

Introduction

Harry Gorman's Buffalo

In 1902, thirty-three-year-old Harry Gorman was hospitalized in Buffalo, New York, after he suffered a serious fall that broke one of his legs. While on the surface this event sounds inconsequential, it prompted a firestorm of media coverage. Indeed, on his¹ hospital bed, it was revealed that Gorman lacked the anatomy generally associated with maleness—despite having lived as a man for more than twenty years. This revelation drew attention from newspapers across the nation, from Tucson to Boston and Fort Worth to New York City.

Gorman explained that his decision to dress as a man had been made in his youth, motivated by both a desire for freedom and a frustration with the limited opportunities available to women. He told the *New York World*, “I wanted to be a man, and since I reached my thirteenth birthday[,] I have worn male attire. I landed in New York twenty years ago. I have worked in all the large cities of the United States and Canada as a man. People think they are so smart. Why, I fooled them all, and if it had not been for my accident when I fell and broke a leg[,] I would still be a man.” Gorman went on to explain that, as a man, he took advantage of all the opportunities with which men were provided, including getting married to a woman. He also voted, telling the *New York World*, “I’m a good democrat . . . and have voted the straight ticket for the last seven years.”²

Perhaps most sensational of all, however, was Gorman’s revelation that he was not the only trans man to call Buffalo home. In fact, he claimed that he knew at least “ten women right here in Buffalo who wear men’s clothing and who hold men’s positions.”³ He went on to explain, “Did we have an organization? No, hardly an organization, but we run across each other once in a while[,] and over our beer and cigars in saloons[,] we have had many a good hearty laughs at the expense of the

men.”⁴ In this way Gorman suggested to readers that though *his* “true sex” may have been discovered, there were many more individuals like him who still roamed the streets, undetected. Indeed, the headline of Indiana’s *Logansport Journal* worried, “Ten Women Masquerade as Men.” Furthermore, and perhaps more unsettling to some readers—especially cisgender⁵ men—those undetected trans men were frequently in saloons, one of the most hallowed male institutions in the early twentieth century, mocking and having “many a good hearty laughs at the expense of the men.”

Just as the brief story of Gorman initially may appear inconsequential, the revelation of Gorman’s “true sex” might, at first glance, similarly seem unimportant to the history of the United States at the turn of the twentieth century. However, nothing could be further from the truth. Newspapers across the country discussed Gorman’s case in articles under flashy headlines such as “She Was a Man for 20 Years.”⁶ The blitz of newspaper coverage about Harry Gorman illustrates that Americans at the beginning of that century were fascinated with gender—particularly its permeability, its elasticity, and the ways it intersected with race, class, and sexuality. Even though the disclosure of Gorman’s “true sex” was described by some newspapers as “startling,” it is likely that this was not the first story of a trans man that newspaper readers had encountered. In fact, newspapers around the country regularly reported stories of individuals who had been assigned female at birth but chose to live as male; at least sixty-five cases appeared in U.S. newspapers between the 1870s and 1930s.

For example, in 1883, Frank Dubois gained national attention when his “true sex” was discovered. Anatomically female (and the birth parent of two children), Dubois abandoned his family in Belvidere, Illinois, to start a new life in the small town of Waupun, Wisconsin. Once in Waupun, Dubois made a name for himself as a hardworking man, and he quickly settled down and married a young woman named Gertrude Fuller. Dubois fit so well within the small community that the townspeople only discovered his “true sex” when his former husband and their two children arrived in town searching for their departed wife and mother, attracting widespread attention in the nation’s newspapers. And while Harry Gorman portrayed Buffalo’s trans men in an antagonistic relationship with cisgender men, mocking them from the corners of saloons, it appears

that many trans men sought to live normative lives—just as Frank DuBois had done in Waupun—supporting wives, earning respect as hard workers, and flying under the radar as much as possible.

The stories of Harry Gorman and Frank Dubois are illuminating in that they provide a far more complicated vision of the American past than the one historians have previously accepted. Gorman's comments about there being ten other trans men in Buffalo are suggestive not only in what they reveal about that city but also in what they imply about everywhere else in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century. His comments intimate that if Buffalo—a city not commonly thought of as the bedrock of the queer community—had at least eleven trans men in 1902, than surely so did Tulsa, Saint Paul, Jackson, and Reno. In short, his remarks reveal that our nation's past is far queerer than is generally discussed and that queer history penetrates beyond the coasts and into the nation's interior.

Furthermore, Gorman's depiction of the community of trans men is revealing. Rather than being part of a tight-knit community that shared an underground lifestyle, trans men existed out in the open, living and passing as normative men, and only on occasion encountered one another. While perhaps some urban enclaves did exist, Gorman's comments anticipate a great deal of what this book reveals: that trans men at the turn of the twentieth century were not always urban rebels who sought to overturn normative gender roles. On the contrary, they often sought to pass as conventional men, aligning themselves with the normative values of their communities. Additionally, when mixed-raced Milwaukee resident Ralph Kerwineo's "true sex" was revealed in 1914, the local papers were full of testimonies attesting to how conventional Kerwineo's life as a man had been. His neighbor Joseph Traudt told the *Evening Wisconsin*, "In the neighborhood it was frequently remarked what a nice married couple [Kerwineo and his wife] were. After having seen the 'husband' help his 'wife' across a muddy street[,] my mother said to me: 'How nice he is to his wife.'"⁷

Like many of the other trans men discussed in this book, Kerwineo, Gorman, and Dubois lived lives marked by movement. However, their trajectories challenge the dominant narratives about queer history. Although Gorman claimed that he had "worked in all the large cities of the United States and Canada as a man," many of his contemporaries

chose to move not from large city to large city but rather from small town to small town, often living in rural outposts like Manhattan, Montana, and Ettrick, Virginia. For his part, Kerwineo's life as a man began once he had moved *away from* Chicago—a city with a burgeoning queer subculture—to the relatively sleepier city of Milwaukee. Frank Dubois also began his male life after a move; he had left his family in Belvidere, Illinois, to start over not in Chicago (the nearest large city) but in the tiny hamlet of Waupun, Wisconsin. Trans men seemingly chose these out-of-the-way places in order to make quite regular, maybe even ordinary, lives. They were, in a word, unexceptional.

True Sex explores the lives of Frank Dubois, Ralph Kerwineo, and many other trans men who lived in the United States in the decades around the turn of the twentieth century. More specifically, this book examines the newspaper narratives produced around the moment of “discovery” when a trans man’s “true sex” was revealed to his community in the period between the 1870s and the 1930s. The reports published around these times of revelation are the focus here because they provide a unique window into the ways individuals and communities made sense of national discourses about proper gender embodiment and the emergent medical literature on homosexuality. Indeed, the period on which this study focuses witnessed the emergence of *sexology*, or the study of human sexuality, in the United States. A field of inquiry first established in Europe, sexology gained a foothold in the United States in the late nineteenth century with the publication of several important works, most notably Richard von Krafft-Ebing’s 1886 *Psychopathia Sexualis* and Havelock Ellis’s 1895 “Sexual Inversion in Women.” Both of these works defined *homosexuality* as pathological and degenerative and argued that in women, same-sex desire was most often signified by *inversion*, or the predilection toward masculinity and cross-dressing.⁸ Thus, one of the objectives of this book is to interrogate how the emergence of this new scientific discourse affected the ways communities responded to the trans men in their midst.

Scholars for three decades have been attempting to understand the relationship between sexological theories on gender and sexuality and popular understandings of the same. While Michel Foucault has famously argued that sexologists created the “species” of the homosexual, other scholars have been more tepid in their analyses. George

Chauncey warned in 1982 that “it would be wrong to assume . . . that doctors created and defined the identities of ‘inverts’ and ‘homosexuals’ at the turn of the century, that people uncritically internalized the new medical models, or even that homosexuality emerged as a fully defined category in the medical discourse itself in the 1870s.”⁹ However, one challenge scholars have faced is a methodological one: How can we recover the ways everyday Americans embraced or rejected medicalized understandings of sexuality and gender? Lisa Duggan’s *Sapphic Slashers*, which focuses on Alice Mitchell’s 1892 murder of her female lover, Freda Ward, provides useful insight in this arena by tracking the emergence of “a recognizable American type—the mannish lesbian or invert, a prosperous white woman whose desires threatened the comfortable hegemony of the white home.”¹⁰ Duggan argues that the emergence of this recognizable “type” occurred in the 1890s through the development of the cultural narrative of the “lesbian love murder”—a form that developed in sexology, the sensational press, and literature. These accounts portrayed lesbians as masculine women who were violent, dangerous, and a threat to white domesticity. However, even Duggan acknowledged that her study was limited and analyzed only one of the many cultural narratives of lesbian identity that had been circulating at the turn of the twentieth century.

True Sex takes a wider optic and depicts a world in which gender norms were subject to sustained debate. This book reveals that Americans, from small towns to big cities, often questioned proper “male” and “female” behavior and that the newspaper-reading public came face to face with stories of cross-dressers, “female husbands,” and “sexual inverts” with surprising regularity. This discourse was not isolated to metropolitan areas but instead could be found within the most rural frontier outpost. For example, in the summer of 1901, newspapers nationwide breathlessly reported on the Parkersburg, West Virginia, trial of Ellis Glenn. The objective of the trial was to determine Glenn’s “true” identity; an individual named Ellis Glenn had committed several crimes in West Virginia and Illinois, but upon arrest it was discovered that he was anatomically female. When asked to clarify this turn of events, the suspect explained that he was not actually Ellis Glenn but rather Glenn’s twin sister—and that the pair had switched places just prior to the arrest. According to the story, a deep sisterly devotion motivated her to

take the fall for her persecuted brother.¹¹ Thus, a lengthy trial took place centered wholly on determining Glenn's true identity as either (as the *Chicago Tribune* described it) "a latter[-]day martyr or . . . an adventuress so exceptional as to lack a class."¹² In other words, the prosecution was charged with proving that the Glenn who had committed the forgeries—the Glenn previously known as a man—had actually been a woman posing as a man.

For several weeks in July 1901, Ellis Glenn's trial was featured in newspapers across the country, from Anaconda, Montana, to Montgomery, Alabama.¹³ Therefore, in discussing Glenn's story, and those of many others, *True Sex* depicts a past during which gender norms were consistently challenged, questioned, and, most significant, in process. Whereas historians have traditionally credited only certain decades as being moments of "gender trouble" (the 1920s being the most common example), this book illustrates that gender is always in crisis and that cross-dressing figures have often been the site on which debate about gender norms has taken place.

True Sex also reveals that many trans men chose to live in small towns and farming communities rather than in the nation's burgeoning metropolises. Since its inception, queer history has been dominated by studies of individual communities that were often centered in large coastal cities, such as George Chauncey's *Gay New York* and Marc Stein's Philadelphia-based study *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*.¹⁴ This historiographical trend (which Jack Halberstam has referred to as "metronormativity," defined as the notion that queerness and urban centers have a particular, and unique, relationship) was also long a guiding force in queer studies more broadly. Since the early 2000s, scholars in both LGBT history and queer studies have begun to explore queer life in rural areas, adding depth to our understanding of queer lives beyond the coasts and major cities. However, most of the historical work that exists covers the period beginning in the mid-twentieth century and focuses on male sexuality and cisgender bodies, leaving big questions about earlier periods and other bodies.¹⁵ *True Sex* begins to answer those questions and, in so doing, reminds us that urban queer communities are just the tip of the iceberg of queer history.

This book not only looks beyond the confines of coastal cities but also looks closely at the affiliations trans men developed within their chosen

hometowns. Whereas the studies of urban queer subcultures have long been the preferred format for LGBT histories, the approach used here is far different. *True Sex* reveals that not only did trans men at the turn of the twentieth century often choose to live in small towns and rural outposts, but they also often sought to pass as normative men, aligning themselves with the values of their chosen communities rather than seeking consolation in the presence of other queer individuals. As Harry Gorman's remarks suggest, even trans men who lived in urban areas did not always choose to live in those locations because of the existence of queer subcultures there. This book presents a critical evaluation of the meaning of "community" for trans men; in doing so, it offers an alternative perspective from the near-universal embrace of the framework of community within LGBT history.¹⁶

In addition, *True Sex* tracks the ways in which the narratives produced around trans men changed as their stories circulated from local newspapers and courtrooms to national newspapers and sexological literature. For example, Ralph Kerwineo's story was narrated far differently on the pages of his hometown papers than it was in the pages of widely circulating metropolitan newspapers like the *Washington Post* or the *New York World*. Whereas Milwaukee's *Evening Wisconsin* reported that Kerwineo "adopted the disguise for moral and financial reasons and led an exemplary life while posing as a man," the *New York World* depicted him as a dangerous deviant whose marriage to a woman constituted a threat to national security.¹⁷ By highlighting the distinctions between local and national iterations of stories about trans men, *True Sex* explores the ways that local communities negotiated with national discourses in order to forge their own boundaries of social membership. Recognizing the operation of this dynamic is a key insight because this process is precisely what escapes studies that seek to elucidate purely local or purely national accounts of queer history.

Lastly, *True Sex* articulates the uncomfortable insight that trans men at the turn of the twentieth century were not always "queer" as scholars use the term today—that is, dissenting, nonnormative, and critical of heteronormativity. Upon the revelation of their "true sex," trans men often articulated their acceptability through their adherence to the norms of U.S. male citizenship. This tactic should be understood as an early example of "homonormativity," which Lisa Duggan has defined as

“a politics that does not contest dominant heteronormative assumptions and institutions, but upholds and sustains them.”¹⁸ Although homonormativity is most often thought of as being a formation specific to neoliberalism, this book lays bare the deep roots of this current phenomenon.

Archives and Methods

By utilizing both the traditional methods of social and cultural historians and the latest advancements in digitization, *True Sex* brings together a breadth of sources that would have been nearly impossible to accumulate only ten years ago. The primary sources for this book are newspapers—sources that over the past decade have been digitized and made available to researchers at an astonishing rate. I made use of these recent innovations and utilized several online databases, including America’s Historical Newspapers, the Library of Congress’s Chronicling America, Readex’s Early American Newspapers, and the Google News Archive. These resources enabled me to quickly search thousands of newspapers—many of which had been published in small cities and towns. Largely by using keyword searches such as “masquerade” or “as a man,” I identified sixty-five individuals assigned female at birth who lived as men during the sixty-year period of this study—many of whom have never been discussed in previous scholarship. Additionally, these resources enabled me to track the circulation of narratives in a way never possible before; whereas previous scholars who have looked at newspaper articles about gender or sexual deviance have generally focused either on one city or on the sensational press,¹⁹ digital resources have enabled me to use a much wider optic, tracking the circulation of stories from the local to the national context.

Indeed, using the methods of cultural history, I carefully tracked the ways that stories of revelation morphed as they circulated and how representations of trans men changed as they moved from the local to the national context. I noted whose voices were present in the articles and paid attention to what the national accounts left out or added to the local iterations of the stories. For example, were the trans men able to explain themselves in their own words or did journalists (or police officers) speak for them? I then combed through sexological publications to compare medical narratives of gender deviance with the stories

that were written for popular audiences. This process—tracking narratives from local newspapers to national ones and then into medical literature—allowed me to read the narratives against one another and to think deliberately about the ways gender and sexual norms were being produced at the local and national levels as well as within the medical community.

In addition to reviewing newspapers and sexological literature, I also searched through census data, city directories, and marriage/divorce records to illuminate the ways the historical subjects of this book performed their identity to various institutions and what role(s) they played in their communities. Whenever possible, I also sought out court records and trial transcripts. These documents proved to be important resources to help determine the veracity of the newspaper narratives, both local and national, that were produced about the queer bodies discussed in this book. Taken together, the sources composing the breadth of research in *True Sex* illustrate the tremendous potential that digital archives hold for transforming the ways that scholars of queer history imagine the past. This method of carefully tracking the circulation of narratives clearly demonstrates the uneven history of gender and sexuality in this period and shows that this history is far more complicated—and interesting—than was previously thought.

Use of Terminology

This work is heavily indebted to, and in many ways is made possible by, the field of transgender studies. Transgender studies scholars such as Susan Stryker and David Valentine have shown how bodies are changeable and how the meanings attached to bodies are not the inherent result of the bodies themselves.²⁰ Transgender theory has provided a method of inquiry that is evident throughout this book and that has profoundly shaped the way I approach the past and the individuals discussed in the subsequent pages. As Scott Larson explains, “Engaging in historical work from a transgender perspective opens up new modes of analyzing gender as broadly unstable and mutable, particularly by taking seriously the possibility that gender gets crossed, changed, destabilized, and remade in ways that are not restricted to two genders.”²¹ In carrying forward the insights of transgender studies, I have made conscientious

choices regarding the names and pronouns used to refer to the subjects of this book.

I believe that these individuals should be considered within the rubric of “transgender history” as they provide clear examples of the ways gender has been made, remade, and transgressed in the past.²² This book provides clear evidence of the diverse range of gender expressions present at the turn of the twentieth century and explores how individuals and communities negotiated the porous boundaries of the gender binary. I refer to the historical subjects of this book with male pronouns because each of the subjects herein chose to live as a man for many years prior to his appearance within the public record, and many continued to live as men even after their queer embodiment resulted in arrest, incarceration, or other hardship. Additionally, I have chosen to prioritize the names chosen by the historical subjects discussed herein rather than the names assigned to them at birth as a way of honoring their self-identification.²³

Furthermore, I refer to my historical subjects as “trans men” because they chose to live their lives as male even though they had been assigned female at birth. Thus, *trans* here suggests the ways in which the subjects of this book transitioned from the gender assigned to them at birth to the one with which they identified. I refer to them as “men” because they all expressed the sentiment that they were men despite their anatomy.²⁴ Additionally, I chose to use the prefix or term “trans” rather than “transgender” since the latter as a category did not emerge until the late twentieth century and as such was not an identity category available to the subjects of this book. Also, I am wary that the use of today’s terminology would render less visible the historical specificities of the lives of the subjects discussed in this work. Of course, the term “trans” was similarly not available to the subjects of this book, but I have chosen to use it instead of “transgender” in hopes of conveying the open-ended nature of gender being made and remade.

In addition to the term “trans men,” throughout this book I also use the terms “true sex” and “queer embodiment.” I use “true sex” to refer to the sex an individual was assigned at birth. I place this term in quotes throughout the text to trouble the assumed connection between the sex assigned at birth and gender identity, and to make clear that I am *not* suggesting that biology is (or should be) destiny. Additionally, I use the term “queer embodiment” to refer to nonnormative forms of gender

embodiment. This term also signals the dissonance between the sex assigned to the historical subjects at birth and their gender presentation (i.e., the gender their community took for granted). I find the term “queer embodiment” particularly useful because it helps to register the nonnormative quality of certain bodies yet refuses to fix them in the strict identity categories. The term, therefore, exists in productive tension with “trans men,” and it suggests the impossibility of any modern term conveying the historical reality of the subjects of this book. Of course, these choices are contentious, as a great deal of scholarly debate has occurred within queer and transgender studies regarding the “true” identities of historical cross-dressers, with some scholars arguing that they should be considered butches, and others maintaining that they represent transgender men.²⁵ My terminology choices of “trans men” and “queer embodiment” therefore attempt to thread the needle, highlighting gender transgression and utilizing the insights of transgender studies while also being cautious about applying modern terms to people and situations in the past.

Organization of the Book

Chapter 1, “The Last Female Husband: New Boundaries of Identity in the Late Nineteenth Century,” centers on the 1870s and 1880s, the period during which sexology first emerged in the United States. This chapter analyzes the impact that the emergent discourse had on popular understandings of sexuality, embodiment, and gender. It argues that this period marked a new awareness of the possibility of same-sex intimacy but that no one framework became hegemonic to replace the “romantic friendship” model that had been dominant in the early and mid-nineteenth century. Chapter 1 discusses the cases of Joseph Lobdell and Frank Dubois, two trans men who gained newspaper attention in the 1870s and 1880s. Both of these individuals are notable in their own way: Lobdell was the first individual to be referred to as a “lesbian” in an American publication, and Dubois has the dubious distinction of being the last person referred to as a “female husband” in the mainstream, mass-circulation press. Through an analysis of the popular and medical representations of Lobdell and Dubois, this chapter reveals that the mass-circulation press of this period was far less squeamish when it

came to discussing female sexuality than has previously been described. Additionally, the chapter analyzes the demise of the notion of the “female husband” and argues that after the 1890s newspapers (both local and national) were far less apt to describe trans men as a singular, definable group—even in light of the invention of the new term “lesbian.”

Chapter 2, “Beyond Community: Rural Lives of Trans Men,” discusses the cases of four trans men who deliberately chose to live their lives in rural communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: George Green, William C. Howard, Willie Ray, and Joe Monahan. Whereas most of the existing historiography on queer history has portrayed rural areas as inherently repressive, this chapter illustrates that, at the turn of twentieth century, many trans men did not seek refuge in the bustling anonymity of large cities but chose instead to live within the nation’s small towns and rural communities. As such, this chapter’s subjects provide a means to meditate on the meaning of community for trans men during this historical period. Rather than seeking the community of other queer individuals in urban enclaves, these trans men were able to find support, tolerance, and, at times, acceptance from their rural neighbors. This chapter asserts that the structure of small-town communities, wherein community standards were policed through regimes of familiarity, provided tolerance for the gender transgressions of trans men in ways that urban communities, wherein behavior is more often policed through impersonal means, could not. On the whole, this chapter explores what queer history can look like when the framework of queer community is abandoned.

Chapter 3, “‘The Trouble That Clothes Make’: Whiteness and Acceptability,” tackles an issue that the historiography of the LGBT past has been hesitant to take on thus far: the power of whiteness in transferring acceptability to all individuals perceived as white—even queer ones. This chapter looks at four of the most widely circulating stories of trans men in the early twentieth century (Murray Hall, Frank Woodhull, Eugene De Forest, and Ellis Glenn) and notes not only that each trans man was white but also that he was lauded in the press for his successful mastery of the tenets of white masculinity. “The Trouble That Clothes Make” contends that stories of white trans men became a means through which newspapers could extol the virtues of normative citizenship—to celebrate the importance of hard work, economic productivity, indepen-

dence, and service to the community. In a context in which much was changing, newspaper editors mobilized stories of trans men to assure their readers that patriarchy, citizenship, and white supremacy still regulated who had access to the power of self-determination.

Chapter 4, “Gender Transgressions in the Age of U.S. Empire,” moves from examining local responses to trans men to meditating on the impact that global phenomenon had on national representations of trans men at the turn of the twentieth century—a period of rapid U.S. expansion abroad. This chapter argues that the context of the growing U.S. empire provided national newspapers with a ready-made discourse to pathologize gender transgressors: the notion of “foreignness.” “Gender Transgressions in an Age of U.S. Empire” focuses on four trans men who were either nonwhite or immigrant or who were otherwise associated with “foreign” elements such as non-Western religion: Jack Garland, Ralph Kerwineo, Nicolai De Raylan, and Peter Stratford. In each case, the individual’s alleged “foreignness” proved to be a liability. This chapter reminds readers of the power of empire in shaping perceptions of gender and argues that acceptance of one’s queer embodiment is all too often a privilege of whiteness.

The final chapter, “To Have and to Hold: Trans Husbands in the Early Twentieth Century,” circles back to a topic discussed in the first chapter: “female husbands.” Though the mass-circulation press had ceased using the phrase in the 1880s, trans men persisted in marrying women into the 1920s and beyond. Indeed, between 1890 and 1930, almost half of the newspaper articles about trans men mentioned the fact that the individual was married (or planned to marry). This chapter finds that many trans men sought marriage as a means to illustrate their status as “good men” in their communities—a commonality that illustrates their distance from the growing urban queer subcultures. In addition, this chapter finds that, in most cases, local newspapers (and courts) responded with indifference when a trans man’s marriage became public knowledge. However, as the story circulated away from the local context, the act of getting married was increasingly portrayed as pathological, and the stories became overtly sensationalized. For example, national headlines published after the 1929 arrest of Los Angeles resident Kenneth Lisonbee included “Suave, Trouser-Clad Barber Turns Out to Be Damsel,” “Posing as Man, Girl Weds Two,” and “Trousered Tomboy Bleats

in Bastille.”²⁶ This chapter highlights how accounts produced around cross-dressing figures were by no means uniform in the early twentieth century and how the precise nature of the narratives’ meaning was acutely dependent on context.

Overall, *True Sex* reveals a deep history of gender transgression in the United States. This book suggests that trans men lived in every region of the United States in the decades around the turn of the twentieth century—within even the most remote hamlet and within spaces long thought to be dominated by religious conservatism. What is more, this book reveals that trans men fought hard to create livable lives for themselves, often utilizing surprising tactics, such as deploying the tropes of normative male citizenship or risking the revelation of their “true sex” by seeking legal marriage. These tactics were only available to trans men who were, or who could pass as, white, as they depended on the subjugation of nonwhite or foreign peoples. In this way, this book is a testament to the deep roots both of queer and trans history, but also of the long tradition of white homonormativity.