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Male Impersonation in the Late 19th Century as a Reflection of Social Change

When male impersonation performances began in America in the late 19th century, impersonators portrayed realistic looking men on stage. By the turn of the 20th century, male impersonation styles had shifted drastically to more androgynous interpretations of men. Audiences were no longer entertained by the appearance of gender shapeshifting, instead, they were thrilled by satirical portrayals of upperclass men played by women. By the 20th century performers were asserting their off stage gender normatively to the public. This was because performers who blurred the lines of gender in cheaper forms of entertainment, such as dime museums and freak shows, were seen as oddities. If vaudeville style male impersonators failed to declare their compliance with the gender norms of the Victorian era, they were in danger of being seen as freaks. Thus, the shift in vaudeville style male impersonation from 1860s to 1900s reveals the tension between gender expression and newly defined regions of societal acceptability.

Male impersonation was born during the age of spectacle. The 19th century public was captivated by many forms of bodily display and public performance. Fascination with bodily spectacle was born from medical fascination and public dissection as a form of performance. The medical field grew swiftly during the 1800s and dissection was a main pillar of medical

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education during this period. Public dissections, and even surgeries conducted without anesthesia, were watched by an arena of paying medical students.¹ By the late 19th century, another form of bodily display had emerged, the ethnographic showcase. Anatomical spectacles merged with racial categorization as crowds flocked to see ethnographic showcases at World's Fairs. The World's Fairs of the late 19th century displayed cultures, including living people, as vignettes for the spectator to view. Cultures were ordered from primitive to sophisticated as deemed by colonial powers.² This racial hierarchy fit into the pseudo-scientific theories of the time, including the great chain of being, claiming the white man to be the most advanced race. Visual categorization allowed viewers to place themselves among the showcased order. By viewing these never before encountered cultures and humans as others, the white public categorized themselves as better than the bodies on display. Consequently, spectacles invited the viewer to reflect on the normal versus the abnormal whilst encouraging self categorization in relation to others.

Freak shows and dime museums were particularly poignant arenas for defining normality. One of the biggest instigators of this form of entertainment was P.T. Barnum. In 1835 Barnum staged his first exhibition which displayed an enslaved woman, Joice Heth.³ P.T. Barnum advertised Heth as a 161 year old living medical specimen, thus establishing her as a freak. Heth, who was no older than 80 years old, was forcibly corralled around from city to city while hundreds of anticipating viewers flocked to see this medical oddity. Even after Heth's death P.T.

¹ Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection, and the Destitute* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 30-55.

² Raymond Corbey, *Ethnographic Showcases: Account and Vision* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 95-101.

³ Elizabeth Stephens, *Anatomy as Spectacle: Public Exhibitions of the Body from 1700 to the Present* (Liverpool:Liverpool University Press, 2011), 87.

Barnum continued to profit off of public fascination by arranging a ticketed dissection of Heth's body for a paying stadium of viewers.⁴ This highlights the intersection of medical fascination along with the commodification of the marginalized body even after death. Traveling shows and dime museums continued to gain popularity after the Civil War. Within these arenas of entertainment, racial stereotypes and bodily abnormalities were highlighted, thus casting the bodies on display as outsiders.⁵ In particular, the bearded lady was a popular gender bending archetype of the sideshow.⁶ Although bearded ladies blurred the lines of gender for performance much like male impersonators, bearded ladies did not possess the level of agency that male impersonators enjoyed. While male impersonators were looked up to and lauded as stars, bearded ladies were subjects to the downward gaze of the audience and were deemed as outcasts. Through figures such as the bearded lady, the freak show further defined and brought to attention the outsiders of society. Therefore, the bounds of societal acceptability were formed by defining the freak as an outsider.

While this was happening, women had already been appearing as boys or men on stage long before the 19th century. Due to the lack of good roles for women on stage, actresses had been playing the roles of prepubescent boys or young men as a display of thespian virtuosity.⁷ After the Civil War, burlesque became a major arena for women to dress as men on stage. In

⁴ Benjamin Reiss, *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), 73-80.

⁵ Robert Bogdan, *Freak Show:Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 94-116.

⁶ Joe Nickell, Secrets of the Sideshows (Kentucky: The University of Kentucky Press, 2005), 150-154.

⁷ Gillian M. Rodger, *Just One of the Boys: Female-to-Male Cross-Dressing on the American Variety Stage* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2018), 20.

fact, some roles in burlesque were conventionally played by women dressed as men.⁸ This exemplifies that women cross dressing for the stage already existed before the fruition of vaudeville style male impersonation. However, vaudeville style male impersonation in particular may have bloomed as a way for women to express their own humor. This was because comedy had mainly been thought of as a masculine performance. In fact, women were often doomed to be the punchline of the joke while seldom allowed to be creators of humor.⁹ Although women had been contributing to comedy through writing and the occasional comedic role in plays, the chances for a woman to express herself comedically were few and far between.¹⁰ During the birth of vaudeville style male impersonation in the late 19th century, vaudeville and musical comedy brought about a plethora of new opportunities for women to be funny on stage.¹¹ Especially in vaudeville style male impersonation, comedy was a major part of the act. Through the donning of male clothes, a woman was allowed to be a comedian. Thus, vaudeville style male impersonation became a new and acceptable way for women to comedically express themselves on stage.

Two women who exemplify the vast change in performance styles that occurred in male impersonators during the late 19th century into the turn of the 20th century are Annie Hindle and Vesta Tilley. There were many active male impersonators in the 1860s-1900s, but none epitomize the stylistic shift that occurred as well as Hindle and Tilley. Firstly, Annie Hindle represents the

⁸ Rodger, Just One of the Boys, 20.

⁹ Susan A. Glenn, *Female Spectacle: The Theatrical Roots of Modern Feminism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 45.

¹⁰ Glenn, Female Spectacle, 40-41.

¹¹ Glenn, Female Spectacle, 41.

time of 1860s-1880s when male impersonation was introduced to the American stage. Then, during the height of vaudeville style male impersonation, Vesta Tilley graced the stage in the 1890s-1920s.¹² Although there were other notable performers throughout the late 19th century, such as Ella Wesner, Augusta Lamareaux, and Minnie Hall,¹³ none were more emblematic of their time than Hindle and Tilley. The nuance in performance and personhood of Hindle and Tilley symbolize the societal shift of the late 19th century.

The definition of the freak led to cross dressing on the street being newly criminalized. Cross dressing had existed within society long before the 19th century. However, between 1848-1900 thirty-four cities across America passed laws making public cross dressing illegal.¹⁴ Laws were initially passed as efforts to target prostitution, which was often linked with cross dressing.¹⁵ Another aspect of these new laws was that most of the arrests made and publicized via newspaper were of white people. Only policing the bounds of white gender expression thus established gendered normatively as exclusively white. By assigning non-white people as outside gender normatively, cross dressing laws furthered racism in cities such as San Francisco.¹⁶ This paradigm shift categorizing cross dressing people as criminals stands at odds with the rise of male impersonators on the vaudeville stage. While people on the street were being thrown in jail or mental asylums for dressing as the opposite gender, male impersonators gained stardom and

¹² Karen Raphaeli, *The Clothes Male the Man: Theatrical Crossdressing as Expression of Gender Fluidity in Seventeenth- through Nineteenth- Century Performance* (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2019), 112-136.

¹³ Rodger, Just One of the Boys, 27-90.

¹⁴ Clare Sears, *Arresting Dress: Cross-Dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Fransisco* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 3.

¹⁵ Sears, Arresting Dress, 93.

¹⁶ Sears, Arresting Dress, 140.

acclaim. Even with the high stakes of a shifting legal landscape, vaudeville style male impersonators in the late 19th century rose to fame on the American stage.

Annie Hindle was the first vaudeville style male impersonator to gain popularity in the States. The English born performer arrived in America in 1868 having had considerable experience in provincial theaters overseas.¹⁷ Astonishingly, by 1869 Hindle had made enough of a name for herself that she simply advertised herself as "The Great Hindle", proving that she had become successful enough to be known by her name alone.¹⁸ During her act, Hindle portrayed a realistic man and sang songs in a low alto voice. Hindle even went as far as to shave her face so that stubble would sprout from her countenance, forming an appearance of a beard.¹⁹ Her act had a vaudeville style comedic tone to it and she was able to elicit laughter from the awestruck audience. Audiences were fascinated by Hindle's spectacular ability to gender shape-shift. Through this pragmatic depiction of a man on stage, the audience was entertained simply by the juxtaposition of the gender they saw on stage versus the known gender of the performer. In a rare photograph of the performer [figure 1], Hindle wears realistic men's apparel and has a short rugged haircut. Hindle's eyes gaze off into the distance with a serious expression. The image presents a down to earth, realistic interpretation of a man played by a woman. A similarly masculine sketch of Hindle [figure 2], depicts Hindle in a military uniform with broad shoulders and a cut jawline. Both images lack the need for an outward expression of femininity, thus cementing the notion that Hindle's character as a performer aimed to convey a realistic man on stage.

¹⁷ Rodger, Just One of the Boys, 27-28.

¹⁸ Rodger, Just One of the Boys, 32.

¹⁹ Laurence Senelick, *The Changing Room: Sex, Drag, and Theatre* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 304.

Annie Hindle's personal life reflects a delicate balance between the masculinity of her stage persona and her domestic life. Firstly, Hindle had many female attachments during her lifetime, most notable were her two marriages to women. The most significant of her marriages was with her dresser, Annie Ryan. While on tour in Grand Rapids, MI, Annie Hindle married Annie Ryan dressed as "Charles Hindle" the groom.²⁰ Although queerness and gender are two separate things, Hindle's marriages to women sparked public interest in her gender. A newspaper article by Daily Inter Ocean, a Chicago periodical, in 1886 titled "Mr. or Miss?", debated her gender. The article detailed Hindle's marriage to Annie Ryan and referred to Hindle in both his and her pronouns. Furthermore, the article claimed that "Hindle had often declared that his true sex should never be known until after his death." [figure 3]²¹ This quote highlights the public curiosity around Hindle's gender. The mystery and public speculation involving Hindle's gender could have very well been a publicity ploy, but it very much validates the realism of her male stage persona. Hindle was so convincing in her act that the public suspected she might not even be a woman.

Hindle might have dressed masculinely in order to become Annie Ryan's spouse. During the latter half of the 19th century, there were many cases of what were considered "female husbands," women who dressed as men in order to marry women.²² The meaning of a lesbian had not been established in the public sphere. Hence, Annie Hindle might have presented masculinity in her personal life in order to fit the gender conformity of marrying a woman. There is evidence that Hindle lived both in men's and women's clothes in daily life. According to a

²⁰ Raphaeli, *The Clothes Male the Man*, 113.

²¹ "Mr. or Miss?." Daily Inter Ocean, June 08, 1886.

²² Jen Manion, *Female Husbands: A Trans History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 257.

primary source from 1892 Hindle and Ryan, "live together openly as husband and wife, the husband in female attire always."²³ This quote illustrates that Hindle might have dressed femininely in her personal life. On the contrary, Hindle was reportedly seen in masculine clothing on the streets of Kansas City in 1870.²⁴ Therefore, Hindle seems to have presented masculinity and femininity in fluctuation. After the death of Annie Ryan, a reporter writing about the funeral summed up Hindle's past career and appearance as, "an excellent type of what is called the dashingly handsome girl. Once, indeed, audiences in every city in this country had gazed in wonderment and admiration upon her." [figure 4]²⁵ This quote enumerates Hindle's success as a performer in conjunction with the expression of her personhood. Annie Hindle, not only played a realistic man on the stage, but she also had the freedom to perpetuate an androgynous image of her personal life.

On the other end of the spectrum, Vesta Tilley exemplifies a completely different type of male impersonator around the turn of the 20th century. Vesta Tilley was the stage name of Matilda Alice Powles, an English performer. Powles rose to fame two generations of performers after Annie Hindle. In 1894, Vesta Tilley crossed the Atlantic to grace the American stage. From then on, Tilley rose to acclaim and was regarded as one of the most successful vaudeville style male impersonators of all time.²⁶ Tilley portrayed a frivolous, wealthy man about town who lived a carefree lifestyle. Her act lacked dirty double entendres and she sang songs in a soprano voice. The San Fransisco Examiner in 1897 proclaimed that "Vesta Tilley is the cleanest cut artist that

²³ "January 8, 1892 (Page 6 of 12)." The Examiner (1889-1902), Jan 08, 1892.

²⁴ Manion, *Female Husbands*, 247.

²⁵ "January 8, 1892 (Page 6 of 12)." The Examiner (1889-1902), Jan 08, 1892.

²⁶ Rodger, Just One of the Boys, 145-149.

this city has seen for a long time." [figure 5]²⁷ This demonstrates the conservativeness Tilley maintained on stage. Moreover, Tilley didn't heavily disguise her womanly body under male clothing and played a visibly androgynous man on stage.²⁸ A full body photograph of "Miss Vesta Tilley" reveals a polished interpretation of a wealthy man [figure 6]. Tilley wears a top hat, while holding a cane, and wearing a full length jacket with flowers on the lapel. At the same time, Tilley's facial expression exudes a demureness and her stance is clearly feminine. There is no mistaking that Tilley is a woman dressed as a man for pretend. The grimy realism of Annie Hindle's character is gone and has been replaced with Vesta Tilley's spiffing caricature of a man.

Off the stage Matilda Alice Powles emphasized her adherence to societally acceptable femininity. In her personal life, Powles married her manager Walter de Frece and retired from the stage in order to support his career as a conservative politician.²⁹ During her career, Powles meticulously illustrated her distance from the gender bending freaks of society. While an active performer, she scrupulously crafted her public image into that of a respectable Victorian woman. In addition, Powles often publicized her anti-feminist opinions through newspaper articles and personal essays.³⁰ In an article published in the San Francisco Examiner in 1895, Powles asserted, "I think women should be womanly and sweet and the bloomers are dreadful." [figure 7]³¹ Through this statement, Powles declared her separation from the queer freaks of the dime museums as well as the bloomer-donning New Woman. Another way Powles maintained her

²⁷ Alan Dale. A Real "Johnnie" For New Yorkers, *The Examiner*, Oct. 10, 1897.

²⁸ Raphaeli, *The Clothes Male the Man*, 135.

²⁹ Rodger, Just One of the Boys, 1-2.

³⁰ Raphaeli, The Clothes Male the Man, 136.

³¹ "June 9, 1895 (Page 3 of 40)." The Examiner San Fransisco, June 09, 1895.

public image was through photographs and postcards. Two photographs of Vesta Tilley in costume bookend a portrait of Matilda Alice Powles at the center of the postcard [figure 8]. The portrait in the middle captures Powles done up to the height of Victorian femininity. She wears a lacy dress with many frills and her neck is adorned with opulent jewelry. Powles's eyes look off into the distance with a poised and demure expression. With this postcard, Powles established herself as within the societally acceptable bounds of gender expression. The scrupulous demonstration of femininity by Matilda Alice Powles personifies the need to assert normality as a male impersonator by the turn of the 20th century.

Matilda Alice Powles is an example of cross dressing stage performers asserting their compliance with gender norms to separate themselves from the newly criminalized cross dressing person. In order to separate themselves from the cross dressing criminal of the street, male impersonators had to claim their adherence to gender norms off the stage. On the other end of the spectrum, men who performed as female impersonators also signaled their social conformity by asserting gendered conservativeness off the stage. Among male performers, Julian Eltinge, was the most prolific about publicizing his masculinity off stage.³² Moreover, it is no coincidence that the popularity of freak shows and cheap oddity museums rose to its height in the 1890s.³³ As historian Clare Sears emphasizes, "the freak-show performer and the cross-dressing criminal were not separated by real or imagined social distance; they were the very same person."³⁴ Sears points out the criminal association of gender bending performers in cheaper

³² Sears, Arresting Dress, 100.

³³ Sears, Arresting Dress, 102.

³⁴ Sears, Arresting Dress, 105.

forms of entertainment. Therefore, to distance herself from the cross-dressing criminal freak, the vaudeville style male impersonator broadcasted her gender conformity off stage.

After Vesta Tilley retired in 1920, there was no other male impersonating stars as successful as she was. The last era of vaudeville style male impersonators included Hetty King and Ella Shields. Ella Shields's final tour in 1930 marked the end of headlining male impersonation as a performance.³⁵ Male impersonation continued in small theaters but gradually died out in the mid-20th century. Tilley is considered by many to have been the most successful male impersonator of all time. One might imagine, Tilley's success was due to her adamant adherence to conservative gender norms off stage, which allowed public acceptance of her gender bending performance. In addition, Annie Hindle and Ella Wesner (who hit fame in the 1880s) were the only two impersonators to have recorded relationships with women.³⁶ After Hindle and Wesner no other male impersonators left traces of queerness for the public eye. This exemplifies just how rigorously male impersonators had to assert their gender normalcy. If they didn't, they might be categorized as a queer freak instead of a vaudevillian star. As a result, performers didn't go back to Annie Hindle's realistic style of male impersonation after the 1900s.

In conclusion, male impersonation changed vastly around the turn of the 20th century. The age of spectacle brought self association via public categorization and a reflection of what constituted normal. Cheap forms of entertainment, such as the dime museums, formed the definition of a freak. At the same time, cross dressing in day-to-day life had become newly illegal in cities all across America. In spite of the precarious nature of performing a newly

³⁵ Rodger, Just One of the Boys, 169-170.

³⁶ Rodger, Just One of the Boys, 178.

criminalized act on stage, vaudeville style male impersonation rose in popularity from the late 19th century into the 20th century. Annie Hindle represents the first generation of male impersonators and portrayed a masculine, realistic, man on stage. Moreover, Hindle's personal life reveals an oscillation between masculine and feminine presentation. A few decades later, Vesta Tilley rose to fame and represented a feminine and satirical form of male impersonation. Furthermore, Tilley meticulously molded her public image of gendered conservativeness off the stage. The drastic switch in performance style and public image of male impersonators was influenced by the newly criminalized act of public cross-dressing. Performers were forced to assert their societal gender conformity in order to not be categorized as a freak, or even worse a criminal. By labeling the freak as a criminal, the bounds of gendered normalcy were defined. Male impersonators adapted not only their performance style but scrupulously curated their public gender expression to fit within the bounds of social acceptability. While some performers like Tilley adhered to these new standards, others performers like Hindle choose to defy the societal pressures of gender conformity. The rise of male impersonation in the late 19th century reveals a tension between a curiosity for spectacle with the simultaneous defining of social acceptability. Consequently, as society shifted, vaudeville style male impersonation evolved.



Figure 1. Photograph of Annie Hindle. Laurence Senelick, *The Changing Room: Sex, Drag, and Theater* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 305, fig. 61.

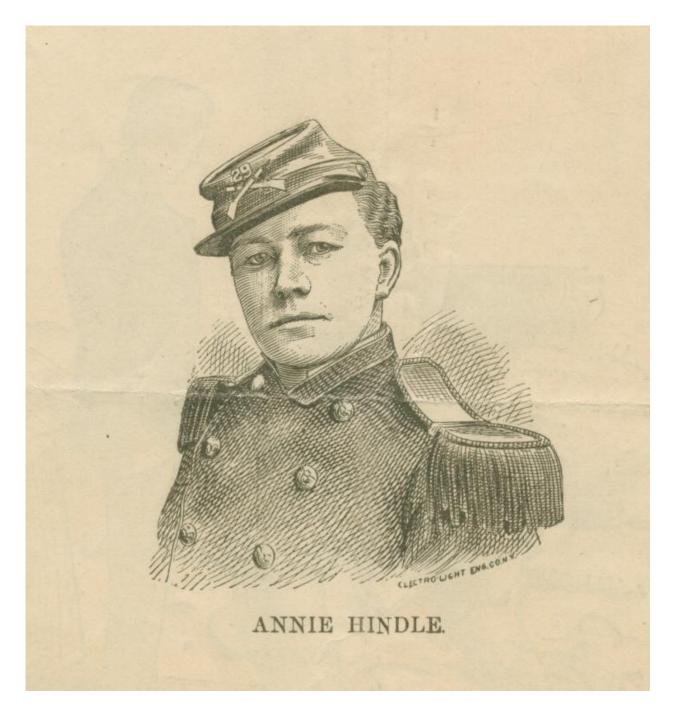


Figure 2. Sketch of Annie Hindle. The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Print Collection, The New York Public Library. "Annie Hindle." New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed Oct 10th, 2022. Https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/ 510d47df-fe05-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99

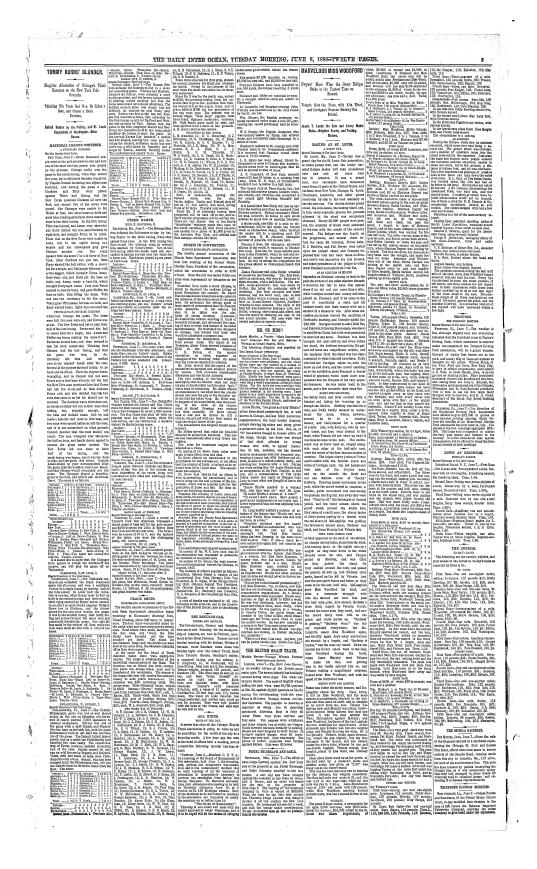


Figure 3. Mr. Or Miss? *Daily Inter Ocean*, June 8, 1886. https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do? p=GDCS&u=ucberkeley&id=GALE/GT3001201101&v=2.1&it=r&sid=bookmark-

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Figure 4. Of Interest to Women. The Examiner San Fransisco (1889-1902), Jan 08, 1892.

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Figure 5. A Real "Johnnie" For New Yorkers. *The Examiner San Fransisco (1889-1902)*, Oct 10, 1897. https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/october-10-1897-page-32/docview/2132287507/se-2.

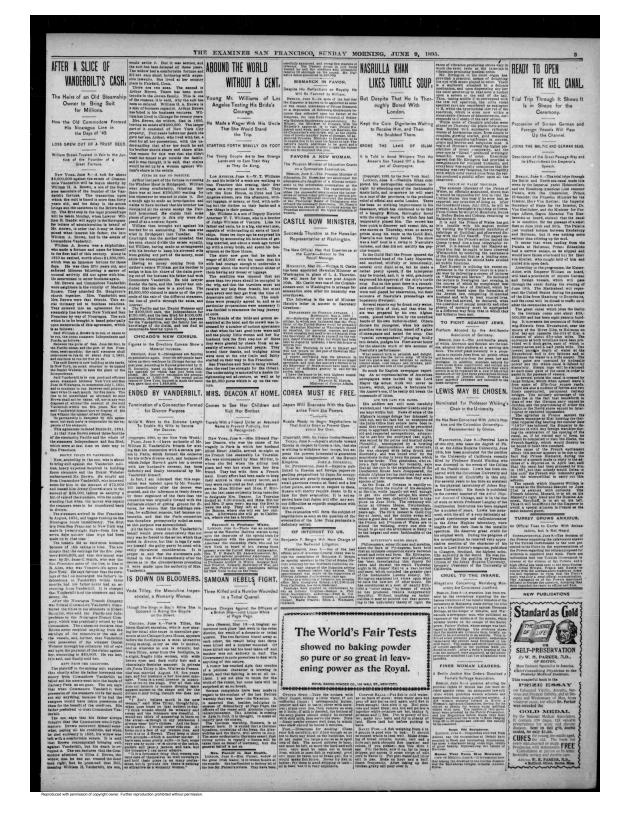


Figure 6. Is Down on Bloomers: Vesta Tilley, the Masculine Impersonator, a Womanly Woman. *The Examiner San Fransisco (1889-1902)*, Jun 09, 1895. https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/june-9-1895-page-3-40/docview/2132389703/se-2.



Figure 7. Photograph of Vesta Tilley. Ellis & AMP; Walery. "Miss Vesta Tilley." Photograph. Ringling Theatre Collection, Belknap Collection for the Performing Arts, http://ufdc.ufl.edu/ ringling, University of Florida George A. Smathers Libraries, Gainesville, Florida. https:// library.artstor.org/asset/AWSS35953_35953_41953872.



Figure 8. Trio of photographs, Vesta Tilley. Tilley, Vesta or Powles, Matilda Alice (1864-1952). Postcards of female and male impersonators and cross-dressing, #7778. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. https://library.artstor.org/asset/24416414.

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