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A THEME STUDY OF LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL,
TRANSGENDER, and QUEER HISTORY

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INCLUSIVE STORIES



Although scholars of LGBTQ history have generally been inclusive of women, the working classes, and gender-nonconforming people, the narrative that is found in mainstream media and that many people think of when they think of LGBTQ history is overwhelmingly white, middle-class, male, and has been focused on urban communities. While these are important histories, they do not present a full picture of LGBTQ history. To include other communities, we asked the authors to look beyond the more well-known stories. Inclusion within each chapter, however, isn't enough to describe the geographic, economic, legal, and other cultural factors that shaped these diverse histories. Therefore, we commissioned chapters providing broad historical contexts for two spirit, transgender, Latino/a, African American Pacific Islander, and bisexual communities. These chapters, read in concert with the chapter on intersectionality, serve as examples of rich, multi-faceted narrative within a fuller history of the United States.

10 TRANSGENDER HISTORY IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE PLACES THAT MATTER

Susan Stryker

The word “transgender” first appeared in print in American English in 1965, and entered widespread use only in the 1990s.¹ Thus, it might seem to name a relatively recent phenomenon without much of a history—one that has had scant time to leave many traces in the built environment or inhabited landscape. In most respects, “transgender” is just today’s term for referring to the ways people can live lives that depart from the conventional patterns according to which all bodies are assigned a sex at birth (male or female) and enrolled in a social gender (girl or boy), form gendered personalities (subjective feelings of being a man or a woman or something else), and come to occupy the social and kinship roles considered normal for people assigned to their particular birth-sex (for example, becoming a wife or father). In so doing, such people cross over (*trans-*) the gender categories that organize the historically specific ways we all imagine ourselves to be the particular kind of persons that we are.

¹ Cristan Williams, “Transgender,” *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* 1, no. 1-2 (2014): 232-234.

Such “gender variance” is a common feature in human cultures. It seems that however a given culture constructs its typical ways of being a person, some members of that culture do it differently, for whatever reason.²

Different cultures deal with gender variance differently.³ Over the past few hundred years, gender variance in societies of western European origin, including dominant US culture, has most often been understood as something antisocial, sinful, criminal, or psychopathological—and thus in need of correction. People with what we might now call transgender feelings about themselves have often resisted the moral, legal, and medical characterizations of their lives that have resulted in their social oppression. At the same time they have sought to be recognized legally and socially as the kind of gendered person they consider themselves to be, and may also have sought medical treatment or psychotherapeutic support for expressing their gender. Since the nineteenth century, the struggles of such people have formed one thread in the larger historical tapestry of identity-based social movements that have sought to better the conditions of life for people in marginalized minority communities in the United States. Transgender social history has definitely left its mark on America, and these stories are increasingly coming to the public’s attention. As the title of a 2016 web-based series of trans-history mini-documentaries puts it, “We’ve Been Around.”⁴

Prior to European colonization, and continuing until the present day, many cultures indigenous to North America have organized gender,

² Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Emeryville, CA: Seal Press, 2008), 1.

³ There is an extensive literature on cross-cultural gender variance; some helpful starting places are: Trystan Cotten, ed., *Transgender Migrations: The Bodies, Borders, and Politics of Transition* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Gilbert Herdt, ed., *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in History and Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Zone Books, 1996); Toni Lester, ed., *Gender Nonconformity, Race, and Sexuality: Charting the Connections* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002); DeWight R. Middleton, *Exotics and Erotics: Human Cultural and Sexual Diversity* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 2001); Serena Nanda, *Gender Diversity: Crosscultural Variations*, 2nd ed. (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 2014); Evan B. Towle and Lynn M. Morgan, “Romancing the Transgender Native: Rethinking the Use of the ‘Third Gender’ Concept,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 8, no. 4 (2002): 469–497; David Valentine, *Imagining Transgender: An Ethnography of a Category* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

⁴ *We’ve Been Around*, directed by Rhys Ernst (Los Angeles: Nonetheless Productions, 2016); available online at various media outlets, for details see <http://www.nonethelessproductions.com>.

sexuality, and social roles quite differently than settler societies of modern European origin.⁵ Transgender histories in the United States, like the broader national histories of which they form a part, originate in colonial contact zones where members of the arriving culture encountered kinds of people it struggled to comprehend. This is *not* to say that such indigenous persons can or should be slotted into a contemporary “transgender” category, but to note that Eurocentric notions of transgender are inextricably caught up in colonial practices for the management of cultural difference. Important sites for transgender history thus include places where soldiers, missionaries, and settlers encountered indigenous practices that did not align with their own sense of proper expressions of gender and sexuality.

In the first published narrative of European exploration in what is now the United States, Álgvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, writing of his overland journey from Florida to Mexico between 1528 and 1536, described encounters with apparent males who lived and worked as women, whom he called *hombres amarionados impotente* (impotent effeminate men). Jacques Marquette, the first European known to have visited the Upper Mississippi, observed “men who do everything women do” in his travels in what is now Illinois, between 1673 and 1677.⁶ Relatedly, indigenous scholar Deborah Miranda (Esselen and Chumash) characterizes as “gendercide” the compulsory regendering, or outright extermination, of indigenous persons at Spanish missions in California and the Southwest who did not conform to Eurocentric ideas of proper gendered personhood (Figure 1).⁷

⁵ See Roscoe (this volume).

⁶ Primary documents in English translation are included in Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1976), see 281-284 for Cabeza de Vaca, and 287 for Marquette.

⁷ Deborah A. Miranda, “Extermination of the *Joyas*: Gendercide in Spanish California,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 16, no. 1-2 (2010): 253-284. Many missions in California and elsewhere are listed on the NRHP and/or designated NHLs. Specifically mentioned in the article are the Mission San Carlos Borromeo del río Carmelo (Carmel Mission); Mission San Antonio de Padua (Mission San Antonio); Mission Basilica San Diego de Alcalá (Mission San Diego); Mission Santa Barbara; Mission San Jose; Mission San Francisco de Asis (Mission Dolores); Mission Santa Clara de Asis (Mission Santa Clara); and Mission Santa Ynez (Mission Santa Ines). The Carmel Mission, 3080 Rio Road, Carmel-by-the-Sea, California, was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated



Figure 1: The chapel at the Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo (Carmel Mission), Carmel-by-the-Sea, California. Photo by Kristina D.C. Hoepfner, 2011.⁸

While such encounters left no physical landmarks, interpretive signage and other explanatory text on websites and in visitor centers devoted to historic trails and early colonial sites could describe European perceptions of gender variance, and note that the perception of gender variance in indigenous cultures typically functioned as a justification for colonization: that these people were worthy of death, in need of salvation, or unfit to occupy the land.⁹ Similarly, interpretive materials could also incorporate

an NHL on October 9, 1960. Mission San Antonio de Padua, near Jolon, Monterey County, California was listed on the NRHP on April 26, 1976 and is located along the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail (a unit of the NPS) established in 1990. Mission San Diego, 10818 San Diego Mission Road, San Diego, California was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL as the San Diego Mission Church on April 15, 1970. Mission Santa Barbara, 2201 Laguna Street, Santa Barbara, California was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on October 9, 1960. Mission San Jose, 43300 Mission Boulevard, Fremont, California was listed on the NRHP on July 14, 1971. Mission San Francisco de Asis, 320 Dolores Street, San Francisco, California was listed on the NRHP on March 16, 1972. Mission Santa Clara, 500 El Camino Real, Santa Clara, California, not listed; Mission Santa Ynez, 1760 Mission Drive, Solvang, California, was listed on the NRHP on March 8, 1999 and designated an NHL on January 20, 1999.

⁸ License: CC BY-SA 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/4nitsirk/6095826918>

⁹ Drawing on this article, the following are examples of places that could include the recognition of native variance from European norms, and European responses to it, in interpretive materials: for Cabeza de Vaca, see Donald E. Sheppard, "Cabeza de Vaca, Journeys Across North America 1528-36," <http://www.floridahistory.com/cabeza.html>; for Marquette, see Melinda Roberts, "Jacques

indigenous worldviews that demonstrate how “gender” could be conceptualized differently.

It is by looking at the lives of transgender, transsexual, cross-dressing, and gender variant individuals and groups that we reveal the historical geographies of American transgender history. Cases involving gender-variant people are present in some of the earliest legal records of the Anglo-American colonies. In 1629, the Virginia Court in Williamsburg heard testimony to decide the fate of one Thomasine or Thomas Hall, apparently an individual born with physically ambiguous genitalia who lived as both a man and a woman at different periods of life. Raised in England as a girl, Hall presented as a man to become a sailor, presented again as a woman to work as a lacemaker, and eventually became an indentured servant in Virginia as a man. Accused of performing an illicit sexual act with a female servant, the question before the Virginia Court was to determine whether Hall was male, and therefore guilty of fornication, or female, and therefore guilty of no crime, given that sexual activity between women was considered physically impossible. Unable to reach a conclusion, the court ordered Hall to wear a mix of men’s and women’s clothing.¹⁰ It is unknown whether Hall, who thereafter disappears from the historical record, complied.

Marquette and Louis Joliet,” *Wisconsin Historical Markers* (blog), <http://wisconsinhistoricalmarkers.blogspot.com/2013/04/jacques-marquette-and-louis-joliet.html>; for California Missions, see “El Camino Real,” <http://missiontour.org/wp/related/el-camino-real.html>. Other indigenous and colonial locations include: the area around Yuma, Arizona along the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail, where on December 7, 1775 a member of the group described “effeminate men” among the Yuma; the Stones of Kapaemahu on Kuhio Beach, Waikiki, Hawai’i, which commemorate the arrival of the gender variant mahu; Fort Caroline National Memorial that commemorates the founding of Fort Caroline in 1564, an event that brought Europeans into contact with gender-variant Timucua Indians; and the Chief Plenty Coups (Alek-Chea-Ahoosh) Home, residence of Chief Plenty Coups who, in the late 1880s, told federal Indian Agents to leave the reservation after they tried to make the two-spirit *bote* dress in male clothing. The Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail (a unit of the NPS) was created in 1990; Fort Caroline National Memorial was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated a National Memorial on January 16, 1953; the Chief Plenty Coups (Alek-Chea-Ahoosh) Home at 1 Pryor Road, Pryor, Montana was added to the NRHP on October 6, 1970 and designated an NHL on January 20, 1999.

¹⁰ H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, 1622-1632, 1670-76* (Richmond, VA: Colonial Press/Everett Waddey, 1924), 194-195; the court convened twice yearly at the colonial capital in Williamsburg. For an insightful discussion of the Hall case, see Mary Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York: Vintage, 1997), 183-202. The Williamsburg Historic District was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on October 9, 1960.

In 1652, Joseph Davis of Haverhill, Massachusetts was presented to the Court of Strawberry Banke (Portsmouth, New Hampshire), and charged with “putting on women's apparel and going from house to house in the night time with a female.”¹¹ In 1677, Dorothea Hoyt of Essex County, Massachusetts was summoned to the Salem Court “for putting on man's apparel;” Hoyt failed to appear, having “gone out of the county.” These and other such cases, such as Mary Henly's appearance in the Middlesex County Court in 1692 to face a charge of wearing men's clothing, undoubtedly contributed to Massachusetts Bay Colony's passage of an anti-cross-dressing law in 1696.¹² Of significance here is the *kind* of spaces and institutions within which gender variant people become visible in the colonial period: primarily in courts, attesting to the perception of gender variant practices as problems of social order. These lives leave traces on the physical landscape, shaping the laws and spaces designed to regulate gender and sexuality.

It is often not possible to determine what motivated the behavior of people who entered the historical record centuries ago for wearing clothing not typically worn by people of their apparent sex. Sometimes, even when it is, the reasons have nothing to do how we now typically understand transgender identity. In 1776, the former Jemima Wilkinson, from a prominent Philadelphia Quaker family, had a transformative religious experience in which she believed Christ entered her body during a serious illness. Wilkinson thereafter claimed to be neither female nor male, adopted a unique manner of dress, took the non-gender-specific name The Publick Universal Friend, began to preach, and attracted a devoted following. The Friend's followers eventually built a separatist religious community they named Jerusalem, on the shores of Keuka Lake in Upstate New York, in the 1790s. The community's buildings, whose architecture reflected the celibate and communal lifestyle of its adherents

¹¹ Strawberry Banke was added to the NRHP on June 20, 1975.

¹² All examples of seventeenth-century cross-dressing are taken from Elizabeth Reis, *Bodies in Doubt: An American History of Intersex* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 2009), 15.

(and thus their atypical ideas about gender and sexuality), are still extant and many are registered historic sites in Yates County, New York.¹³



Figure 2: Deborah Sampson Gannett House, East Street, Sharon, Massachusetts. Photo by Leon H. Abdalian, 1930, from the collections of the Boston Public Library.¹⁴

It would be remiss to interpret the perception of cross-dressing by others as an expression of transgender identification by the person thus dressed. Deborah Sampson, for example, born December 17, 1760 in Plympton, Plymouth County, Massachusetts, assumed the identity of her deceased brother Robert to enlist in the Continental Army, Fourth Massachusetts Regiment, in which she participated in combat. After the

¹³ Herbert Wisbey, Jr., *Pioneer Prophetess: Jemima Wilkinson, the Publick Universal Friend* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009); Paul B. Moyer, *The Public Universal Friend: Jemima Wilkinson and Religious Enthusiasm in Revolutionary America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015). The Jemima Wilkinson House in Jerusalem, New York was added to the NRHP on August 24, 1994.

¹⁴ License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/boston_public_library/2589479441

war she resumed life as a woman, married, mothered children, lectured publicly on her years passing as a man, and received a government pension as a veteran of the Revolutionary War. While she certainly engaged in transgender *practices* during one period of her life in order to participate in activities denied to women, there is no evidence she expressed a transgender *identity*. That she cross-dressed only temporarily for a patriotic cause, and did not ultimately challenge the stability of gender categorization, goes a long way towards explaining how Sampson could be celebrated as a heroine in her own day, and remembered positively in the present (Figure 2).¹⁵

This is in contrast to Albert Cashier, an Irish immigrant given the name Jennie Rodgers at birth, who saw combat in the Civil War as a member of the 95th Illinois Infantry. Cashier had been sent out by his impoverished parents to work as boy from an early age; he changed his name and began living as a man upon arrival in the United States in 1862. After being honorably discharged at the end of the war, Cashier continued to live as a man without incident in the small town of Saunemin, Illinois, where he worked as a farmhand and jack-of-all-trades. In 1910, Cashier's employer accidentally hit him with a car, badly breaking his leg, whereupon the employer arranged for Cashier's admission to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home in Quincy, Illinois. By now an old man, Cashier developed dementia and needed to be moved to the Watertown State Hospital, where his biological sex was discovered.¹⁶ No longer able to assert his sense of being a man, the staff dressed Cashier in women's clothes and housed him in the women's ward. The federal government attempted to revoke his military pension, claiming fraud, until Cashier's former infantry comrades rallied on his behalf and testified about his commendable

¹⁵ Alfred Fabian Young, *Masquerade: The Life and Times of Deborah Sampson, Continental Soldier* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004); Sheila Solomon Klass, *Soldier's Secret: The Story of Deborah Sampson* (New York: Henry Holt, 2009). The town of Sharon, Massachusetts is home to the Deborah Sampson Gannett House on East Street, a Deborah Sampson Park, and a commemorative Deborah Sampson statue in front of the public library. The Plympton city flag incorporates Sampson as the Official Heroine of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

¹⁶ The Soldiers' and Sailors' Home (now the Illinois Veterans' Home) is at 1707 North Twelfth Street, Quincy, Illinois. Watertown State Hospital, now operating as the East Moline Correctional Center, is located at 100 Hillcrest Road, East Moline, Illinois.

service. When he died in 1915, Cashier was buried back in Saunemin, under his male name and military rank. Although Cashier has been characterized as a woman who went to war—and the name on his gravestone subsequently changed by well-intentioned feminist historians—his persistent presentation as a man both before and after his military service suggests that it would be more accurate to characterize Cashier as a transgender man. The persistence of his masculine presentation, his quiet insistence on it as a daily reality, is precisely what enabled the government to accuse him of fraud, of being someone other than he claimed to be.¹⁷

At a time when transgender people are only now being allowed to serve openly in the US military, stories of long-gone transgender veterans like Cashier illustrate the ever-shifting historical dimensions of transgender experience, and show that not every change counts as “progress.”¹⁸ His story illustrates as well the ongoing importance for transgender history of such built environments as cemeteries, care facilities, mental hospitals, and prisons, which are often sex-segregated, or sex-specific. These physical institutions where practices of nonconsensual gender-ascription play themselves out can survive for decades or even centuries. The presence of hard-to-classify transgender people in them poses a challenge to the spatial organization of such places, and to the cultural assumptions that undergird them. The troubling of gender norms can leave traces in the historical record that can be recovered long afterward. As early as

¹⁷ In May 1863, Private Cashier was captured at the Siege of Vicksburg before escaping, see “Jennie Hodgers, aka Private Albert Cashier,” National Park Service website, <https://www.nps.gov/resources/story.htm?id=187>. Vicksburg National Military Park (an NPS unit), located in Vicksburg, Mississippi and Delta, Louisiana was established February 21, 1899; it was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966. Cashier’s post-Civil War residence and grave are designated historical sites in Saunemin, Illinois. On the broader history of female-bodied people serving in the Civil War, see Elizabeth D. Leonard, *All the Daring of the Soldier: Women of the Civil War Armies* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1999); and Larry G. Eggleston, *Women in the Civil War: Extraordinary Stories of Soldiers, Spies, Nurses, Doctors, Crusaders, and Others* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2003). On how Cashier’s gender and identity should be conceptualized, see Amy Benck, “Albert D. J. Cashier: Woman Warrior, Insane Civil War Veteran, or Transman?” *OutHistory.org*, <http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/tgi-bios/albert-cashier>.

¹⁸ Dan Lamothe, “The Pentagon’s Ban on Transgender Service Just Fell – But the Details are Complicated.” *Washington Post*, June 30, 2016. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/06/30/the-pentagons-ban-on-transgender-service-just-fell-but-the-details-are-complicated/>.

1799, for example, a person named Samuel (a.k.a. Sarah) Johnson was discovered to be a female “who had accustomed herself to wear men’s cloaths for several years” after being arrested for housebreaking in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania and sentenced to three years in Philadelphia’s Walnut Street Prison—the first modern penitentiary. Johnson was incarcerated with women, but was allowed to continue dressing as a man.¹⁹ His presence there helps historians today better understand how gender was conceptualized more than two centuries ago.

The life of Joseph Lobdell, christened Lucy Ann at birth, ended in 1912, at age eighty-three, in the Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane in Ovid, New York.²⁰ Born in 1829 on the outskirts of Albany, New York and raised around Long Eddy in the Delaware River Valley, Lobdell rebelled against feminine expectations from an early age. Lobdell won fame as an excellent hunter and marksman, and published an autobiography that doubled as an impassioned feminist denunciation of inequality between the sexes. He changed name and gender presentation in his mid-twenties, lived in various locations on the western fringes of white settlement in Minnesota and Western New York, and entered into a decades-long cohabiting relationship with Marie Louise Perry. Prone to fits of mania by middle age, Lobdell’s siblings had him declared legally insane, told his common-law partner that he had died, and locked him away for the rest of his long life under his former name and gender.²¹ A psychiatrist’s report on Lobdell’s case, which emphasizes his physical sex rather than his gender identity, is among the earliest uses in the US medical literature of the term *lesbian*, and exemplifies a growing forensic interest in gender variance.²²

¹⁹ Jen Manion, *Liberty’s Prisoners: Carceral Culture in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 164; Johnson’s case is noted in the Walnut Street Prison Sentence Docket Book on December 4, 1799. The Walnut Street Prison was located on a lot on Walnut Street, bounded by Locust and Sixth Streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The prison was razed following its closure in 1835.

²⁰ The Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane, Ovid, New York was added to the NRHP on June 7, 1975.

²¹ Bambi Lobdell, *A Strange Sort of Being: The Transgender Life of Lucy Ann/Joseph Israel Lobdell, 1829-1912* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011).

²² P. M. Wise, “A Case of Sexual Perversion,” *Alienist and Neurologist: A Quarterly Journal of Scientific, Clinical and Forensic Psychiatry and Neurology* 4, no. 1 (1883): 87-91.

Lobdell's story represents two important trends in nineteenth-century US transgender history: the development of new medical and scientific ideas that increasingly reframed transgender behavior as illness (discussed immediately below), and a relationship between gender nonnormativity and westward migration (discussed further below). During the late nineteenth century, the fledgling life sciences vastly expanded knowledge about basic biological processes, and medicine began to gain unprecedented social power. Some transgender people found ways of working within this emerging biomedical nexus, such as the early radiologist Alan Lucill Hart, a Stanford-educated doctor who began life with the name Alberta Lucille Hart. Hart used the eugenic argument that "inverts" such as himself should not be allowed to reproduce, and thereby was given a hysterectomy, making him the first known person in the United States to request a surgical procedure for the purpose of expressing his gender identity.²³

Typically, this new medicolegal configuration of power and knowledge was harnessed to the task of shoring up legal distinctions between people in order to maintain hierarchies between races and sexes. It enabled arguments that blacks were biologically inferior to whites, and women inferior to men.²⁴ People with transgender feelings increasingly became targets of medical intervention precisely because they represented problems of biopsychosocial classification, as well as opportunities for

²³ Hart's medical treatment is discussed in J. Allen Gilbert, "Homo-Sexuality and Its Treatment," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 2, no. 4 (October 1920): 297-332; Gilbert's office was located at 610 SW Alder Street, Seventh Floor, Portland, Oregon. On Hart's life, see Emile Devereaux, "Doctor Alan Hart: X-Ray Vision in the Archive," *Australian Feminist Studies* 25, no. 64 (2010): 175-187, Brian Booth, *The Life and Career of Alberta Lucille / Dr. Alan L. Hart with Collected Early Writings* (Portland, OR: Friends of the Aubrey Watzek Library, Lewis & Clark College, 2003); and Colin Patrick Close, "Manifesting Manhood: Dr. Alan Hart's Transformation and the Embodiment of Sex in Early Twentieth-Century Sexology," master's thesis, Sonoma State University, 2014, available online at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/272831386_Manifesting_Manhood_Dr_Alan_Hart's_Transformation_and_the_Embodiment_of_Sex_in_Early_Twentieth-Century_Sexology.

²⁴ On the relationship between race and sex classification in scientific sexology, see Siobhan B. Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); on the long history of Johns Hopkins University in the biomedicalization of race and sex, see Rebecca Skloot, *The Immortal Life of Henrietta Lacks* (New York: Random House, 2010).

demonstrating the power of medicolegal and social-scientific knowledge. Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore played a central role in the development of these new conceptual frameworks starting in the nineteenth century. By the early twentieth century, its Brady Urological Clinic, under the direction of Hugh Hampton Young, became closely linked to the development of genital reconstructive surgeries, and it played a pioneering role in the development of endocrinology.²⁵ Working there in the 1950s, Lawson Wilkins and his student John Money developed the modern treatment protocols for medically managing intersex conditions. In later decades, as an extension of Money's earlier work on intersex, Johns Hopkins became home to the first surgical sex-reassignment clinic in the United States, in 1966.²⁶

As discussed above, transgender expression significantly predates its medicalization, and as Lobdell's case makes clear, people who expressed their gender differently sometimes wound up on the margins of settler culture, both socially and geographically. Peter Boag has noted, in his history of gender variance in areas opened to settlement in North America from the 1850s forward, that "cross-dressers were not simply ubiquitous, but were very much part of daily life on the frontier and in the West."²⁷ The relative anonymity and transience to be found in mining camps, lumber towns, and new "instant cities" such as Denver and San Francisco proved fertile ground for people whose gender identity or expression made geographical movement seem necessary or desirable. Gender ambiguity was so prevalent that one of the most popular souvenirs of the early California Gold Rush was a daguerreotype purporting to be of a "girl

²⁵ On the development of genital surgeries at Hopkins, see Hugh Hampton Young, *Genital Abnormalities, Hermaphroditism, and Related Adrenal Diseases* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1937); on the development of endocrinology as a field, see Chandak Sengoopta, *The Most Secret Quintessence of Life: Sex, Glands, and Hormones, 1850-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). The Johns Hopkins Hospital Complex, 601 North Broadway, Baltimore, Maryland was added to the NRHP on February 24, 1975.

²⁶ On Money's role in bridging intersex and transsexual medicine, see John Money and Anke A. Ehrhardt, *Man and Woman, Boy and Girl* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972).

²⁷ Peter Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), is an invaluable source for directing researchers to western US newspaper accounts, 1850s-1920s, documenting the lives of scores of individuals who were publicly discovered to be presenting as one gender while having the anatomy usually associated with the other.

miner” dressed in male attire; that the androgynous figure later turned out be a long-haired young man named John Colton only highlights the extent to which gender ambiguity was a common feature in the settlement of the



Figure 3: John Colton, aka “Girl Miner,” from a daguerreotype taken at Long Wharf, San Francisco, California, 1850. From Lorenzo Dow Stephens, *Live Sketches of a Jayhawker of '49* (San Jose: Nolta Brothers, 1916).

West (Figure 3).²⁸ Moreover, the post-Civil War years witnessed a marked upsurge in cross-dressing within many forms of popular entertainment, with historians of the theater noting that cross-dressing stage performances were first popularized by the so-called “wench roles” in blackface minstrelsy. Cross-dressing, particularly female-to-male cross-dressing, was also quite common in early cinema. Until the 1920s, theatrical and cinematic cross-dressing was typically considered “respectable” entertainment, and was not associated with social perceptions of “deviance.”

Consequently, the spectacle of cross-dressed bodies was a familiar sight on stage and screen, in theaters, vaudeville houses, and cinemas throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²⁹

Gender variance played a different role in the movements of communities of color into the United States than it did for whites. Asian

²⁸ Clare Sears, *Arresting Dress: Cross-Dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 36-37. See also Auer and Graves and Watson (this volume).

²⁹ Leslie Ferris, ed., *Crossing the Stage: Controversies on Cross-Dressing* (London: Routledge, 1993); Laurence Senelick, *The Changing Room: Sex, Drag, and Theater* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Laura Horak, *Girls Will Be Boys: Crossed-Dressed Women, Lesbians, and American Cinema, 1908-1920* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015).

immigrants to the West Coast faced social conditions that cast them all as gender variant vis-à-vis white gender norms.³⁰ The skewed sex ratios among Chinese immigrants—the female percentage of the total Chinese population in the United States ranged between three and seven percent in the second half of the nineteenth century—skewed white perceptions of Chinese gender roles and sexuality.³¹ White settlers in the West repeatedly commented on their inability to distinguish Chinese men and women, and disparagingly feminized Chinese men for wearing their hair in long queues, and performing labor such as laundering that was considered “women’s work” when done by whites.³² The celebrated Western writer Ambrose Bierce drew on these sociological conditions in his first published short story, “The Haunted Valley,” which appeared in *Overland* magazine in 1871. Bierce described an interracial love triangle transpiring in a mining camp between two white men and a Chinese person named Ah Wee, who is initially understood to be a man (thus imparting homoerotic overtones to the story), but is later revealed to be a woman who works as a man.³³

Scholars of slavery have noted that enslavement involved a stripping away of many elements of gender—not just of the cultural dimensions of what it meant to be a man or a woman in particular African societies, but a brute reduction of enslaved people to unsexed laboring bodies.³⁴ Females escaping slavery sometimes disguised themselves as men or boys to evade capture, as was the case with Ann Maria Weems, who posed as a male carriage driver on her flight north from Maryland to Canada in 1855.³⁵ Blacks often had to assert their belonging in gender categories in

³⁰ See Sueyoshi (this volume).

³¹ Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

³² Sears, *Arresting Dress*, 34-35, 83-84, 113-114, and passim.

³³ See “Civilizing Violence: ‘The Haunted Valley,’” Ambrose Bierce Project, Pennsylvania State University website, <http://www.ambrosebierce.org/journal2lee-keller.html>.

³⁴ Hortense Spillers, “Mama’s Baby, Papa’s Maybe: An American Grammar Book,” *Diacritics* 17, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 64-81.

³⁵ See “Ann Maria Weems,” National Park Service website, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/ugrr/discover_history/vignette_details.htm?ID=4073143.

ways that whites took for granted, as Sojourner Truth's famous "Ain't I a Woman?" speech to her white abolitionist sisters makes clear.³⁶

The life of Johanna or John O., which is known only through the account in Magnus Hirschfeld's 1913 casebook *The Transvestites*, exemplifies the relationship between gender variance and white settler migration. Assigned male at birth in the Tyrolean Alps in 1862, Johanna had grown up feeling girl-identified. When it became evident that her family would not support her plans to live as a woman, she did so anyway—running away as a teenager to Switzerland, and later France, before immigrating to the United States in 1882. Often it was the discovery of her biological sex, or on-the-job sexual harassment that compelled Johanna to move and to change jobs. She worked as an embroiderer in a Jersey City clothing factory, as a milkmaid on a dairy farm in upstate New York, and as a camp cook on a cattle trail in Montana. In 1885, she settled in San Francisco, where she supported herself as an itinerant bookseller and kept house for a group of sex-workers in the city's red-light district. Increasingly, her life became confined to those social spaces reserved for activities deemed deviant and illicit that are so often erased from history, memory, and from the physical fabric of our living places. As she aged, Johanna felt it became more difficult to be seen as a woman by others than when she was young and considered herself pretty. Fearing arrest, she reverted to dressing as a man in public, while continuing to dress as she pleased at home, without ever changing her persistent feelings of being a woman.³⁷

Johanna's fear of arrest was not unfounded. In the second half of the nineteenth century, a wave of anti-cross-dressing legislation swept the United States, including San Francisco, along with dozens of other urban, suburban, and small-town municipalities.³⁸ Typically, these laws forbid

³⁶ See "Sojourner Truth," National Park Service website, <https://www.nps.gov/wohi/learn/historyculture/sojourner-truth.htm>. Sojourner Truth gave her "Ain't I a Woman" speech at the 1851 Women's Rights Convention held at the Old Stone Church, corner of North High and Perkins Streets, Akron, Ohio. See also Harris (this volume).

³⁷ Magnus Hirschfeld, *The Transvestites: The Erotic Urge to Cross-Dress*, trans. Michael Lombardi-Nash (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1991), 83-94.

³⁸ See also Stein (this volume).

anyone to appear in public “in a dress not belonging to his or her sex.”³⁹ They had the effect of regulating how the expression of gender variance was geographically spatialized. On the one hand this created the public appearance of greater gender normativity than was actually the case. On the other, this largely confined nonnormative gender expression to the private sphere, or to urban red-light districts set aside (either tacitly or overtly) for various sorts of criminalized activities such as gambling, prostitution, or consuming drugs and alcohol.⁴⁰ Given the high degree of employment and housing discrimination faced by people who expressed their gender in nonnormative ways, urban districts that functioned for most people as destinations for late-night vice-tourism functioned for many transgender people as residential ghettos. Most late nineteenth and early-to-mid-twentieth century US cities harbored such districts, with some of the more well-known being the Tenderloin neighborhoods of New York City and San Francisco, New Orleans’ Storyville and French Quarter, Seattle’s Pioneer Square, Philadelphia’s Northern Liberties, Boston’s Combat Zone, and the neighborhoods in Los Angeles’s historic downtown core around Pershing Square, Bunker Hill, and the old Main Street Theater District.⁴¹

A number of building types in such red-light and nightlife districts are historically associated with transgender and gender-variant people, including bars, brothels, theaters, dance halls, nightclubs, and single room occupancy (SRO) hotels. Many SRO hotels in red-light districts catered

³⁹ William N. Eskridge, *Gaylaw: Challenging the Apartheid of the Closet* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), see 326-355 for lists of anti-cross-dressing laws.

⁴⁰ Clare Sears, “Electric Brilliancy: Cross-Dressing Laws and Freak Show Displays in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco,” *WSQ: Women’s Studies Quarterly* 36, no. 3-4 (Fall/Winter 2008): 170-187.

⁴¹ For treatments of two paradigmatic “tenderloins,” see Randy Shaw, *The Tenderloin: Sex, Crime and Resistance in the Heart of San Francisco* (San Francisco: Urban Reality Press, 2015); and Marilyn S. Johnson, *Street Justice: A History of Police Violence in New York City* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004). San Francisco’s Uptown Tenderloin Historic District was added to the NRHP on February 5, 2009. New Orleans’ French Quarter was listed on the NRHP as the Vieux Carre Historic District on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 21, 1965. Seattle’s Pioneer Square-Skid Road Historic District was added to the NRHP on June 22, 1970 with boundary increases on July 7, 1978 and June 16, 1988. Philadelphia’s Northern Liberties Historic District was added to the NRHP on October 31, 1985.

primarily to transgender clientele, such as the El Rosa and Hyland Hotels in San Francisco (Figure 4).⁴³ Lucy Hicks Anderson, an African American transgender woman from Oxnard, California, was a Prohibition-era



Figure 4: Sign for the El Rosa Hotel, San Francisco, California. Photo by Jeremy Brooks, 2009.⁴²

bootlegger who ran a boarding house and brothel on the city's waterfront.⁴⁴ Many clubs—such as the Garden of Allah in the basement of the Arlington Hotel in Seattle's Pioneer Square, the Club My-O-My in New Orleans, or Finocchio's in San Francisco's North Beach neighborhood—developed long-standing reputations for hosting “drag” entertainment.⁴⁵

⁴² License: CC BY-NC 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/jeremybrooks/3384379905>

⁴³ The El Rosa Hotel was located at 166 Turk Street, San Francisco, California, and the Hyland Hotel at 101 Taylor Street, above the Compton's Cafeteria site.

⁴⁴ Frank P. Barajas, “Work and Leisure in La Colonia: Class, Generation, and Interethnic Alliances among Mexicanos in Oxnard, California, 189-1945,” PhD diss., Claremont Graduate University, 2001.

⁴⁵ The Arlington Hotel was on First Avenue between University and Seneca Streets, Seattle, Washington (now demolished). See Don Paulson, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah: A Gay Cabaret in Seattle* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). Finocchio's, established by Italian American impresario Joseph Finocchio, began as an illegal speakeasy in the basement of 406 Stockton Street in 1929, and moved upstairs in the same building in 1933 with the repeal of Prohibition. After a police raid temporarily closed the club in 1936, it soon reopened (protected by police graft) at its larger and longtime location at 506 Broadway, where it remained until its closing on November 27, 1999. See Susan Stryker, “Finocchio's: A Short Retrospective,”

http://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=Finocchio%27s,_a_Short_Retrospective. Perhaps coincidentally, “finocchio,” Italian for “fennel,” is a derogatory slang term for homosexual. Club My-O-My

Drag, distinct from the forms of gender impersonation that enjoyed mainstream acceptance, connoted cross-dressing with a campy or ironic homosexual aesthetic. Urban homosexual *demimonde* clubs featuring risqué forms of drag certainly existed in New York City by the late nineteenth century, and historian George Chauncey suggests that “threads of continuity” might, with care, be traced between such venues and the “molly houses” of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century London. This gay subculture, in which cross-dressing slyly signified homosexual desire through the transposition of gender signifiers, first came to greater public attention during the so-called “Pansy Craze” of the 1920s, through the scandalous publicity given to lesbian masculinity in Mae West’s notorious play *The Captive*, and through the popularization of psychological and sexological theories of sexual inversion.⁴⁶ In subsequent decades, theatrical cross-gender dressing would become associated primarily with homosexual and transgender subcultures and subcultural venues.

In *Autobiography of an Androgyne* (1919), Ralph Werther, who also used the names Jenny June and Earl Lind, described one such “resort for sex perverts,” colloquially known as Paresis Hall, on Fourth Avenue a few blocks south of 14th Street in New York City, that exemplifies an entire genre of such establishments (Figure 5).⁴⁷ According to Werther, “In front was a modest bar-room; behind, a small beer-garden. The two floors

began as the Wonder Bar just after the end of Prohibition. In 1936, the owner asked for an injunction against police raids on the club, which featured female impersonators. Refused an injunction on the grounds that the club was a menace to morals, the owner moved the bar (renamed the Wonder Club) to pilings extending into Lake Pontchartrain on the Jefferson-Orleans parish line. The goal was to get as far away from the police as possible. In the late 1940s, Club My-O-My took over the business. Rebuilt after a fire in 1948, the club was destroyed by fire in 1972. See John Kelly, “1972: Fire destroys Club My-O-My on Lakefront,” *Times-Picayune*, September 5, 2010, http://www.nola.com/living/index.ssf/2010/09/1972_fire_destroys_club_my-o-m.html; see also “Club My-O-My: New Orleans Vintage Drag,” YouTube video, posted by NewOrleans Historical, September 13, 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2U_lvJLR0dw.

⁴⁶ George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), see 12 for quote, but passim for detailed discussion of gay cross-gender expression, underground venues for drag performance, “fairies,” and the pansy craze. Esther Newton, *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972) offers the classic anthropological account of the topic.

⁴⁷ Paresis Hall, more formally known as Columbia Hall, was located at 32 Cooper Square (a continuation of Fourth Avenue), New York City, New York.



Figure 5: Paresis (Columbia) Hall, New York City, New York (located just left of the former Village Voice building). Photo by Justin van Dyke, 2011.⁴⁹

above were divided into small rooms for rent,” and drag performances were frequently staged in the evenings. In 1895, Werther was invited by other patrons of the Hall to join “a little club” called the Cercle Hermaphrodites, which rented one of the upstairs rooms. It admitted “only extreme types—such as like to doll themselves up in feminine finery,” and its purpose was “to unite for defense against the world’s bitter persecution.”⁴⁸ The Cercle Hermaphrodites is the first known quasi-formal association of transgender people. Its rationale for

existing seems to have drawn not just on a desire for sociability, but also on nascent notions of social justice for gender variant people. The formation of the club at Paresis Hall attests to the importance of such subcultural spaces for members of marginalized communities, where the cultivation of social bonds can plant seeds that may ripen into political activism and social movements.

The second known quasi-political association of transgender people was the short-lived American Society for Equality in Dress, which began

⁴⁸ Ralph Werther, *Autobiography of an Androgyne*, ed. Scott Herring (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008), originally published 1918.

⁴⁹ License: CC BY-NC 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/justinbandyke/6132754617>

publishing the journal *Transvestia* in 1952.⁵⁰ It took root across the continent and a world away from the seedy urban environs of Werther's Paresis Hall, amidst the decentralized, semi-suburban sprawl of Los Angeles. Both the society and journal were spearheaded by Virginia Prince, neé Arnold Lowman, one of the most influential and divisive figures in mid-twentieth-century transgender history. Prince, a secret cross-dresser since childhood who gradually started coming out to others in her late thirties, eventually lived full time as a woman but remained adamantly opposed to genital surgery, and helped draw still-current distinctions between transsexuals, heterosexual transvestites, and homosexuals. She went on to found the first long-lasting organizations for cross-dressers, notably Full Personality Expression (1962), which later became the Society for the Second Self (Tri-Ess).⁵¹

Prince was born in Los Angeles in 1912 and raised on the 100 block of South Hobart Avenue, in a fashionable upper-middle-class neighborhood near Beverly and Western Avenues, until age eight, at which time the family relocated to the 800 block of Victoria Avenue in the even more fashionable Hancock Park neighborhood. Her father was a prominent orthopedic surgeon, and her mother a successful businesswoman with a penchant for real estate. Prince herself went on to earn a PhD in Pharmacology from the University of California, San Francisco (UCSF) by 1939, specializing in the development of new medicines. She later worked for several different pharmaceutical companies, which helped support her unpaid transgender activism in later decades.⁵²

⁵⁰ *Transvestia* published only two issues in 1952, at which time the American Society for Equality in Dress seems to have folded; after a hiatus, publisher Virginia Prince's Chevalier Publications began issuing the journal again, 1960-1979, from a post office box in Tulare, California.

⁵¹ On Prince, see Richard F. Docter, *From Man to Woman: The Transgender Journey of Virginia Prince* (Northridge, CA: Docter Press, 2004); Richard Ekins and David King, eds., *Virginia Prince: Pioneer of Transgendering*, special issue of *International Journal of Transgenderism* 8, no. 4 (2005); and Darell G. Raynor, *A Year Among the Girls* (London: Mayflower-Dell, 1968).

⁵² Docter, *From Man to Woman*, 19, 26.

The UCSF campus on Parnassus Heights, particularly the Langley Porter Psychiatric Clinic located there, is an important site in the history of transgender medicalization and community formation.⁵³ It was there, on a post-doctoral fellowship in the early 1940s, that Prince met Louise Lawrence, a San Francisco resident who, like her, was a life-long cross-dresser born in 1912. Lawrence had started corresponding with other transvestites whom she contacted through personal ads in various magazines as early as 1937, and her contact list of more than fifty individuals became the first subscription list for Prince's *Transvestia* magazine. Unlike the still-closeted Prince, however, Lawrence had started living full time as a woman by 1942, and spoke regularly at Langley Porter to help educate medical professionals about people like herself.⁵⁴ Her longtime residence would become an informal way station for transsexual women seeking medical services for gender-transition in the 1950s and 1960s.⁵⁵ The clinic was directed by Dr. Karl Bowman, a former president of the American Medical Association who had written extensively on homosexuals as well as individuals we would now call transgender or



Figure 6: The interior lobby of the Medical-Dental Building, 450 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California. Photo taken by Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) staff, after 1933 (HABS CAL,38-SANFRA,158-8).

⁵³ Langley Porter Psychiatric Hospital and Clinics are located at 401 Parnassus Avenue, San Francisco, California.

⁵⁴ "Journal," Louise Lawrence Collection, Series II D Folder 2, Archives of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, Bloomington, Indiana.

⁵⁵ Lawrence lived at 11 Buena Vista Terrace, San Francisco, California (now demolished).

transsexual. Through UCSF, people like Prince and Lawrence came in contact with sexuality researchers such as Alfred Kinsey (who ran the famous Institute that bore his name at the University of Indiana in Bloomington) and Harry Benjamin (a German American doctor with private practices in New York and San Francisco), who in turn began to study, treat, and write about people in Prince's and Lawrence's networks (Figure 6).⁵⁶

Transgender topics burst into spectacular mass media visibility in 1952 through the unprecedented coverage given to Christine Jorgensen, the first truly global transgender celebrity. Jorgensen, of Danish-American heritage, had been born in 1926 to working-class parents in the Bronx.⁵⁷ She had had transgender feelings since early childhood, and by the late 1940s had educated herself about the possibilities for using hormones and surgery to change her body. The body-shaping effects of the so-called "sex hormones" had been discovered only in the 1910s, synthesized only in the 1920s, and widely commercially available only in the 1930s and 1940s.⁵⁸ Genital plastic surgeries had actually been practiced in the United States since the 1840s, but these procedures were carried out on people born with anomalous genitals, and were not available to people with apparently normal genitals who wished them to resemble the genitals usually associated with another social gender. The concept of "transsexualism" (though not the term itself), began to take shape in

⁵⁶ Virginia "Charles" Prince, *The Transvestite and His Wife* (Tulare, CA: Chevalier Publications, 1967), 5; Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 181-186. Harry Benjamin's New York Offices were located at 728 Park Avenue; his San Francisco offices were at the Medical-Dental Building, 450 Sutter Street, but he also sometimes saw patients at his suite at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel (450 Powell Street, San Francisco, California), where he made his residence during his annual summer practice. In New York City, Dr. Benjamin lived in the Flatiron District. The 450 Sutter Street building was listed on the NRHP on December 22, 2009.

⁵⁷ Jorgensen's father, a carpenter and building contractor, built the family home on Dudley Avenue in the Throgs Neck section of the Bronx, where Jorgensen was born and lived her first twenty-six years. See Christine Jorgensen, *A Personal Autobiography* (San Francisco: Cleis Press, 2000), 4, originally published 1967. In addition to Jorgensen's own autobiography, see Richard Docter, *Becoming A Woman: A Biography of Christine Jorgensen* (New York: Haworth Press, 2008); and Emily Skidmore, "Constructing the 'Good Transsexual': Christine Jorgensen, Whiteness, and Heteronormativity in the Mid-Twentieth-Century Press," *Feminist Studies* 37, no. 2 (Summer 2011): 270-300.

⁵⁸ On the history of genital surgeries, see Reis, *Bodies in Doubt*; on the history of endocrinology, see Sengoopta, *The Most Secret Quintessence of Life*; and Nelly Oudshoorn, *Beyond the Natural Body: An Archeology of the Sex Hormones* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

Europe as early as 1906—that is, that by medically operating on individuals to transform their bodies through surgery, and later hormones, such individuals could be granted a new legal and social identity that matched their innate sense of self. Such practices were well established at Magnus Hirschfeld’s Institute for Sexual Science by the early 1930s, but these ideas did not take root in the United States until after World War II—largely in response to the Jorgensen story.⁵⁹ Although Christine Jorgensen was by no means the first transsexual, she became the person who popularized the concept for mass audiences after she set sail for her ancestral Scandinavia, and news of her surgical and hormonal transformation there leaked to the press.

Jorgensen did not imagine that media coverage of her genital conversion surgeries in Copenhagen would make headlines around the world, but it did. Through her the idea of medical “sex-change” became part of common knowledge for anyone old enough to read a newspaper in the 1950s. Jorgensen, who had aspired to be a photographer and filmmaker before becoming a celebrity, capitalized on her newfound fame by developing a successful night club act and traveling the globe, staying in the media spotlight for more than a decade and earning a comfortable living. She bought a retirement home for her parents, with whom she continued to live until their deaths, in Massapequa, Long Island, New York; she later lived at various locations in Southern California, including the Chateau Marmont Hotel in Los Angeles, the home of friends in Riverside, and various apartments in Hollywood; for many years she owned a home in Laguna Niguel.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ On the development of a “transsexual discourse,” see Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, 16-28; and Reis, *Bodies in Doubt*, 45-54. For the earliest known case of a person requesting medical transformation to support a change in legal and social gender, see the case of Karl (néé Martha) Baer, director of the Berlin B'nai B'rith in Berlin until his emigration from Germany in 1938; Baer wrote a somewhat fictionalized autobiography under a pseudonym which has recently become available in English translation with a scholarly preface: Sander L. Gilman, preface, and Hermann Simon, afterword to *Memoirs of a Man's Maiden Years* by N. O. Body, trans. Deborah Simon (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

⁶⁰ Jorgensen’s father also built the family’s home in the 100 block of Pennsylvania Avenue, at the corner of Ocean Avenue, in Massapequa, New York. The Chateau Marmont Hotel is located at 8221 Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

The world in which Jorgensen achieved her fame was changing rapidly with regard to transgender issues. For many white people, the 1950s scene was still characterized by places like Casa Susanna, a secretive resort in New York's Catskill Mountains for closeted heterosexual cross-dressers in the mold of Virginia Prince.⁶¹ Other transsexual women, many of them women of color, began to live much more publicly in (and as) what Africana and gender studies scholar C. Riley Snorton has punningly called "Jorgensen's shadows."⁶² These women made tabloid headlines of their own, including Delisa Newton, an African American Chicago cabaret singer, and belly dancer Bessie Mukaw, who billed herself as "the first Eskimo sex-change."⁶³ Of all those who followed in Jorgensen's wake, only Charlotte McLeod, another white transsexual woman who came to public attention within months of Jorgensen's sudden celebrity, initially came close to matching her level of fame, but McLeod's star faded with brutal quickness.⁶⁴ Jorgensen's success also brought attention to a longstanding transgender presence in vernacular entertainment venues such as carnival sideshows, circuses, and strip clubs, as well as in traveling song-

⁶¹ Casa Susanna, described by the *New York Times* as a "slightly run-down bungalow camp in Hunter, N.Y.," was a retreat for cross-dressers that existed in the late 1950s and early 1960s, see Penelope Green, "A Safe House for the Girl Within," *New York Times*, September 7, 2006,

http://www.nytimes.com/2006/09/07/garden/07trann.html?_r=1. A collection of photographs from the resort have been published, Michael Hurst and Robert Swope, eds., *Casa Susanna* (New York: Powerhouse Books, 2006). A play by Harvey Fierstein based on the history of the resort, *Casa Valentina*, premiered on Broadway in 2014. For a firsthand account of a consequential visit to Casa Susanna by noted sex researchers Alfred Kinsey and Wardell Pomeroy, see Katherine Cummings, *Katherine's Diary: The Story of a Transsexual* (Sydney: William Heinemann Australia, 1992).

⁶² Snorton has delivered many public lectures, circa 2014-2016, under the title "Jorgensen's Shadows," related to his forthcoming book on black transgender history in the United States; for a synopsis of this larger project, see H. Roger Segelken, "Examining Black Transness Through Contemporary Media," *Cornell Chronicle*, June 8, 2015, <http://www.news.cornell.edu/stories/2015/06/examining-black-transness-through-contemporary-media>.

⁶³ On Newton and Mukaw, see Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, 86.

⁶⁴ After her moment in the media spotlight, McLeod married, adopted her husband's two children, and retreated from public life. A native of Dyersburg, Tennessee, she returned home to care for her aging and infirm mother in the mid-1960s, and remained to run a convalescent home until her own retirement. She died in 2007. As the child of a prominent local family, a headstone bearing her given name, Charles, had been erected in the family plot in Fairview Cemetery, at the time of her birth. McLeod took great satisfaction, after all her older relatives had died, in purchasing a plot in the same cemetery under her chosen name, and leaving the grave set aside for "Charles" permanently empty. See oral history interview by the author with Aleshia Brevard Crenshaw, GLBT Historical Society, OHC Number 97-040, recorded August 2, 1997. The author visited McLeod in May 2002, and was shown both grave sites.

and-dance revues.⁶⁵ Comic entertainer Rae (or Ray) Bourbon moved for decades in such milieus. A person of apparently mixed Anglo-Latino heritage from south Texas, sometimes claiming Ramón Ícarez as a birth name, Bourbon had a fascinating career in cross-dressed silent film acting, vaudeville, and nightclub performance that spanned the Pansy Craze of the 1920s, as well as the post-Jorgensen fascination with transgender representation in the 1950s. Bourbon claimed (probably spuriously) to have had genital conversion surgery, and humorously recounted these supposed experiences on comedy albums such as *Let Me Tell You About My Operation*.⁶⁶

Urban inner-city neighborhoods that had long provided homes for more marginalized, racially and ethnically mixed transgender communities began showing signs of social unrest by the later 1950s. In 1959, patrons at Cooper Do-Nut, a late-night hangout in downtown Los Angeles popular with street queens, gays, and hustlers, resisted arrest *en masse* when police made a “street sweep” to round up people accused of loitering, vagrancy, or public lewdness.⁶⁷ In Philadelphia in 1964, patrons of Dewey’s lunch counter conducted a successful informational picket and sit-in protest, resulting in three arrests that challenged the management’s

⁶⁵ On transgender carnival, circus, sideshow, and strip club performers, see Minette (as told to Steve Watson), *Minette: Recollections of a Part-Time Lady* (Chicago: Novel Books, 1965); Hedy Jo Star, *I Changed My Sex!* (Chicago: Allied Books, 1955); Tamara Rees, *Reborn: A Factual Life Story of a Transition from Male to Female*. (Los Angeles: Irene Lipman, 1955); and the film *Forever’s Gonna Start Tonight*, about the entertainer Vicki Marlane, directed by Michelle Lawler (Los Angeles: Aggressively Enthusiastic Films, 2009.) Of the traveling revues, the best known was Doc Brenner and Danny Brown’s Jewel Box Revue, founded in Miami in 1939, and touring until 1969; see Zagria, “The Jewel Box Revue,” *A Gender Variance Who’s Who* (blog), August 15, 2010, <http://zagria.blogspot.it/2010/08/jewel-box-revue.html#.V2shFWN1HwX>. The troupe was notable for being racially integrated, featuring African American transmasculine emcee Stormé DeLarverie, as well as Miss Major Griffin-Gracy, who became a leading transgender prisoner’s rights activist in the 1990s and subject of the documentary film *Major!* directed by Annalise Ophelian (San Francisco: Floating Ophelia Productions, 2015).

⁶⁶ Don Romesburg, “Longevity and Limits in Rae Bourbon’s Life in Motion,” in *The Transgender Studies Reader 2*, eds. Susan Stryker and Aren Z. Aizura (New York: Routledge, 2013), 479–491. An extensive and well-researched website constructed by Randy Riddle, containing many digital media versions of Bourbon’s written and performed works, can be found at <http://www.coolcatdaddy.com/bourbon.html>. See also Auer (this volume).

⁶⁷ Cooper Do-Nut, sometimes remembered as Cooper’s Donuts, was located at either 553 or 557 W. Main in Los Angeles, between two of the city’s oldest gay bars, the Waldorf and Harold’s; see Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 1.



Figure 7: Amanda St. Jaymes, then known as Mandy Taylor (in the center, with the up-do) and other transgender women standing outside Compton's Cafeteria, San Francisco, California, circa 1965. Screen grab from Silverman and Stryker, *Screaming Queens*. The original, a personal possession of Amanda St. Jaymes and filmed with permission of the owner for the film, is no longer extant (lost/destroyed at the time of Amanda's death).

discrimination against "youth in unconventional attire."⁶⁸ And in 1966, patrons at Compton's Cafeteria, in San Francisco's Tenderloin, rioted against a police raid aimed at arresting the transgender women and street queens who frequented that establishment

(Figure 7). They smashed windows, demolished a police car, set the corner newsstand on fire, and fought with police up and down the surrounding streets.⁶⁹ The disturbance there preceded by three years the much larger and better-known resistance to police oppression of gay and transgender people that took place at New York's Stonewall Inn in 1969.⁷⁰

In the aftermath of the Compton's riot, San Francisco's Tenderloin became a national hub for early transgender activism and social services. Its many SRO hotels were home to hundreds of transgender people. Glide Memorial Methodist Church, a neighborhood institution, hosted the first

⁶⁸ Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 245-246. There was more than one Dewey's location; the sit-in and arrests took place at the location near Seventeenth Street and Locust.

⁶⁹ There were several Compton's locations; the riot took place at the Compton's Cafeteria located at 101 Taylor Street, at the corner of Turk and Taylor. See Raymond Broshears, "History of Christopher Street West—San Francisco," *Gay Pride Quarterly* 1 (San Francisco, 1972), n.p. for the best firsthand account; for fuller contextualization see Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Emeryville, CA: Seal Press, 2008), 63-75; and *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria*, directed by Victor Silverman and Susan Stryker (San Francisco: Frameline, 2005), a documentary film that includes first-person interviews.

⁷⁰ Stonewall, the site of the Stonewall Riots at 51-53 Christopher Street and the surrounding streets and Christopher Park, New York City, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999, designated an NHL on February 16, 2000, and designated the Stonewall National Monument on June 24, 2016.

gay and transgender street youth organization, Vanguard, starting in 1966, as well as the first transsexual support group, Conversion Our Goal, starting in 1967 (Figure 8).⁷¹ The Tenderloin is adjacent to the Polk Street neighborhood, where a unit of the San Francisco Department of Public Health, called the Center for Special Problems, offered some of the nation's first social services for transgender people, as well as to fashionable Union Square, where Harry Benjamin sometimes saw transsexual patients in the suite of rooms at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel where he lived during his annual summer visits. The Tenderloin was also home to the National Transsexual Counseling Unit (NTCU), one of many efforts funded by the wealthy female-to-male transsexual Reed Erickson.⁷² The Erickson Educational Foundation (EEF), based in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, provided crucial support not only for the NTCU, but for publication of *The Transsexual Phenomenon*, Harry Benjamin's paradigm-defining book on medical treatment protocols for transgender people. The EEF also supported the first wave of clinical "sex-change" programs at Johns Hopkins, Stanford, UCLA, University of Minnesota, and elsewhere.⁷³

⁷¹ Glide Memorial Church, 330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California is a contributing element to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, added to the NRHP on February 5, 2009.

⁷² The Center for Special Problems was located at 1700 Jackson Street; the NTCU was in the 200 block of Turk Street; the Sir Francis Drake Hotel is at 450 Powell Street, all in San Francisco, California.

⁷³ The Erickson Education Foundation office in Baton Rouge was located in what is now a private residence on Moreland Drive. Locations of early "sex change" programs include: Johns Hopkins University, Hopkins Hospital, 1800 Orleans Street, Baltimore, Maryland (from 1965 to 1979); Stanford University, Stanford Medical Center Gender Identity Clinic, 300 Pasteur Drive, Stanford, California (from 1968 to 1980, when the Clinic became a non-profit foundation not associated with the University); Northwestern University, Feinberg School of Medicine, 303 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Illinois; University of Texas Galveston, UT Galveston Medical Branch, 301 University Boulevard, Galveston, Texas (1966-1980); University of Michigan, Transgender Services, 2025 Traverwood Drive, Ann Arbor, Michigan; University of Minnesota Hospital, 505 East Harvard Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Oregon Health and Science University Hospital, 3181 SW Sam Jackson Park Road, Portland, Oregon; Case Western Reserve University School of Medicine, 2109 Adelbert Road, Cleveland, Ohio; and Integris Baptist Medical Center, Gender Identity Foundation, 3300 NW Expressway, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (1973 to 1977). Rachel Witkin, "Hopkins Hospital: A History of Sex Reassignment," *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, May 1, 2014, <http://www.jhunewsletter.com/2014/05/01/hopkins-hospital-a-history-of-sex-reassignment-76004/>; Dawn Levy, "Transsexuals Talk About Stanford's Role in their Complex Lives," Stanford News Service website, May 2, 2000, <http://news.stanford.edu/pr/00/sexchange53.html>; Brandon Wolf, "Galveston's Invisible LGBT History," *Out Smart Magazine*, July 1, 2016, <http://www.outsmartmagazine.com/2016/07/galvestons-invisible-lgbt-history/>; Vern L. Bullough and Bonnie Bullough, *Cross Dressing, Sex, and Gender* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 259; Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*. Johns Hopkins Hospital Complex was added to the NRHP on February 24, 1975. The Ashbel Smith Building, part of the UT Galveston Medical Branch, was added to the NRHP on October 28, 1969.



Figure 8: Glide Memorial Church, San Francisco, California. Photo by Andrew Turner, 2008.⁷⁴

The pace of transgender social change activism quickened in the later 1960s. In Los Angeles, Sir Lady Java, an African American trans-feminine performer at the Redd Foxx nightclub, helped overturn police rules that criminalized cross-dressing, and Angela Douglas founded TAO, the Transsexual Activist Organization.⁷⁵ In New York City, the support groups Transsexuals and Transvestites (TAT) and Labyrinth, the first group dedicated to transsexual men, formed along with STAR, the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries. STAR House, founded by Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson, provided free shelter, food, and peer support for

marginalized transgender street youth of color (Figure 9).⁷⁶ Another New York group, the Queens Liberation Front, published *Drag* magazine, which reported on political happenings all across the country.⁷⁷ In Philadelphia, the Radical Queens collective worked to integrate transgender concerns into multi-issue social change activism, often in collaboration with the radical lesbian collective DYKETACTICS. Fantasia Fair, an annual gathering on Cape Cod that catered to the sort of people who once would have attended Casa Susanna, began in 1975, and is now the longest-running

⁷⁴ License: CC BY 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/ajturner/2380763433>

⁷⁵ Redd Foxx's nightclub, often referred to simply as "Redd's," was located on La Cienega Boulevard, opening in 1959. Joe X. Price, *Redd Foxx, B.S. (Before Sanford)* (Chicago: Contemporary Books, 1979), 1. For numerous locations for the peripatetic Angela Douglas, who was living in a trailer in Sneads, Florida at the time of her death, see her self-published 1982 autobiography, *Triple Jeopardy*; a copy is held at the GLBT Historical Society in San Francisco, California.

⁷⁶ STAR House was located at 640 East 12th Street, Apartment C, New York City, New York (now demolished).

⁷⁷ The Queens Liberation Front, founded in 1969, was closely associated with Lee Brewster; it, and *Drag Magazine*, were largely run out of Lee's Mardi Gras Boutique, a transgender emporium located in the Meatpacking District at 400 West 14th Street, New York City, New York. The Meatpacking District, as the Gansevoort Market Historic District, was added to the NRHP on May 30, 2007.

transgender event in the world.⁷⁸ It was organized by Ari Kane and Betty Lind, both of Boston's Cherrystone Club, a transgender social club.

By the end of the 1970s however, many of the advances of recent years had been undone. Setbacks included federal cutbacks to social service funding as well as new ideas in gay and feminist communities that began to characterize transgender people as less liberated than



Figure 9: Sylvia Rivera Way, New York City, New York. Photo by Gotty, 2007.⁷⁹

themselves, or even as dangerous or mentally ill people trying to infiltrate progressive movements. The 1980s were an especially difficult decade for transgender people, who were largely excluded from other social justice activism, even as they faced new levels of pathologization. In 1980, “Gender Identity Disorder” appeared for the first time in the DSM-IV, the fourth revised version of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, published by the American Psychiatric Association. That same year a new organization was formed for medical and psychotherapeutic service providers who worked with transgender populations, the Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association (later renamed the World Professional Association for Transgender Health). Perversely, this official pathologization did not make medical treatment more accessible for transgender people who needed it. Health insurance providers classified sex-reassignment procedures as “experimental” or “cosmetic”

⁷⁸ Fantasia Fair is held in multiple locations in Provincetown, Massachusetts, usually during the third week in October. The Provincetown Historic District was listed on the NRHP on August 30, 1989.

⁷⁹ License: Public Domain. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:SylviaRiveraWay.jpg>

and thus ineligible for coverage. Most counseling for transgender people seeking medical services was provided from within the community itself, notably the organization J2PC, named for its founders Jude Patton and Joanna Clark (now Sister Mary Elizabeth), in San Juan Capistrano, California.

One of the most significant developments of the 1980s was the formation of a national network of female-to-male transsexuals, primarily through the efforts of Louis G. Sullivan. Born and raised in the Milwaukee suburb of Wauwatosa, Wisconsin, Sullivan had transgender feelings from a very early age, which confused him because he was also attracted to men. Sullivan eventually realized that he was a gay transsexual man—that is, attracted to men as a man, in spite of starting life with a female anatomy. He not only helped medical professionals understand that people like him existed, but worked to educate and bring together all sorts of masculine-identified female-bodied people through publications such as *Information for the Female-to-Male Cross-Dresser and Transsexual* and *The FTM Newsletter*. Sullivan, who moved to San Francisco in the later 1970s, was sexually active there in the gay men's community at a time when HIV was already circulating but before the AIDS epidemic had become visible. Like many other gay men of his generation, Sullivan became infected, and eventually died of HIV-related illnesses in 1991.⁸⁰

The AIDS epidemic transformed transgender politics in the 1990s. Transgender women of color who shared needles for hormones and engaged in survival sex-work were among the most vulnerable to, and at risk for, infection.⁸¹ Transgender people became involved in AIDS-activist organizations such as ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) in New

⁸⁰ Brice Smith, "'Yours in Liberation': Lou Sullivan and the Construction of FTM Identity," PhD diss., History Department, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2010.

⁸¹ David Valentine, *Imagining Transgender: An Ethnography of a Category* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007) describes, in part, how the introduction of the term "transgender" itself in HIV/AIDS prevention activism remapped the relationship between particular kinds of gender variant people, new forms of public health surveillance and service provision, and the geographical territory in which gender nonconforming sex-work and black and Latino/a street socializing took place in lower Manhattan in the first half of the 1990s.

York and Queer Nation in San Francisco, and with other militant protest groups like the Lesbian Avengers.⁸³ The word “transgender” itself (rather than some other term for gender variance) was popularized around this time through the publication of Leslie Feinberg’s 1992 pamphlet *Transgender Liberation: A Movement Whose Time Has Come*.⁸⁴ Groups such as Transgender Nation in San Francisco and Transexual Menace in New York brought a new style of confrontational, in-your-face activism to



Figure 10: The Women’s Building, San Francisco, California. Photo by Jeremy Weate, 2011.⁸²

transgender politics that drew on queer militancy’s punk sensibility. The Women’s Building in San Francisco hosted many transgender-related events in the 1990s, including, ironically, the first-ever International FTM

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⁸³ ACT UP and Queer Nation were both founded at the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center, 208 West 13th Street, New York City, New York. Lesbian Avengers also met at the center, following their founding meeting held at the home of Ana Maria Simo in New York City’s East Village neighborhood. ACT UP and Queer Nation had chapters across the country. In San Francisco, both groups met at the Women’s Building at 3543 Eighteenth Street. In New York, transgender activist Riki Wilchins was an active member of Lesbian Avengers; in San Francisco, the first activist organization to use the term “transgender” in its name, Transgender Nation, began as a special-interest focus group of Queer Nation in 1992.

⁸⁴ At the time of Feinberg’s death in 2014, Feinberg, who used gender-neutral pronouns, was living with long-term partner and spouse, Minnie Bruce Pratt, in Syracuse, New York.

(Female-to-Male) Conference in 1995 (Figure 10).⁸⁵ It was also during this time that the Tom Waddell Health Center, a branch of the San Francisco Department of Public Health, began offering “Tranny Tuesday,” the first low-cost health clinic run specifically for transgender clients. It adopted a harm-reduction rather than trans-pathologization model of health care provision, providing services that transgender people needed to live self-directed lives rather than diagnosing them with Gender Identity Disorder and medically managing their transitions.⁸⁶

Two flashpoints brought heightened awareness of transgender activism during these years. In 1991, organizers of the Michigan Womyn’s Music Festival expelled transsexual attendee Nancy Burkholder from the lesbian-run women-only event because they did not consider transsexuals to be women. Burkholder’s expulsion inspired the creation of Camp Trans, which gathered each year across the road from the music festival to engage in dialog with attendees and help change transphobic attitudes in some quarters of the lesbian and feminist communities.⁸⁷ In 1993, the murder of Brandon Teena, a transgender youth who lived and died in rural Nebraska, inspired vigils outside the courthouse where his killers were eventually convicted.⁸⁸ In Houston, the country’s first openly transgender elected judge, Phyllis Randolph Frye, hosted the International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy for several years beginning in

⁸⁵ FTM Conference of the Americas, San Francisco, California, August 18-20, 1995.

⁸⁶ The Tom Waddell Health Center, opened in 1993, was at 50 Lech Walesa (Ivy) Street, San Francisco, California. On the clinic, see *Transgender Tuesdays: A Clinic in the Tenderloin*, directed by Mark Freeman and Nathaniel Walters-Koh (San Francisco: Healing Tales Productions, 2012). Freeman, a medical service provider, was instrumental in establishing the Tranny Tuesday clinic; note that the original name of the clinic used a slang term then considered to evoke a familiar, welcoming, insider, community-oriented sensibility, which has since fallen into disfavor by a younger generation of transgender people; the title of Freeman’s film bows to these newer sensibilities.

⁸⁷ Hart Township, Oceana County, Michigan, adjacent to privately held festival property known as “The Land.”

⁸⁸ Brandon Teena’s murder inspired the Academy Award-winning film *Boys Don’t Cry*, directed by Kimberly Peirce (Beverly Hills, CA: Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2000) for which Hilary Swank won best actress for playing Brandon; the house in which Brandon and others were murdered is located on the outskirts of Humboldt, Nebraska. Transsexual Menace organized vigils outside the Richardson County Courthouse in nearby Falls City, Nebraska, 1700 Stone Street, during the murder trial. The Richardson County Courthouse was listed on the NRHP on July 5, 1990. For an account of this activism, see Riki Wilchins, *Read My Lips: Sexual Subversion and the End of Gender* (New York: Riverdale, 2013). For more information on Brandon’s life, see J. Jack Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: NYU Press, 2005).

1992, which laid the foundation for a new generation of legal activism in the decades ahead.⁸⁹ Houston's Transgender Foundation of America, founded in 1998, hosted the Transgender Archive, the only publicly-oriented, walk-in, research collection in the United States dedicated to transgender history, until losing its lease in the rapidly gentrifying Montrose neighborhood in 2015.⁹⁰

By the later 1990s, several US cities had passed ordinances protecting transgender people from discrimination, which influenced where transgender people might choose to live and work. Fledgling transgender lobbying groups like GenderPAC were finally beginning to draw funding from major philanthropic foundations. In the wake of the 9/11 attacks in 2001, issues that had long concerned transgender people took on a new sense of urgency, particularly those that involved obtaining state-issued identification documents that accurately reflected a person's current gender. Heightened levels of security and surveillance, tightened border controls, and fears of terrorism deepened existing difficulties for transgender people who could have difficulty proving to others that they really were who they said they were. Civil liberty concerns about the expansion of the national security apparatus after 9/11 led military intelligence analyst Chelsea (née Bradley) Manning to divulge classified documents detailing US spying—the so-called “Wiki-Leaks” case—resulting in the most high-profile legal proceedings against a transgender person in

⁸⁹ The first conference was held at the Hilton Hotel, 6780 Southwest Freeway, Houston, Texas, on August 28, 1992. For more information, see Phyllis Randolph Frye, “History of the International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy, Inc.,” Transgender Legal website, 2001, <http://www.transgenderlegal.com/ictlephis1.htm>.

⁹⁰ The Transgender Foundation of America, including the Transgender Archive, has occupied several locations in Houston's Montrose and Heights neighborhoods; most recently it was located at 604 Pacific Street, until its 2015 closure. Though not legally incorporated until 1998, the TFA it is an outgrowth of Gulf Coast Transgender Community (GCTC), which traces its roots to 1965.

US history, and in Manning's eventual conviction and incarceration at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas (Figure 11).⁹¹ The first professionally staffed transgender advocacy organizations took shape during these tense early years of the War on Terror and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, including the Transgender Law Center in San Francisco and the Sylvia Rivera Law Project in New York (both founded in 2002), the National Center for Transgender Equality in Washington, DC (founded in 2003), the TGI (Transgender, Gender-Variant, and Intersex) Justice Project in San Francisco (founded in 2004), and, Global Action for Trans* Equality (GATE) in New York in 2009.⁹²



Figure 11: How Chelsea Manning Sees Herself. Image by Alicia Neal, in cooperation with Chelsea Manning, commissioned by the Chelsea Manning Support Network, 2014.⁹³

In 2007, openly gay Democratic Congressman Barney Frank landed on the wrong side of history when he cut transgender protections from the federal Employment Non-Discrimination Act in an ultimately futile attempt

⁹¹ Manning is incarcerated at the United States Disciplinary Barracks, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Transgender populations in the United State experience incarceration rates more than twice that of the cisgender population. Most of those incarcerated are trans women of color who are incarcerated in men's facilities; see Eric A. Stanley and Nat Smith, eds., *Captive Genders: Trans Embodiment and the Prison Industrial Complex* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2011).

⁹² Long located in the historic Flood Building, 870 Market Street in San Francisco, the Transgender Law Center was, like many nonprofits, priced out of the city's real estate market by the high-tech boom. It is currently located at 1629 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California. The Sylvia Rivera Law Project is located at 147 West 24th Street, New York City, New York, in the Miss Major-Jay Toole Building for Social Justice, which also houses four other LGBTQ social justice organizations; the National Center for Transgender Equality is located at 1400 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, DC; TGI Justice is located at 1372 Mission Street, San Francisco; GATE, a virtual international organization, operates online, with no physical office space.

⁹³ License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:C_Manning_Finish-1.jpg

to enact that landmark piece of legislation. That was the last time, as of this writing, that transgender issues were sacrificed to a larger gay and lesbian liberal agenda. Under the Obama administration, the transgender movement is becoming thoroughly mainstreamed, and has made advances unthinkable only a few short years ago. Particularly since the Supreme Court ruled conclusively on the constitutionality of same-sex marriage in 2015, transgender issues have come to be considered a cutting edge of the civil rights agenda, and seem unlikely to retreat in the foreseeable future. These gains remain unevenly distributed, with transgender women of color still facing extreme levels of violence, poverty, and incarceration not usually experienced by their white counterparts.

In the second decade of the twenty-first century, transgender people and topics have become ubiquitous in the mass media as well as on social media. The appearance of transgender actress Laverne Cox on the cover of *Time* magazine in 2014, and the wall-to-wall tabloid and reality-television coverage of Caitlyn Jenner in 2015, were breakthrough moments comparable in scale to Christine Jorgensen's celebrity in the 1950s. The critically acclaimed show *Orange Is the New Black* features positive representation of transgender people, while *Transparent* employs numerous transgender people as writers, directors, producers, crew members, and on-camera talent. *Sense8*, directed by the transgender siblings Lana and Lilly Wachowski, achieves an unprecedented level of creative control for a big-budget project that expresses transgender sensibilities, but it is only one of many recent media productions that allow for greater transgender self-representation; other notable works include *Tangerine*, about two trans women in Los Angeles, and *Drunktown's Finest*, the debut feature of Sydney Freeland, the first Native American transgender film director to gain a mainstream movie distribution deal. Perhaps even more significant than transgender representation in commercial media is the explosion of transgender content in user-generated social media, much of it produced and circulated by transgender youth such as Leelah Alcorn, a transgender teen who committed suicide in 2014 after posting her suicide note on Tumblr. Such

nonprofessional media production can play an important role in providing emotional support and creative outlets, as well as “how to” information for individuals seeking gender transition.

Although the most conservative estimates of transgender adults in the United States place their numbers around one and a half million people, those same techniques now place the number of transgender-identified youth somewhere between four and ten million.⁹⁴ Clearly, we are in the midst of a sea change in how our culture understands gender, and accepts gender variance. This unprecedented wave of change is provoking a political backlash, particularly obvious in the wave of “bathroom bills” that have swept the country since the defeat of the Houston Equal Rights Ordinance in 2015, and the passage of HB2 in North Carolina in 2016. Public toilets, locker rooms, and other sex-segregated built environments, particularly when they are located in public schools that receive federal funds, have become the latest architectural sites of importance in the transgender history of the United States. That this history is unfolding all across the country, in the most banal and intimate structures imaginable, attests to the truly fundamental level of change our society is undergoing. It’s not just that the long-standing presence of transgender people in our national life is finally becoming more visible; it’s that gender itself is changing radically in ways we can now scarcely comprehend.

⁹⁴ Andrew Flores, Jody Herman, Gary Gates, and Taylor Brown, “How Many Adults Identify as Transgender in the United States,” Williams Institute, UCLA Law School, June 2016; <http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/How-Many-Adults-Identify-as-Transgender-in-the-United-States.pdf>. On transgender youth population estimates, see Jody Herman, Christy Mallory, and Bianca Wilson, “Estimates of transgender populations in states with legislation impacting transgender people,” Williams Institute, UCLA Law School, June 2016. In this report, the authors cite other scholars who, based on a review of multiple local probability samples and national convenience samples, found that between 1.3 and 3.2% of all youth are transgender; in other words between four and ten million youth.