

Extended Bibliography for “Trans History: From Ancient Times to the Present Day”

Arranged by Alex L Combs

Introduction to Trans History

pp. 1-8

Video:

“Angelica Ross Explains the History of the Word 'Transgender,’” *InQueery: them*, 2018
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gXH7vytxGus>

Quariwarmi

Article:

“Quariwarmi — The Holy Transvestites of the Inca Empire: The Inca Empire was an LGBT-friendly empire,” *Medium*, Peter Preskar, 2023
<https://short-history.com/quariwarmi-3f439abb57f7>

Tchinda

Documentary:

Tchindas, Pablo García Pérez De Lara and Marc Serena, 2015
<https://www.tchindas.com/homepage/tchindas/>

Fa'afafine and Fa'afatama

Museum article:

“Beyond Gender: Indigenous Perspectives, Fa'afafine and Fa'afatama: A limited series on some of the world's third gender Indigenous people,” *Natural History Museums of LA County*, 2020
<https://nhm.org/stories/beyond-gender-indigenous-perspectives-faafafine-and-faafatama>

Documentary:

Fa'afafine Documentary, 2023
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5DJ2_rL5ktc

Book:

Samoan Queer Lives, Dan Taulapapa McMullin and Yuki Kihara, 2018

Two-Spirit

Video:

“What Does “Two-Spirit” Mean?” *InQueery them*, 2018

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A4lBibGzUnE>

Articles:

“Two-Spirit,” *Indian Health Service*, (accessed March 2025)

<https://www.ihs.gov/lgbt/twospirit/>

“The History of Two-Spirit Folks,” The Indigenous Foundation, Isabella Thurston, (accessed March 2025)

<https://www.theindigenousfoundation.org/articles/the-history-of-two-spirit-folks>

Journal:

“Ancestors of two-spirits: Historical depictions of Native North American gender-crossing women through critical discourse analysis,” *Journal of Lesbian Studies: Native American men-women, lesbians, two-spirits: Contemporary and historical perspectives*, Vol. 20, Issue 3-4, Anita Hemmilä, 2016

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10894160.2016.1151281>

Educational guide:

We Are Part of a Tradition: 2-Spirited People of the 1st Nations, By Gilbert Deschamps, 1998

https://indigenousto.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Research_2Spirit_1f.pdf

Book:

Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics, and Literature, Eds. Qwo-Li Driskill, Chris Finley, Brian Joseph Gilley and Scott Lauria Morgensen, 2011

Nádleehi and Dilbaa

Articles:

Gender Diversity: Nadleehi and Dilbaa, Other Wise Christian, Mx. Chris Paige, 2020

<https://otherwisechristian.com/2020/01/06/gender-diversity-nadleehi-and-dilbaa/>

“Navajo Nation's LGBTQ Pride Event Celebrates A Return To The Culture's History,” *NPR The Picture Show*, Cayla Nimmo, 2019

<https://www.npr.org/sections/pictureshow/2019/07/11/738099923/navajo-nations-lgbtq-pride-event-celebrates-a-return-to-the-culture-s-history>

Video:

“Two Spirits: Gender as a Spectrum not a Divide,” *PBS Independent Lens*, Season 12 Ep. 25, 2011

<https://www.pbs.org/video/independent-lens-gender-as-a-spectrum-not-a-divide/>

Baté

Articles:

“Osh-Tisch,” *Making Queer History*, (accessed March 2025)

<https://www.makingqueerhistory.com/articles/2019/4/29/osh-tisch-the-warrior>

“Baté,” *World Queerstory*, queerstorian, 2017

<https://worldqueerstory.wordpress.com/category/people/outside-cisnormativity/two-spirit/bate/>

“Osh-Tisch (1854-1929) Princess of Two Spirits,” *Rejected Princesses*, (accessed March 2025)

<https://www.rejectedprincesses.com/princesses/osh-tisch>

“Osh-Tisch: The Warrior,” *Making Queer History Patreon*, Harper-Hugo Darling, 2016

<https://www.patreon.com/posts/6067771?alert=1>

“Not a Man, Not a Woman: Crow Bote Life and Resistance in the Late 1800s,” *History Corps*, Sophia Seaberg-Wood, 2021

<https://web.archive.org/web/20221004122202/https://historycorps.lib.uiowa.edu/exhibits/show/in-digenoustruggles1900/bote>

Winkte

Articles:

“The Winkte and the Hundred in Hand,” *South Dakota Public Broadcasting*, Michael Zimny, 2016

<http://sdpb.org/arts-and-culture/2016-06-06/the-winkte-and-the-hundred-in-hand>

“Two-spirited people have special role in Lakota culture, Watertown vicar explains,” *Watertown Public Opinion*, Kerry Kulkarni, 2021

<https://www.thepublicopinion.com/story/lifestyle/2021/06/22/lakota-two-spirit-native-american-culture-and-gender-identity/7691928002/>

“Winkte In A Wasicu World,” *Queer Music Heritage*, Georgie Jessup, (accessed March 2025)

<https://www.queermusicheritage.com/nov2005wc.html>

- Includes a personal angle

Māhū

Books:

O Au No Keia: Voices from Hawaii's Mahu and Transgender Communities ed. Andrew Matzner, 2001

- Includes first-person interviews

"The Wizard Stones Of Ka-pae-mahu," James H. Boyd in *More Hawaiian Folk Tales With Maps And Illustrations*, Thomas G. Thrum, 1923

https://www.soest.hawaii.edu/GG/FACULTY/ROWLAND/GG104/Readings/Boyd_1923.pdf

- Old but interesting (almost a primary source)

Videos:

Kapaemahu, Hinaleimoana Wong-Kalu, Dean Hamer, and Joe Wilson, 2020

<https://www.kapaemahufilm.com/>

- Wonderful animated short

Kumu Hina, Dean Hamer and Joe Wilson, 2014

<https://kumuhina.com/>

- Documentary

Primary Sources:

"Remarks in Toahroah Harbour Thursday 15th. January 1789," *Bounty Logbook*, William Bligh, 1789

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160429162017/http://fatefulvoyage.com/logbook/log890115.html>

A Voyage to the South Sea, by William Bligh, 1792

<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15411/15411-h/15411-h.htm>

Report:

Hawaii Sexual and Gender Minority Health Report, 2018

<https://health.hawaii.gov/surveillance/files/2018/09/HawaiiSexualandGenderMinorityHealthReport2018.pdf>

Thesis:

Nā Pōhaku Ola Kapaemāhū A Kapuni: Performing For Stones At Tupuna Crossings In Hawai'i, Teoratuuaarii Morris, 2019

<https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/server/api/core/bitstreams/b4bf857c-c9f8-4a95-acb3-5b8afc3f7883/content>

- Provides in-depth analysis and copies of many original newspaper clippings

Muxe

Documentaries:

"Third Gender: An Entrancing Look at Mexico's Muxes," *National Geographic Short Film Showcase*, 2017

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S1ZvDRxZlb0>

“Muxes – Mexico's third gender,” *The Guardian*, 2017

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iiek6JxYJLs>

Articles:

“The Muxes of Mexico: A Third Gender,” *Natural History Museums of LA County*, 2020

<https://nhm.org/stories/beyond-gender-indigenous-perspectives-muxe>

“The Muxes of Mexico: A Third Gender,” *Medium*, Michael Horvich, 2023

<https://medium.com/prismnpen/the-muxes-of-mexico-a-third-gender-6b0451f025e9>

Omeggid

Articles:

“Guna Yala: The islands where women make the rules,” *BBC*, Egle Gerulaityte, 2018

<https://www.bbc.com/travel/article/20180813-guna-yala-the-islands-where-women-make-the-rules>

“The Natural Approach to Gender of the People of Guna Yala,” *The Cultural Me Arts and Culture for Everyday Living*, Katie Miles, 2018

<https://thecultural.me/the-natural-approach-to-gender-of-the-people-of-guna-yala-771397>

“The trans ‘queen mother’ reclaiming Fiji’s third gender – photo essay,” *The Guardian*, Katie Edwards, 2023

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/feb/20/the-trans-queen-mother-reclaiming-fijis-third-gender-photo-essay>

“Understanding the Pacific's alternative genders,” *Radio New Zealand*, Alan Weedon, 2019

<https://www.rnz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/397872/understanding-the-pacific-s-alternative-genders>

Documentary:

“Síntesis Omeggid,” *Omeggid Panama*, 2015

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wsCf9v6DFRY>

Vakasalewalewa

Documentary:

Meet the transwomen in the Pacific decolonising mindsets, ABC News (Australia), 2024

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TiyWatQ1V94>

Travesti

Journal:

"Travesti" Identity: Polysemy of Gender and Sexuality, Body Transformations," LOGOS Issue 88 pp 185-191, Gintare Narauskaite, 2016

<https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=572126>

Phuying

Note: There was some question whether to use the word Phuying or Kathoey. I now think I should've included both. It seems that phuying is preferred by some because it is more respectful and affirming of being women, whereas kathoey is more of an umbrella term encompassing a wide variety of people assigned male who transgress masculine gender norms and could also include trans-similar identities.

Journal:

"Phu-ying-kham-phet vs. kathoey: l'évolution du (trans)genre et l'émergence de l'identité de transfemale en Thaïlande contemporaine," *Anthropologica*, Vol. 56 Issue 1, 2014 pp 69-82, Cheera Thongkrajai, 2014

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/24469642>

Documentary:

"Transgender in Thailand 1," VICE, 2015

<https://lindabowens.com/portfolio/vice-transgender-in-thailand-1/>

跨兒 (kuà er)

Primary source:

Gossip Boys & Girls Book 5: TranStory

<https://tgr.org.hk/index.php/en/10-database/309-gbag5e#%E9%A0%85%E7%9B%AE%E5%85%A7%E5%AE%B9>

- 梁詠恩 Joanne Leung, founder of The Transgender Resource Center in Hong Kong and Mainland China, explains the motivation behind their publication *Gossip Boys and Girls* "We are introducing the term「跨兒」for the first time in the Chinese version of this publication, which is pronounced kuà er (sounds a little bit like queer). 跨 or kua is the first character of the Chinese term for transgender and translated literally, means 'to cross', while 兒 or er means child or a person. Therefore,「跨兒」is not a direct translation nor an abbreviated format of transgender. It is a newly created term that reflects the unique non-binary gender in traditional Chinese culture especially under the context of spoken Mandarin."

Article:

“What it's like to be transgender in China today: Exploring conversations with the founder of China's first clinic for trans people,” *RealTime Mandarin*, Andrew Methven, 2023
<https://www.realtimemandarin.com/p/from-a-hopeless-choice-to-a-happy-9ca>

X-gender

Articles:

“Non-Binary in Japan,” *ABNRML JAPAN*, (accessed March 2025)
<https://www.abnrmljapan.com/blog/nonbinary-in-japan>

“X-Gender in Japan: Meaning and Purpose,” *Japan Gay Guide*, Samuel Cormier, 2023
<https://japangayguide.com/lgbtq-resources/x-gender-in-japan-meaning-and-purpose/>

Manga series:

X-Gender Vol. 1, Asuka Miyazaki, 2022

Hijra

Books:

Governing Gender and Sexuality in Colonial India: The Hijra, c.1850–1900, Jessica Hinchy, 2019
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/governing-gender-and-sexuality-in-colonial-india/200A4682A894AB7136CF0463F12C2687>

- An in-depth history book following the effects of colonialism on the hijra community in India and gives us a peek into the social roles that may have existed prior

A Life in Trans Activism, A. Revathi and Nandini Murali, 2016

- A wonderful book which in the first half talks about Revathi's activism and in the second half includes interviews with trans-masculine people in India

Documentaries:

Hijra: The Struggles of Transgender in Bangladesh, Robloak, 2017
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z9h4O4EDRhI>

Third Gender In India: Hijras, the Kinnars daughters, Anna Lofi, 2020
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5O3ggFvhlIU>

That's My Boy, Akhil Sathyan, 2018
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=McY2ccJa0oo>

- About a trans-masculine person in India

Escaping Agra, Pallavi Somusetty, 2016

<https://www.chandifilms.com/escapingagra>

- Also about a trans-masculine person

Articles:

“Vellai Mozhi’: Writer and activist Revathi on the struggles she has faced as a transgender woman,” *The News Minute*, (accessed March 2025)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SyrgetFrPAE>

- Interview with A. Revathi (author of *A Life in Trans Activism*, listed above)

“Pride and persecution: The rise and fall of the world's oldest transgender community,” *The Telegraph*, Joe Wallen, (accessed March 2025)

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/hijra-transgender-bangladesh/>

“The Peculiar Position of India’s Third Gender,” *The New York Times*, Jeffrey Gettleman, 2018

<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/17/style/india-third-gender-hijras-transgender.html>

“Hijra, kothi, aravani: a quick guide to transgender terminology,” *Scroll.in*, Aarefa Johari, 2014

<https://scroll.in/article/662023/hijra-kothi-aravani-a-quick-guide-to-transgender-terminology>

Khawaja Sara

Articles:

Despite Pakistan’s ‘Third Gender’ Recognition, Discrimination Is Widespread, Sojourners, Yasir Habib Khan, 2015

<https://sojo.net/articles/despite-pakistan-s-third-gender-recognition-discrimination-widespread>

‘I Wouldn’t Wish This Fate on My Enemies’, *Pulitzer Center*, Rubab Anwar, 2017

<https://pulitzercenter.org/stories/i-wouldnt-wish-fate-my-enemies>

Journal:

Exploring Resistance, Resilience, and Refusal amongst Khawaja Sara and Hijra Communities in Postcolonial Pakistan, *LGBTQ+ Family: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 21 Issue 2 pp 116–130. Alamgir Alamgir, Seth Brown, Emily Gray and Peter Kelly, 2024

<https://doi.org/10.1080/27703371.2024.2370884>

Thesis:

In translation/transition: what happens when hijra and/or khawaja sara meets transgender? Khan, Mohammad Zakriya, 2019

<https://open.library.ubc.ca/soa/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/24/items/1.0378320>

- Reflects on the problems of conflating ‘transgender’ with khawaja sara and hijra

Leiti

Documentary

Leitis in Waiting, Dean Hamer, Joe Wilson and Hinaleimoana Wong-Kalu, 2018

<https://www.piccom.org/programs/tonga-leiti-1>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AAAVm8DgcVM>

Articles:

A look into Tonga's Miss Galaxy trans beauty pageant, Washington Post, Michael E. Miller, 2024

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2024/08/26/tonga-trans-pageant-lgbt-rights/>

Tonga activist proud to be "like a lady", Amnesty International, 2019

<https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2019/04/leiti-and-lgbti-activism-in-tonga/>

Burrnesha

Documentaries:

The last of Albania's 'sworn virgins', BBC, Tui McLean, 2022

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-63904744>

The Sworn Virgins of Albania: The end of an ancient tradition, BBC World Service Docs, 2023

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mAPfugbPjPs>

Sworn Virgins, National Geographic, 2007

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RlIJ990jUfU>

Sexuality, Taboo, S1 E11

https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1002113/?ref=tttep_ep_9

Article:

The Mountains Where Women Live as Men, GQ, Michael Paterniti, 2014

<https://www.gq.com/story/burrnesha-albanian-women-living-as-men>

Chapter 1. A Long, Long Time Ago: The Ancient World

Gala

pp. 10-13

Article:

"Evidence for Trans Lives in Sumer," *Notches Blog*, Cheryl Morgan, 2017

<https://notchesblog.com/2017/05/02/evidence-for-trans-lives-in-sumer/>

- A great general and accessible article by Cheryl Morgan who is quoted in the book

Journals:

“Are There Homosexuals in Mesopotamian Literature?,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol. 130 No. 1 pp. 73-77, Martti Nissinen, 2010

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/25766947>

Devotee or Deviate: The “Dog” (keleb) in Ancient Israel as a Symbol of Male Passivity and Perversion, John Barclay Burns and George Mason University, 2000

<http://moses.creighton.edu/JRS/toc/2000.html>

- This article and the ones that follow provide further reading on the gala and the cult Ishtar/Inanna

The Voices of Ištar Prophetesses and Female Ecstatics in the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Réka Esztári and Ádám Vér, 2015

https://www.academia.edu/12535278/The_Voices_of_I%C5%A1tar_Prophetesses_and_Female_Ecstatics_in_the_Neo_Assyrian_Empire

“Priests of the Goddess: Gender Transgression in Ancient Religion,” *History of Religions* Vol. 35, No. 3 pp. 195-230, Will Roscoe, 1996

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1062813>

Deities of Nineveh: A Look at the Temple and Rituals of Ishtar of Nineveh, Abelardo Rivas, 2016

https://www.academia.edu/40047110/Deities_of_Nineveh

“Ungendering Archaeology: Concepts of Sex and Gender in Figurine Studies in Prehistory,” *Representations of Gender from Prehistory to the Present* pp. 17-30, Naomi Hamilton, 2020

https://archive.org/details/representationso0000unse_d8g0

- On the difficulties archaeologists encounter when trying to categorize the gender of ancient figurines (and also includes many other relevant essays on ancient and modern gender categorization)

Books:

Religion in Ancient Mesopotamia, Jean Bottéro, 2001

<https://archive.org/details/religioninancien0000bott/page/n5/mode/2up>

The Bearded Goddess: Adrogynes, goddesses and monsters in ancient Cyprus, Marie-Louise Winbladh, 2012

- Further reading on ancient gender ambiguous figurines/sculptures in the Mediterranean

Ancient Ecuador

pp 14-17

Journals:

The Rebel Potters, María Fernanda Ugalde, 2019

https://www.academia.edu/86696076/The_Rebel_Potters_A_Review_of_Gender_Relations_Female_Oppression_and_Patriarchy_from_the_Perspective_of_Ecuadorian_Archaeology

- Archeologist Dr. Ugalde created her own categorization system for the figurines she was researching. She said she was not looking for evidence of ancient LGBT people, but that happened to be what she found.

What Ancient Gender Fluidity Taught Me About Modern Patriarchy, María Fernanda Ugalde, 2020

<https://www.sapiens.org/archaeology/archaeology-biases/>

- A great and accessible article by Dr. Ugalde about her discovery, written for Sapiens magazine

"The Representation of Guayaquil's Sexual Past: Historicizing the Enchaquirados," *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* Vol. 7 Issue 1 pp 68-103, O. Hugo Benavides, 2002

https://www.academia.edu/22444558/The_Representation_of_Guayaquil's_Sexual_Past_Historicizing_the_Enchaquirados

"Dignifying and Decolonizing Queer Histories in Ecuador," *NACLA Report on the Americas* Vol. 53 Issue 2 pp 187-192, María Amelia Viteri, María Fernanda Ugalde and O. Hugo Benavides, 2021

https://www.academia.edu/50956628/Dignifying_and_Decolonizing_Queer_Histories_in_Ecuador?sm=b

"Queer histories and identities on the Ecuadorian Coast: The Personal, the Political, and the Transnational," *Whatever: A Transdisciplinary Journal of Queer Theories and Studies* 1, pp 157-182, María Fernanda Ugalde and O. Hugo Benavides, 2018

<https://whatever.cirque.unipi.it/index.php/journal/issue/view/3>

- Includes discussion of historical and modern enchaquirados with some really nice photos

Catalog:

DIVERS[S: Facetas del género en el Ecuador prehispánico], O. Hugo Benavides and Fernanda Ugalde, 2019

https://www.academia.edu/40491011/DIVERS_S_Facetas_del_g%C3%A9nero_en_el_Ecuador_prehisp%C3%A1nico

- Includes many detailed pictures and descriptions of the figurines in the book and more

Documentary:

La Playa de los Enchaquirados (The Beach of Enchaquirados), Iván Mora Manzano, 2021

Trailer: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZxKqniVxle8>

Info: <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt13258930/>

Hatshepsut

pp. 18-29

Videos:

Hatshepsut: Egypt's Greatest Pharaoh, Cogito, 2019

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LqhN7-gCSSs>

- A fun video that provides a good overview of the events of Hatshepsut's life and rule

Hatshepsut: Secrets of Egypt's Lost Queen, Discovery, 2017

<https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x950qk4>

or

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TNfsZylfcfM>

- Follows the process of the discovery and identification of Hatshepsut's mummy

"Discovery of Queen's Hatshepsut's Mummy," *AP Archive*, 2007

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ABpXwK85MIY>

- Press conference after identifying Hatshepsut's mummy

Books:

The Queen Who Would Be King: A scheming stepmother or a strong and effective ruler?,

Elizabeth B. Wilson, 2006

<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-queen-who-would-be-king-130328511/>

- An easy read that provides an overview of the events surrounding Hatshepsut's life and discusses how history's view of Hatshepsut changed over time

The Woman Who Would Be King: Hatshepsut's Rise to Power in Ancient Egypt, Kara Cooney, 2014

<https://archive.org/details/womanwhowouldbek0000coon>

- Although it doesn't leave room for a queer understanding of Hatshepsut, this book gives a good working overview of events

The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt, Ian Shaw, 2000

https://archive.org/details/oxfordhistoryofa0000unse_u4p1

- For a very broad overview of Ancient Egypt

Research papers:

Creativity And Innovation In The Reign Of Hatshepsut: Papers from the Theban Workshop Eds. José M. Galán, Betsy M. Bryan, and Peter F. Dorman, 2010

<https://archive.org/details/saoc-69.-creativity-and-innovation-in-the-reign-of-hatshepsut/page/n1/mode/2up>

- A collection of thoughtful in-depth research papers discussing different aspects of Hatshepsut

Articles:

"Egyptology, sexual science and modern gender identity," *Notches Blog*, Jennifer Grove, 2017

<https://notchesblog.com/2017/04/11/egyptology-sexual-science-and-modern-gender-identity/>

Egyptology, sexual science and modern gender identity, Jennifer Grove, 2017

<https://notchesblog.com/2017/04/11/egyptology-sexual-science-and-modern-gender-identity/>

- This blog talks about how early sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld's used Hatshepsut as an example of a gender variant person in ancient history

"The Masculine Character of Hatshepsut, Queen of Egypt," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* Vol. 25 Issue 6 pp 559-562, Edward L. Margetts, 1951

- An article from all the way back in 1951 suggesting Hatshepsut may have been trans

"(De)queering Hatshepsut: Binary Bind in Archaeology of Egypt and Kingship Beyond the Corporeal," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* Vol. 23 Issue 3, Uroš Matić, 2016

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/43967042>

- A contemporary article arguing against Hatshepsut being trans/queer, but in a nuanced way

Primary sources:

Ancient records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest 1865-1935, James Henry Breasted, 1906

https://archive.org/details/ancientrecordsof02brea_0/page/n3/mode/2up

- Translations of the Hatshepsut's birth story:

Ancient Egyptian Literature Volume II, Miriam Lichtheim, 1978

<https://archive.org/details/MiriamLichtheimAncientEgyptianLiteratureVolII>

- Contains translations of some more of Hatshepsut's inscriptions with pictures of the hieroglyphics, and on p. 25 asserts that "Masculine and feminine designations of her person alternate in her pronouncements: she is the son and the daughter of Amun."

The Temple of Deir el Bahari, Édouard Naville, 1908

<https://archive.org/details/templeofdeirelba07navi/mode/2up?ref=ol>

- The original documentation of the excavation of Hatshepsut's funerary temple in 1894, with pictures of how it looked before they started with just the top sticking out

The Temple Of Deir El Bahari Pt. 1, Naville Edouard and Clarke Somers, 1894

https://archive.org/details/the-temple-of-deir-el-bahari-pt.-1_202105/mode/2up

- More of the same original documentation

The Met Museum

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search?q=hatshepsut>

- The Met Museum has a wonderful collection of Hatshepsut artifacts, many of which can be accessed as high quality photos online

Galli

pp. 30-35

Primary sources:

There are many English translations for the quote from *The Golden Ass* which describes the galli. After a discussion with scholar Lucy Barnhouse, I decided to use the translation she gave me personally in the book because I felt it was the least biased against the galli. The following are a few of the others that I looked at.

Apuleius The Golden Ass, W. Adlington, 1566

<https://archive.org/details/in.gov.ignca.13574/page/n5/mode/2up>

- Includes the original Latin

Apuleius The Golden Ass, E.J. Kenny with Penguin Random House, 1998

https://archive.org/details/TheGoldenAss_201509/mode/2up

Apuleius The Golden Ass, A.S. Kline, 2013

<https://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/TheGoldenAssI.php>

Article:

The Galli: Breaking Roman Gender Norms, English Heritage, (accessed March 2025)

<https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/learn/histories/lgbtq-history/the-galli/#:~:text=The%20Galli%20were%20priests%20in,dressed%20exclusively%20in%20women's%20clothing>

Journal:

"Don't be a Drag, Just be a Priest: The Clothing and Identity of the Galli of Cybele in the Roman Republic and Empire," *Gender and History* Vol. 33 Issue 2 pp 296-313, Chris Mowat, 2021

<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-0424.12518>

- Scholars have commented on how this description is reminiscent of some modern day drag queens, which is discussed in this article

Thesis:

The Gallae Transgender Priests of Ancient Greece, Rome, and the Near East, K. A. Lucker, 2005

<https://ncf.sobek.ufl.edu/NCFE003536/00001>

Eunuchs

pp. 34-36

Book:

"How China Became a "Castrated Civilization" and Eunuchs as a "Third Sex"", *Transgender China* Ch. 2, Ed. Howard Chiang, 2012

- Includes a nuanced discussion of eunuchs by Howard Chiang who is quoted in the book

Primary sources:

"Matthew 19:12 Meaning of for There Are Eunuchs Who Were Born That Way," *ConnectUS*, 2020

<https://connectusfund.org/matthew-19-12-meaning-of-for-there-are-eunuchs-who-were-born-that-way>

- In Matthew 19:12 of the Christian Bible, eunuchs are mentioned in a pretty broad way that opens a lot of possibilities for who might be included in this category. A Christian takes a guess at the meaning, saying that "Jesus is most likely speaking of those born with birth defects in the reproductive organs."

"Hexaameron," Ambrosius, 12th Century CE, published in "Initiale: Catalogue de manuscrits enluminés," 1998

<https://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr/codex/6055>

- An illuminated manuscript from the 12th century CE, which shows a very interesting illustration of Adam and Eve as being of one body

Elagabalus

pp. 36-49

Podcast:

"The Real Housewife of Rome," *History Is Gay*, 2019

<https://www.historyisgaypodcast.com/listen/2019/1/20/episode-20-the-real-housewife-of-rome>

- Gives an entertaining and queer-friendly overview of Elagabalus's life. They also have a robust list of works cited

Article:

"Of Gods & Emperors: Trans Experiences in Ancient Rome," *Notches*, GVGK Tang, 2017

www.notchesblog.com/2017/11/14/of-gods-emperors-trans-experiences-in-ancient-rome

Books:

The Emperor Elagabalus: Fact of Fiction, Leonardo de Arrizabalaga y Prado, 2010

- A rigorous academic book that breaks down every claim made about Elagabalus, including a chart that compares the claims from each primary source and discusses which of them can be verified or not. It also has lots of images of the official coins with portraits of Elagabalus and the extended royal family

The Crimes of Elagabalus: The Life and Legacy of Rome's Decadent Boy, Martijn Icks, 2013

- A more readable overview that also talks about the many artistic works and interpretations that Elagabalus's legacy inspired

Primary sources:

Roman History, Cassius Dio, 211-233, published in "The Loeb Classical Library" Vol. IX, 1927
https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cassius_Dio/home.html

- The text of *Roman History*, originally written between 211-233 CE. Cassius Dio would've been closest in time to when Elagabalus was actually alive

History of the Roman Empire, Herodian of Antioch, 240 CE, translated from the Greek by Edward C. Echols, 1961

https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/herodian_00_intro.htm

Historia Augusta, circa 4th Century CE, unknown, published in the "Loeb Classical Library," 1924

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Historia_Augusta/Elagabalus/1*.html

- The least reliable primary source originally written by an unknown author or authors sometime around the late 4th century CE, (long after Elagabalus's rule)

Chapter 2. Europeans Behaving Badly

Medieval Europe

pp. 51-55

Books:

Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality by John Boswell, 1980

- The best and most accessible book I found on this subject in general

Seeing Sodomy in the Middle Ages, Robert Mills, 2015

Articles:

'The Inevitable Errors of First Explorations'? Revisiting John Boswell's Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality by David Clark, 2016

<https://notchesblog.com/2016/11/08/the-inevitable-errors-of-first-explorations-revisiting-john-boswells-christianity-social-tolerance-and-homosexuality/>

- The above book by John Boswell referenced above drew a lot of controversy when it was published, and this article breaks down some of the critiques

"Were there Transgender People in the Middle Ages?" *The Public Medievalist*, Gabrielle Bychowski, 2018

<https://publicmedievalist.com/transgender-middle-ages/?fbclid=IwAR1ybYwIRinz8lqY3u46jCARd2yhwalchGAq5V7bviycEBg-n8--PptNIWU>

Eleanor Rykener

pp. 56-59

Primary sources:

The Questioning of Eleanor Rykener (also known as John), A Cross-Dressing Prostitute, 1395 by Fordham University's "Internet Medieval Sourcebook", updated 2023

<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/1395rykener.asp>

- A translation of the trial

Calendar of Select Pleas and Memoranda of the City of London 1381-1412 edited by A. H. Thomas, 1932

https://www.google.com/books/edition/Calendar_of_Select_Pleas_and_Memoranda_o/nhFEBgAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PA1&printsec=frontcover

- Doesn't mention Rykener by name but only as follows (confirmed by Internet Medieval Sourcebook, above): "Examination of two men charged with immorality, one of which implicated several persons, male and female, in religious orders" (p. 228)

Articles:

"Eleanor Rykener," *Making Queer History*, 2018

<https://www.makingqueerhistory.com/articles/2018/4/24/eleanor-rykener>

"The Erasure of Eleanor Rykener: A Case Study in Trans- and Bi- Phobia," *Australian Medievalists*, 2014

<https://australianmedievalists.wordpress.com/2014/09/28/the-erasure-of-eleanor-rykener-a-case-study-in-trans-and-bi-phobia/>

Journals:

“Early, Erotic and Alien: Women Dressed as Men in Late Medieval London,” *History Workshop Journal* Issue 77 pp 1-25, Judith M. Bennett and Shannon McSheffrey, 2014

“Medieval Trans Lives in Anamorphosis: Looking Back and Seeing Differently (Pregnant Men and Backward Birth),” *Medieval Feminist Forum: A Journal of Gender and Sexuality* Vol. 55 Issue 1 pp 174–206, Blake Gutt, 2019

<https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/mff/vol55/iss1/7/>

- On the struggles of historians when reading transness into the past. It gives two examples of medieval texts that could be read as trans stories, and discusses how historians will sometimes tie themselves in knots to avoid reading them that way

“Visions of Medieval Trans Feminism: An Introduction,” *Medieval Feminist Forum: A Journal of Gender and Sexuality* Vol. 55 Issue 1 pp 6-41 M. W. Bychowski and Dorothy Kim, 2019

<https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/mff/vol55/iss1/2/>

- On the challenges of studying trans history and using the word “trans” to talk about people in the past: “Medieval” was not a word used in the Middle Ages. Nor was the term “Middle Ages,” for that matter. The concept of existing in a middle age or era is not the way that people we call medieval would have understood themselves. Yet Medieval Studies exists! Medieval Studies as a name and a discipline is evidence that we often use terms invented within a later period in order to assist us in understanding earlier periods. There is usefulness in learning what terms people of a certain time and place used to describe themselves, yet this does not take away from the usefulness of terms that they would never have imagined but nonetheless reflect realities about them or their circumstances.”

Sexual Deviancy and Deviant Sexuality in Medieval England by Isaac Bershad in “Primary Source” Volume V: Issue I, Page 12, 2014

<https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/psource/issue/view/1258/15>

- Undergraduate journal

Bodies of Resistance: On (Not) Naming Gender in the Medieval West by Alexander V. Baldassano, The Graduate Center, City University of New York, 2017

https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/2329/

- Graduate dissertation

Book:

Transvestites in the Middle Ages by Vern L. Bullough in “American Journal of Sociology”, Vol. 79, No. 6, 1974, pp. 1381-1394, published by The University of Chicago Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2777140>

- Uses extremely outdated language and beliefs about “transvestites” but includes several interesting incidental stories of gender crossing individuals

Early Modern Europe

pp. 60-61

Book:

Ambiguous Gender in Early Modern Spain and Portugal: Inquisitors, Doctors and the Transgression of Gender Norms, Soyer François, Page 37, 2012

- In support of the claim on page 61: “In 1519, a Spanish friar gave a sermon blaming “foreign sodomites” for a plague.” - “[Sodomy] brought by foreign persons from afar... [are responsible] for the punishments from God...”

A collection of primary texts:

Same-Sex Desire in the English Renaissance: A Sourcebook of Texts, 1470–1650 edited by Kenneth Borris, 2003

Eleno de Céspedes

pp. 62-71

Books:

Cross Dressing, Sex, and Gender by Vern L. Bullough, Bonnie Bullough, 1993

https://archive.org/details/crossdressingsex0000bull_g5j8/mode/2up

- Has a good summary of Céspedes’s story

The Tradition of Female Transvestism in Early Modern Europe by Rudolf Dekker and Lotte C. van de Pol, 1989

- Even when transness is acknowledged as a possibility, many scholars have approached it with deep hesitation and skepticism

“Written on the Body: Slave or Hermaphrodite in Sixteenth-Century Spain,” in *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, Israel Burshatin, 1999

<https://archive.org/details/queeriberiasexua0000unse>

Colonialism

pp. 72-77

Books:

Gay American History: Lesbians & Gay Men in the U.S.A. revised ed. by Jonathan Ned Kats, 1976

- Has a lot of good quotes from Europeans arriving in America and what they saw as gender non-conforming Indigenous Americans

Gender, Race and Religion in the Colonization of the Americas, edited by Nora E. Jaffary, 2007

- Deep dive into a variety of women's roles and perspectives

Primary source:

Requerimiento / 1510 Requirement: Pronouncement To Be Read By Spanish Conquerors To Defeated Indians

<https://press.rebus.community/openamlit/chapter/the-requerimiento/>

<https://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/amerbegin/contact/text7/requirement.pdf>

Journals:

"Extermination of the Joyas: Gendercide in Spanish California," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* Vol. 16 Issue 1-2 pp 253-284, Deborah A. Miranda, (Ohlone-Costanoan Esselen Nation, Chumash), 2010

<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/372454/pdf>

"Los Huecos Negros: Cannibalism, Sodomy and the Failure of Modernity in Tierra Firme," *Genders* Vol. 1 Issue 2, Marcia Ochoa, 2016

<https://www.colorado.edu/genders/>

Antonio de Erauso

pp. 78-85

Books:

In Search of Catalina de Erauso: The National and Sexual Identity of the Lieutenant Nun by Eva Mendieta, 2009

<https://archive.org/details/insearchofcatali0000mend>

Sapphistries: A Global History of Love Between Women, Leila J. Rupp, 2009

https://archive.org/details/isbn_9780814775929

Lesbians in Early Modern Spain, Sherry Velasco, 2011

<https://archive.org/details/sherry-marie-velasco-lesbians-in-early-modern-spain-vanderbilt-university-press-2011>

Primary sources:

Lieutenant Nun: Memoir of a Basque Transvestite in the New World, Catalina de Erauso, translated by Michele Stepto and Gabriel Stepto, 1592 (translation 1996)

<https://archive.org/stream/lieutenantnunmem00erau#page/n1/mode/2up>

The Autobiography of doña Catalina de Erauso by Catalina de Erauso, in "Early Americas Digital Archive," 2011

<http://eada.lib.umd.edu/text-entries/the-autobiography-of-dona-catalina-de-erauso/>

Thesis:

The Sword & the Veil: An Annotated Translation of the Autobiography of Doña Catalina de Erauso, Dan Harvey Pedrick, at The University of Victoria, 1999.

Journal:

"The Gendered Identities of the 'Lieutenant Nun': Rethinking the Story of a Female Warrior in Early Modern Spain," *Gender & History* Vol.19, Nerea Aresti Translated by Rosemary Williams, 2007.

The Americas

pp. 86-87

Articles:

2-Spirited People of the 1st Nations

<https://2spirits.org/>

1800s-1830s: Indian wars, westward expansion by the American Anthropological Association, published on NBC News, 2008

<https://www.nbcnews.com/id/wbna24714487>

- Gives a good overview of the concept of the "westward expansion" of white settlers and the Indian Removal Act

"Key Events That Affected Native Americans in the Late 1800s," *The Classroom*, Laura Leddy Turner, 2018

<https://www.theclassroom.com/key-events-affected-native-americans-late-1800s-11629.html>

"Manifest Destiny," *The American Yawp*, (accessed March 2025)

<https://www.americanyawp.com/text/12-manifest-destiny/>

- A great overview of the concept of "manifest destiny"

"Native Americans: From Conquest to Tribal Survival in a Postindustrial Society," *Diversity and Society: Race, Ethnicity, and Gender*, Joseph F Healey and Andi Stepnick, 2020

<https://archive.org/details/diversitysociety0000unse/mode/2up>

LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History by Will Roscoe with the National Park Service and Department of the Interior, 2016

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/17A0Ve3u7PKPhbFXXGYt17q492Htoiw4M/view?usp=sharing>

- This guide has been deleted by the incoming Trump 2025 administration anti-trans government purge, but I've saved and re-uploaded it at the link above

Book:

The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture by Walter L. Williams, 1988

We'wha

pp. 87-91

Primary sources:

Photographs of We'wha, Stevenson, and other related materials:

"National Anthropological Archives," *Smithsonian Institution*, (accessed March 2025)

https://collections.si.edu/search/results.htm?q=we%27wha&fq=data_source%3A%22National+Anthropological+Archives%22&fq=online_media_type:%22Images%22

The Zuni Indians: Their Mythology, Esoteric Fraternities, and Ceremonies by Matilda Stevenson, 1904

<https://archive.org/details/thezueniindians00stevrich/page/n23/mode/2up>

- By the anthropologist who befriended and studied We'wha

Website:

The Zuni Man-Woman: We'wha and the Zuni Third Gender Role by Will Roscoe

<https://willsworld.org/zunibook/zunibook.html>

- Will Roscoe has written many books and other materials about Indigenous American's traditional gender roles that fall outside a Western sex/gender binary. His site gives a good overview of We'wha's story

Journal:

We'wha and Klah the American Indian Berdache as Artist and Priest by Will Roscoe in "American Indian Quarterly", Vol. 12, 1988

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1184319>

Books:

Zuni and the American Imagination by Eliza McFeely, 2001

<https://archive.org/details/zuniamericanimag00mcfe/mode/2up>

- In addition to the details about We'wha and Matilda Cox Stevenson this book gives great context about "salvage ethnography"

Matilda Coxe Stevenson: Pioneering Anthropologist by Darlis A. Miller, 2007

<https://archive.org/details/matildacoxesteve0000mill>

Video:

PBS Learning Media: *Understanding LGBTQ+ Identity*

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1VOIz0QYeDg3-9Ya9A885xvDliN4sBBqP/view?usp=sharing>

- Screenshots of the now deleted video

Chapter 3. Sexology: Sex and Gender Under the Microscope

Making it Official: Codifying Sex

pp. 94-96

Book:

Bodies in Doubt: An American History of Intersex by Elizabeth Reis, 2009

<https://archive.org/details/bodiesindoubtame0000reis>

- A must read for a thorough history of how intersex people have been defined, seen, and treated from colonial to contemporary America

Journal:

“Doubtful Sex: The Fate of the Hermaphrodite in Victorian Medicine,” *Victorian Studies* Vol. 38

Issue 3, Alice Domurat Dreger, 1995

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/3828713>

- Good discussion of “the woman question” and the idea that everyone must be one of two sexes

Herculine Barbin

pp. 97-103

Primary source:

Herculine Barbin: Being the Recently Discovered Memoirs of a Nineteenth Century French

Hermaphrodite, Michel Foucault, 1980

- Barbin’s memoir, discovered upon her death in 1868 with introduction and arranged by Foucault

Journals:

Regions of Sexuality Locating Third Sexes by M. Morgan Holmes in "Transformations", Issue No. 08, 2004

http://www.transformationsjournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Holmes_Transformations08.pdf

- This paper provides a good critique of Foucault's interpretation of how Herculine saw herself, and argues that it "... is clear in Barbin's own text that although she saw herself in many ways as an exceptional female, she did not perceive herself as necessarily beyond the boundaries of the female."

"Lost in (Trans)lation: The Misread Body of Herculine Barbin," *Translation and Authenticity in a Global Setting* Issue 4, C. J. Gomolka, 2012

<https://doi.org/10.12681/syn.17283>

Thesis:

Sexual ambiguity: Narrative manifestations in adaptation by J. St. Jacques, Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis, 2014

<https://dare.uva.nl/search?identifier=4f1b2328-1040-4899-8ad5-80fbffaacdf7>

- Furthers the discussion of Barbin seeing herself as a girl: "Camille does not entertain the notion that she might be anything other than female. Instead, her anxieties revolve around the fact that she and Sara are lesbians..."

Scientists of Sex

pp. 104

Books:

The following two books by Bland and Doan were indispensable to my research for this section, providing both an excellent collection of primary source materials and analysis:

Sexology in Culture: Labelling Bodies and Desires edited by Lucy Bland and Laura Doan, 1998

https://archive.org/details/sexologyincultur0000unse_s5c3

Sexology Uncensored: The Documents of Sexual Science edited by Lucy Bland and Laura Doan, 1999

https://archive.org/details/isbn_9780226056692

Nineteenth-Century Writings On Homosexuality: A Sourcebook edited by Chris White, 1999

https://archive.org/details/nineteenthcentur0000unse_k4y4

- A great selection of primary source material including but not limited to writings by sexologists and legal cases

American Eugenics: Race, Queer Anatomy, and the Science of Nationalism by Nancy Ordover, 2003

- A great overview of the eugenics movement and its roots and contemporary form in the U.S.

Journals:

“Coming to an Asexual Identity: Negotiating Identity, Negotiating Desire,” *Sexualities* Vol. 11 Issue 5 pp 621-641, Kristin S Scherrer, 2008

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1363460708094269>

- Further reading on the history of asexuality

The Third Sex: The Idea of the Hermaphrodite in Twelfth-Century Europe by Cary J. Nederman and Jacqui True, Vol. 6 No. 4 of the “Journal of the History of Sexuality”, 1996

<https://archive.org/details/nederman-true-1996-12th-century-hermaphrodite>

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4617219>

- Feminist theory angle

“Sex on the brain: The rise and fall of German sexual science,” *Endeavour* Vol. 32 Issue 2 pp 64-69, Kevin S Amidon, 2008

[10.1016/j.endeavour.2008.04.004](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.endeavour.2008.04.004)

Article:

A Brief History of Romance (And Why It Matters) by Mark Manson, (accessed 2025)

<https://markmanson.net/history-of-romance>

- Some interesting historical context for the relationship between economic freedom and romance

Interactive educational website:

Eugenics Archive, (accessed March 2025)

<https://www.eugenicsarchive.ca/>

Primary sources:

The Intersexes: A History of Similisexuality as a Problem in Social Life by Xavier Mayne, 1910

<https://archive.org/details/mdptemp/mode/2up>

- Considered to be a groundbreaking early historical text in defense of LGBTQIA+ people. Like many that came after him, Mayne uses the existence of intersex people to support his argument for LGBT+ rights.

"The Unnatural History and Petticoat Mystery of Boulton and Park": A Victorian Sex Scandal and the Theatre Defense,” *The Drama Review* Vol. 5 Issue 4, Michelle Liu Carriger, 2013

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/24584848>

- A great write-up with pictures covering two people who were arrested for “crossdressing” and used “the theater defense” to try and exonerate themselves

“Case Of Fetishism Treated By Aversion Therapy,” *British Medical Journal*, M. J. Raymond, 1956

<https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC2035612/>

- Although not primarily about homosexuality, this primary document shows how gay people were viewed as having a fetish: “...the man who can love only men could easily have been a nightcap fetishist or a shoe-nail fetishist.” -Alfred Binet pg. 856

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs

pp. 105-108

Books:

Science In The Bedroom: A History Of Sex Research by Vern L. Bullough, 1994

<https://archive.org/details/scienceinbedroom0000bull>

- Includes some of Karl Ulrich's personal history in addition to the larger exploration of the history of research on sex

Hermaphrodites and the Medical Invention of Sex, Alice Domurat Dreger, 1998

<https://archive.org/details/hermaphroditesme0000dreg>

- Puts Barbin's story in the context of the field of sexology. Includes discussion of Karl Ulrich's use of intersex people to argue for LGBTQIA+ rights

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs: Pioneer of the Modern Gay Movement by Hubert Kennedy, 1988, (cited 2002 ebook edition), 65

- General resource on Karl Ulrichs and contains a good quote where Ulrichs compares “urnings” to intersex people: “Why should it then be unthinkable that, in a single individual, nature, in all her multiplicity, might work still differently, letting the male germ develop physically and the female germ not develop physically, but letting the mental, non-physical development be just the opposite, the male germ not developing and the female germ developing in all non-physical directions?” (Vier Briefe, 67–68)” pg. 65

Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History edited by Gilbert Herdt, 1993

<https://archive.org/details/thirdsexthirdgen0000unse>

- General information including a wide variety of different historical and cultural anecdotes. Includes a chapter with information about Ulrichs called *A Female Soul in a Male Body: Sexual Inversion as Gender Inversion in Nineteenth-Century Sexology* by Gert Hekma

Journal:

Transforming Sexuality: The Medical Sources of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825–95) and the Origins of the Theory of Bisexuality by Ross Brooks, in Vol. 67 of the “Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, 2012

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/24632041>

- Discusses the idea that intersex traits and “hermaphroditism” was a much more broad and flexible category that could include non-physical traits

Primary sources:

The Riddle of Man-Manly Love by Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, (translation published in 1994)

Araxes: a Call to Free the Nature of the Urning from Penal Law by Karl Heinrich Ulrichs

Paragraph 175 by by Craig Kaczorowski

http://www.glbqtarchive.com/ssh/paragraph_175_S.pdf

- Article about the German penal code that criminalized homosexuality and includes some of the original text

Richard von Krafft-Ebing

pp. 110-117

Book:

The Etymologicon: A Circular Stroll Through the Hidden Connections of the English Language by Mark Forsyth, 2012

- These words entered the English language through translations of Krafft-Ebing’s work: sadism, masochism, necrophilia, homosexual, heterosexual, exhibitionism, fetish

Journals:

Sexual Modernity in the Works of Richard von Krafft-Ebing and Albert Moll by Harry Oosterhuis, 2012

<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3381524/#fnr99>

- Richard Von Kraft-Ebing’s view that sexuality outside of reproduction was “perverse”

“Sexual Modernity in the Works of Richard von Krafft-Ebing and Albert Moll,” *Sexology, Medical Ethics and Occultism: Albert Moll in Context* Vol. 56 Issue 2, Harry Oosterhuis, 2012

<https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC3381524/#:~:text=As%20a%20professor%20at%20the.and%20a%20leading%20forensic%20expert>

- In support of the claim that people in the general public identified with the case studies in *Psychopathia Sexualis*: “...many aristocratic and bourgeois men, who had contacted Krafft-Ebing of their own accord as private patients or corresponded with him because they had recognised themselves in published case histories, were given ample opportunity to speak for themselves...”
- In support of the claim that LGBTQ people were moving from sinner to patient: “...irregular sexual behaviour should not be regarded as sin and crime but as symptoms of pathology. Since mental and nervous disorders often diminished responsibility, most sex offenders should not be punished but treated as patients.”

"History of Medicine Book of the Week: Psychopathia Sexualis (1886)," *Indiana University School of Medicine*, Safar Saydshoev, 2020
<https://web.archive.org/web/20220121205835/https://medicine.iu.edu/blogs/medical-library/historical-book-of-the-week-psychopathia-sexualis>

"Richard von Krafft-Ebing," *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Love, Courtship, and Sexuality Through History: The Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 5, Kyle Frackman, 2008
<https://works.hcommons.org/records/53xma-bp209>

Movie:

Psychopathia Sexualis, Bret Wood, 2006

Primary source:

Psychopathia Sexualis: With Especial Reference to Contrary Sexual Instinct: A medico-legal study by Richard von Krafft-Ebing, 1894
<https://archive.org/details/sexualinstinctcon00kraffuoft/mode/2up>

Havelock Ellis

pp. 119

Journal:

"Havelock Ellis, eugenicist," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* Vol. 39 Issue 2 pp 187-94, Ivan Crozier, 2008
[10.1016/j.shpsc.2008.03.002](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.shpsc.2008.03.002)

Primary sources:

Sexual inversion by Havelock Ellis, 1897 (reprint)
<https://archive.org/details/sexualinversion0000elli/page/n7/mode/2up>

The Task of Social Hygiene by Havelock Ellis, 1912

Man and Woman: A Study of Human Secondary Sexual Characters by Havelock Ellis, 1894

Studies in the Psychology of Sex, vol VII: Eonism by Havelock Ellis, 1928

Magnus Hirschfeld

pp. 120-132

Books:

The Transgender Studies Reader, Eds. Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle, 2006

- “Magnus Hirschfeld, a Jewish gay leader of the first wave of gay liberation in Germany in the 1880s, was also reported to be transvestite.” pg 217

Magnus Hirschfeld: The Origins of the Gay Liberation Movement, by Ralf Dose, 2014

- Quotation from a letter about Hirschfeld going by “Auntie Magnesia”: “Auntie Magnesia has been making his usual delightful mischief in Paris.” pg. 29

Not Straight from Germany: Sexual Publics And Sexual Citizenship Since Magnus Hirschfeld edited by Michael Thomas Taylor, Annette F. Timm, and Rainer Herrn, 2017

Magnus Hirschfeld and the Quest for Sexual Freedom: A History of the First International Sexual Freedom Movement, Elena Mancini, 2010

The Hirschfeld Archives: Violence, Death, and Modern Queer Culture by Heike Bauer, 2017
<https://archive.org/details/oapen-20.500.12657-31402/page/n3/mode/2up>

Journals:

“Glandular Politics: Experimental Biology, Clinical Medicine, and Homosexual Emancipation in Fin-de-Siecle Central Europe,” *Isis: A Journal of the History of Science Society* Vol. 89 No. 3, Chandak Sengoopta, 1998
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/237142>

“‘We Too Deserve a Place in the Sun’: The Politics of Transvestite Identity in Weimar Germany,” *German Studies Review* Vol. 35 Issue 2, Katie Sutton, 2012
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/23269669>

“Was the Homosexual Made White? Race, Empire, and Analogy in Gay and Trans Thought in Twentieth-Century Germany,” *Gender & History* Vol. 31, Issue 1, Laurie Marhoefer, 2019
<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/1468-0424.12411>

“‘Race’, Normativity And The History Of Sexuality: Magnus Hirschfeld’s Racism And The Early-Twentieth-Century Sexology,” *Psychology & Sexuality* Vol. 1 Issue 3, Heike Bauer, 2010
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/19419899.2010.494899>

“Magnus Hirschfeld's Doctrine Of Sexual Intermediaries And The Transgender Politics Of (No-)Identity,” *Working Papers: Fifth Meeting of the Seminar ‘Socialism and Sexuality’*, J. Edgar Bauer, 2003
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/324195078_Magnus_Hirschfeld's_Doctrine_of_Sexual_Intermediaries_and_the_Transgender_Politics_of_No-Identity

Articles:

“The early 20th-century German trans-rights activist who transformed the world’s view of gender and sexuality,” *The Conversation*, Elizabeth Heineman, 2018

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“The Early 20th-Century ID Cards That Kept Trans People Safe From Harassment: The radical days of the Weimar Republic, just before the rise of Nazism,” *Atlas Obscura*, Natasha Frost, 2017

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http://www.gbtqarchive.com/ssh/third_sex_S.pdf

- Talks about Hirschfeld popularising the term “third sex” and how it was connected to his idea of “intermediaries”: “The relative popularity of the term “third sex” is closely connected to its use by some of the most prominent representatives of the early homosexual rights movement in Germany.”

Primary sources:

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The Homosexuality of Men and Women by Magnus Hirschfeld, 1914 (English translation 2000)

<https://archive.org/details/magnus-hirschfeld-the-homosexuality-of-men-and-women-2000LombardiNash/mode/2up>

Magnus Hirschfeld Society: Research Center for the History of Sexology

<https://magnus-hirschfeld.de/>

- Invaluable resource on Magnus Hirschfeld archiving many primary source documents including photos and translations

Video:

Different From the Others: A Legacy Preserved, Magnus Hirschfeld (co-producer), 1919, restored and with added context by the UCLA Film and Television Archive, 2012

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T3DKSJ_7uv0

- The film that Magnus Hirschfeld co-produced and was thought to have been lost

Lily Elbe

pp. 133-139

Primary sources:

The Lili Elbe Digital Archive (accessed March 2025)

<https://www.lilielbe.org/>

- A fantastic resource containing photos and translations of the various editions of her autobiography as well as other written materials

Man Into Woman: An Authentic Record of a Change of Sex by Lili Elbe, published posthumously in 1933, edited by Niels Hoyer

- The semi-autobiographical narrative of Lili Elbe

The Man Who Became A Woman: An interview with Professor von Warnekros: Lili Elbe Came Into Being by Means of a Procedure Unique in the Annals of Medical Science, originally published in the Danish newspaper "Ekstra Bladet", 1931

https://lilielbe.org/context/periodicals/1931-02-28_EkstraBladet.html

Newspaper articles:

"Astounding Case Of The Man Who Was Changed Into A Woman," *Omaha World-Herald*, 1923

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"An Existence Through two Lives: A Past as a Man and a Future as a Woman – Lili Elbe Talks About the Painter Einar Wegener and Herself," *Politiken*, 1931

http://lilielbe.org/context/periodicals/1931-02-28_Politiken.html

- Interview with Elbe published in a Danish newspaper

Michael Dillon

pp. 140-153

Books:

Michael Nee Laura: The World's First Female to Male Transsexual by Liz Hodgkinson, 1989

- This book was a little hard to get ahold of but has a lot of great photos and info

The First Man-Made Man: The Story of Two Sex Changes, One Love Affair, and a Twentieth-Century Medical Revolution by Pagan Kennedy, 2007

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Articles:

"20th Century Boy," *Bitch Magazine* Issue 36, Pagan Kennedy, 2007

"Becoming Jivaka: Pagan Kennedy recounts the story of Michael Dillon, a transgender man and aspiring Buddhist monk," *Tricycle*, Pagan Kennedy, 2007

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Primary sources:

Out of the Ordinary: A Life of Gender and Spiritual Transitions by Michael Dillon/Lobzang, edited by Jacob Lau and Cameron Partridge, 2017

- *Dillon's autobiography*

Self: A Study in Ethics and Endocrinology by Michael Dillon, 1946

Roberta Cowell

pp. 146-148

Article:

'It's easier to change a body than to change a mind': The extraordinary life and lonely death of Roberta Cowell by Matthew Bell in the “Independent”, as recounted by her daughter Diana Carpenter, 2013.

<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/profiles/it-s-easier-change-body-change-mind-extraordinary-life-and-lonely-death-roberta-cowell-8899823.html>

Primary source:

Roberta Cowell's Story by Herself by Roberta Cowell, 1954

Chapter 4. Progress and Backlash: Trans in the USA

pp. 156-157

Book:

Transgender History, second edition: The Roots of Today's Revolution (Second Edition) by Susan Stryker, 2017

- This book provided most of the information for the intro to this chapter

William Dorsey Swann

Articles:

“My Discovery of the First Drag Queen” Channing Joseph, (accessed March 2025)

<https://www.channingjoseph.com/elements/discoveries.html>

“The First Drag Queen Was a Former Slave Who fought for queer freedom a century before Stonewall” *The Nation*, Channing Gerard Joseph, 2020

<https://www.thenation.com/article/society/drag-queen-slave-ball/>

“House of Swann: Where Slaves Became Queens” *The Whiting Foundation*, Channing Joseph, 2019

<https://www.whiting.org/content/channing-gerard-joseph>

“William Dorsey Swann, the Queen of Drag” *Rediscovering Black History*, Netisha Currie, 2020

<https://rediscovering-black-history.blogs.archives.gov/2020/06/29/william-dorsey-swann-the-queen-of-drag/>

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<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7961491/William-Dorsey-Swann-born-slavery-1800s-drag-queen.html>

Harlem Renaissance

pp. 160

Documentaries:

Take the Gay Train by Robert Philipson, 2008

- About gays in the Harlem Renaissance

T'Ain't Nobody's Bizness: Queer Blues Divas of the 1920s by Robert Philipson, 2013

Video:

“Harlem A Cinema Excursion into the great black metropolis of New York” *British Pathé*, (accessed March 2025)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YwDUbeff4nM>

- Just for fun, some old footage of Harlem in the 1930s

Article:

“A Brief History of Voguing”, *Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture*, Tsione Wolde-Michael, (accessed March 2025)

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"Black Face, Queer Space: The Influence of Black Lesbian & Transgender Blues Women of the Harlem Renaissance on Emerging Queer Communities," in *Historical Perspectives: Santa Clara University Undergraduate Journal of History*, Series II: Vol. 21, by Emma Chen, 2016
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Gay Voices of the Harlem Renaissance, A.B. Christa Schwarz, 2003
<https://archive.org/details/gayvoicesofharle0000schw>

Interactive website:

"The Harlem Renaissance," *NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project*, (accessed March 2024)
<https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/theme/the-harlem-renaissance/>

Gladys Bentley

pp. 161-165

Videos:

"Gladys Bentley: Gender-Bending Performer and Musician," *PBS*, 2020
<https://www.pbs.org/wnet/americanmasters/gladys-bentley-gender-bending-performer-and-musician-i0xlo0/14597/>

"Gladys Bentley 1st Trans SuperStar! Her Mother HATED her!" *Old Hollywood Scandals*, Ashley SaysSo, 2023
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R94cxQkGg2Y>

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The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government by David K. Johnson, 2006

Articles:

"1923 – 1952 Gladys Bentley," *Drag King History*, (accessed March 2025)
<https://dragkinghistory.com/1925-1950-gladys-bentley/>

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Anti-Communism in the 1950s on the “Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History” by Wendy Wall (accessed March 2025)

<https://www.gilderlehrman.org/ap-us-history/period-8?modal=/history-resources/essays/anti-communism-1950s>

You’ve Probably Heard of the Red Scare, but the Lesser-Known, Anti-Gay ‘Lavender Scare’ Is Rarely Taught in Schools in “Time Magazine” by Suyin Haynes, 2020

<https://time.com/5922679/lavender-scare-history/>

Journals:

“How Does A Bulldagger Get Out of the Footnote? or Gladys Bentley 's Blues,” *Ninepatch: A Creative Journal for Women and Gender Studies* Vol. 1 Issue 1, Regina V. Jones, 2012

<https://encompass.eku.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1039&context=ninepatch>

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I Am A Woman Again in “Ebony Magazine” by Gladys Bentley, August 1952

<https://www.queermusicheritage.com/BENTLEY/48900636.pdf>

Queer Music Heritage, (accessed March 2025)

<https://www.queermusicheritage.com/bentley1.html>

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Lucy Hicks Anderson

pp. 167-177

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We’ve Been Around: Lucy Hicks Anderson by Rhyst Ernst, 2017, accessed March 2025

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_DKxsGP9tRY

Transgender Pioneers in “Equal” Season 1 Ep2

- HBO documentary that includes Lucy Hicks Anderson, Jack Starr, and Christine Jorgensen

Podcast:

Lucy Hicks Anderson in “Sidedoor Season 8”, 2022

<https://www.si.edu/sidedoor/lucy-hicks-anderson>

- “...when she was arrested one night for running her speakeasy, a prominent banker in town rushed to bail her out. This wasn't out of some sense of injustice. It was because he had a dinner party planned, and Lucy was booked to cater it.”

Books:

Black on Both Sides: A Racial History of Trans Identity C. Riley Snorton, 2017

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctt1pwt7dz>

- Includes a wonderful analysis of Lucy Hicks Anderson's trial

History vs Women: The Defiant Lives that They Don't Want You to Know by Anita Sarkeesian and Ebony Adams, 2018

- Includes a section on Lucy

Oxnard: 1941-2004 by Jeffrey Wayne Maulhardt, 2005

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<https://legacyprojectchicago.org/person/lucy-hicks-anderson>

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Lucy Hicks [Tobias Lawson] Anderson (1886-1954), on “Black Past” by Kevin Leonard, 2007 (accessed March 2025)

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“Learn the Inspiring True Story of Black Trans Pioneer Lucy Hicks Anderson,” *Essence*, Taylor Lewis, 2020

<https://www.essence.com/news/learn-inspiring-true-story-black-trans-pioneer-lucy-hicks-anderson/>

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<https://photographs.venturamuseum.org/>

- Includes lots of photos of Oxnard and some of Lucy

“She Trafficked In Sin And Souffle,” *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, November 6, 1945

<https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/62870679>

- “She not only kept on cooking in Oxnard’s big houses, but tended children, helped dress many an Oxnard daughter for parties.”

“Lucy Hicks Says “I Will Die a Woman”,” *Oxnard Press-Courier*, pg 2, Nov 24, 1945 (accessed March 2025)

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“Night Life Queen Guilty in Sex Perjury Case,” *The Afro American*, pg. 2, Dec 15, 1945 (accessed March 2025)

<https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=UBnQDr5gPskC&dat=19451215&printsec=frontpage&hl=en>

“Allotment for ‘Wife’ Fatal: V.D. Check in Calif. Reveals Sordid Tale: CONFESSION MADE: ‘Wife’ Fooled Town’s Elite, License Clerk,” *The Afro American*, April 20, 1946 (accessed March 2025)

<https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=UBnQDr5gPskC&dat=19460420&printsec=frontpage&hl=en>

Blog:

Remembering Lucy Hicks, jedwardnajera, 2012, (accessed March 2025)

<https://jedwardnajera.wordpress.com/2012/02/08/remembering-lucy-hicks/>

- Although not very sympathetic, this is a first person account from someone who lived in Oxnard and (sort of) knew Lucy

Christine Jorgensen

pp. 178-189

Primary sources:

Christine Jorgensen: A Personal Autobiography by Christine Jorgensen, 1967

Christine Jorgensen speaks at a 1953 New York City press conference after her sex-reassignment surgery, Sherman Grinberg Library, courtesy of Getty Images.

<https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/video/ex-g-i-now-a-woman-returns-to-u-s-superimposed-over-news-footage/50073869>

- Footage of Christine Jorgensen returning to the US

Christine Jorgensen: 60 years of sex change ops by Chloe Hadjimatheou in the “BBC World Service”, 2012

<https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-20544095>

- Includes original 1970 BBC video

At Ron's in Laguna by Ron Niles and "Alron Productions", 1986.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v= BZpnTyRrD4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BZpnTyRrD4)

- Video interview with Jorgensen

Ex-Gi Becomes Blonde Beauty: Operations Transform Bronx Youth in the "Daily News: New York's Picture Newspaper" Vol.34 no.136, 1952

Christine Jorgensen Is Fighting a New Battle interviewed by Richard Beene for the "Los Angeles Times", 1988.

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Harry Benjamin

pp. 191-195

Movie:

Harry Benjamin, M.D. directed by Mark Schoen Ph.D., 2007

<https://sexsmartfilms.com/premium/film/763/>

Thesis:

Putting Patients First: Harry Benjamin and the Development of Transgender Medicine in the Twentieth Century by Nicholas Matte, 2001

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Article:

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<https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/BF01541990>

Primary sources:

Charing Cross Gender Identity Clinic

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aeBwniFDDK4&t=1s>

- Video recording showing the condescending way that the doctors at this gender identity clinic treated their patients during the 1970s

The Transsexual Phenomenon by Harry Benjamin, 1966

Trans-sexualism and Transvestism by Harry Benjamin in "Sexology Magazine", 1954, Pg. 225

<https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net/files/r207tp42n>

Questions And Answers On The Sex Life And Sexual Problems Of Trans-sexuals by David O. Caldwell M.D., originally published in 1950, (reprinted by *The International Journal of Transgenderism*, 2001)

https://web.archive.org/web/20210204211425/https://cdn.atria.nl/ezines/web/IJT/97-03/numbers/symposium/cauldwell_04.htm

First HBGDA Membership Request Letter, 1979

<https://wpath.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/First-HBIGDA-Membership-Request-Letter-1979.pdf>

Reed Erickson

pp. 198-203

Article:

Building a Better World for Transpeople: Reed Erickson and the Erickson Educational Foundation by Aaron Devor Nicholas Matte in “International Journal of Transgenderism”, Vol. 10, 2007

<https://onlineacademiccommunity.uvic.ca/ahdevor/wp-content/uploads/sites/2247/2016/12/ABetterWorld.pdf>

Primary source:

Erickson Educational Foundation Publications in the Digital Transgender Archive

https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net/catalog?f%5Bcollection_name_ssim%5D%5B%5D=Erickson+Educational+Foundation+Publications

- Pamphlets published 1965-1983 by the Erickson Educational Foundation

Gender Identity Clinics

pp. 203-211

Articles:

The Origin of “Gender Identity” by Alex Byrne in the “Archives of Sexual Behavior”, 2023

https://link.springer.com/epdf/10.1007/s10508-023-02628-0?sharing_token=yzrNpKeXWkP5B_nESa513fe4RwlQNchNByi7wbcMAY4vIN9RyNMtm5fRFO4IBqF2N9nkRAtyR8oPjVa-BFvF3fgYS_eU3CP77Sfh39SMaTWMUy9r9ahBU7yySmpBbpjQcD6WWNJ1c04o5Y-ZkflIHTBDRyY-bi2Mi1s_kk0STyAcE=

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Response of the World Professional Association for Transgender Health to the Proposed DSM 5 Criteria for Gender Incongruence by Griet De Cuypere, Gail Knudson, and Walter Bockting, 2010

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/15532739.2010.509214>

- “...we favor changing the name of the diagnoses from Gender Identity Disorders to Gender Dysphoria.”

“News analysis: Controversial mental health guide DSM-5,” *NHS*, 2013

<https://web.archive.org/web/20200713134308/https://www.nhs.uk/news/mental-health/news-analysis-controversial-mental-health-guide-dsm-5/>

Book:

Cross Dressing, Sex, and Gender by Vern L. Bullough, Bonnie Bullough, 1993

https://archive.org/details/crossdressingsex0000bull_g5j8/mode/2up

- Includes info about the gender identity clinics along with many other figures in Trans History

Community Organizing in the United States

Virginia Prince

pp. 214-218

Journal:

“Virginia Prince: Transgender Pioneer,” *International Journal of Transgenderism*, Vol. 8 Issue 4 pp 5-15, Richard Ekins and Dave King, 2005

https://doi.org/10.1300/J485v08n04_02

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“Virginia Prince: A conflicted life in trans activism,” *Gender Variance Who's Who*, Zagria Cowan, 2013

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Primary sources:

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Transvestia Magazine, 1960-1968

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"Why Dr Prince fooled congress," *Observer*, 1969

<https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net/files/9c67wm901>

- Newspaper clipping

Compton's Cafeteria

pp. 219-227

Documentary:

Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria, Susan Stryker, 2005

Articles:

"The Tenderloin Museum Has Ceiling Lights in the Shape of the Tenderloin," *SF Weekly*, 2015

- "[The riot] didn't just happen out of nowhere, either. That night in August 1966 came about because noted sexologist and transgender medical pioneer Dr. Harry Benjamin had recently opened an office at 450 Sutter Street, and, in the words of one activist, "it became possible, for trans people who'd been considered freaks, to dream."

"Transgender Rights: Can a long-scorned minority achieve equality?," *CQ Researcher*, Alan Greenblatt, 2015

<https://cqpress.sagepub.com/cqresearcher/report/transgender-rights-cqresre20151211>

"Trans Positive Law Was Being Made Before Stonewall," *TransGriot*, Monica Roberts, 2011

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Primary source:

Elliot Blackstone Interview at the "Digital Transgender Archive", 1996

<https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net/files/gx41mj01k>

Stonewall

pp. 228-229

Books:

Dancing The Gay Lib Blues, Arthur Bell, 1971

<https://archive.org/details/arthur-bell-dancing-the-gay-lib-blues-1971/mode/2up>

Gay New York : Gender, Urban Culture, And The Makings Of The Gay Male World, 1890-1940, George Chauncey, 1994

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Article:

"Why Did the Mafia Own the Bar?," *PBS American Experience*, (accessed March 2025)

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/stonewall-why-did-mafia-own-bar/>

Podcast:

"The Stonewall Uprising," *You're Wrong About Podcast*, Sarah Marshall, 2020

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5FSEJcIA_EQ

Primary sources:

"Welcome to New York Stonewall 25", The ACT UP Historical Archives, Avram Finkelstein, 1994

<https://actupny.org/documents/stonewallfly.html>

"Gay Protest March Planned Amid Stonewall Celebration," The New York Times Archives, James C. McKinley Jr., 1994

<https://www.nytimes.com/1994/06/10/nyregion/gay-protest-march-planned-amid-stonewall-celebration.html>

"Diana Davies photographs," *NYPL Digital Collections*, (accessed March 2025)

<https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/collections/diana-davies-photographs#/?tab=navigation>

- Diana Davies took many photographs of Stonewall, the Weinstein protest, and other activism of this time period

STAR

pp. 230-237

Articles:

"Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries" *Lavender & red, part 73*, Leslie Feinberg, 2006

<https://www.workers.org/2006/us/lavender-red-73/>

"NYU Remembers 50th Anniversary of Weinstein Occupation Today", *Washington Square News*, Roshni Raj, 2020

<https://nyunews.com/news/2020/09/25/weinstein-occupation-nyu-50-anniversary/>

"An Army of Lovers Cannot Lose: The Occupation of NYU's Weinstein Hall," *Researching Greenwich Village History*, Maggie Schreiner, 2011

<https://greenwichvillagehistory.wordpress.com/author/maggieschreiner/>

"Sylvia Rivera 1951-2002," *National Women's History Museum*, Emma Rothberg, 2021

<https://www.womenshistory.org/education-resources/biographies/sylvia-rivera>

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"Obituary For Sylvia Rae Rivera," *Sylvia's Place*, (accessed March 2025)

https://web.archive.org/web/20060619122836/http://www.sylviasplace.org/sylvia_obituary.htm

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"At STAR House, Marsha P. Johnson and Sylvia Rivera Created a Home for Trans People," *VICE*, Sessi Kuwabara Blanchard, 2020

<https://www.vice.com/en/article/star-house-sylvia-rivera-marsha-p-johnson/>

"Still at the back of the bus": Sylvia Rivera's struggle," *CENTRO Journal* Vol. XIX No. 1 Spring, Jessi Gan, 2007

<https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/377/37719107.pdf>

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"Street Transvestites Action Revolutionaries (STAR)," *1969 The Year of Gay Liberation*, NYPL (accessed March 2025)

- "Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson — both veterans of the Stonewall Riots — were active on the front lines of both GLF and GAA."

Primary sources:

Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries: Survival, Revolt, And Queer Antagonist Struggle, Untorelli Press, 2013

https://archive.org/stream/untorelli_2013_transvestite/untorelli_2013_transvestite_djvu.txt

- Collection of writings

Y'all Better Quiet Down, Sylvia Rivera, 1973

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jb-JIOWUw1o>

- Video of the speech given by Sylvia Rivera at the 1973 Gay Pride Rally NYC

"Podcast unearths earliest known recordings of trans icons Marsha P. Johnson and Sylvia Rivera," *As it Happens CBC Radio*, Sheena Goodyear, 2020

<https://www.cbc.ca/radio/asithappens/as-it-happens-monday-edition-1.5416232/podcast-unearths-earliest-known-recordings-of-trans-icons-marsha-p-johnson-and-sylvia-rivera-1.5416240>

- Audio recording of Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson

Sylvia Rivera Trans Movement Founder, Randolfe Wicker, (accessed March 2025)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ybnH0HB0lqc&list=PL4E0169C847048131&t=1368s>

- Video of Sylvia Rivera

“Stonewall 1979: The Drag of Politics,” *The Village Voice*, Steve Watson, 1979

<https://www.villagevoice.com/stonewall-1979-the-drag-of-politics/>

“Mike Umbers: Christopher’s Emperor,” *The Village Voice*, Arthur Bell, 1971

<https://www.villagevoice.com/mike-umbers-the-emperor-of-christopher-street/>

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<https://outhistory.org/files/original/1cefc2a2c75b3ec7c008291d5fb7be0f.pdf?fbclid=IwAR2HVSg0F8NWt6XqT63O77AKTkYd2l7Bwe8p9Sg3lqm8vwOSebNdecigQpl>

- Gay Liberation Front zine

CHRIS: Gay Prisoner in Bellevue, 1970

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- This was what Marsha P. Johnson was protesting in the picture holding the sign “POWER TO THE PEOPLE”

Building Momentum

pp.238-247

Books:

[Warning– the following two books are by homophobic authors]

Listen, America! The Conservative Blueprint for America’s Moral Rebirth, Jerry Falwell, 1980

<https://archive.org/details/listenamerica00jerr>

At Any Cost, Anita Bryant and Bob Green, 1978

<https://archive.org/details/atanycost0000brya>

Website:

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<https://www.equalrightsamendment.org/>

Documentary:

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