 'Mrs Scully', a 'love goddess' from Shepherd's Bush whose *Mistress* magazine and keeping of a sex slave had just found notoriety in the British courts and newspapers.[80] Alongside the accoutrements described in *Gallery International*, sexually explicit and taboo images appropriated from pornography decorated SEX's T-shirts, including Jim French's 1969 illustration of two half-naked cowboys facing each other with penises almost touching as they discussed a 'played aht' gay S&M scene getting too 'straight'. A quote lifted from Alexander Trocchi's Olympia Press novella *Helen and Desire* (1954) was used to emphasise the interface between pleasure and pain on a vest that would later be modelled in the soft porn magazine *Parade*. More disturbingly, a T-shirt depicting the leather mask worn by Peter Cook, better known as the Cambridge Rapist, displayed darker impulses beating at punk's heart. Underneath the mask, the rumour that The Beatles' manager Brian Epstein had died during an S&M sex session was brazenly spread.[81] Most famously, SEX's catalogue extended to bondage straps as McLaren and Westwood sought to expose the tensions between private and public desire that stifled and, to their minds, restricted British society.[82] 'We are really making a political statement with our shop', Westwood insisted in faint echo of Sade's transgressive boudoir philosophy, 'attack[ing] the system [. . .] "Out of the bedroom and into the streets!", now that would really be revolutionary!'[83]

As with the attention to detail that distinguished the sartorial precision of Let it Rock, SEX's materials were diligently researched and sourced. On visiting Westwood's Clapham flat in 1977, the *Rolling Stone* writer Charles Young noted bookshelves containing 'Orwell, Dickens, de Sade and Wilhelm Reich's *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*'.[84] No doubt McLaren had also absorbed enough situationist theory from his brief dalliance with their British acolytes, King Mob, to recognise Sade as a creatively destructive provocateur. Back in 1968, King Mob had even graffitied Sade's aphorism that 'crime is the highest form of sensuality' on walls near Portobello Road, seeking simultaneously to goad and expose a 'bourgeois society' that moralised about the 'monsters' it bred whilst profiting from such 'deformations'.[85] Thereafter, apocryphal stories abound of McLaren stalking sex shops for suitable imagery or pilfering manuscripts from Trocchi's London flat.[86] Dealing with John Sutcliffe and other rubberwear providers opened a portal to Britain's hidden world of fetish; 'Ken' the London Leatherman offered accoutrements and a way into the gay underground. Indeed, London's gay clubs, including Masquerade in Earl's Court and Louise's in Soho, became a haven for the SEX milieu, offering further glimpses of the subterranean.[87] Contact, too, was made with Linda Ashby, a maîtresse working out of the St James Hotel in London's Buckingham Gate who frequented SEX for equipment and whose flat became a hangout for the Sex Pistols' inner-circle.[88] And if Jordan took her name from F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1925) rather than the pseudonym of Jutka Goz, a doyen of S&M porn in the US, then the showing of Kenneth Anger's *Scorpio Rising* (1963) at the Sex Pistols' seminal

Screen on the Green gig of 29 August 1976, replete with interconnecting scenes of leather, sex, swastikas and gay bikers on acid, revealed all too clearly McLaren's homology of subversion.

SEX, then, sought to conflate youth and sexual subcultures. The ideal customer, as McLaren put it to the short-lived *Street Life* magazine in 1976, was a teenage girl from the suburbs who bought a rubber mini-skirt at the weekend to wear to work on the Monday.[89] Jordan (born 1955), commuting to London from Seaford on the Sussex coast dressed in, for example, 'a rubber jerkin' moulded to 'her contours' with a diagonal zip and shiny 'black rubber skirt', provided one archetype.[90] Susan Ballion (born 1957), later to be known as Siouxsie Sioux, provided another. With her friends in and around Bromley she gravitated towards SEX and the Sex Pistols, channelling their attitude and aesthetic to forge a style that appeared both decadent and deviant; a melange of filmic, literary and pop influences that included the Velvet Underground, Bowie, Polanski, Visconti, *Cabaret* and *Goodbye to Berlin*.[91] As lead singer in Siouxsie and the Banshees, Sioux was often compared to a dominatrix, asserting a confident and aggressive persona signified by black leather and an 'ice queen' demeanour.[92] Even earlier, the so-called 'Bromley Contingent' had conspired to fuse social, sexual and political taboos, notoriously adopting the swastika as an anti-social gesture that simultaneously disturbed the bland veneer of their suburban homes whilst tapping into the assumed relationship between Nazi-perversion and social decline that permeated the cultural mindscape of the mid-1970s. On one occasion, Sioux even donned her high-heels to lead her friend 'Berlin' (Bertie Marshall) into a local wine bar attached to a dog collar. Therein, she ordered a vodka for herself and a bowl of water for her 'dog', before turning to leave with a 'come on boy' as all around 'jaws just hit the tables'.[93]

For Jordan and Sioux, as for many early punk converts assembling their own semiotic arsenals, sexual confrontation formed part of a broader cultural attack. One group, in particular, resolutely grasped the whip. Stuart Goddard, who witnessed the first Sex Pistols' gig supporting his own band Bazooka Joe at St Martin's School of Art in November 1975, was readily seduced into SEX's orbit. He reinvented himself as Adam Ant, formed a new band—eventually called Adam and the Ants—and journeyed deep into the forbidden zones opening up through punk. The objective, as explained by Adam to the music press, was 'the destruction of [. . .] social and sexual taboo'.[94]

As a former student of Peter Webb's courses on erotic art at Hornsey College and a devotee of Allen Jones (on whom Adam began a third year dissertation), Ant was well placed to understand the subversive allure of sexual fetishism.[95] He read widely, collating material relating to the rubber, leather and other fetishes he found so 'very intriguing'.[96] Visually, his band drew heavily from stylised readings of S&M. Gig posters, such as for the Nashville in September 1977 and the Royal College of Art in December 1977, comprised text and imagery culled from or inspired by S&M publications (Figs 5 and 6). Flyers and badges often utilised drawings cut and pasted from John Willie's *The Adventures of Sweet Gwendoline* (1974): leather-clad women corseted, bound, gagged and high-heeled.[97] Increasingly, too, Ant's punk-infused fascination with fascism fed into songs referencing Weimar chic or the sexual frisson oft-presumed to tremor beneath the severe Nazi veneer. Nods to the 'concentration *camp*' of *The Night Porter* ('Dirk Wears White Sox') gave way to the flirty fascism of

'Deutscher Girls'. Songs about fräuleins in uniform ('Nietzsche Baby') transformed into sombre depictions of Hitler's relationship with his half-niece Geli Raubal ('Tabletalk'). Eric Fromm even got a namecheck in 'Friends'. Not coincidently, Ant's interviews echoed McLaren in their summoning Reichian ideas amidst Sadean aesthetics. 'I felt there were sexual repressions and taboos making people oppressed [. . .] but not being dealt with. I wanted to bring it out and push it to the limits'.[98]

Between 1977 and 1979, Adam and the Ants' set-list almost doubled as a fetishist inventory: 'Bathroom Function', 'Beat My Guest', 'Fat Fun', 'Lady', 'Ligotage', 'Physical (You're So)', 'Rubber People', 'Whip in My Valise'. Among these, as the titles suggest, S&M tropes recurred. In particular, 'Beat My Guest' was a playful romp that invited an unnamed dominatrix to 'tie me up and hit me with a stick (beat me, beat me)', while 'Whip in My Valise' was named after an erotic novel published in 1961 by Olympia Press. The book —by Greta X aka Angela Pearson aka John Millington-Ward—offered a European travelogue of whippings, rubber and testicular torture.[99] The song, meanwhile, followed a slightly different lead. Enticed to a 'punishment room', the narrator is bound to a whipping post before submitting to the pain/pleasure of the stocks and a well-aimed cat-o'-nine tails. For Ant, as he explained to *Ripped & Torn* fanzine in 1977, these were flights of fantasy. 'I'm not personally into S/M [. . .] It's the power, it's the imagery [. . .] which I find magnetic [and which] appeals to my imagination'.[100] Nevertheless, from the stage, clad often in black leather and heavily made-up, Ant gained a reputation for throwing himself into the crowd with wilful abandon, taking the bruises with masochistic glee.[101] Fittingly, perhaps, Jordan served as the Ants' manager and collaborator.

For a period, and among a select milieu, Adam and the Ants were *the* punk band. Troublesome record deals meant they were under-recorded so underground, while their intense live act and connection to SEX/Seditionaries ensured they retained a cultural

Figure 5. Adam and the Ants posters, 1977—Images supplied by Russ Bestley and the Johna Johnson Archive.

Figure 6. Adam and the Ants badges with John Willie drawings, 1978–9—Courtesy of the Hydra Endowment for the Arts.

cachet. The music press hated them; fanzines loved them, many of which adopted S&M collage to visualise their coverage of the band—*Panache* even followed an Ants feature with a film review of *Maîtresse*.[102] In time, of course, Adam's inquisitiveness and restless quest for reinvention saw him move away from sexual deviance towards punk-pop piracy and highwaymen. But from 1977 to 1979, Adam and the Ants represented punk's most concerted attempt to capture and channel the transgressive quality of S&M, using sexuality to challenge, seduce and, in referencing the sexual myths of Nazism, document—albeit contentiously[103]—the sensual appeal of that which is forbidden. By so doing, the band tapped directly into the mood McLaren had discerned for the 1970s: foreboding, violent, enticing, taboo. Their influence, moreover, would soon filter through to inform punk's proto-gothic culture, for which both the Ants and the Banshees provided early templates. Through punk, Sadean provocations transformed into decadent fetishism.

'I saw the wicked gleam in your eyes': Goth and decadent fetishism

Goth, as a subculture, tended punk roots. To be sure, popular manifestations of the gothic—in the wider sense of the term—predated punk and continued to morph and maintain into the twenty-first century. Screaming Lord Sutch, Black Sabbath and Alice Cooper all fused elements of the gothic with rock 'n' roll prior to 1976. Today, goth envelops myriad international scenes, adapting from and relating to a tableau that encompasses a range of stimuli related to those perennial sites of fascination: sex, death and the occult.[104] But the British youth culture that emerged in the early 1980s, recognisable by its adoption of a dark aesthetic that alluded to sexual transgression and all things macabre, evolved through punk to form around groups gathered in the more shadowy nooks of the post-punk landscape.[105] In fact, the first detailed attempt to define what would become 'goth'—by the *NME*'s Richard Cabut (writing as Richard North)—proposed the term 'positive punk' as a suitable descriptor for a culture that drew from the 'erotic politics' of The Doors and the 'tense dusky danger' of the Velvet Underground before charting a pathway through the Sex

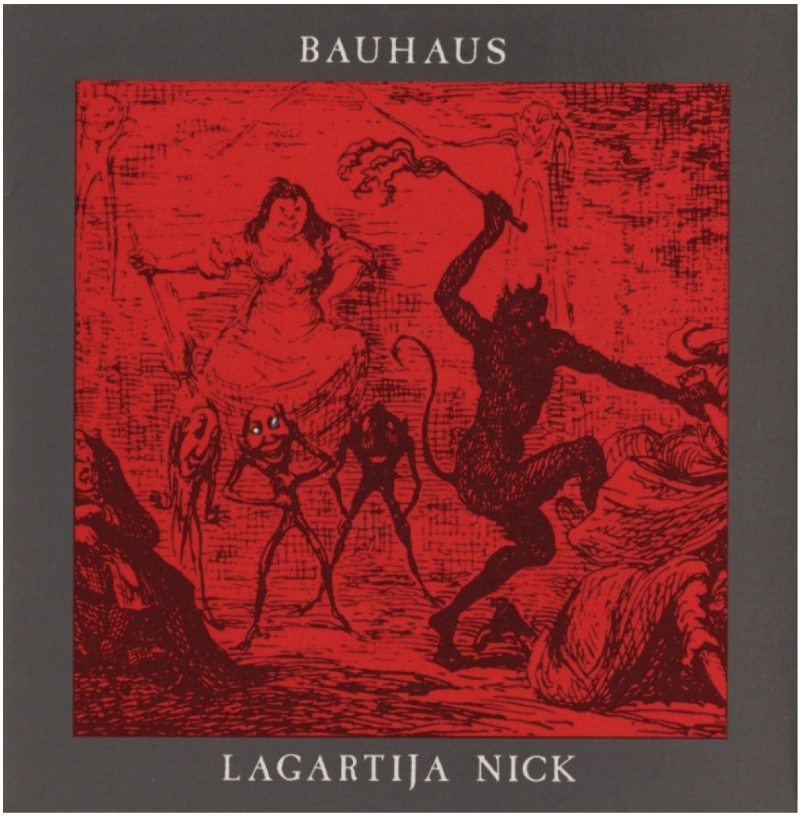

Figure 7. Bauhaus, 'Lagartija Nick' (Beggars Banquet, 1983)—designed by and used with permission of David J. Haskins.

Pistols' 'amalgam of style and direction' and the morbid imagination of Siouxsie and the Banshees. Along with Adam and the Ants, whose 'sensuous black style' offered a suitably perverse sexual appeal, the Banshees' exploration of 'the edges of light and dark' all but infused punk with a gothic sensibility.[106] Add in a dash of glam rock androgyny and there soon appeared a tribe of new barbarians seeking fresh sensation amidst the ruins of Britain's urban decay.

Cabut's article was published in February 1983, by which time such influences had effectively coalesced. As punk anger transformed into post-punk alienation, so bands such as Joy Division and The Cure produced quasi-gothic soundtracks of inner despair. The likes of Killing Joke and Theatre of Hate had—in their different ways—proffered doomsday portents of imminent devastation. From Australia, The Birthday Party arrived in London to 'Release the Bats', their obsession with sexual violence distilling to a musical-lyrical collision of 'sex, bat, horror, vampire, sex, cool machine'. More exactly, Bauhaus—whose cavernous 12-inch single 'Bela Lugosi's Dead' was released in August 1979—were well-established by the early 1980s, revelling in a ghoulish melodrama signified by songs such as 'Dark Entries', 'St Vitus Dance' and 'Lagartija Nick' (Fig 7).[107] UK Decay, described in

1981 as performing a 'punk gothique', had split-up just prior to Cabut's article, their cult status built on taut songs of decadence, dereliction and possession.[108] Also from 1981, Siouxsie and the Banshees' *JuJu* comprised themes of magick and murder that complemented Sioux's definitive image of the spellbound gothic femme.

To all this Cabut added Blood and Roses, Brigandage, Sex Gang Children and Southern Death Cult, a nucleus of bands he proposed sought a 'sensual revolution' distinct from the grim social realism or stringent 'anarcho' politics that characterised much of the wider punk scene.[109] In the Batcave, first opened at the Gargoyle Club in London's Soho in July 1982 and recognised as home to 'Gothic Punk' by *Time Out* in late 1983, Alien Sex Fiend and Specimen played amidst an interior swathed in webbing, B-Movie horror tat and decorated S&M-bound mannequins.[110] Further north, where John Keenan's Futurama festivals had from 1979 showcased post-punk's bleaker inclinations, goth emerged from Leeds' F-Club, Warehouse and Le Phonographique, finding musical form across Yorkshire in bands such as Danse Society, March Violets, Red Lorry Yellow Lorry, Sisters of Mercy and Skeletal Family. Thereafter, back-combed hair, churchyard poses and sartorial variations across the theme of black became prerequisite signifiers of a culture that took up much of the alternative charts throughout the mid-1980s.

Sade, of course, may also be viewed with a gothic eye. His writings were published around the same time as the first gothic novels; he was aware of Ann Radcliffe and Matthew Lewis, whose *The Monk* (1796) had, in turn, been informed by *Justine*.[111] The Marquis' stories certainly bore many a gothic trope, full as they were of isolated castles, corrupted monasteries, secluded forests, terror and death. They contained, as Maurice Heine observed in 1933, a darkness—a foreboding aesthetic of decay.[112] And while Sade's books eschewed the supernatural (something he found difficult to appreciate in gothic prose), nor were they realist. They dealt in the sacrilegious and celebrated the transgressive, themes that ran through gothic literature and into the post-punk gothic subculture.

Punk's gothic manifestations, then, were haunted by a Sadean spirit, albeit one entombed with relics of esoterica, romanticism and rock 'n' roll. Like punk's early stirrings, gothic-punk revelled in decadence, signalling sex as both a realm of sensual experience and, to quote Bauhaus' David Jay, a means to challenge 'traditional [gender] attitudes and roles'.[113] Indeed, the etymology of the word 'fetish' leads us from the worship of objects religious/spiritual to objects sexual and *other*; to dark and primal taboos imbued with seditious potential.[114] Accordingly, as the culture evolved over the 1980s, goth's 'sensuality' was increasingly presented via fetishwear that alluded to S&M and further refined punk's traversal of deviant youth and sexual subcultures.[115] As well as some crossover between those attending the Batcave and Skin Two, the idealised S&M imagery of *Skin Two* magazine shared much with goth's emergent style: black leather and rubber; a touch vampiric; sexually fluid.[116] Pick through the early/proto-goth canon and songs of dark delight and deathly passion combine with those of necromancy, ritual and the paranormal, their lyrics full of visceral sex, abused bodies and shattered genders.[117] In 1983, a compilation album featuring ruminations on Comte de Lautréamont's *Les Chants de Maldoror* (1868–9) served as a primer. Its title was *The Whip* (1983) and the sleevenotes transformed Lautréamont's gothic antihero into a tool of flagellation. '[I] noticed that it had been born evil [. . .] The whip's life, drenched with unrestrained savagery and menace,

unveiled a strange world. Angels and gravediggers, hermaphrodites and lunatics, delirious, erotic, blasphemous and grandiose by turns [. . .] Beware the painful impression he will not fail to leave upon your imagination'.[118]

To be sure, the sexual motifs displayed across punk's gothic heir may be dismissed as postmodern appropriation: part of an aesthetic display that disarmed that which once distorted and disturbed.[119] Just as Adam Ant denied partaking in the S&M that inspired him, so UK Decay's Abbo (Steve Abbott) confessed his 'sexual vices' went little further than 'baby lotion'.[120] It was the image and the aesthetic that seduced; the style and the (shiny) black surface. Thus, Danial James—the rubber-wear designer interviewed in the first issue of *Skin Two* (1984)—noted how his customers often wore his clothes for non-sexual reasons: 'they just like dressing up'.[121] No doubt punk-into-goth's fascination with sexual transgression helped reaffirm a youthful sense of difference whilst, simultaneously, igniting the illicit thrill of doing-the-undoable, wearing-the-unwearable, crossing the prescribed lines. 'It's taboo, therefore it's fun', Specimen's Ollie Wisdom reasoned.[122] Meanwhile, as Rosetta Brooks complained in her 'Brutality Chic' article for *ZG* magazine in 1980, the commercial wheels turned and the extremities explored by punk were absorbed and commodified within the expanding advertising, fashion and leisure industries.[123]

But tensions endure.[124] Fanzines, lyrics and artworks suggest that goth was informed by and, in turn, opened conduits to seditious cultural worlds populated by the arcane, the subversive and the dandy-esque. As hormones rushed and gender constructs blurred, so new experiences were no doubt shared or explored.[125] For March Violets' Rosie Garland, 'it was my sense of being a sexual outsider that led to my interest in goth/post-punk. The aesthetic (clothes, make-up, music) was merely an outward expression of what was [already] inside'.[126] Equally, by adopting Amanda Fernbach's concept of decadent fetishism we retain goth-via-punk's initial (Sadean) urge to challenge. For Fernbach, fetishism need not signify any Freudian 'lack' or embedded pathological tendency. Rather, fetishism may serve as a creative anti-normative process. The pursuit and creation of *otherness*—even as contested symbols and actions are commodified—becomes on-going and thereby preserves the potential to disrupt, provoke and transform. In other words, decadent fetishism conspires to celebrate difference rather than seek acceptance.[127] Thus, if applied to punk/goth, we find Richard Cabut imagining a young 'posi-punk' about to go out:

> Finishing his make-up the boy turns his attention to his dyed blue hair, carefully back-combing it into disarray. Last week he'd been beaten up by some skinheads because they didn't like the look of him. He remembers their fury but shrugs: he enjoys his appearance and is proud to look different. In a way he's almost glad that his clothes and attitude had provoked the attack – their mindlessness wrapped in a dull, grey, lazy uniform of bitterness gives him a reason to be their opposite.[128]

Likewise, Cabut cast aside ideas of political or even cultural revolution. Instead, he read punk as a means to 'self-awareness, of personal revolution, of colourful perception' that galvanised the imagination and startled 'the slumbering mind and body'. Just as Sade needed conventions to rail against and rules to transgress, so too did punk and goth. If we accept that the gothic tends to resonate at times of perceived cultural/political crisis, aestheticizing fantasies of decadence and decay on the cusp of social change, then punk's

'gothic turn' may be understood as a continuum. Be it the fracturing faultlines of Britain's post-war settlement or the endgame of deindustrialisation, the advent of Thatcherism or the dissolved 'realities' of postmodernism, youth cultural adoption of fetishism, especially S&M, served to problematise the processes of socio-economic transformation. By retreating into darkness and embracing 'perversity' (looking to hell for help, as Sade put it), goth constructed—or further fed into—a culture of difference.[129] This was temporal; a *performance* that professed itself to be socially/sexually subversive. It could also be problematical when the masks and the make-up were removed to reveal gender relations in the broader context.[130] But the decadent aestheticism embraced by goth, a melange of 'blasphemy, lechery and blood', proffered a Sadean challenge nonetheless, pushing at moral, social and sexual boundaries in search of sensual experience (Fig 8).[131] Kiss, kiss. Bang, bang.

Figure 8. Jonny Slut of Specimen—picture courtesy of Jonny Melton.

'Pulling the wings off flies': The extremes of industrial culture

Industrial music emerged parallel to punk but often overlapped in terms of people, spaces and focus.[132] The term was first used by and associated with Throbbing Gristle, an experimental group formed in 1975 by Chris Carter, Peter 'Sleazy' Christopherson, Cosey Fanni Tutti (Christine Newby) and Genesis P-Orridge (Neil Megson).[133] Cosey and P-Orridge had previously provided the nucleus of COUM Transmissions, an art collective committed by the mid-1970s to revealing the 'secret fears and neuroses' of society.[134] This meant pushing at social and moral boundaries via use of sex, bodily fluids, pornography, infantilism and violence. In October 1976, just prior to the Sex Pistols' infamous appearance on Thames Televisions' *Today* programme that heralded punk as a site of moral panic, COUM's exhibition at the Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA) all but pre-empted the media furore. Featuring Cosey's work as a pornographic model and P-Orridge's sculptures festooned with bloodied tampons, the event launched Throbbing Gristle and led to newspaper articles bemoaning public funds being used to disseminate 'evil'.[135] In attendance on the opening night were Siouxsie Sioux and others from the SEX milieu, a photo of whom was used in the *Daily Mail* to supplement the Tory MP Nicholas Fairbairn's summation of the show as 'Sadistic [. . .] These people are the wreckers of civilization'.[136]

In effect, Throbbing Gristle transferred COUM from the artworld to the pop world, providing for an anti-music group to explore the 'savage realities' of modernity and the sanitised projections of 'real life' disseminated by the media.[137] The objective was to 'decondition people's responses, demystify creative [. . .] activity and life too, and most of all [. . .] make people think for themselves, decide for themselves and direct their own lives by their own values and experiences'.[138] Live performances thereby comprised noise, cut-up visuals, found sounds and extreme imagery. Rock 'n' roll instrumentation was all but eschewed for electronics, tapes and 'gristlised' effects; records, films and communiqués served as mediums in an 'information war' designed to enable new ideas, practices and experience.[139] In terms of content, themes of power, control, sex, violence and abjection predominated, presented so explicitly as to dare the listener/viewer to confront or retreat. Together with the similarly experimental Cabaret Voltaire from Sheffield, Throbbing Gristle fed into the creative diaspora of punk, forging what Jon Savage termed a 'new musick' built around textures of 'catatonic bleakness' designed to shock, startle and elicit 'physical reaction'.[140] By the turn of the decade, a global network of artists had connected to forge an industrial culture that explored processes of 'physical and psychic decay' via personal practice and creative multi-media confrontation.[141]

Industrial—and what David Keenan calls the 'esoteric underground' that evolved through it[142]—drew from a range of sources: dada, surrealism, futurism and actionism; beat writers and arcane occultists; serial killers and the Holocaust; religious ritual and new technologies; 'deviant' sex and pornography. Sade too often registered, be it as a pioneer of extreme experience or in relation to his designated pathology. He featured throughout a 1976 essay compiled by P-Orridge and Sleazy for *Studio International*, sandwiched between reflections on—and photos of—mass murderers, pornography and performance art. Titled 'Annihilating Reality', the essay supplemented an exhibition ('Crime Affirms Existence: High Crime Is Like High Art') that posed the question as to whether art, serial murder, body modification, ritual sacrifice and sexual deviation

stemmed from a comparable impulse.[143] A year later, Throbbing Gristle produced *After Cease to Exist* (1977), a film shot in grainy black-and-white that featured Carter strapped to a table and castrated by Cosey. It also included footage of Soo Catwoman (Sue Lucas), a prodigy of McLaren and Westwood, tied to an iron bed in a bare room as if being kept as a sex slave. The soundtrack incorporated snippets of speech from a pathologist discussing the murdered victim of a paedophile ring. '[We] were into the seedy black-and-white amateurish home sex film scene at the time', Cosey later explained, 'and the sadomasochistic practices too'.[144] As such, the film raised questions as to representation and reality, providing for a compellingly seedy and wholly unsettling glimpse of private pleasure/horror.[145]

Throbbing Gristle 'terminated' in 1981, fracturing into various separated groups. Of these, it was Coil—fashioned around the relationship of Sleazy and John Balance (Geoffrey Rushton)—that retained the most obviously Sadean influence, albeit filtered through a surrealist lens. From the outset, Coil provided a 'vehicle for obsessions'. An early manifesto, written by Balance, spoke of dreams leading beneath the surface and over the edge. 'Our rationale is the irrational [. . .] Coil is compulsion. Urge and construction', a *modus operandi* that entailed exploration of magick, ritual, arcane knowledge, sensual derangement and the very basest of instincts.[146] The group's debut album, *Scatology* (1984/5), quoted a Sadean devotee—Salvador Dali—in the sleevenotes: 'Gold and excrement are akin in the subconscious'. But Sade himself was mentioned in dispatches, inspiring the desecrating urge of 'Cathedral in Flames' and, given Sleazy's fascination with sexual extremes, paving the way for 'The Sewage Worker's Birthday Party', a soundtrack to a coprophagic episode drawn from a Scandinavian S&M magazine.[147] With the album's CD reissue (1988), the Sadean-surrealist interface was made manifest via a cover based on Man Ray's 'Monument à

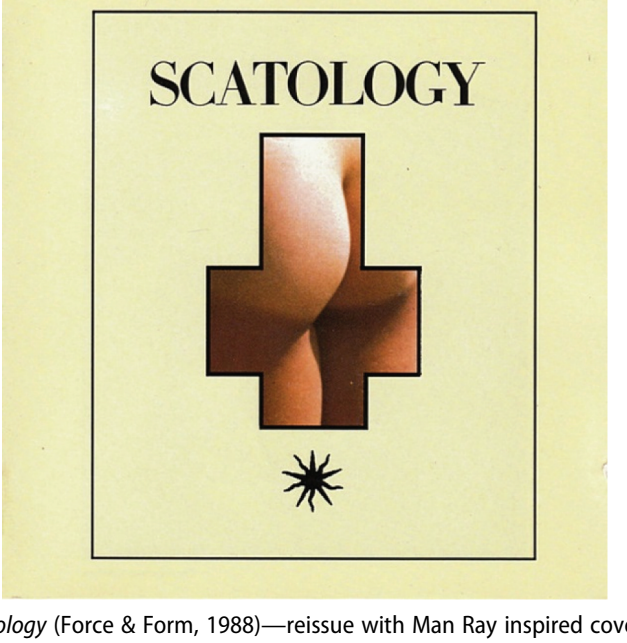

Figure 9. Coil, *Scatology* (Force & Form, 1988)—reissue with Man Ray inspired cover.

D.A.F de Sade' (1933): bare buttocks viewed through an inverted crucifix (Fig 9).[148] More circuitously, 1987 saw Coil issue soundtrack recordings for *Hellraiser*, a film with an S&M aesthetic that was, in part, drawn from the director Clive Barker's appreciation of the more outré reaches of Sleazy's porn collection.[149] In time, *Hellraiser* would inform goth's sartorial evolution.[150]

If punk provoked and goth aestheticised, then industrial culture investigated. Indeed, industrial artists often presented themselves as researchers exploring and reporting back from the limits of psychological and physical experience. The San Francisco-based *RE/Search* even published reading lists compiled by those it interviewed, wherein Sade featured regularly alongside the likes of William Burroughs, J. G. Ballard and selected books on magick, murder and modernism.[151] From this, surrealist readings of Sade and sadomasochism, as by Steven Stapleton's Nurse With Wound, might lead to records of improvised sounds and experimental tape-splicing designed to jar and disorientate. These, initially at least, came wrapped in sleeves featuring gruesomely-absurd artworks that included bound or broken bodies reminiscent of Sadean horror. The group's first album, *Chance Meeting on a Dissecting Table of a Sewing Machine and an Umbrella* (1979), borrowed its title from Lautréamont, but its cover art comprised a drawing of a leather-hooded dominatrix (taken from a 1976 issue of *Latex and Leather Special*) overlooking a row of emaciated male bodies that invited a Reichian reading of S&M's relationship to fascism (Fig 10 and Fig 11). More explicitly, Stapleton's 1981 collaboration with Whitehouse's William Bennett bore a title borrowed directly from Sade: *The 150 Murderous Passions, Or Those Belonging to the Fourth Class, Composing the 28 Days of February Spent Hearing the Narrations of Madame Desgranges, Interspersed Amongst Which are the Scandalous*

Figure 10. Nurse With Wound, *Chance meeting on a dissecting table* . . . (United Dairies, 1979).

Figure 11. The magazine that inspired the album cover (1976).

Doings at the Château During That Month. The music was atmospheric, pitched and piercing—eerie and discombobulating—with occasional screams accompanying the listener's journey through the bowels of *Les 120 Journées de Sodome*'s château.

Nurse With Wound's later releases ranged far in terms of experimentation and subject matter. Nevertheless, Stapleton also enjoyed a productive and personal relationship with Diana Rogerson, who sold S&M gear on Kensington Market (Fetisch or Die) and performed S&M routines as part of Fistfuck with Jill Westwood.[152] Little recorded material survives, though their live act assaulted the senses via a combination of extreme 'Fem-Dom' practice and piercing noise collage.[153] Rogerson's solo records certainly displayed a violent sexual aesthetic (e.g. *Belle de Jour* (1986)), something that further fed into film productions such as *Twisting the Black Threads of My Mental Marionettes* (undated) replete with hammers, razorblades and genital torture. Westwood, too, interrogated the dynamics of sexual power through film and performance, typically utilising what the art-critic Ken Hollings described as the 'materials and imperatives of sadomasochist ritual'. That such performance was not simulated, but included 'bondage, flagellation [and] wounding', was enough for Hollings to propose Westwood transgressed the limits of where 'spectacle ends and the act begins'.[154] 'The dominatrix persona is a very edgy and charged one', Westwood explained. 'It was liberating to explore the role of a dominatrix', especially in the context of such 'patriarchal times [. . .] My peer group were all reading de

Sade, Bataille, Genet, Mishima [. . .]', facilitating a preoccupation with 'violence/power/darker human unconscious—alongside vulnerability and higher states of being'.[155] As this suggests, industrial culture interconnected across various art forms to do more than just signify the transgressive: the experiment and the experience was all.[156]

As for Bennett, he conceived Whitehouse to be 'violently uncompromising, both musically and lyrically'.[157] To this end, the group's records and cassettes involved punishing 'power electronics' that traced a line from Sade to the Nazi death camps via associated explorations into the extremes of human cruelty.[158] This was made explicit on *Buchenwald* (1981), an album named after the Nazi concentration camp where Ilse Koch had reputedly lived out a Sadean existence of gratuitous sex and violence, culminating in the assembly of furniture made from human skin.[159] On side two, coupled with an ode to the 'Boston Strangler' (Albert De Salvo) and the grimly-titled 'Incest 2', 'The Days at Florbelle' soundtracked Sade's last unpublished novel, a manuscript described by the policeman who found it as 'a collection of obscenities, blasphemies and wickedness impossible to describe'.[160] Elsewhere, text and illustrations from Sade's novels were used on sleeves—e.g. *Total Sex* and *The Second Coming* (1980/81)—and in *Kata*, a fanzine that combined news of Bennett's Come Organisation with scathing record reviews and information on murderers. In between, short snippets of sexually explicit prose or reports on torture and political violence completed the copy.[161]

Bennett's fascination with Sade ran deep. He had discovered the Marquis through a Scottish punk fanzine, *Chicken Shit* (1977–8), whose shock-tactics included reproducing extracts from Sade's texts.[162] Thereafter, Bennett read and collated all he could, drawing from Sade's philosophy and 'dark sense of humour' to inform his bands Come and Whitehouse.[163] In interviews he defined his objective as 'pleasure—whatever the cost', speaking admiringly of certain serial killers as 'great people. They are everything that a person should aspire to be. They expressed their pleasure to the fullest. They extracted the most from their situation'.[164] Morality was dismissed as a chimera or a construct; evil was defined as an expression of free will and thus sign of a more 'advanced or civilised society'; murder was presented as an impulse of nature.[165] Like Sade, Bennett sourced and catalogued extreme sexual 'tastes', projecting them onto pieces such as 'Ultrasadism', 'Coprophilia', 'Shitfun', 'Avisodomy', 'Pissfun' and 1982's *Psychopathia Sexualis*, the tracklisting for which was primarily an inventory of renowned murderers. Over time, kindred spirits were attracted (among them Kevin Tomkins (Sutcliffe-Jürgend), Philip Best (Consumer Electronics) and Gary Mundy (Ramleh)), feeding into a loose but overlapping coterie of artists obsessed with manifestations of power and the latent extremes of the human psyche. The results were mixed, sometimes suggesting voyeuristic young men channelling their own insecurities through misanthropy and misogyny. As Paul Hegarty noted, paeans to rape, humiliation and sexual murder were deliberately positioned a long way from the consensual play of the burgeoning fetish scene.[166] They also threatened to move beyond SEX and Throbbing Gristle's recontextualisation of sexual and political extremes into outright affirmation.[167] Of course, an argument can be made for works that force you to confront life's horror. By focusing on and sonically reproducing the logic of Sade's work and philosophy, Bennett resisted artistic dilution and ensured both his and the Marquis' irredeemability. For David Keenan, at least, the noise assaults enacted by groups such as Whitehouse provided 'a form of psychic self-surgery', descending the depths as means to achieve catharsis and redemption.[168]

We could go on, digging up references to the confrontational S&M that Prior To Intercourse integrated into Clock DVA's early work in Sheffield, or noting how Current 93's album *Nature Unveiled* (1984) took its name from the full-title of Sade's lost 'Les Journées de Florbelle, ou la nature dévoilée, suivies de mémoires de l'abbé de Modose et des aventures d'Emilie de Volnange servant des preuves des assertions'.[169] More pertinent, perhaps, is to observe the Sadean basis for industrial's fascination with violent and/or sexual extremes. First, neither acceptance nor understanding was sought. Rather, like Sade's dispassionate view of nature's purposelessness and his celebration of vice, industrial culture revelled in amorality. Therein lay the frisson of excitement; the giddy loss of self; the sense of primordial power. The aim, one of Sade's characters insisted in *La philosophie dans le boudoir*, was to expose our 'nervous system to the most violent possible shock'[170]—to enflame the body and the imagination.

Not dissimilarly, industrial culture corresponded with Sade's (and Bataille's) recognition that the pleasure of sin, its transgressive quality, relied on the retention of taboo; that is, in the unease and the fear afforded by the experience or the act. '[It] is essential to pronounce hard and foul words during pleasure's intoxication', a Sadean libertine mused in relation to blasphemy. 'Be utterly unsparing [. . .] they must scandalise to the last degree; for 'tis sweet to scandalise'.[171] Accordingly, industrial studies of sexual violence (or fascism, or magick) were intended to deny any wider cultural or commercial appropriation, even as repetition and aesthetic codification threatened to undermine such an objective.[172]

Finally, industrial culture—like Sade—strained to explore the parameters of experience and the boundaries of power: how low, or how far, can we go; where are the limits; where are the tensions; what are the mechanisms of control?[173] To this end, the Sadean motif used by P-Orridge and Sleazy in 'Annihilating Reality', that 'there is nothing fundamentally good nor fundamentally evil; everything is relative', provided both glimpse of humanity's cruel potential and a gateway *beyond*.[174] Amidst such obsessing, Sade served as a perennial touchstone, a portent of human abasement and a doyen of transgression.

'You like to leave me lame': Conclusions

Punk's cultural body bore Sadean scars. These was not the product of a purely English vice, filtering down the class system from the dormitories of public school through the private chambers of those born-to-rule seeking blessed relief. Beyond the UK, traces of Sade's passions were also evident in early US punk-related culture, especially amidst the violent sexual aesthetic of those who formed—and were informed by—New York's No Wave (Lydia Lunch, Terence Sellers, Swans, Kathy Acker *et al*). Predictably, at least two French bands adopted monikers referencing Sade, while industrial culture's transglobal reach soon took in groups such as Die Form whose work obsessed with fetishism.[175] Even the discotheque could succumb to Must's 'Sado Maso Disco' by 1978. Rather, as McLaren alluded to and Michael Selzer traced through the worlds of fashion, furniture, nightlife and shop window-design, S&M reflected something—a *mood* or a *sense*—that permeated the 1970s.

Quite why this was raised various theories. For writers such as Ruth Wallsgrove in *Spare Rib*, extending a feminist critique to the first British issue of *High Society* magazine (shoots from which featured a handcuffed female hand on a vagina and quotes

extolling 'macho-type guys' bringing 'a bit of brutality' to the bedroom), the growing visibility of S&M signified a reassertion of male power. Men had become 'satiated with straight-forward Page Three of *The Sun* spreads', Wallsgrove reasoned, they needed to reaffirm control in the face of broader social and sexual challenges to the patriarchy.[176] Certainly, beyond the cultivation of distinct S&M styles within same-sex cultures and before the chic S&M imagery of the 1980s brought the dominatrix more to the fore, pop-cultural and pornographic manifestations of sadomasochism tended to concentrate on the subjugated woman. Be it the bound-and-bruised promotional material for the Rolling Stones' *Black and Blue* album that provoked controversy in 1976 or the bondage, flagellation and spanking that found space across the magazine racks, women received—rather than delivered—the majority of blows.[177] As Marcus Collins argued, the 'in-house' justification for pornography moved from a celebration of sexual freedom to a defence of male prowess over the later 1960s–70s, a shift exemplified by the publisher Paul Raymond's comic-but-caustic 'manifesto for the restoration of male dominance' (1971).[178]

Others took a wider view. For the King Mob revolutionaries that McLaren adapted ideas from, S&M was revealed by the 1970s to be 'a form of sexuality that imperfectly adapts itself to commodity society at the same time as the bourgeoisie must denounce it as a form of sexual "sickness"'. The increased visibility of S&M's 'compulsions' was therefore understood as a product of 1960s sexual liberation reaching an impasse, with moral conservatism and priggish leftism ('militant feminism [. . .] red puritanism') combining to provide capitalism with fantasies and pathologies to profit from.[179] Selzer, meanwhile, wondered if the imagery of S&M, alongside similar manifestations of 'terrorist chic', helped 'crystallise the dilemmas of modernity and suggests some of the possibilities that lie beyond them'.[180] As liberated desire met the promised pleasures of consumption, so sensation was sought in evermore extreme—if simultaneously superficial and detached—form. Not dissimilarly, Sontag read the relationship between S&M and the eroticisation of fascism as a response to both the freedoms and the challenges of post-war affluence. While capital colonised leisure and the media spectacle transformed everything into style, so the 'oppressive freedom of choice' led to an 'unbearable degree of individuality'.[181] S&M, unconsciously-but-aesthetically, embodied this double-bind in its practice and shop-bought accoutrements. Or to quote *Vogue*'s Barbara Rose reflecting on Helmut Newton's photography, the 'interface between liberation and bondage [. . .] couple[s] elegance with pain, fin-de-siècle opulence with contemporary alienation'.[182]

Academics have drawn comparable conclusions. For both Bienvenu and Steele, the 1970s marked the moment when S&M's transmission through the 'production of culture' was close to complete: a previously untapped cultural resource was codified then aestheticised into commodified style as the media expanded, censorship loosened and the radicalism of the 1960s diffused through wider society.[183] James Steintrager, with an eye on Sade's growing cultural cachet, suggested the Marquis himself had become a 'pop icon' by 1970, embodying the conflicts thrown up in pursuit of social and psychological liberation.[184] Accordingly, Laura Frost's literary study focused on the tension between freedom and oppression bound up in S&M, through which the adoption of Nazi chic was

but another manifestation of eroticising the deviant. The 1970s marked a high-point, she suggests, because of their proximity to World War Two, following which the horrors and the allure of fascism were culturally probed and problematised.[185]

That such a connection between sexual deviance and fascism was, in part, a product of theory bore tangential relevance. In the shadow of Freud, fascism and war, Alison Moore argued that 'Nazi imagery acted as a means to express sadomasochistic fantasies in lieu of a developed language for doing so'.[186] Conversely, S&M—and, simultaneously, the creative arts—may be seen to have culturally absorbed Nazi imagery in lieu of a developed popular understanding of fascism's politics and rationale. Thereby, the aesthetics and power relations of sexual practice revealed and related to their broader socio-economic and cultural context, sometimes reinforcing, sometimes reflecting and sometimes subverting prevailing mores.[187] Sade, after all, can be read as a satirist.[188] Whatever, the routines and aesthetics of S&M found cultural resonance in the costume of fascism and the darkening mood of the 1970s—they fed into Raymond Williams' notion of a 'structure of feeling' that encompassed social experience in the process of formation, replete with associated tensions and yet-to-be-defined sensibilities.[189] As faultlines widened across the post-war settlement due to coalescing economic and political pressures, and as the spectre of permissiveness conjured visions of decadence and decay, so S&M appeared to embody the friction between order and disorder; between power and its inversion; between sexual liberation and exploitation. The very problems Sade wrestled with in his own philosophical cogitations now played out, over a different time, in the sexual performance to which he gave his name.

In effect, punk was the youth cultural manifestation of all this, evoking then transmitting the echoes of Sade's howl through the mediums of popular music and fashion. Youth cultures had long shared deviant connotations with outré sexual practice, be it in terms of criminality or signalling the subterranean (Fig 12). The black leather jacket of the post-war motorcycle gang became symbolic of rock 'n' roll rebellion as it simultaneously informed the S&M-associated image of the gay leatherman.[190] Amidst the countercultures of the 1960s, the 'dialectics of liberation' bred darker fascinations that destabilised as well as aspired to the well-known trope of 'peace and love'. The path to punk's adoption of S&M imagery was more evidently paved by the Velvet Underground's 'Venus in Furs' or The Stooges' 'I Wanna Be Your Dog' than the hard-to-find translations of a long-dead libertine.[191] But if we return to our three strands of Sadean influence, then the impulses that informed Sade's writing—an urge to challenge and invert, a fascination with sex and abjection, the pull towards constructive destruction[192]—may still be traced through the diversifying forms of punk-related culture. First and philosophically, these drew sometimes from surrealist interpretation: the visceral and violent nature of Sade's texts lending itself equally to punk provocation. Less commonly, Sade's philosophy helped give shape to works that sought to expose the dark heart of humanity or transgress social boundaries. Before Whitehouse routed Sade through punishing noise, Derek Jarman's *Jubilee* (1978) repeated the Sadean logic of P-Orridge and Christopherson's 'Annihilating Reality', with Jordan playing the 'historian of the void' (Amyl Nitrate) keen to summon Myra Hindley as an 'artist' who made her 'desires reality' in a society so corroded by materialism that it had lost all imagination.[193] Likewise, when Bataille's work was celebrated at London's Bloomsbury Theatre in 1984, those contributing included Cosey Fanni Tutti and Marc Almond.[194] Almond, a patron of

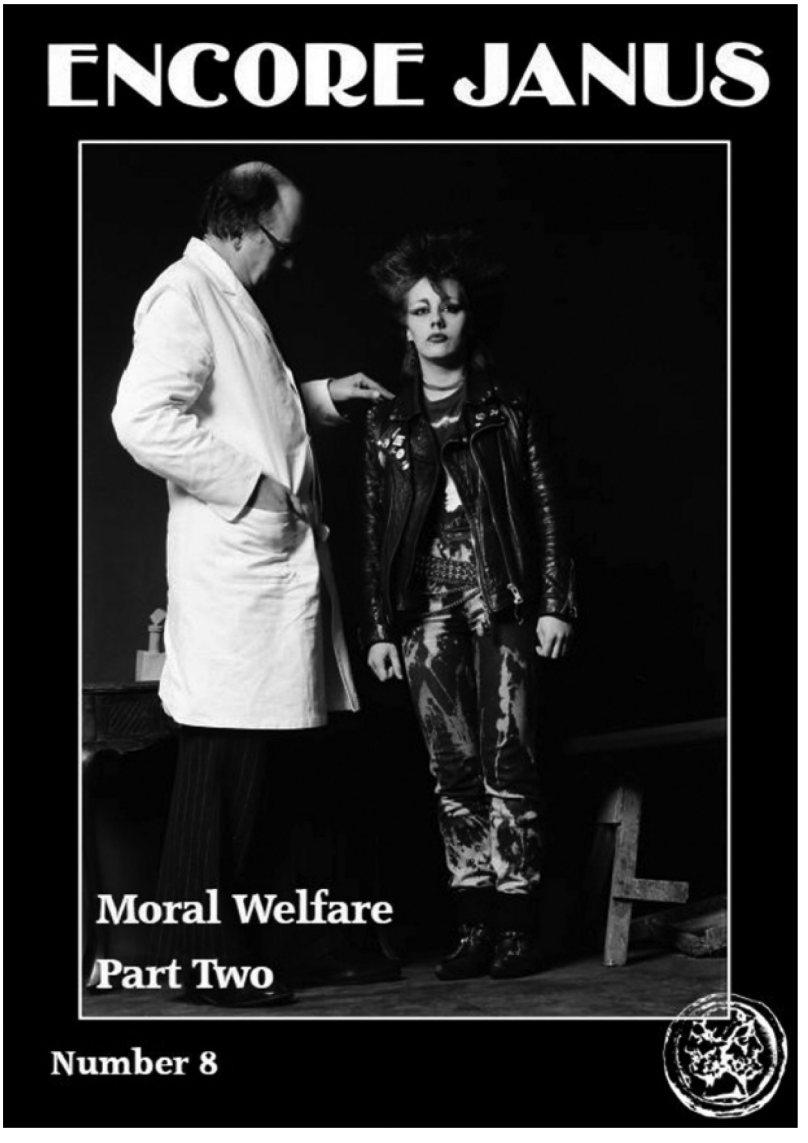

Figure 12. *Janus* prepares to discipline punk (circa 1984).

Leeds' Warehouse and the Batcave, a contributor to *The Whip* and a collaborator with Coil, had already brought the sleazy delights of fetish to the charts with his band Soft Cell. Having read up on Bataille for the Bloomsbury event, he then released an album of the performance dedicated to the Marquis' most persuasive disciple.[195]

Secondly, Sade's designated pathology recurred across punk-related cultures, primarily as a signal of deviance or difference, but also as a metaphor for social restriction: 'Oh Bondage, Up Yours', to cite the 1977 X-Ray Spex single inspired by Poly Styrene's 'reading a book by Wilhelm Riech [sic]' and seeing 'some silly S&M imagery in Westwood's "SEX"'.[196] At the time of punk's formation, S&M remained a site of shock, a taboo with violent connotations, even as its aesthetics began to be co-opted. More specifically, reference to

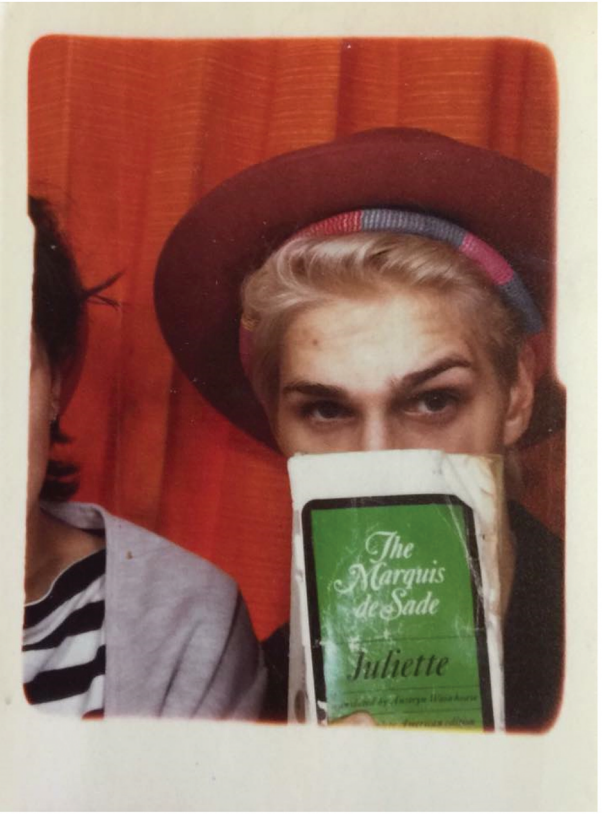

Figure 13. Self-portrait by Julian Kalinowski.

the correlation between S&M and fascism served to signpost the mood of degeneration that pervaded the 1970s. Here was Weimar decadence recast to England, with a neatly transferrable metaphor for those insisting on a dose of the short-sharp-shock. In 1979, Mistress Thatcher entered from the right.

Finally, punk absorbed and contributed to the aestheticisation of S&M, a process continued through goth. As noted above, this initially signalled a culture of difference that was both stylish and retained an air of subversion. The transferral of fetishwear from the racks of SEX to the streets of Britain was designed to provoke. In goth, where the aesthetics of sex and death blurred, S&M provided an alluring site of transgression. To quote Romana Byrne, the 'decadent pervert aims to endow itself with the beauty of the form through which its pleasure manifests in order to expand the distance between itself and society'.[197] Arguably, such aestheticisation facilitated commercial appropriation, allowing fetishism's deviant charge to be dulled into consumerist lifestyle choice. That may be so, as the jaded media response to Madonna's dabbling in S&M-imagery (e.g. 1992's video for 'Erotica') or the recurrence of fetishwear on the post-1980s catwalk would seem to suggest.[198] But Madonna's work still goaded, as did Rihanna's more recent 'S&M' (2011). Fetishwear, as Fernbach argues, continues to signify the possibility of something deviant, dangerous and 'other'.[199] In the context of the 1970s, punk's temporal shock ripped the cultural fabric enough to allow darker manifestations of creativity to bleed through.

Indeed, punk emerged at a particular historical juncture: as the precepts of modernism gave way to the perceptions of postmodernism; amidst the debris of deindustrialisation; on the cusp of neoliberalism; as the legacies of war infused the cultural landscape and the contestations of the post-war settlement brokered intensified reaction. Sade, in his own time of transformation, fixated on sex, violence and death—looking to extremes as he sat bored and alone in his cell. Punk, goth and industrial harboured similar obsessions. Caught between the war-torn horrors of (post-) industrial modernity and the mediated ennui of everyday life, these cultures forged their own structures of feeling to encompass their own moods. 'One grows tired of the commonplace, the imagination becomes vexed [. . .] the corruption of our souls leads us to these abominations', Sade's libertine Durcet mused in *Les 120 Journées de Sodome*.[200] McLaren, who asked in 1975 'what are the politics of boredom?', may well have reached the same conclusion as he détourned the media's prurience by transferring the image of a rapist's leather hood to the front of a T-shirt (Fig 13 and Fig 14).[201]

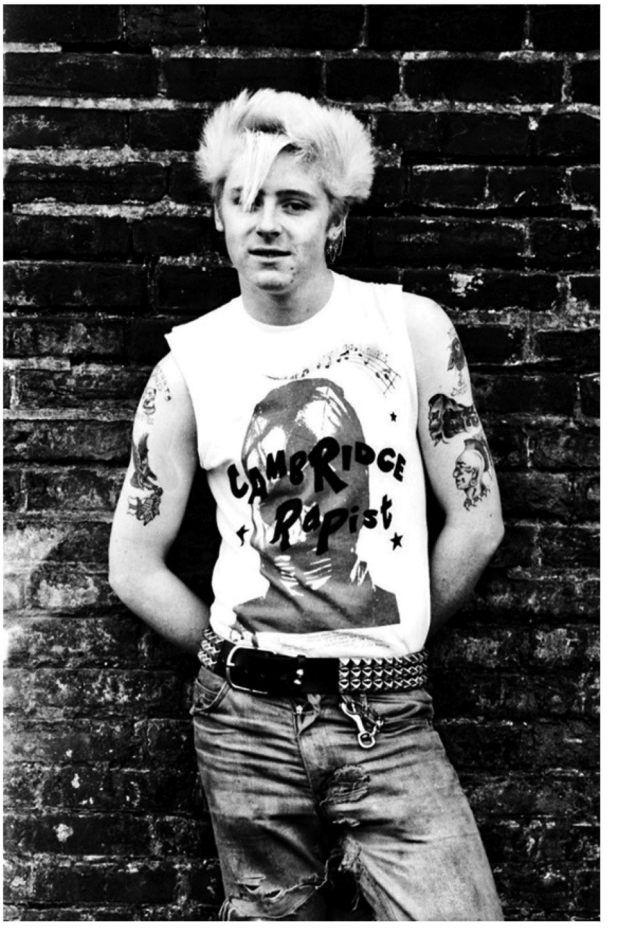

Figure 14. Wellie—Photograph by Paul Harley.

Notes

1. Savage, *England's Dreaming*, 93.
2. May, "Sado Sex for the Seventies," 60–64 & 99. For Paul Gorman's interview with David May, see http://www.paulgormanis.com/?p=6237.
3. Harrison, *Seeking a Role*; idem, *Finding a Role?*
4. Booker, *The Seventies*; Whitehead, *The Writing on the Wall*; Turner, *Crisis? What Crisis?*
5. Hay, "Narrating the Crisis," 253–77; idem, "Chronicles of a Death Foretold," 446–70; Tiratsoo, "You've Never Had it so Bad," 163–90; Moran, "Stand Up and Be Counted," 173–98; Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*; idem, *Seasons in the Sun*; Black, Pemberton and Thane (eds), *Reassessing the Seventies*; Robinson, Schofield, Sutcliffe-Braithwaite and Thomlinson, "Telling Stories about Post-war Britain," 268–34.
6. Beckett, *When the Lights Went Out*; Tomlinson, *The Politics of Declinism*.
7. E.g. Barr, *Derelict Britain*; Haseler, *The Death of British Democracy*; King, *Why is Britain Becoming Harder to Govern?*; Clutterbuck, *Britain in Agony*; Kramnick, *Is Britain Dying?*; Harrison and Glyn, *The British Economic Disaster*.
8. Entry for 12 April 1976, in McIntosh, *Challenge to Democracy*, 272.
9. Moran, "Stand Up and Be Counted," 173.
10. Worley, *No Future*.
11. Selzer, *Terrorist Chic*; Susan Sontag, "Fascinating Fascism," 73–108.
12. Williams, *Marxism and Literature*; Wilkinson, "Ever Fallen in Love (With Someone You Shouldn't Have?)," 57–76.
13. Savage, *London's Outrage*, 5–11.
14. Fernbach, *Fantasies of Fetishism*; Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 128–35.
15. Letter from Sade to Mlle de Rousset, 26 January 1782, cited in Schaeffer, *The Marquis de Sade*, 310–11. For Sade's philosophy, see Airaksinen, *The Philosophy of the Marquis de Sade*; Moore, *Dark Eros*.
16. As well as Schaeffer (cited above), see Bloch, *Marquis de Sade*; Hayman, *De Sade*; Gray, *At Home with the Marquis de Sade*; Lély, *The Marquis de Sade*; Lever, *Marquis de Sade*; del Quiaro, *Marquis de Sade*; Thomas, *The Marquis de Sade*.
17. Schaeffer, *The Marquis de Sade*, 411.
18. Sade, *The One Hundred and Twenty Days of Sodom*.
19. Marais, quoted in Schaeffer, *The Marquis de Sade*, 88.
20. Oft-quoted, as in Quiaro, *The Marquis de Sade*, 174, is Sade's 1781 letter to his wife: "Yes, I'm a libertine, I admit to it; I've thought of all that can be thought of in that line, but I have certainly not done all that I have thought of and I certainly never will." For a broad pre- and post-Sade history of what became known as sadism or sadomasochism, see Peakman, *The Pleasure's All Mine*, 209–38; Taylor, *The Prehistory of Sex*; Tupper, *A Lover's Pinch*.
21. Apollinaire, "The Divine Marquis," 47–112.
22. Breton, *Manifestos of Surrealism*; idem, "L'Aire de l'Eau" (1934).
23. Eluard, *Sade*, 185–88.
24. Bataille, "The Use Value of D.A.F. de Sade," 113–32.
25. Bataille, *Literature and Evil*, 103–30; idem, *Eroticism*, 164–96.
26. Camus, *The Rebel*, 32; Beauvoir, "Must We Burn Sade?," 3–64.
27. St Jorre, *The Good Ship Venus*; Byrne, *Aesthetic Sexuality*.
28. *Belle de Jour* was based on Joseph Kessel's 1928 novel of the same name. See also Henri-Georges Clouzot's *La prisonnière* (1968). A film of *Histoire d'O*, directed by Just Jaeckin in 1975, was censored in the UK. Alain Robbe-Grillet, the husband of "Jean de Berg," worked on novels and films that bore a Sadean influence. See, too, the vampire films of Jean Rollin, which bore Sadean inspiration amidst the deserted chateaux and fetishism.
29. Klossowski, "A Destructive Philosophy," 153–81; Blanchot, *Lautréamont and Sade*. See also Gallop, *Intersections*.
30. Vaneigem, "The Totality for Kids," 66.
31. Hussey, *The Game of War*.

32. For example, Deleuze, *Masochism*; Le Brun, *Sade*; Barthes, *Sade-Fourier-Loyola*; Lacan, "Kant avec Sade," 291–313; Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*. For an insightful overview, see Wright, "Lacan's Sade," 386–401.
33. Carter, *The Sadeian Woman*. For an alternative reading, see Dworkin, *Pornography*; Linden *et. al*. (eds), *Against Sadomasochism*.
34. Allison, Roberts and Weiss (eds), *Sade and Narratives of Transgression*; Zając, *The Feminine of Difference*; Sawhney (ed.), *Must We Burn Sade?*; Parker and Sclippa (eds), *Sade's Sensibilities*. Also, Steintrager, *Liberating Sade*, 364–76.
35. This was part of the subtitle to *Les Journées de Florbelle*, written by Sade whilst in Charenton asylum.
36. Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 57.
37. Ibid, 89.
38. Freud, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*.
39. Moore, *Sexual Myths of Modernity*, 23–80; Frost, *Sex Drives*, 16–29.
40. Reich, *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*.
41. Adorno and Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*; Adorno, *Minima Moralia*; Fromm, *Escape from Freedom*; idem, *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*; Gorer, *The Life and Ideas of the Marquis de Sade*. For analysis of the perceived links between fascism and homosexuality, see Hewitt, *Political Inversions*.
42. Moore, *Sexual Myths of Modernity*, 1–2.
43. Genet, *Funeral Rites*.
44. Magilow, Bridges and Lugt (eds), *Nazisploitation!*.
45. Bersani, *Homos*, p. 88; Rapaport, "Holocaust Pornography," 53–79; Stevenson (ed.), *Fleshpot*, 16; Goldstein, "S&M," pp. 10–13.
46. The Longford Report, *On Pornography*, 44–56; Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*; Williams, *Beyond Belief*.
47. Nuttall, *Bomb Culture*.
48. Steele, *Fetish*; Lunning, *Fetish Style*.
49. Bienvenu, "The Development of Sadomasochism as a Cultural Style"; Tupper, *A Lover's Pinch*, 173–216.
50. Marcus, *The Other Victorians*; Gibson, *The English Vice*; Kunzle, *Fashion and Fetishism*; Sigel, *Governing Pleasures*; Thompson, *Black and White and Blue*.
51. Sigel, "Fashioning Fetishism from the Pages of *London Life*," 664–84. See also Nazarieff, *Jeux de Dames Cruelles*.
52. Payne, "The Double-Voiced Discourse of John Willie's Fetish Fantasia," 1–33.
53. Bienvenu, "The Development of Sadomasochism as a Cultural Style," 284; Cocks, "The Social Picture of Our Own Times," 171–94; Sisson, "The Cultural Formation of S/M," 147–62.
54. Twistleton, "Representations of Sadomasochism and Sexual Fetish".
55. North, *The Outer Fringe of Sex*; Le Monde, *The Lure of Leather*; Cocks, "Saucy Stories," 465–84.
56. A good example is when George Carter (Dennis Waterman) tries to break the ice with a new colleague in *The Sweeney*, "Taste of Fear" (broadcast 10 April 1976), by asking 'what's your fetish?'.
57. Leigh, *The Velvet Underground*. Warhol worked closely with The Velvet Underground. *Vinyl* was an interpretation of *A Clockwork Orange* and featured S&M scenes.
58. Bailey, "The Victorian Barmaid as Cultural Prototype," 151–74. For the complex pre-history and contextual background, see Mort, *Capital Affairs*; Cocks, "The Social Picture of Our Own Times," 174–5.
59. Collins, "The Pornography of Permissiveness," 99–120; McGillivray, *Doing Rude Things*; Sheridan, *Keeping the British End Up*.
60. The film was *Cruel Passion* (1977), directed by Chris Boger and starring Koo Stark. Walker's film included the character Mark E Desade, who lured women to be beaten into propriety by his madly righteous parents. See also Amicus Productions' *The Skull* (1965), for which de Sade's

cranium engenders madness and death for whoever owns it. Hammer Horror's Christopher Lee also starred in one of Jesús Franco's adaptations of Sade: *Eugenie: The Story of Her Journey into Perversion* (1969).

61. Steele, *Fetish*, 33–42.
62. Vermorel, *Dead Fashion Girl*, 128–35.
63. Linda Williams, *Hard Core*.
64. Wickstead, "Soho Typescripts," 187–211; Freeman, *The Undergrowth of Literature*, 79. Soho typescripts are now sometimes known as 'Soho Bibles'.
65. Cocks, "The Social Picture of Our Own Times," 175–80. For a punk-eyed glimpse of what was going on in the 1970s strip clubs and pubs, see Prior, "SEX in the City," 107–18.
66. Truck, *Dressing For Pleasure*. After 1980, the magazine was relaunched as *Atomage International*, alongside *Atomage Bondage* and *Atomage Rubberist*.
67. Sutcliffe also wrote *The Masters and Mistresses Associated Handbook* (circa 1975) as a guide to S&M.
68. Quiaro, *The Marquis de Sade*, 121. Minski, a giant Muscovite, dined in a room of furniture comprised of 'cunningly arranged' women.
69. Jones, *Projects*.
70. John Samson (dir.), *Dressing for Pleasure* (1977).
71. Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society*; Thompson, *Ban This Filth!*; Reti, *Remember the Fire*; Scott, *Thinking Kink*: Ardill and O'Sullivan, "Upsetting the Applecart," 98–126.
72. Mulvey, "You Don't Know What Is Happening Do You, Mr Jones?," 13–16 and 30.
73. There were dominatrix overtones to many of Newton's pictures. He also photographed Margaret Thatcher. Newton, *White Women*.
74. Cornell, *Feminism and Pornography*; Gebhard, "Fetishism and Sadomasochism," 71–80; Weinberg (ed.), *S&M*.
75. Woodward, *Skin Two Retro 1*; Fernbach, *Fantasies of Fetishism*, 182–223; Lunning, *Fetish Style*, 133–8; McClintock, "Maid to Order," 87–116.
76. Schaeffer, *The Marquis de Sade*, 96, describes Sade as a rebel challenging authority.
77. *Anarchy in the UK*, 1 (1976), 8.
78. Young, "Rock is Sick and Living in London," 72.
79. Wilkinson, "Ever Fallen in Love," 57–76.
80. *The Times*, 24–6 September 1974, p. 2.
81. Gorman, Thorp and Vermorel, *Joining the Dots*: Trocchi, *Helen & Desire* (originally published 1954 under the pseudonym Frances Lengel); *Parade*, September 1976.
82. Scanlon, *Sex Pistols*, 92–9.
83. Richmond, "Buy Sexual," 20–25.
84. Young, 'Rock is Sick and Living in London,' 72.
85. Wise and Wise, "The End of Music," 63–102; Wise with Wise and Brandt, *King Mob*.
86. My thanks to the people of RAM books for tales of McLaren's Soho jaunts. For Trocchi, see Vermorel, "Blowing up the bridges so there is no way back," 20–1. In fact, much material came back from the US (Gorman, *The Life and Times of Malcolm McLaren*).
87. See the interviews with Helen Wellington-Lloyd, Jordan and Alan Jones in Savage, *The England's Dreaming Tapes*, 27–60.
88. Barker, *Punk's Dead*.
89. Szymanski, "Would You Buy A Rubber T-Shirt From This Man?," 11.
90. 'SEX', *Curious*, 1, no. 2 (1975), 14–23.
91. See the interviews with Sioux and Bertie Marshall (Berlin) in Savage, *The England's Dreaming Tapes*, 336–53. In his autobiography, Berlin describes his 1970s cultural nexus as comprising Burroughs, Genet, Isherwood and Warhol (Marshall, *Belin Bromley*, 21).
92. Murray "Rebel Fun Page," 41; Goldman, "Siouxsie Sioux Who RU," 26–7. For nods to Weimar chic, see Suck, "Gimme Gimme Shock Treatment," 22; Morley, "A World Domination by 1984 Special," 7–8.

93. As told by Sioux to Savage in *England's Dreaming*, 183–4; Marshall, *Berlin Bromley*, 48–50.
94. Courtney, "The Great Smell of Brutality," 14–15.
95. Ant, *Stand & Deliver*, 75–7; Maw, *The Official Adam Ant Story*, 21–31.
96. Drayton, "The Ants," *Ripped & Torn*, 5–7; Vermorel and Vermorel, *Adam and the Ants*.
97. Willie, *The Adventures of Sweet Gwendoline*.
98. Dwyer, "Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee," 18.
99. X, *There's a Whip in My Valise*. Adam and the Ants bootlegs maintained the theme, as with *Madam Stan* (S&M Records). The lyric to 'Whip in My Valise' also refereed to 'Sunday Spanker,' which was a 1960s spanking magazine from the US. All the headings for this article come from the song's lyric.
100. Drayton, "The Ants," 5.
101. Goldman, "Whip in My Valise," 14; Walsh, "Sex and Violence in the Insect World," 14.
102. *Panache*, 14 (1981), 31–4. Adam and the Ants featured heavily in important fanzines such as *In the City, Panache, Ripped & Torn* and *Vague*. Specialised Ant-zines included *Ligotage* and *The Night Porter*.
103. Toothpaste, "Wouldn't You Like to Rip Him to Shreds?," n. p.
104. Hodkinson, *Goth*, 48–56; Siegel, *Goth's Dark Empire*; Brill, *Goth Culture*; Baddeley, *Goth: Vamps and Dandies*.
105. Mercer, *Gothic Rock Black Book*; Thompson, *Twenty-Five Years in the Reptile House*; Goodlad and Bibby (eds), *Goth*.
106. North, "Punk Warriors," 12–15.
107. Gunn, "Gothic Music and the Inevitability of Genre," 31–50; Carpenter, "The 'Ground Zero' of Goth," 25–52.
108. Keaton, "The Face of Punk Gothique," 16–17.
109. Numerous proto-goth bands abounded between 1981 and 1983, with lyrics and imagery covering similar concerns.
110. *Time Out*, 8–14 December 1983, had a 'Gothic Punk' cover featuring Specimen's Jonny Slut (Jonny Melton) on the front.
111. For Sade's critique of gothic novels, see his "An Essay on Novels" in *The Crimes of Love* (originally published 1800).
112. Heine, "The Marquis de Sade and the Gothic Novel" (1933), 133–51. For a modern linking of S&M to the Gothic, see Edmundson, *Nightmare on Main Street*.
113. *Kick*, 3, 1980, 11.
114. Lunning, *Fetish Style*, 2–3 and 14–15.
115. Hodkinson, *Goth*, 48–56; Brill, *Goth Culture*, 17–36; Weinstock, "Gothic Fetishism," 375–97.
116. Woodward, *Skin Two*, esp. issue 4.
117. I nod here to songs by Bauhaus, March Violets, Sex Gang Children, UK Decay and Blood and Roses.
118. Various Artists, *The Whip* (Kamera, 1983). The album was conceived by Sex Gang Children's Dave Roberts.
119. Weiss, "Mainstreaming Kink," 103–32; Wilkinson, "Perverting Visual Pleasure," 181–98; Gamman and Makinen, *Female Fetishism*.
120. Vague, "UK Decay," 8–9.
121. Woodward, *Skin Two*, 9.
122. Waller, "Origin of the Species," 24–5.
123. Brooks, "Brutality Chic," 4–6.
124. The murder of Sophie Lancaster, beaten simply for looking different in 2007, bares testament to this. https://sophielancasterfoundation.com/.
125. Jonny Melton made this point to me in correspondence, 14 February 2018. See also comments in Nally, "Goth Zines," 110–28.
126. Correspondence with author, 18 March 2018.
127. Fernbach, *Fantasies of Fetishism*, 26–30; Apter and Pietz (eds), *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse*.
128. See above 106.15.
129. Sade, "An Essay on Novels," 14.

130. Brill, *Goth Culture*, 179–86.
131. Fernbach, *Fantasies of Fetishism*, 227–30; Steele, *Fetish*, 6. "Blasphemy, lechery and blood' was a Batcave slogan, as displayed on the compilation album *Young Limbs and Numb Hymns* (London, 1983).
132. Reed, *Assimilate*; Reynolds, *Rip It Up and Start Again*, 224–44.
133. Ford, *Wreckers of Civilisation*: Tutti, *Art, Sex, Music*.
134. "Statement on COUM" (1975), cited in Ford, *Wreckers of Civilisation*, 5:10.
135. *Daily Telegraph*, 19 October 1976.
136. *Daily Mail*, 19 October 1976.
137. 'Terry Gold' [Genesis P-Orridge], sleevenotes to *The Industrial Records Story*, Illuminated Records, 1984.
138. The quote is from a 1979 letter from Genesis P. Orridge, cited in Ford, *Wreckers of Civilisation*, 9.27.
139. "Throbbing Gristle," in RE/Search, *Industrial Culture Handbook*. 6–19.
140. Savage, "New Musick," 23.
141. Savage, "Introduction," 4–5; Neal (ed.), *Tape Delay*; Hegarty, *Noise/Music*; Wallis (ed.), *Fight Your Own War*.
142. Keenan, *England's Hidden Reverse*.
143. P-Orridge and Christopherson, "Annihilating Reality," 44–8.
144. Ford, *Wreckers of Civilisation*, 7.9.
145. For analysis, see Sargeant, *Flesh and Excess*, 19–22.
146. Coil, "The Price of Existence is Eternal Warfare' (1983), available at http://brainwashed.com/common/htdocs/publications/coil-1983-manifesto.php?site=coil08 (accessed 2 November 2017).
147. Coil's sexual explorations tally with notions of anti-assimilation, as theorised by Leo Bersani in his "Is the Rectum a Grave?", *October*, 43 (1987), 197–222; idem, *Homos*. For an insightful critique, see Sinfield, *Gay and After*, 129–46.
148. Coil, *Scatology* (Force & Form, 1984—but released in early 1985).
149. Keenan, *England's Hidden Reverse*, 227–33.
150. Baddeley, *Goth*, 96–8.
151. RE/Search, *Industrial Culture Handbook*, 18–19, 49, 91; Reed, "Punking the Bibliography," 245–64.
152. Westwood, "Physicality, Pain and Trust Between People/Nails, Hair and Chicken Bones," n.p.
153. Keenan, *England's Hidden Reverse*, 145–8. According to Westwood, the myths surrounding Fistfuck performances somewhat stretch the truth (correspondence with author, 25 April 2018).
154. Hollings, "Mad Dog Culture," 19–25.
155. Westwood in correspondence with the author, 20 April 2018.
156. The artistic backgrounds of COUM Transmissions and Fistfuck provide a link to the visceral body-centric performance art of the period. See Vergine, *Body Art*; Jones, *Body/Art*: Battista, *Renegotiating the Body*; Arya, "Taking the Body Apart," 5–14.
157. Sleevenotes to Whitehouse, *Birthdeath Experience* (Come Organisation, 1980).
158. Sleevenotes to Whitehouse, *Psychopathia Sexualis* (Come Organisation, 1982); Crumby (ed.), *Whitehouse*.
159. Whitehouse's label, Come Organisation, later released a compilation album *Für Ilse Koch* (1982), a melange of noise, murder, fascism, sex, violence and death.
160. Schaeffer, *The Marquis de Sade*, 493.
161. For example, *Kata*, 4, 7 and 11 (1980–2).
162. *Chicken Shit*, un-numbered (1978), 6.
163. Correspondence between William Bennett and author, 19 September 2017.
164. Jo Smitty interview with Whitehouse, 25 April 1983, available at:http://www.susanlawly.freeuk.com/textfiles/whinterview03.html.
165. "William Bennett Interview in *Artitude* 1986 Written in 1982," in Crumby (ed.), *Whitehouse*. 12–13. "Coprophilia' was by The Sodality, another Bennett group.

166. Hegarty, *Noise/Music*, 122.
167. Bland, "Don't do as you're told, do as you think," 150–69.
168. Keenan, *England's Hidden Reverse*, vii–xvi.
169. For Prior To Intercourse, see—and, if possible, hear—their *Through Latex Mirrors* (Dvation, 1979). '[Too] decadent for Sheffield,' the cassette sleeve noted, 'improvised for your condemnation [. . .] There are no guitars/musical instruments, only flesh, leather, whips and blood [. . .] your dislike is a wanted reaction'. Sheffield's punk scene was, in part, nurtured through the Meatwhistle art project set up in the early 1970s by Chris and Veronica Williams. A successful early production was *Marat-Sade*.
170. Sade, *Philosophy of the Boudoir*, 252.
171. Ibid, 251. See also Partridge, *The Lyre of Orpheus*, 86–7.
172. Wallis, "The Black (Visual) Economy of Power Electronics," 187–98.
173. Schaeffer, The *Marquis de Sade*, 122; Savage, "Industrial Paranoia," 24–5; correspondence between Jill Westwood and the author, 20 April 2018.
174. P-Orridge and Christopherson, "Annihilating Reality," 44–8; Sade, *The One Hundred and Twenty Days of Sodom*, 532, taken from Madame Duclos' tales of a parliamentary judge who was sexually aroused by executions.
175. Moore and Coley, *No Wave Post-Punk*; Masters, *No Wave*; Denzel, "Sade, Modernism and Feminism". De Sade were an experimental group from Paris that mutated into Métal Urbain in 1976. Marquis de Sade were a separate group formed in Paris in 1977.
176. Wallsgrove, "Pornography," 44–6; Duggan and Hunter, *Sex Wars.*
177. Collins, "Sucking in the Seventies?," 5–23. For the mid-70s trend of S&M-themed covers (Nutz, The Tubes, Strapps, Streetwalkers), see Dadomo and Mitchell, "The Thong Remains the Same," 24–5, 47.
178. Cited in Collins, "The Pornography of Permissiveness," 116–18; Williams, *Hard Core*, 225–6.
179. Wise and Wise, "The End of Music," 87.
180. Selzer, *Terrorist Chic*, xvi.
181. Sontag, "Fascinating Fascism," 73–108.
182. Rose, "The Beautiful and the Damned," *Vogue*, November 1978, 326, cited in Steele, *Fetish*, 38.
183. Bienvenu, "The Development of Sadomasochism as a Cultural Style," 17–24; Steele, *Fetish*, 40.
184. Steintrager, *Liberating Sade*, 351–79.
185. Frost, *Sex Drives*, 151–60.
186. Moore, *Sexual Myths of Modernity*, 8 and 176.
187. McClintock, "Maid to Order," 87–116; Byrne, *Aesthetic Sexuality*, 127–58; Steele, *Fetish*, 180–3; Fernbach, *Fantasies of Fetishism*, 193; Gebhard, "Fetishism and Sadomasochism," 71–80; O'Higgins, "Sexual Choice, Sexual Act," 10–24; Baumeister, "Masochism as an Escape from the Self," 265–77. Hear also Depeche Mode's 1984 hymn to S&M, "Master and Servant": "It's a lot like life".
188. Gray, *At Home with the Marquis de Sade*, 358–9.
189. Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 132.
190. Townsend, *The Leatherman's Handbook* (originally published 1972).
191. Sutherland, *Offensive Literature*, 72–8. *Justine* had been translated in 1964 (a Corgi paperback in 1965), before the Brady/Hindley trial precluded further publications until 1990/91. Prior to this, Olympia Press translations of de Sade were smuggled in from the 1950s and available at select book stalls. Later, Grove Press translations of Sade were imported to the UK during the late 1980s. Otherwise, the Marquis' writings were hard to find and effectively banned.
192. Gorer, *The Life and Ideas of the Marquis de Sade*, 190–210.
193. Derek Jarman (dir.), *Jubilee* (1978). In his *Dancing Ledge*, Jarman describes Amyl as the "historian of the divided culture" (170).
194. Buck (ed.), *Violent Silence*.
195. Marc Almond, *Violent Silence* (Some Bizarre, 1986); idem, *Tainted Life*, 245–6.
196. Poly Styrene's "Diary of 77," excerpt in Bell and Howe, *Dayglo*, 49.
197. Byrne, *Aesthetic Sexuality*, 73.

198. See also *Madonna's Sex*. In the same year, Gianni Versace's bondage collection raised debate about 'chic or cruel' (see Steele, *Fetish*, 164).
199. Fernbach, *Fantasies of Fetishism*, 27.
200. Sade, *The One Hundred and Twenty Days of Sodom*, 329.
201. New York Dolls press release, February 1975 (Savage Archive, Liverpool John Moores University).

Acknowledgements

This article forms part of the Legacies of the Enlightenment project hosted by Michigan State University and Pennsylvania State University. My thanks to Rina Arya, William Bennett, Russ Bestley, Richard Cabut, Laura Cofield, Marcus Collins, Rosie Garland, Paul Gorman, David J. Haskins, Nick Hydra, Johna Johnson, Jordan, Julian Kalinowski, Chris Low, Ben Mechen, Jonny Melton, Claire Nally, RAM Books, Steven Stapleton, Natalie Thomlinson, Cathi Unsworth, Emily West, Jill Westwood and David Wilkinson for their help with this article.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on contributor

MatthewWorley is professor of modern history at the University of Reading and co-founder of the Subcultures Network. He has written widely on British labour and political history between the wars, though his more recent work has concentrated on the post-war relationship between youth culture and politics. Articles have been published in such journals as *Contemporary British History, History Workshop, Popular Music* and *Twentieth Century British History*. A monograph, *No Future: Punk, Politics and British Youth Culture, 1976–84*, was published by Cambridge University Press in 2017.

ORCID

Matthew Worley http://orcid.org/0000-0002-3049-8714

Bibliography

Adorno, T. *Minima Moralia: Reflections from Damaged Life*. London: NLB, 1974.
Adorno, T., and M. Horkheimer. *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Leland: Stanford Junior University, 2002.
Airaksinen, T. *The Philosophy of the Marquis de Sade*. London: Routledge, 1995.
Allison, D., M. Roberts, and A. Weiss, eds. *Sade and Narratives of Transgression*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
Almond, M. *Tainted Life: An Autobiography*. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1999.
Ant, A. *Stand & Deliver: The Autobiography*. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 2006.
Apollinaire, G. "The Divine Marquis." In *Sade: Sex and Surrealism*, edited by C. Black, 47–112. Chicago: Solar Books, 2010.
Apter, E., and W. Pietz, eds. *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
Ardill, S., and S. O'Sullivan. "Upsetting the Applecart: Difference, Desire and Lesbian Sadomasochism." *Feminist Review* 80, no. 1 (2005): 98–126. doi:10.1057/palgrave.fr.9400223.
Arya, R. "Taking the Body Apart." *Performance Research* 19, no. 1 (2014): 5–14. doi:10.1080/13528165.2014.908079.

Baddeley, G. *Goth: Vamps and Dandies*. London: Plexus, 2010.
Bailey, P. "The Victorian Barmaid as Cultural Prototype." In *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City*, edited by Idem, 151–74. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press , 1998.
Barker, S. *Punk's Dead*. London: Divus, 2011.
Barr, J. *Derelict Britain*. London: Pelican, 1969.
Barthes, R. *Sade-Fourier-Loyola*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1976.
Bataille, G. *Eroticism*. London: Marion Boyers, 1990.
Bataille, G. *Literature and Evil*. Marion Boyers: London, 1993.
Bataille, G. "The Use Value of D.A.F. de Sade (1930)." In *Sade: Sex and Surrealism*, edited by C. Black, 113–31. Chicago: Solar Books, 2010.
Battista, K. *Renegotiating the Body: Feminist Art in 1970s London*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2013.
Baumeister, R. F. "Masochism as an Escape from the Self." *Journal of Sex Research* 25, no. 1 (1988): 28–59. doi:10.1080/00224498809551444.
Beauvoir, S. D. "Must We Burn Sade?," In *Marquis de Sade, the One Hundred and Twenty Days of Sodom*. London: Arena, 1989.
Beckett, A. *When the Lights Went Out: Britain in the Seventies*. London: Faber & Faber, 2009.
Bell, C., and Z. Howe. *Dayglo: The Poly Styrene Story*. London: Omnibus Press, 2019.
Berniére, V., and M. Primois, eds. *Sex Press: The Sexual Revolution in the Underground Press, 1963–1979*. New York: Abrams, 2012.
Bersani, L. "Is the Rectum a Grave?" *October* 43 (1987): 197–222. doi:10.2307/3397574.
Bersani, L. *Homos*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.
Bienvenu, R. "The Development of Sadomasochism as a Cultural Style in the Twentieth-Century United States". PhD thesis, Indiana University, 1998.
Black, C., ed. *De Sade: Sex and Surrealism*. Chicago: Solar Books, 2010.
Reassessing the Seventies. edited by L. H. P. Black and P. Thane, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013.
Blanchot, M. *Lautréamont and Sade*. California: Stanford University Press, 2004.
Bland, B. ""Don't Do as You're Told, Do as You Think": The Transgressive Zine Culture of Industrial Music in the 1970s and 1980s." In *Subcultures Network, Ripped Torn and Cut: Pop, Politics and Punk Fanzines from 1976*, 150–69. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018.
Bloch, I. *Marquis de Sade: His Life and Works*. London: Caste Books, 1948.
Booker, C. *The Seventies: Portrait of a Decade*. London: Allen Lane, 1980.
Breton, A. *Manifestos of Surrealism*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1972.
Brill, D. *Goth Culture: Gender, Sexuality and Style*. Oxford: Berg, 2008.
Brooks, R. "Brutality Chic." *ZG* 2, (1980): 4–6.
Buck, P., ed. *Violent Silence: Celebrating George Bataille*. London: self-published, 1984.
Byrne, R. *Aesthetic Sexuality: A Literary History of Sadomasochism*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2013.
Camus, A. *The Rebel*. London: Penguin, 1971 edition.
Carpenter, A. "The "Ground Zero" of Goth: Bauhaus, "Bela Lugosi's Dead" and the Origins of Gothic Rock." *Popular Music and Society* 35, no. 1 (2012): 25–52. doi:10.1080/03007766.2010.537928.
Carter, A. *The Sadeian Woman: An Exercise in Cultural History*. London: Virago, 1979.
Charles Shaar, M. "Rebel Fun Page." *NME*, (1976): 41.
Clutterbuck, R. *Britain in Agony: The Growth of Political Violence*. London: Penguin, 1978.
Cocks, H. "Saucy Stories: Pornography, Sexology and the Marketing of Sexual Knowledge in Britain, C. 1918–70." *Social History* 29, no. 4 (2004): 465–484. doi:10.1080/0307102042000298958.
Cocks, H. ""The Social Picture of Our Own Times": Reading Obscene Magazines in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain." *Twentieth Century British History* 27, no. 2 (2016): 171–194. doi:10.1093/tcbh/hww008.
Collins, M. "The Pornography of Permissiveness: Men's Sexuality and Women's Emancipation in Mid Twentieth-Century Britain." *History Workshop Journal* 47, no. 1 (1999): 99–120. doi:10.1093/hwj/1999.47.99.
Collins, M. "Sucking in the Seventies? The Rolling Stones and the Aftermath of the Permissive Society." *Popular Music History* 7, no. 1 (2012): 5–23.

Cornell, D. *Feminism and Pornography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
Courtney, A. "The Great Smell of Brutality". *Sounds*, November 11, 1978.
Dadomo, G., and T. Mitchell. "The Thong Remains the Same." *Sounds* March 5, 1977: 24–5, 47.
Deleuze, G. *Masochism: Coldness and Cruelty*. New York: Zone Books, 1991.
Denzel, V. "Sade, Modernism and Feminism: Acts of Transgression in Literature and Graphic Novels." (forthcoming).
Drayton, T. "The Ants." *Ripped & Torn* 8, (1977): 5–7.
Duggan, L., and N. Hunter. *Sex Wars: Sexual Dissent and Political Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
Dworkin, A. *Pornography: Men Possessing Women*. London: Women's Press, 1981.
Dwyer, S. "Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee." *Sounds*, November 15, 1980.
Edmundson, M. *Nightmare on Main Street: Angels, Sadomasochism and the Culture of the Gothic*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.
Eluard, P. "D.A.F. De Sade: A Revolutionary Intelligence." In *Sade: Sex and Surrealism*, edited by C. Black, 185–90. Chicago: Solar Books, 2010.
Fernbach, A. *Fantasies of Fetishism: From Decadence to the Post-Human*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002.
Ford, S. *Wreckers of Civilisation: The Story of COUM Transmissions and Throbbing Gristle*. London: Black Dog, 1995.
Foucault, M. *History of Sexuality: An Introduction*. London: Penguin, 1998.
Freeman, G. *The Undergrowth of Literature*. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1967.
Freud, S. *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. London: Verso, 2017.
Fromm, E. *Escape from Freedom*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941.
Fromm, E. *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*. London: Pimlico, 1997.
Frost, L. *Sex Drives: Fantasies of Fascism in Literary Modernism*. Ithaca: Stanford University Press, 2002.
Gallop, J. *Intersections: A Reading of Sade with Bataille, Blanchot and Klossowski*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981.
Gamman, L., and M. Makinen. *Female Fetishism*. New York: New York University Press, 1994.
Gebhard, P. H. "Fetishism and Sadomasochism." In *Dynamics of Deviant Sexuality*, edited by J. H. Masserman, 71–80. New York: Grune and Stratton, 1969.
Genet, J. *Funeral Rites*. London: Faber & Faber, 2009.
Gibson, I. *The English Vice: Beating, Sex and Shame in Victorian England*. London: Duckworth, 1978.
Goldman, V. "Siouxsie Sioux Who RU." *Sounds*, December 3, 1977b.
Goldman, V. "Whip in My Valise." *Sounds*, November 10, 1977a.
Goldstein, R. "S&M: The Dark Side of Gay Liberation." *Village Voice*, July 7, 1975.
Goodlad, L., and M. Bibby, eds. *Goth: Undead Subculture*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.
Gorer, G. *The Life and Ideas of the Marquis de Sade*. Milton Keynes: Codman Press, 2010.
Gorman, P. *The Life and Times of Malcolm McLaren*. London: Constable, 2020.
Gorman, P., D. Thorp, and F. Vermorel. *Joining the Dots: From the Situationist International to Malcolm McLaren*. Southampton: John Hansard Gallery, 2015.
Gray, C., ed. *Leaving the 20th Century: The Incomplete Works of the Situationist International*. London: Free Fall, 1974.
Gray, F. D. P. *At Home with the Marquis de Sade*. London: Penguin, 1999.
Greta, X. *There's a Whip in My Valise*. Paris: Olympia Press, 1961.
Gunn, J. "Gothic Music and the Inevitability of Genre." *Popular Music and Society* 23, no. 1 (1999): 31–50. doi:10.1080/03007769908591724.
Harrison, B. *Seeking a Role: The United Kingdom, 1951–1970*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
Harrison, B. *Finding a Role? The United Kingdom, 1970–1990*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
Harrison, J., and A. Glyn. *The British Economic Disaster*. London: Pluto, 1980.
Haseler, S. *The Death of British Democracy*. London: Elek Books, 1976.
Hay, C. "Narrating the Crisis: The Discursive Construction of the "Winter of Discontent"." *Sociology* 30, no. 2 (1996): 253–277. doi:10.1177/0038038596030002004.
Hay, C. "Chronicles of a Death Foretold: The Winter of Discontent and Construction of the Crisis of British Keynesian." *Parliamentary Affairs* 63, no. 3 (2010): 446–470. doi:10.1093/pa/gsp056.
Hayman, R. *De Sade: A Critical Biography*. London: Constable, 1978.

Hegarty, P. *Noise/Music: A History*. London: Bloomsbury, 2007.
Heine, M. "The Marquis de Sade and the Gothic Novel." In *Sade: Sex and Surrealism*, edited by C. Black, 133–52. Chicago: Solar Books, 2010.
Hewitt, A. *Political Inversions: Homosexuality, Fascism and the Modernist Imaginary*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.
Hodkinson, P. *Goth: Identity, Style and Subculture*. Oxford: Berg, 2002.
Hollings, K. "Mad Dog Culture." *Performance*, June/July 1984.
Home, S., ed. *What Is Situationism? A Reader*. Edinburgh: AK Press, 1996.
Hussey, A. *The Game of War: The Life and Death of Guy Debord*. London: Jonathan Cape, 2001.
Jarman, D. *Dancing Ledge*. London: Quartet Books, 1991.
Jones, A. *Projects*. London: Matthews, Miller, Dunbar, 1971.
Jones, A. *Body/Art: Performing the Subject*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1998.
Jorre, S., and J. de. *The Good Ship Venus: The Erotic Voyage of the Olympia Press*. London: Hutchinson, 1994.
Keaton, S. "The Face of Punk Gothique." *Sounds*, February 21, 1981.
Keenan, D. *England's Hidden Reverse: A Secret History of the Esoteric Underground*. London: Strange Attractor, 2016a.
Keenan, D., ed. *Furfur: Sideways into England's Hidden Reverse*. London: Strange Attractor, 2016b.
King, A. *Why Is Britain Becoming Harder to Govern?* London: BBC, 1976.
Klossowski, P. "A Destructive Philosophy." In *Sade: Sex and Surrealism*, edited by C. Black, 153–82. Chicago: Solar Books, 2010.
Krafft-Ebing, R. V. *Psychopathia Sexualis*. 1894 ed. London: F. J. Rebman.
Kramnick, I. *Is Britain Dying? Perspectives on the Current Crisis*. New York: Ithaca, 1979.
Kunzle, D. *Fashion and Fetishism: A Social History of the Corset, Tight-Lacing and Other Forms of Body-Sculpture in the West*. Totowa: Rowman & Littlefield, 1982.
Lacan, J. "Kant avec Sade." *Critique* 191 (1962): 291–313.
Le Brun, A. *Sade: A Sudden Abyss*. San Francisco: City Lights, 1991.
Le Monde, D. *The Lure of Leather: Leather, Latex and Rubber*. Hemel Hempstead: K&G, 1969.
Leigh, M. *The Velvet Underground*. New York: Macfadden-Bartell, 1963.
Lély, G. *The Marquis de Sade: A Biography*. London: Eleck, 1961.
Lever, M. *Marquis de Sade: A Biography*. London: Harper Collins, 1993.
Linden, R. R., Pagano, D. R., Russell, D. E. H. and Star, S. L. eds. *Against Sadomasochism: A Radical Feminist Analysis*. San Francisco: Frog in the Well, 1982.
Lunning, F. *Fetish Style*. London: Bloomsbury, 2013.
Madonna. *Sex*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1992.
Magilow, D., E. Bridges, and K. Vander Lugt, eds. *Nazisploitation! The Nazi Image in Low-Brow Cinema and Culture*. London: Bloomsbury, 2011.
Marcus, S. *The Other Victorians: A Study of Sex and Pornography in mid-Nineteenth Century England*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966.
Mark, C., ed. *Whitehouse: Still Going Strong*. Amersham: Impulse Publications, 1994.
Marshall, B. *Belin Bromley*. London: SAF Publishing, 2006.
Masters, M. *No Wave*. London: Black Dog, 2007.
Maw, J. *The Official Adam Ant Story*. London: Futura, 1981.
May, D. "Sado Sex for the Seventies." *Gallery International* 1, no. 4 (1976): 60–64 & p. 99.
McClintock, A. "Maid to Order: Commercial Fetishism and Gender Power." *Social Text* 37, no. 37 (1993): 87–116. doi:10.2307/466262.
McGillivray, D. *Doing Rude Things: The History of the British Sex Film, 1957–81*. London: Sun Tavern Fields, 1992.
McIntosh, R. *Challenge to Democracy: Politics, Trade Union Power and Economic Failure in the 1970s*. London: Politico, 2006.
Mercer, M. *Gothic Rock Black Book*. London: Mick Mercer, 2009.
Moore, T. *Dark Eros: The Imagination of Sadism*. Dallas: Spring, 1990.
Moore, A. M. *Sexual Myths of Modernity: Sadism, Masochism, and Historical Teleology*. Maryland: Lexington Books, 2016.

Moore, T., and B. Coley. *No Wave Post-Punk: Underground New York, 1976–1980*. New York: HNA, 2008.
Moran, J. ""Stand up and Be Counted": Hughie Green, the 1970s and Popular Memory." *History Workshop Journal* 70, no. 1 (2010): 173–198. doi:10.1093/hwj/dbq025.
Morley, P. "A World Domination by 1984 Special." *NME*, January 14, 1978.
Mort, F. *Capital Affairs: London and the Making of the Permissive Society*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.
Mulvey, L. "You Don't Know What Is Happening Do You, Mr Jones?" *Spare Rib* (February 1973): 13–16 and 30.
Nally, C. "Goth Zines: Writing from the Dark Underground, 1976–92." In *Subcultures Network, Ripped Torn and Cut: Pop, Politics and Punk Fanzines from 1976*, 110–28. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018.
Nazarieff, S. *Jeux de Dames Cruelles: Photographies 1850–1960*. Köln: Taschen, 1992.
Neal, C., ed. *Tape Delay*. Harrow: SAF, 1987.
Network, S. *Ripped Torn and Cut: Pop, Politics and Punk Fanzines from 1976*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018.
Newton, H. *White Women*. New York: Congreve, 1976.
North, R. [Cabut]. "Punk Warriors." *NME*, February 19, 1983.
North, M. *The Outer Fringe of Sex*. London: Odyssey Press, 1970.
Nuttall, J. *Bomb Culture*. London: MacGibbon & Gee, 1968.
O'Higgins, J. "Sexual Choice, Sexual Act: An Interview with Michel Foucault." *Salmagundi* 58, no. 59 (1982): 10–24.
P-Orridge, G., and P. Christopherson. "Annihilating Reality." *Studio International* 192, no. 982 (1976): 44–8.
Parker Kate and Norbert Sclippa (eds). *Sade's Sensibilities*. Maryland: Buckland University Press, 2015.
Partridge, C. *The Lyre of Orpheus: Popular Music, the Scared and the Profane*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
Payne, J. "The Double-Voiced Discourse of John Willie's Fetish Fantasia." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 22, no. 1 (2013): 1–33. doi:10.7560/JHS22101.
Peakman, J. *The Pleasure's All Mine: A History of Perverse Sex*. London: Reaktion Books, 2013.
Prior, D. M. "SEX in the City." In *Punk Is Dead: Modernity Killed Every Night*, edited by R. Cabut and A. Gallix, 107–18. London: Zero Books, 2017.
Quiaro, R. D. *Marquis de Sade: Biography and a Note of Hope*. London: Messidor, 1994.
Rapaport, L. "Holocaust Pornography: Profaning the Sacred in *Ilsa, She-Wolf of the SS*." *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 22, no. 1 (2003): 53–79. doi:10.1353/sho.2003.0100.
Reed, S. A. *Assimilate: A Critical History of Industrial Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
Reed, S. A. "Punking the Bibliography: RE/Search Publications, the Bookshelf Question and Ideational Flow." In *Subcultures Network. Ripped Torn and Cut: Pop, Politics and Punk Fanzines from 1976*, 224–44. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018.
Reich, W. *The Sexual Revolution*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1974.
Reich, W. *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*. London: Souvenir Press, 1977.
Report, L. *On Pornography*. London: Cornet, 1972.
RE/Search. *Industrial Culture Handbook*. San Francisco: RE/Search, 1983.
Reti, I. *Remember the Fire: Lesbian Sadomasochism in a Post-Nazi Holocaust World*. Santa Cruz: HerBooks, 1993.
Reynolds, S. *Rip It up and Start Again: Post-Punk,1978–84*. London: Faber & Faber, 2005.
Richmond, L. "Buy Sexual." *Forum*, June 1976.
Robinson, E., C. Schofield, F. Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, and N. Thomlinson. "Telling Stories about Post-war Britain: Popular Individualism and the "Crisis" of the 1970s." *Twentieth Century British History* 28, no. 2 (2017): 268–304. doi:10.1093/tcbh/hwx006.
Rose, B. "'The Beautiful and the Damned'." *Vogue*, November (1978): 326.
Sade, M. D. *The One Hundred and Twenty Days of Sodom*. London: Arena, 1989.
Sade, M. D. *Philosophy of the Boudoir*. London: Arrow Books, 1991.
Sade, M. D. *The Crimes of Love*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Sandbrook, D. *State of Emergency: The Way We Were: Britain, 1970–74*. London: Penguin, 2011.
Sandbrook, D. *Seasons in the Sun: The Battle for Britain, 1974–79*. London: Allen Lane, 2012.
Sargeant, J. *Flesh and Excess: On Underground Film*. Los Angeles: Amok Books, 2015.
Savage, J. "Industrial Paranoia: The Very Dangerous Visions of Throbbing Gristle." *Sounds*, June 3, 1978.
Savage, J. "New Musick." *Sounds*, November 26, 1977.
Savage, J. "Introduction." In *Industrial Culture Handbook*, 4–5. San Francisco: RE/Search, 1983.
Savage, J. *England's Dreaming: Sex Pistols and Punk Rock*. London: Faber & Faber, 1991.
Savage, J. *The England's Dreaming Tapes*. London: Faber & Faber, 2004.
Sawhney, D. N., ed. *Must We Burn Sade?* New York: Prometheus, 2000.
Scanlon, J. *Sex Pistols: Poison in the Machine*. London: Reaktion Books, 2016.
Schaeffer, N. *The Marquis de Sade: A Life*. London: Picador, 2001.
Scott, C. *Thinking Kink: The Collision of BDSM, Feminism and Popular Culture*. North Carolina: McFarland, 2015.
Selzer, M. *Terrorist Chic*. New York: Hawthorn, 1979.
Sheridan, S. *Keeping the British End Up: Four Decades of Saucy Cinema*. London: Titan Books, 2011.
Shirer, W. L. *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1960.
Siegel, C. *Goth's Dark Empire*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005.
Sigel, L. *Governing Pleasures: Pornography and Social Change in England, 1815–1914*. New Jersey: Rutgers University, 2002.
Sigel, L. "Fashioning Fetishism from the Pages of *London Life*." *Journal of British Studies* 51, no. 2 (2012): 664–684. doi:10.1086/664995.
Sinfield, A. *Gay and After: Gender, Culture and Consumption*. London: Serpent's Tail, 1998.
Sisson, K. "The Cultural Formation of S/M: History and Analysis." *Lesbian & Gay Psychology Review* 6, no. 3 (2005): 147–162.
Sontag, S. "Fascinating Fascism," In *Her under the Sign of Saturn*. London: Penguin, 2009.
Steele, V. *Fetish: Fashion, Sex and Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
Steintrager, J. A. "Liberating Sade." *Yale Journal of Criticism* 18, no. 2 (2005): 351–379. doi:10.1353/yale.2006.0014.
Suck, J. "Gimme Gimme Shock Treatment." *Sounds*, June 11, 1977.
Sutherland, J. *Offensive Literature: Censorship in Britain, 1960–1982*. London: Junction, 1982.
Szymanski, R. "Would You Buy A Rubber T-Shirt From This Man?" *Street Life*, May 1–14, 1976.
Taylor, T. *The Prehistory of Sex: Four Million Years of Human Sexual Culture*. London: Bantam, 1996.
Thomas, D. *The Marquis de Sade*. New York: Graphic Society, 1978.
Thompson, D. *Black and White and Blue: Adult Cinema from the Victorian Age to the VCR*. Toronto: ECW Press, 2007.
Thompson, B. *Ban This Filth! Letters from the Mary Whitehouse Archive*. London: Faber & Faber, 2012.
Thompson, D. *Twenty-Five Years in the Reptile House: British Gothic Rock, 1976–2001*. London: Thompson, 2015.
Tiratsoo, N. ""You've Never Had It so Bad": Britain in the 1970s." In *From Blitz to Blair: A New History of the Britain since the 1970s*, edited by Idem, 163–90. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997.
Tomlinson, J. *The Politics of Declinism: Understanding Post-War Britain*. Oxford: Longman, 2000.
Toothpaste, L. "Wouldn't You like to Rip Him to Shreds?" *Temporary Hoarding* 6 (1978): 5.
Townsend, L. *The Leatherman's Handbook*. Beverley Hills: LT Publications, 1990.
Trocchi, A. *Helen & Desire*. Edinburgh: Rebel Press, 1997.
Truck, J. *Dressing for Pleasure: The Best of Atomage, 1972–1980*. London: Murray & Sorrell, 2010.
Tupper, P. *A Lover's Pinch: A Cultural History of Sadomasochism*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018.
Turner, A. W. *Crisis? What Crisis? Britain in the 1970s*. London: Aurum, 2008.
Tutti, C. F. *Art, Sex, Music*. London: Faber & Faber, 2017.
Twistleton, L. "Representations of Sadomasochism and Sexual Fetish, 1968–80." BA Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2017.
Vague, T. "UK Decay." *Vague* 12 (1982): 6–7.
Vergine, L. *Body Art: The Body as Performance*. Milan: Skira, 2000.

Vermorel, F. "Blowing up the Bridges so There Is No Way Back." In *Joining the Dots: From the Situationist International to Malcolm McLaren*, edited by P. Gorman and Vermorel, 20–1. Southampton: John Hansard Gallery, 2015.
Vermorel, F. *Dead Fashion Girl: A Situationist Detective Story*. London: Strange Attractor, 2019.
Vermorel, F., and Judy. *Adam and the Ants*. London: Omnibus Press, 1981.
Waller, J. "Origin of the Species." *Sounds*, May 14, 1983.
Wallis, J., ed. *Fight Your Own War: Power Electronics and Noise Culture*. London: Headpress, 2016a.
Wallis, J. "The Black (Visual) Economy of Power Electronics." In *Fight Your Own War: Power Electronics and Noise Culture*, edited by J. Wallis, 187–98. London: Headpress, 2016b.
Wallsgrove, R. "Pornography: Between the Devil and the True Blue Whitehouse." *Spare Rib*, December 1977.
Walsh, S. "Sex and Violence in the Insect World." *NME* (1878): 14.
Weeks, J. *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1800*. London: Longman, 1989.
Weinberg, T. S., ed. *S&M: Studies in Dominance and Submission*. New York: Prometheus Books, 1995.
Weinstock, J. A. "Gothic Fetishism." In *Goth: Undead Subculture*, edited by L. Goodlad and M. Bibby, 375–97. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.
Weiss, M. "Mainstreaming Kink: The Politics of BDSM." *Journal of Homosexuality* 50, no. 2–3 (2006): 103–132. doi:10.1300/J082v50n02_06.
Westwood, J. "Physicality, Pain and Trust between People/Nails, Hair and Chicken Bones." In *Furfur: Sideways into England's Hidden Reverse*, edited by D. Keenan. London: Strange Attractor, 2016.
Whitehead, P. *The Writing on the Wall: Britain in the Seventies*. London: Michael Joseph, 1985.
Wickstead, H. "Soho Typescripts: Handmade Obscene Books in Post-War London Bookshops." *Porn Studies* 7, no. 2 (2020): 187–211. doi:10.1080/23268743.2019.1689842.
Wilkinson, D. "Ever Fallen in Love (With Someone You Shouldn't Have?): Punk, Politics and Same-Sex Passion." *Key Words* 12 (2015): 57–76.
Wilkinson, E. "Perverting Visual Pleasure: Representing Sadomasochism." *Sexualities* 12, no. 2 (2009): 181–198. doi:10.1177/1363460708100918.
Williams, E. *Beyond Belief: The Moors Murderers*. London: Pan Books, 1968.
Williams, R. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
Williams, L. *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure, and the 'Frenzy of the Visible'*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
Willie, J. *The Adventures of Sweet Gwendoline*. New York: Bélier Press, 1974.
Wise, D., and Stuart. "The End of Music (1978)." In *What Is Situationism? A Reader*, edited by S. Home, 63–102. Edinburgh: AK Press, 1996.
Wise, D., S. Wise, and N. Brandt. *King Mob: A Critical Hidden History*. London: Bread and Circuses, 2014.
Woodward, T. *Skin Two Retro 1: The First Six Issues*. London: Tim Woodward Publishing, 1991.
Worley, M. *No Future: Punk, Politics and British Youth Culture, 1976–1984*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
Wright, C. "Lacan's Sade: The Politics of Happiness." *Paragraph* 38, no. 3 (2015): 386–401. doi:10.3366/para.2015.0174.
Young, C. M. "Rock Is Sick and Living in London: A Report of the Sex Pistols." *Rolling Stone*, October 20, 1977.
Zając, M. *The Feminine of Difference: Gilles Deleuze, Helen Cixous and Contemporary Critique of the Marquis de Sade*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2000.