Transmen and FTMs

Identities, Bodies, Genders, and Sexualities

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"Transvestite Opportunists, Passing Women, and Female-Bodied Men"

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CHAPTER 5

Transvestite Opportunists, Passing Women, and Female-Bodied Men

They are made visible only in so far as . . . deceivers and manipulators, as individuals whose "true" sex must be uncovered. What their own experience or identity is remains invisible.

—Blackwood 1997:1

Throughout Euro-American history, like the cases in the previous chapter regarding cross-cultural data, female-bodied people who have lived as men are often erased by androcentric, phallocentric, and biological-determinist arguments and subsumed under the rubric of lesbianism.[1] This chapter provides a number of cases and analyzes the arguments that have and continue to make female-bodied men invisible. In addition, the cases provide an opportunity to consider historical Euro-Americans' behavior (as well as that of contemporary people who may not choose surgical routes) from a different viewpoint.

Most researchers conclude that female-bodied individuals who have lived as men did so for one of two primary reasons. The first concerns socioeconomic factors such as better-paying jobs in addition to adventure and male privilege (Faderman 1991:43, 45; Friedli 1987:234; Newton 1984:558; Perry 1987:96; Vicinus 1992:473; Wheelwright 1990:19). Pagliassotti has observed that "females were so restricted by social institutions that they had to stop 'being' female (by dressing—and thus becoming—male) to achieve certain goals" (1993:486; cf. Fraser 1985:468). A second reason given for living as men is to provide a cover for lesbianism (Friedli 1987:235; Newton 1984:558; Vicinus 1992:474; Wheelwright 1990:19). "Many of the cross dressers . . . were lesbian" (Bullough and Bullough 1993:164). That statement comes after their caution that "lesbianism does not in itself explain cross dressing" (162). Nonetheless, the conjecture seems to be that if a person lives with a woman the relationship must be a lesbian one.

The histories of the categories "homosexuality," "transvestism," and "transsexualism" are inextricably entwined and to many seem to be one in the same. That should not be surprising because transvestism and transsexuality were embedded within the category of homosexuality (Bullough 1976:24; see also Whittle 1993). Despite the entwined history, many theorists are perplexed by female-bodied people who continued to live as men after the end of their service during war or upon being "discovered." "More troubling, because more difficult to place," as Vicinus states, "were those women who either appeared 'mannish' or continued to cross-dress after the wars were over" (1992:474).

The basis for the conundrum is an inability to conceive of another possibility: female-bodied people who identify as men. Although it is impossible to make clear lines of demarcation, there are several types of female-bodied people who have done that. Transvestic opportunists may identify as men for short-term gain or adventure (i.e., socioeconomics); passing women and female husbands do so for love (i.e., they are lesbians); and female-bodied men do so because they identify as men, whatever that may mean for their particular culture and historical era.

It is not always possible to make tidy distinctions between FTMs/transmen and butch lesbians; there is much overlap and many similarities between the types. By leaving out categories, however, or by subsuming them within others, the forerunners of contemporary female-bodied transpeople are made invisible. At the very least their motivations are obscured by socioeconomic arguments and the presumption of lesbianism. If categories are limited, then those who do not fit are considered perplexing and become unauthorized beings (Magee and Miller 1992:69).[2]

Transvestic Opportunists: Soldiers, Sailors, and Criminals

To be a soldier, to wear a uniform, to bear arms. That is the only reward which you can give me, Sovereign.

—Durova 1988:72

Dekker and van de Pol have documented "119 'women living as men' in the Netherlands between 1550 and 1839" (1989:xi). The majority (eighty-three) were female soldiers or sailors (1989:9), another twenty-two joined the "land army," and the remainder were civilians (1989:10).[3] Such individuals were able to enlist because physical examinations were not required (Wheelwright 1990:120). Furthermore, certain clothing styles such as the "cassock coat and breeches of the average soldier was at once *dis-*

guise and protection" (Fraser 1985:200, emphasis added) and aided female-bodied people in passing as men. Too, before the mid-twentieth century females did not wear pants, and someone who did so was "assumed to be male" (Faderman 1991:41). Nonetheless, the possibility of discovery while in the military was extremely high.

Dekker and van de Pol (1989:3) also observe that "many archives have been lost and many others have not been researched. Moreover, we do not know how many cross-dressers left no trail behind them in written source-material. We can make a guess that this especially concerns those women who transformed themselves so successfully that they were never unmasked. For these reasons, we presume that our 119 cases are only the tip of the iceberg." In a similar vein, Wheelwright (1990:6) has concluded that "it is impossible to know how many women actually chose to live as men by adopting male clothing and assuming a 'masculine' occupation throughout British history. Only those women whose identity was discovered or who, for various reason, publicly surrendered their masquerade have come to light."

Exactly how many female-bodied people may have lived as men is unlikely to ever be known, regardless of duration or motivation, because their objective was "anonymity rather than publicity" (Fraser 1985:197). Various authors have noted a number of anonymous persons discovered only after death to have been female-bodied—a mark of their success (Hirschfeld (1966[1938]:220).

Those discovered during life provided various motivations (some were presumed) for living as men: a desire to remain with their husbands, to search for them, or to avoid detection while traveling in dangerous areas; encouragement by other people; poverty; patriotism; adventure; and a belief that it was their "nature" (Dekker and van de Pol 1989:25–27). "Not all women who cross-dressed wanted to be soldiers or pirates," Ramet asserts (1996:10). "Some wanted to sign on board a ship bound for the Dutch East Indies, and make their fortune there; others cross-dressed in order to engage in a life of crime, or alternatively, in order to elude the police, who might be searching for a female offender." Regardless of motive, "The decision to start dressing as a man was never for one reason alone" (Dekker and van de Pol 1989:27).

In the discussion that follows I will use pronouns as well as names appropriate to the individual's role rather than ones determined by their presumed biology. Consequently, male markers will be used for those living as a man and female ones for those living as a woman. The combinations his/her, she/he, and her/him indicate that the person either lived a dual role or was known to others as being female-bodied. I recognize

that such usages are unusual and often difficult to follow yet employ them out of respect for personal life-styles and to acknowledge the purposefulness of individual choice.

Wheelwright (1990) has documented twenty cases (and referred to thirty-five others) of females living as males in Europe (primarily England), Russia, and the United States. As the title of her book—*Amazons and Military Maids*—indicates, the majority were soldiers or sailors. Some kept their secret, and others acknowledged that they were females throughout their military lives.

An example of the latter is Flora Sandes (1876–1956), who attained the rank of captain in the Serbian army during a nationalist uprising. Sandes, born in England, originally signed on as a nurse at the age of thirty-eight but within a few years was a soldier (Wheelwright 1990:34, 35). Following retirement from the army, Sandes, wearing a military uniform, lectured on her experiences throughout Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, France, Canada, and the United States (103–8).

Cases abound of female soldiers and sailors who kept their secret or revealed it only when doing so became absolutely necessary. Among them are Christian Davies/Christopher Welch, Hannah Snell/James Gray, Mary Ann Talbot/John Taylor, Mary Read, Anne Bonny, Valerie Arkell-Smith/Col. Victor Barker, Mary Frith, Emma Edmonds/Franklin Thompson, and Loreta Janeta Velazquez/Lt. Harry T. Buford.

Christian Davies (1667–1775) was born in Dublin. It has been conjectured that she was impressed by her father's friend Captain Bodeaux, a Frenchman who was mortally wounded in battle and subsequently "discovered" to be female (Thompson 1974:54; Wheelwright 1990:25). Davies reportedly inherited a urinary device from Captain Bodeaux—a "silver tube painted over, and fastened about her with leather straps" (Wheelwright 1990:25).

Before serving as a soldier, Davies married Richard Welch and gave birth to two children (Thompson 1974:55). Following her husband's sudden, unexplained disappearance, Davies, leaving her children with her mother, dressed in his clothes to search for him and joined the British army as Christopher Welch (Fraser 1985:200; Thompson 1974:56–57). During his service Welch was wounded by gunshot; captured by the French along with sixty others, all of whom were exchanged for French prisoners; and engaged in a duel in which he wounded his opponent and was jailed for the offense (Thompson 1974:58–62). In 1703 Welch was seriously wounded in the leg and nearly discovered during treatment (63).

After twelve years in the army, Welch finally found Richard Welch (64–65) and asked that he keep her/his secret and treat her/him as a brother

(Thompson 1974:66; Wheelwright 1990:14). Shrapnel struck Welch while they fought side by side and caused a skull fracture. During the period of unconsciousness that followed she/he was discovered to have a female body (Thompson 1974:67). She and Richard were reunited as husband and wife after a set of "suitable" clothes were found (67–68). She traveled with him in the army until his death and then returned to Dublin. Once home, she gained notoriety for having been a female soldier. Davies was 108 when she died; she had a ceremonial burial with military honors (69).

Some female-bodied soldiers—Hannah Snell, for example—turned their notoriety into profitable stage and business careers. Like Davies/Welch, Snell (1723–92) donned men's clothing to go in pursuit of her husband, who had abandoned her while she was pregnant with their first child (who died seven months after birth) (Thompson 1974:98–99; Wheelwright 1990:14). After running out of money, Snell sought employment and eventually joined a regiment of soldiers as James Gray (Thompson 1974:99). Fearing discovery, however, Gray deserted and then enrolled as a marine on a ship headed for the East Indies (Thompson 1974:100, 101).

After arriving at the Cape of Good Hope, the crew marched as soldiers and engaged in several battles. Gray was wounded in both legs and the groin. Not wanting to be discovered by the company surgeon, Gray told his "secret [to a] negress whom [he] had befriended" and who aided in treating Gray's wounds (Thompson 1974:102). After Gray ascertained that his husband had been killed, he returned to London. During a drunken moment he "revealed the secret of [his] sex" to a former crew mate, who spread "the story" despite promising not to do so. In need of money, Snell/Gray decided to use the notoriety to her/his advantage and went on the stage (103). After tiring of performing, Snell/Gray again took up men's clothes and bought a "public house . . . for which [she/he] had a signboard painted . . . [and] inscribed: The Widow in Masquerade or the Female Warrior" (105). Snell/Gray died after a period of physical and mental ill-health (106).

Another female-bodied soldier who gained a modicum of fame was Mary Anne Talbot (1778–1808) (Thompson 1974:84). In 1792 her guardian, a Captain Bowen, was ordered back to his regiment and insisted that Talbot accompany him dressed in men's clothes. Calling her John Taylor, Bowen "compelled" her to enroll as a drummer in his regiment (Thompson 1974:85, 86; Wheelwright 1990:47). Taylor was wounded in the chest and back during a siege but, fearing exposure, treated himself. Captain Bowen was killed during battle, and Taylor, who was determined to escape, secured a sailor's uniform and deserted.

Unable to secure other work, Taylor shipped out on a French ship in 1793 (Thompson 1974:86–87). The ship and crew were captured by the British, and when Taylor told the ship's admiral his/her tale he put him/her on another ship bound for England. The admiral kept the "secret," and Talbot sailed as a "powder-boy" and later became the captain's "principal cabin-boy" (88). Taylor was wounded in the thigh and hip during an engagement but, because there were many injured, escaped detection during a cursory medical examination before being shipped to a hospital. After four months' recuperation Taylor "was drafted as a midshipman." When that ship was attacked by French pirates, Taylor and others were captured and imprisoned for more than eighteen months (89).

In 1776, following his release, Taylor shipped out yet again—this time as a steward on an American merchant ship destined for New York (90). After returning to England, Taylor was accosted by a press-gang for being without proper papers. Wanting to escape, she/he revealed his/her sex (91) and returned to the ship to confess to the captain, who wished to retain Taylor's services. Taylor declined, however, and then debarked and returned to London.

Although Taylor/Talbot was advised to "wear female dress and give up masculine habits," she/he continued to wear sailors' clothing and began to gain notoriety for having been a female sailor (Thompson 1974:92). She/he also worked as a jeweler and joined "a lodge of the Odd Fellows [none of whom] knew their new member was a woman" (93–94). When another woman began passing as John Taylor in 1797, a magistrate who knew of Taylor/Talbot's whereabouts (a hospital) sent for him/her to confront the impostor, who was duly imprisoned. After being discharged from the hospital Talbot began to wear women's clothes and took up acting for a time (94). She then became a domestic servant after being imprisoned for debt.

Not all females who lived as men received accolades for their deeds. Mary Read and Anne Bonny, for example, were female pirates.[4] Mary Read (?–1720) was raised as a boy in order to deceive her paternal grandmother, who provided money for the child's maintenance (Thompson 1974:70). At thirteen Read was put into service as a footboy for a Frenchwoman. When he reached the age of maturity, he became a "hand on board" a war ship and later enlisted in a foot regiment in Flanders. After failing to gain a commission, he transferred to a horse regiment. While with that regiment he fell in love with, and revealed her/his sex to, a Flemish comrade (71). When the campaign was over, Read returned to wearing a dress. The couple married and opened an "eating house," prospering until the husband died.

When money ran out Read took up men's clothing again and joined a foot regiment in Holland. Unable to gain a promotion, he "took [his] discharge from the regiment" and boarded a ship bound for the West Indies (72). During the voyage, pirates boarded the ship and Read was captured and taken to the Bahamas, where he settled for a time. He later joined a ship under the command of a Captain Rackham on an expedition to rout Spaniards from the West Indies. At this point Read met Anne Bonny (1697 or 1698–1720) and "confided the secret of [her/his] sex" (73). Read also revealed her sex to a young prisoner with whom she/he had fallen in love. They later married and continued to sail with Rackham (74).

Anne Bonny was Rackham's lover, and he felt threatened by her friendship with Read. To appease him, Bonny revealed the truth about Read, which Rackham "carefully kept secret" (Thompson 1974:73–74). Bonny had been born in Ireland and when a child had emigrated to America with her family. Her father had disowned her after she fell in love with, and secretly married, a sailor. The sailor, in turn, had abandoned her after realizing that she would not inherit her father's money and property (75). Bonny met Rackham and agreed to accompany him to sea but to do so "was obliged to dress in men's clothes so as to keep her sex concealed" from the crew. When Bonny became pregnant, he put him/her ashore, to rejoin Rackham after giving birth (76). In 1720 the ship was attacked by the governor of Jamaica's "armed sloop," and Bonny and Read were captured along with the rest of the crew. All were tried for piracy and sentenced to death. Read died before the execution "could be carried out," and Bonny was spared execution after revealing that she/he was female but died in prison nonetheless (Thompson 1974:77).

Beyond piracy, other female-bodied people who lived as men seem to have done so for other dubious motivations that sometimes included fraud. A twentieth-century example concerns Valerie Arkell-Smith/Col. Victor Barker (1895–1960). Barker never joined the military but seems to have chosen the appellation of colonel to gain status. Barker successfully lived as a man for six years, whereupon (as Barker) he was arrested on a bankruptcy charge during the late 1920s and remanded to prison (Wheelwright 1990:1, 3). Upon release, Arkell-Smith/Barker resumed masculine attire. Wheelwright maintains that Barker had lesbian relationships, and Barker had told his/her wife, Elfrida, that "there could be no normal relations" because of an injury obtained during the war (4). In addition to being a consummate liar, Arkell-Smith/Barker freely admitted that the primary reason for the male disguise was to make a living (5). Even so, she/he wrote, "I feel more a man than a woman" (cited in Bullough and Bullough 1993:162). She/he lived as a man until death (Wheelwright 1990:165).

Preceding Arkell-Smith/Barker by four centuries was Mary Frith (1584–1658), also known as Moll Cutpurse because of her penchant for picking pockets (Thompson 1974:19). She/he had careers as an astrologist and fortune teller, petty thief, pickpocket, and fence and also was somewhat of a Robin Hood who would visit jails and "feed the prisoners out of her haul" from thievery (Fraser 1985:153–54). She/he abandoned female clothes during youth and in a self-published book in 1662 claimed to be a hermaphrodite (Thompson 1974:20). The wearing apparel she/he devised consisted of a man's jacket and a woman's skirt, with the occasional addition of men's pants (21). Despite such clothing, Frith was arrested for "wearing man's apparel" and sentenced to "do penance" during a Sunday sermon (24). In later life she/he ceased wearing a jacket (27). Ellis considered Frith "to have been the subject of sexo-aesthetic inversion" (1937:8). An acrostic has been based on her/his name:

> Merry I lived and many parts I played,
> And without sorrow now in grave am laid.
> Rest and the Sleep of Death doth now sure ease
> Youth's active sins and old ag'd increase.
> Famous I was for all the Thieving Art,
> Renowned for what old woman ride in cart;
> In pocket and Placket I had part.
> This life I lived in Man's disguise;
> He best laments me that with laughter cries.
> (Thompson 1974:28)

Although no ditties were composed in the honor of Civil War soldiers such as Emma Edmonds/Franklin Thompson and Loreta Janeta Velazquez/Lt. Harry T. Buford, their many exploits included participating in battles and spying on enemy troops. A Canadian, Edmonds (1841 or 1842–1898) was born Sarah Emma Evelyn Edmonson (Hall 1993:74) and was influenced to join the army after reading *Fanny Campbell, the Female Pirate Captain: A Tale of the Revolution,* which had been given to her by a "grateful peddler" (Hall 1993:75; Wheelwright 1990:14). In her autobiography, Edmonds wrote that the book "inspired! . . . each exploit of the heroine thrilled me to my fingertips. I went home that night with the problem of my life solved" (cited in Hall 1993:76). While she was very young, her father decided to "marry her off" to an older man. Although she agreed, she did so only from obedience and before the wedding executed an escape with the help of a friend of her mother. In 1858, informed that her father had learned where she was, she cut her hair, put on men's clothing, and began to call herself Franklin Thompson and live as a man (Hall 1993:76; Wheelwright 1990:14).

Before enlisting in the Union army in 1861 Thompson was a successful traveling bookseller (Hall 1993:77). Two years later, afflicted with a serious case of malaria, Thompson deserted in order to avoid "being exposed as a woman if placed in hospital" (83). After recuperating, Edmonds resumed wearing dresses. She wrote *Nurse and Spy in the Union Army*, a partly fictionalized account of her war exploits, in 1865 (83–84).

Loreta Janeta Velazquez (Lt. Harry T. Buford, 1842–?) dressed as a Confederate soldier, with a heavily padded coat, a wire mesh undershirt he had devised, and an "artificial beard and mustache" (Hall 1993:107; Wheelwright 1990:26).[5] An "opportunistic" soldier who was not assigned to a regiment, Velazquez/Buford "sought combat assignments or commissions" (Hall 1993:107–8). As Buford he was accompanied by a black servant who was unaware of his employer's identity (108). Velazquez/Buford recalled being inspired by Joan of Arc and wishing to be a man (Hall 1993:109). She/he later decided, however, that "to be a second Joan of Arc was a mere girlish fancy, which my very first experiences as a soldier dissipated forever . . . convincing me that a woman like myself who had a talent for assuming disguises . . . [and] had it in her power to perform many services of the most vital importance, which was impossible for a man to even attempt" (113–14).

Resuming women's clothing, she embarked on a career as a military spy. Following a successful foray to Washington, D.C., Velazquez put on her soldier's uniform and was assigned to a "detective corps" (Hall 1993:114). When "arrested on suspicion of being a spy" he protested vehemently in order to prevent detection of his physical sex. He was successful in his efforts and released. The following day, however, he was again arrested "on suspicion of being a woman." He tried to maintain through several interviews that a mistake had been made, but a confession eventually followed, as did conviction and a short jail term (119).

Following release, he enlisted as a soldier and obtained a transfer as a commissioned officer but was then badly wounded in the right arm while performing burial duties (120–22). After recuperation, she resumed female dress and once again became a spy before "documents were traced back to her [and she was] arrested" (123). When Velazquez/Buford was released, she/he once again resumed wearing a uniform and went to Richmond, only to be arrested yet again "on suspicion of being a woman in disguise." The prison's superintendent, made a confidant during Velazquez/Buford's confinement, championed her/his cause, "interceded," and she/he was officially assigned to "the secret service corps" (124). On a return from an assignment, Velazquez/Buford "was again arrested on charge of being a woman in disguise." By this time tales

of her/his exploits had become known, and "crowds gathered to see the Confederate heroine" (125).

After things settled down, Velazquez/Buford resumed spying for the Confederacy, exchanging women's clothing for a uniform as situations dictated, and eventually became a double agent (126–42). In part these exploits were for self-protection from Union pursuit (143). By chance, the Union had provided "instructions on a general plan for capturing the female agent"—that is, Velazquez/Buford, who was surprised by the extent of the Union's knowledge of the spying expeditions. Coincidentally, her/his brother issued an invitation to accompany him and his family to Europe.

It was a chance to escape. Velazquez/Buford accepted both the Union's assignment to catch the female spy and the invitation to Europe. Under the pretense of pursuing the spy, she/he went to New York and waited for the brother. They then sailed to England almost immediately (149). Upon return, Velazquez traveled through the devastated South and then went to South America (1993:152). In 1876 her memoirs were published, and during the 1880s she disappeared. There is no record of her death (153).

Although hundreds of female-bodied people have served in wars, most either escaped detection or died on the battlefield, only to be "discovered" in death. Like other female-bodied people who lived as men, whether temporarily or for the majority of their lives, their motivations for doing so are not always clear. Some, such as Davies/Welch and Snell/Gray, joined armies and navies in search of lost husbands; others, such as Bonny, to accompany a lover; and still others, such as Read, Talbot/Taylor, Edmonds/Thompson, and Velazquez/Buford, did so for adventure.

Many of the tales of female-bodied men seem fantastic. Those who served in the military often suffered wounds so severe that they led to death, and many individuals were captured and imprisoned. Both wounds and capture frequently lead to discovery. Although cross-dressing ended for many following either the end of military service or discovery, some dressed as men throughout their lives. Such was the case with Angélique Brulon (1771–1889), who served in the military for seven years, received three wounds, was awarded the Cross of the Legion of Honour of France, and wore her uniform in civilian life until death (Gilbert 1932:87–97; Wheelwright 1990:91).

For others, dressing as men indicated a life-style choice. For example, Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–89), who abdicated in 1654, declared her independence and "to demonstrate [it] she abandoned the female, and adopted a male, attire . . . [and] took the name of Count Dohna" (Gilbert 1932:95). Until death, she/he was "always strangely attired, partly

as a man, partly as a woman, sometimes completely as a man, but never entirely as a woman" (101).

Charlotte Charke's choice of clothing also may have been a life-style choice. Her life "narrative" was first published in 1755 in London. In addition to acting on stage in both female and male roles, Charke (1713–60) also lived as a man for much of life (Bullough 1976:490). As Charke wrote, "My natural propensity [is] to a Hat and a Wig, in which, at the Age of four years, I made a very considerable figure" (1827[1755]:216). Friedli has remarked, "What is unusual [about Charke] is her determination to live as a man in spite of repeated obstacles and difficulties" (1991:4). Charke's narrative has frequently been discounted as being less than truthful. The anonymous editor of the second edition proclaimed, "Ungrammatical, insanely inconsequent, braggart and fantastic, the *Narrative* is not literature. . . . If the swagger has a quaver in it, it is against her will: barefaced beggar that she is, it is your purse she asks, never your pity" (1827[1755]:10). The denouncement of truthfulness, however, may be because the narrative challenged the status quo of the era (Friedli 1987:241).

Female Husbands and Passing Women: Women Who Posed as Men for Love

This disguise also helped me to protect my chum as well as myself.
—Cora Anderson, cited in Katz, ed. 1976:256

Sometimes female-bodied people have lived as men in order to have relationships with women. They take on male roles not only for better-paying jobs but also to live with lovers without being subject to public scrutiny and scorn. The literature abounds with examples, although I will discuss only three.

During the 1730s Mary East (1715–81) met a woman and formed a relationship with her (Katz, ed. 1976:226; Thompson 1974:78; Vicinus 1992:477). They decided to cast their lot together and that one would assume a male identity. By drawing lots it was decided that Mary would be the man, James How (Katz, ed. 1976:226; Thompson 1974:79). The couple ran several successful businesses for eighteen years until a woman recognized How/East and began blackmailing him/her (Katz, ed. 1976:226; Thompson 1974:79–80). How's wife died in 1764 or 1765 (Thompson 1974:80–81). No matter what motivated its origin, the relationship endured for thirty-five years. Following How's wife's death, the blackmailer

increased her demands and threatened bodily harm. How/East told a friend about being blackmailed and "how she had posed as a man for many years." With the friend's assistance, the blackmailer was arrested.[6] How/East then resumed wearing female clothes and using her birth name.

On October 30, 1883, the *Milwaukee Sentinel* headlined a short article "Disguised as a Man: An Illinois Wife in Masculine Attire Woos, Wins and Marries a Wisconsin Maiden—An Extraordinary Story." Thus began the newspaper's coverage of the story of Frank Dubois.[7] Dubois's birth name was Delia, she had been married for fourteen years to S. J. Hudson, and they had two children ("Romance and Reality"). The October 30 story said she left because of marital differences. The husband pursued her and, through an acquaintance of both, located her in Milwaukee. When she saw him approach, however, she locked him out, refused him entry, and run away after he left.

During the eight months they were separated she/he had posed as a man, been employed as a handyman and laborer, and married one Gertrude Fuller, who had joined Dubois a few days after his disappearance ("Disguised as a Man"). According to one news account, "There is some unknown bond of sympathy which tempted them to their marriage and subsequent actions" ("The Mysterious Husband"). For two days the press carried stories about the pair not being found ("The Dual Personage"; "Strange Stories"). By November 4, Gertrude Dubois had been located. Frank, however, upon learning that men had come to see him, abandoned her ("Found at Last"). Short stories appeared on the next two days ("On the Warpath"; "Returned Home"), but Dubois was not found until the end of the month, when she/he was arrested and confessed ("Gertie's 'Husband'!").

The outcome of Dubois's case is unknown. It is difficult to surmise from newspaper accounts exactly what Hudson/Dubois's motivations were for her/his male disguise. She/he had been "courting" Gertrude for several months (while still living with her husband), however, before the marriage ("Romance and Reality"). Thus it seems likely that the ruse was for love.

Thirty-one years later another case of two married women would also be a sensation in Milwaukee newspapers ("Presto!"; "Sex Concealment Revives Memory"). Cora Anderson had gone by the name Ralph Kerwineo (also Kerwineio) and passed as a man for thirteen years ("Man-Girl in a Legal Tangle"). She twice lived with women as husband and wife, both of whom knew that she was posing as a man ("Girl Masquerader"). The first, Mamie White, stated that they had married "in a spirit of fun," and she had been fully aware that Cora was a woman (ibid.). Cora said that part of her decision to pose as a man had to do with being part Potawatomie-

Cherokee and feeling that she could make better money as a "dark-skinned man" than as a woman (ibid.). Another reason involved her love affair with Mamie White ("Milwaukee 'Man' Clerk Proves Girl"). "We wanted to be together, so we rented a room and the people with whom we lived never doubted that we were man and wife," White said.

Cora had met someone else, however, and White wrote that she was "dumbfounded when [Cora] told me that she had proposed marriage to her new found friend" ("Milwaukee 'Man' Clerk Proves Girl"). Marriage to the new friend and White's jealousy were the cause of Ralph's discovery as Cora; White had informed the police that Cora was masquerading as a man ("Presto!"). Anderson was charged with disorderly conduct, but charges were dropped after Anderson promised to return to female attire ("Girl-Man Is Free Again"). She also turned her career as a man into opportunity by writing a series of newspaper articles about her adventures, as well as commentaries on men's social behaviors ("Man-Woman Writes for the *Journal*"; "Girl-Man Says"; "Man Displays His Conquests"; "Young Woman Differs from Man").

Female-Bodied Men: "By Nature and Character, a Man"

> Clothing is a necessary condition of subjectivity—that in articulating the body, it simultaneously articulates the psyche.
>
> —Silverman 1986:147, cited in Wilson 1990:69

According to Dekker and van de Pol, in at least one case history it is possible that the individual was a transsexual "before the introduction of the word by modern science" (1989:69). Like contemporary female-bodied transpeople or Grémaux's examples of Stana and Durgjane (chapter 4), Maria van Antwerpen (Jan van Ant or Machiel van Antwerpen [1719–69(?)]) stated when asked to what sex "she" belonged, "By nature and character, a man, but in appearance, a woman. . . . It often made me wrathful that Mother Nature treated me with so little compassion against my inclinations and the passions of my heart" (68).

Another who seems to have followed his heart was Catalina de Erauso (1592–1650), who was put into a convent at an early age.[8] At fifteen, de Erauso fled from the convent (Gilbert 1932:148; Thompson 1974:29). After "planning and re-planning and cutting myself out a suit of clothes," he wrote, "I cut my hair and threw it away" (de Erauso 1996[1829]:4). Dressed in this manner he was variously employed as a valet, a cutpurse (briefly), and a page before enlisting to serve on a Spanish galleon bound for the Americas (Gilbert 1932:149–51). Once there, he joined the Spanish army as Alonso Diaz Ramérez de Guzman (Thompson 1974:29). De Erauso served for a number of years until being wounded severely "and seeing as how I was about to die, I told [a priest] the truth about myself" (de Erauso 1996[1829]:56). In 1624 he returned to Spain and continued to wear his military uniform until being granted permission two years later by Philip IV and Pope Urban VIII "to continue to wear men's clothes" (Gilbert 1932:169; Perry 1987:86; Thompson 1974:36, 37). He later returned to America and became a carrier until his death (Thompson 1974:37).

While he was in Spain, de Erauso's story became known and he was treated as a curiosity (Perry 1987:86). Given the century in which he was born, he could only "construct for [him]self a male persona that would completely obliterate [his] identity as a woman" (Perry 1987:94). De Erauso is said to have left the convent because he "wanted to live as a man" and found a way to "dry up [his] breasts" (89). Although Perry declares that de Erauso's "life suggested that anyone with a choice would choose the adventure, the freedom, the exhilaration of being a man" (96), another possibility is that de Erauso identified as a man. He had a clear preference for male clothing and was unable to give it up, even upon threat of torture. Too, he only engaged in masculine occupations, and his values were those of the other men with whom he interacted (de Erauso 1996[1829]:xxxix–xli).

The detailed account of de Erauso's life seems to be the exception rather than the rule. Although many female-bodied people, including Deborah Sampson as Robert Shurtliff, fought in the Revolutionary War (Friedli 1987:243, 1991:5; Medlicott 1966:xv; Wheelwright 1990:52), records are scarce and not well documented. Beginning in the 1850s, however, extensive histories exist of female-bodied people who lived as men. One of the most famous was Calamity Jane (1847–1901), who in 1877 was reported to have abandoned "the society of women forever, and joined the male sex" (Horan 1952:176). "She was completely devoid of a female figure. Her body was slim and hard [but] it is difficult to obtain a reliable physical description of Jane. Her pictures show her to be more of a man than a woman" (172–73). Although Horan seems doubtful about many of Jane's exploits, he does state, "There is no doubt that Jane was tragically miscast by nature in sex. There is little doubt she should have been a man. [Men] accepted her as one of their own kind" (172). Yet that does not mean Jane was a female-bodied man or a female transvestite. She may have been a woman ahead of her time.

A less famous case that has been brought to light by a fictionalized film account concerns Little Jo Monaghan (1857–1903). Monaghan arrived

in a small Idaho town in 1868, where he staked a mining claim, herded sheep, broke horses, and became a homesteader, working a sawmill and horse ranch on his property. When he died thirty-five years later, it was discovered that Monaghan had a female body (Horan 1952:305–10).

It was only at their deaths that many others were likewise discovered to have a female body. James Barry, James Allen, Nicholas de Raylan, and Murray Hall are notable cases. James Barry (née Miranda Barry, ca. 1795–1865) enlisted in the military and in 1819 became a staff surgeon in the British army. In 1827 he was promoted to surgeon-major (Ellis 1937:6; Thompson 1974:115–16). In 1851 Barry was made deputy inspector-general and seven years later became inspector-general of the British army hospital in South Africa (Ellis 1937:6; Thompson 1974:121). Although he was brusque and aloof, Barry had a successful career (Ellis 1937:6; Thompson 1974:115–16; Wheelwright 1990:69). He was not known to have had sexual relationships of any kind (Ellis 1937:6). Because of his diminutive size and beardless appearance some acquaintances speculated about Barry's "true sex," concluding that he was either a woman or a hermaphrodite. Those who knew Barry used both male and female pronouns to refer to him. Some clearly suspected his identity, whereas others, including his man-servant, did not (Thompson 1974:117–21). An autopsy determined that Barry was female-bodied (Gilbert and Gubar 1988:348; Thompson 1974:121).

James Allen (1787–1829), too, was not discovered to be female-bodied until his death. He had been married for twenty-one years to a woman named Mary (Thompson 1974:133). Together they bought and ran an inn successfully "for a time" until they were robbed. They then sold the inn and moved to London (Thompson 1974:134). Allen (whose birth name is unknown) died because of an on-the-job accident (Thompson 1974:135). His wife stated that she had come to believe that James was a hermaphrodite yet swore that she did not know he had a female body. When she had made attempts at intimacy, he feigned excuses such as illness. He also bound his chest and always wore layers of underclothing, supposedly to protect himself from catching cold (Duberman 1986:24, 27–28; Thompson 1974:136). Upon examination of his body, it was found that his "breasts, which were moderately full, were forced, by the compression of the bandages, under the armpits" (Duberman 1986:28).

Nicholas de Raylan (1873–1906) died from tuberculosis (Katz, ed. 1976:250–51). He had been a private secretary "to the Russian Consul" and fought in the Spanish-American War (de Savitsch 1958:6). He was "married twice," divorcing his first wife after ten years. His second wife was devoted to him. Both wives "were convinced that their husband was a man

and ridiculed the idea" that he was female (de Savitsch 1958:6–7; Katz, ed. 1976:250). He wore self-constructed genitalia consisting of a "penis and testicles made of chamois skin and stuffed with down" and held in place by a waistband (de Savitsch 1958:7; Katz, ed. 1976:251). De Savitsch considers Nicholas de Raylan to have been a homosexual because of his female sexual-object choices (1958:10).[9]

Murray Hall (1831 or 1841–1901) lived as a man for more than thirty years ("Lived as a Man"). He held memberships in "the General Committee of Tammany Hall, . . . [and] the Iroquois Club" and was a friend of a prominent New York senator and an active worker in his political district (Katz, ed. 1976:232). He owned an "intelligence office" in New York City ("Lived as a Man"). Hall "married twice," and his last wife "kept [his] secret" until his death. Hall was not discovered to be female-bodied until dying from breast cancer, for which he refused medical treatment from fear that the secret would be discovered (Katz, ed. 1976:233). Even his adopted daughter did not know (236).

Hall's acquaintances and friends, shocked to learn he was physically female, continued to use male pronouns in speaking about him: "During the seven years I knew him I never once suspected he was anything else than what he appeared to be"; "Suspect he was a woman? Never. He dressed like a man and talked like a very sensible one"; and, "If he was a woman he ought to have been born a man, for he lived and looked like one" (Katz, ed. 1976:234). His death certificate gives his age as seventy, although his friends thought him to be in his fifties (235). During the inquest, one witness, after referring to Hall as "he," was asked, "Wouldn't you better say she?" "No, I will never say she," was the reply. The coroner ruled that Hall was female and that his death was from natural causes (Katz, ed. 1976:237). The response to Hall's life and death is reminiscent of the 1989 death of Billy Tipton (chapter 6).

Death was not the only event that exposed female-bodied men. Sometimes, as was the case with Albert Cashier, Charley Wilson, and Johann Bürger, it was accident, poverty, or wrongdoing. Cashier (née Jennie Hodgers, 1844–1915) was born in Belfast and had arrived in the United States as a stowaway. He was eighteen when he enlisted in 1862 in the 95th Illinois Infantry Regiment (Hall 1993:20; Wheelwright 1990:140). During his three-year military career, Cashier participated in "forty battles and skirmishes and was never wounded."

Following the war, Cashier returned to Illinois and worked as "a farmhand and handyman" in several places. In 1890 Cashier applied for a soldier's pension but refused a required medical examination and was denied the pension. A pension was eventually granted in 1907 (Hall

1993:23, 24).[10] In 1911, after living as a man for more than fifty years, he sustained an accident in which his leg was broken close to the hip. A doctor's examination revealed that Cashier was female-bodied.

Cashier prevailed upon his employer and the doctor to keep his secret. They agreed, and Cashier was admitted "to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home in Quincy, Illinois, taking the commandant into their confidence" (Hall 1993:21; see also Wheelwright 1990:146). The admission papers referred to Cashier's "'senility' and 'weakened mental facilities'" rather than his broken leg (Hall 1993:21). The secret finally leaked out in 1913, two years after his accident. That same year he "was judged 'insane' and consigned" to a state mental hospital (Hall 1993:24; see also Wheelwright 1990:146). The commitment seems dubious at best, considering that his symptoms included memory loss and times of noisiness, insomnia, and feebleness.

Cashier's story was picked up by numerous U.S. newspapers (Hall 1993:24). Former comrades referred to Cashier without apparent hesitation as a man and "stressed his bravery and fortitude." One comrade who visited Cashier at the hospital reported that he had "found a frail woman of seventy, broken, because on discovery, she was compelled to put on skirts" (Hall 1993:25; see also Wheelwright 1990:147).

In 1915 Albert Cashier, seventy-one, died six months after being confined to the mental hospital (Wheelwright 1990:147). He was buried "with full military honors, wearing [his] Union uniform, and [he] was buried in a flag-draped casket. The inscription on [his] tombstone . . . reads: ALBERT D. J. CASHIER, CO. G, 95 ILL. INF." (Hall 1993:26). Cashier is among the Union soldiers listed on the Vicksburg "monument to Illinois soldiers who fought there" (22).

Charley Wilson (née Catherine Coombes, 1834–87?) worked "for over forty years" as a man in various trades, including dockworker, sailor, printer, decorator, and painter (Thompson 1974:147–48). In 1887 "a little, old, grey-haired man dressed in a neat suit of clothes, wearing a black bowler hat, and carrying a small bag, walked into the Rochester Row Police Station" to seek help (147). Wilson was eventually taken to the men's ward of the poorhouse, where he was instructed to undress for a bath in the presence of two others. He asked to speak with a doctor and ward matron and revealed to them that he was physically female. The confession resulted in his being moved to the women's ward and being provided with a woman's dress (148).

As his story unfolded, he revealed that he had been married for a short time to a man who abused him. Wilson assumed men's clothes and sought work as a painter, a trade learned from his brother (148–49). While living in the poorhouse, Wilson said, "If I had the money I would get out of here in men's clothes and no one would detect me, but at present I cannot work on account of my fractured ribs." He "never reconciled to living and dressing as a woman" during the remainder of his life (150).

Johann Bürger (née Anna Mattersteig) was arrested in St. Louis during 1908 "on charge of abduction and as being a woman." He declared in court that it had not been his intent to break the law as it regarded his manner of dress and his "abduction" of a companion. He further declared that he "felt [himself] wholly like a man" and was certain that nature had made a mistake (Katz, ed. 1976:252).

Another individual convinced he was a man was Alan Hart (née Alberta Lucille, 1892–1962), who was born near Portland, Oregon. He graduated from college in 1912 and went on to medical school, graduating in 1917 (Katz, ed. 1976:258). His medical school diploma gives his name as Alan Lucill Hart (Brown and Morris 1995:1). After Hart's repeated requests, a doctor performed a hysterectomy on him around 1916, and a year later he married a woman, Inez Stark, who was "fully cognizant of all the facts" (Katz, ed. 1976:276, 277). Stark left Hart in 1923, however.

Hart had a successful career as a roentgenologist (X-ray technician) and developed a method for early detection of tuberculosis (Katz 1983:517). He also was a successful novelist (*Dr. Mallory, The Undaunted, In the Lives of Men,* and *Dr. Finley Sees It Through*) and wrote a medical book, *These Mysterious Rays,* about "X-rays, radium, and ultra-violet therapy" (517).

The Undaunted is semiautobiographical. One of its characters, Sandy Farquhar, "included some elements of Hart's own experience" (Katz 1983:518). The doctor who treated him, for example, recalled that Hart "was recognized by a former associate. . . . Then the hounding process began" (Katz, ed. 1976:276). Farquhar is described similarly:

> He had been driven from place to place, from job to job, for fifteen years because of something he could not alter any more than he could change the color of his eyes. Gossip, scandal, rumor always drove him on. It did no good to live alone, to make few acquaintances and no intimates; sooner or later someone always turns up to recognize him. . . . [He] went into radiology because he thought it wouldn't matter so much in a laboratory what a man's personality was. But wherever he went scandal followed him sooner or later. (Hart 1936:521, 522; cited in Katz 1983:522)

Farquhar also is described as having what transmen and FTMs recognize as body dysphoria: "He remembered the first entry in the little book, made when he was twenty. 'My body is an incubus [nightmare] and my fears are born of it. But it is possible for the possessor of a defective body to remain unbroken by the disasters that overcome it because he has it always in his

his servitude, his subjection, to his body'" (Hart 1936:196, cited in Katz 1983:520).

Unlike his character Sandy Farquhar, who commits suicide, Hart had a successful and happy life. Two years after Inez Stark left him, he married Edna Ruddick, and they lived together for thirty-seven years until his death (Brown and Morris 1995:2). Although Katz has insisted that Hart was "clearly a lesbian, a woman-loving woman" (1976:277), he seems surprised that Edna Hart refused his attempts to contact her (1983:522). Perhaps she did so because she was familiar with his earlier work and his conclusion that Hart was a lesbian rather than the man she knew him to be.

Reconsidering Female Gender Diversity

We are not defined by who we are but by what we do.
—Reich 1992:113

Albeit quite fuzzy, some tentative distinctions can be made among the types discussed in this chapter. Transvestite females have lived temporarily as men and engaged in cross-dressing and cross-living episodically. Eventually they return to women's apparel and life-style. Where possible, an individual's statements about personal motivations should be taken into account. Sometimes, however, such statements must be taken with a grain of salt, not only because the person may have been trying to protect herself from possible prosecution but also because of the reporter's possibly skewed perspective.

Female husbands and passing women have tended to take on more permanent statuses of living as men for periods ranging from a few years to a lifetime. Statements by both parties involved in a relationship are also important in establishing whether they are lesbians. Ideally, denials of sexual intimacy must be weighed with caution, especially as society's awareness of lesbianism became more acute and the chances of condemnation and prosecution became more significant for all parties involved.

It is at this point that even tentative distinctions between lesbians and female-bodied men become unclear. First, it is common for female-bodied people to have relationships with women. Second, it is common for female-bodied men to not engage in sexual relationships with their female partners. Furthermore, although it would seem that sexual intimacy between a couple would indicate a lesbian relationship, that is not the case for individuals who did not (or do not) identify as women.

The following questions can be useful for researchers who may be trying to determine how an individual has identified:

1. Did the individual state that (contrary to their physiology) they are men or always felt themselves to be men (e.g., van Antwerpen, de Erauso, and Bürger)?
2. Were attempts made at body modification, such as wearing padded clothing, binding breasts, and using devices in place of male genitalia (e.g., de Erauso, Allen, and de Raylan) and did the individual pursue or obtain whatever surgeries where available (e.g., Hart)?
3. Was there an attempt to live a better part of their lives as men or an undertaking of a lifetime of living as men and were there efforts to take the secret of their female bodies to the grave? If discovered, did they try to arrange a means for the secret to be kept (e.g., de Erauso, Monaghan, Barry, Allen, Hall, Cashier, and Bürger)?

The answers to these questions can be useful in explaining seemingly perplexing behaviors. Also important to consider are what it meant to be a man and what constituted masculine behaviors or masculinity during a specific historical period and within the particular culture in which the individual lived. "Man" is no more a universal category than is "woman." "Living as a man" or exhibiting masculine behaviors is culturally and historically specific. As a consequence, it cannot be assumed that the behaviors considered masculine and the expectations for men have been or are the same everywhere.

It is often difficult to conceive of a person who is female-bodied yet does not identify as a woman. It follows that such behaviors are perplexing. Being perplexed, however, does not justify making assumptions based on gynocentrism or androcentrism, using biological-determinist arguments, and subsuming relationships under the rubric of lesbianism. "Human beings . . . are intentional agents whose consciousness of themselves and the world they live in form an inextricable feature of everything they say, think, or do" (Lorraine 1990:3). Discounting, ignoring, and misinterpreting individuals' statements about themselves or their actions over the course of their lives may render them invisible. Yet it does not mean that they identified as women, were lesbians, or were motivated by socioeconomics.

Beyond Isms

It's time for a fresh look at history.
—Feinberg 1996:59

History is important to understanding Native American, Balkan, early Euro-American, and contemporary FTMs and transmen within gender

and queer studies. As Kochems has suggested it is necessary to unpack "the system of gender related categories, statuses, roles and features and [to] examin[e] how they stand in relation to one another" (1993:13). Clearly, within certain Native American cultures and in the Balkans, as well as in Europe from the fourteenth century onward and during the early years of the United States, female-bodied people took on the statuses, roles, and features of men, as is the case with contemporary female-bodied transpeople. Individuals in all of these systems of gender have been seen as men, albeit sometimes only socially, even though they have female bodies (cf. Dickemann 1996:16). Thus studies of contemporary female-bodied transpeople and their historical and cultural predecessors have much to offer in understanding gender systems.

Contemporary transpeople have their own terminology that allows them to live within specific gendered systems. As Bolin has observed, the transcommunity is creating a number of gender and social identities that challenge dominant paradigms. Gender-transformed Native American females and contemporary female-bodied transpeople, for example, have created numerous genders and identities. Although some may find both disquieting, it is time to move beyond the androcentrism, phallocentrism, heterosexism, and homocentrism that has rendered female gender diversity invisible.

CHAPTER 6

He Becomes She: Making Contemporary Female Gender Diversity Invisible

Clothes play a key part in our acts of self-representation, whether we like it or not—or recognize it—or not.

—Wilson 1990:67

According to newspaper accounts and the few books that have been published on the subject, female-bodied individuals who assumed men's ways did so in order to increase their chances of employment and drawing better wages, for adventure, or to travel unfettered as well as "marry" women—like the rationalizations of contemporary theorists. Yet seldom have the individuals been allowed to speak for themselves; therefore, with the exception of a few rare cases, it is difficult to say what motivated them to assume the statuses, roles, and life-styles of men. For some, the motivations may have been as the news accounts reported; others may have believed themselves to be men, albeit with female bodies.

When Sullivan planned to publish the Jack Garland story in the late 1980s (chapter 10), "the straight presses said it was a gay story. The gay presses said it was a woman's story. The women's presses said it was a man's story" (1989, personal communication). Why was there confusion over a straightforward biography? Because Jack Garland, like so many before him and so many since, was a female-bodied individual whose social and personal identity were those of a man. Sullivan persisted and finally found a publisher for the biography, but had he not done so a story would have been lost. How many others like it have also been lost? How many voices, subtly and not so subtly, have been silenced?

After discussing these issues in an earlier article (Cromwell 1998), I received the following comment from an anonymous reviewer for a prominent feminist journal: "This seems a bit female-to-male centric." Another

7. I have found only one reference to the gender-transformed among the Chukchi. It refers only to the shamanistic aspects and notes that under the "Russifying" Soviet period "transformed men and women were doubly reviled [and that] in the 1920s and 1930s they were prosecuted both as shamans and sexual deviants" (Balzer 1996:175). Balzer conjectures that with increased interest in spirituality it is possible that transformed shamans may reemerge.

8. Blackwood (1984a:113–15) lists the following non-Native American groups as having "cross-gender" statuses for females: Balinese, Buginese-Makassarese, Chukchee, Cubeo, Fanti, Koryak, Mehinaku, Nyakyusa, Philippine, and Tahitian.

9. Contemporary academic writers also make this mistake. For examples, see Roscoe's (1988, 1991) interpretation of We'Wha, a Zuni *llamana,* and Williams (1992[1986]) on Native American "berdaches" as "gay" ancestors.

10. Feinberg uses both male and female markers in reference to her/himself.

Chapter 5: Transvestite Opportunists, Passing Women, and Female-Bodied Men

1. A version of this chapter appears in More and Whittle (1999).

2. A book from an FTM/transman perspective would be required to cover the gamut of female-bodied people who transgressed their historical categories. At least one transman has undertaken such a project.

3. Dekker and van de Pol (1989) make a distinction between "soldiers" and "land army."

4. A play, *The Women Pirates: Ann Bonney and Mary Read,* has been written about the exploits of Read and Bonny (Gooch 1978).

5. From a transperspective it is possible to see Velazquez as a female-bodied man. The dress was equivalent to contemporary FTMs' and transmen's tricks of the trade, which include (but are not limited to) chest bindings, crotch padding, and stage makeup to create beard lines. Further, Velazquez was recorded as saying she had wished she were a man. Although that statement is no doubt common among many females, most do not go to the extent that Velazquez did (and that FTMs and transmen do). Even so, I have included Velazquez among the transvestic opportunists because her cross-dressing was episodic rather than constant. When opportunity forced her hand she used femaleness and femininity to advantage rather than keep her female body a secret.

6. Vicinus notes that How is a "notable exception" to females who married women because she was neither punished nor persecuted when brought to authorities' attention (1992:477). It is possible that How was not persecuted or punished because How's wife had died by the time the blackmailer was confronted and there was no reason to prosecute anyone but the blackmailer.

7. Hudson as Frank Dubois was arrested and charged with assault and battery in March of 1883 without being discovered to be female, according to *Milwaukee Sentinel* (March 8, 1883, 5).

8. I am using masculine pronouns exclusively for de Erauso, a step I believe is warranted, because, as the translators of his memoir note, he "almost invariably used masculine endings to describe" himself (de Erauso 1996[1829]:xlvi).

9. Although aware that females also wanted to "change their sex," de Savitsch clearly equates that possibility with males (1958:86). Early in his book he states that he will be concerned only with males (as these are problematic), yet he provides several examples concerning female "homosexuals" who either live as or state a desire to be men. He also defines "change of sex" operations as concerning only males who become women and states that such operations are only "plastic" because uteruses and ovaries cannot be created or transplanted: "When we refer to the change of sex operation, we mean here the surgical procedure by which the external appearance of the male genitalia is changed to that of a woman" (53). De Savitsch mentions no possibility of such operations for female-bodied people, therefore it is improbable that he would recognize de Raylan as an FTM/transman who fashioned his own male genital apparatus. It is likely that females are relegated to "homosexuals" or "male wannabes" because it is impossible to create or transplant testes, vas deferens, and spermatic chords. Consequently, females can never become men. In an appendix, Dr. Charles Wolf, a surgeon, notes that there are females who want to become men and that undergoing hysterectomy, salpingo-oophorectomy, and vaginectomy are enough to render them as legal males. Phalloplasty, however, is fraught with problems and should be avoided (117). De Savitsch never uses the term *transsexual* or its derivatives.

10. Hall (1993:24) puts the amount at $12 a month, whereas Wheelwright (1990:140) gives it as $70.

Chapter 6: He Becomes She

1. For a similar argument see Garber (1992), especially 67–71.

2. Parts of the following section have appeared as Cromwell 1989, 1993b, 1994, 1995a, and 1995b.

3. Even though Middlebrook declares in her preface that she consulted FTMs/transmen (xiv), it is clear that she has no understanding of their issues. In her initial research I was contacted by her research assistant, Mary Ellen Foley, and asked a number of questions about being trans as well as whether I thought Tipton was also. I answered the latter question in the affirmative, and contact by Foley and Middlebrook ended. When later asked why she had not contacted FTMs/transmen, Middlebrook stated that she had tried to contact me but had been informed that I wanted no part of the project (Leonard, personal communication, June 1998), which was not the case. Elsewhere, however, Middlebrook has stated, "I will say very candidly that somebody else could make a very good case for Billy as a transgendered person. His masculinity is pretty thoroughgoing" (Holt 1998:D1).

4. It is ironic that many lesbians would have rejected Tipton while he was alive yet claim him as a part of their history after his death. They certainly would have ignored or excluded him (as well as others such as Jack Garland) as a part of women's and lesbian culture while he lived. It is unlikely, for example, that he would have been invited to the Michigan Women's Music Festival. In 1991 male-to-female transpeople were excluded from participating in that event. Beginning in 1992, however, transgendered activists held protests and staffed information tables outside the gate of the festival, and since 1995 MTFs have been allowed to attend if they are post-surgical. For a more detailed accounting of these actions see Wilchins (1997).