

INTRODUCTION

Is There A History of Female Cross-Dressing?

Is there a history of sexuality? asks David Halperin in one of the key articles of that new branch of scholarly investigation emerging in the wake of Foucault's *History of Sexuality* which no longer took for granted the somatic reality of sex, instead shifting the focus to sexuality as a culturally-constructed and historically-contingent effect of complex discourses of power.¹ Since then, the well-documented debates about the classification of sex in the nineteenth century have produced many fruitful insights into the relationship between sexual behaviour and sexual identity, especially in relation to the varied histories of female and male same-sex desire. Here, perhaps unsurprisingly in a discourse where thinking about sex means primarily thinking about sexual practice, questions of gender commonly serve a secondary albeit crucial function. Gender as sexual difference provides the basic conceptual frame for projects devoted to the recuperation of women's histories while the performative aspects of gender are explored in relation to different sexual identities.² But what happens if, in light of recent queer theory, we switch back our attention from the intricacies of sex to the specifics of gender, examining different gender manifestations such as cross-dressing in ways akin to the examinations of different sexual identities? *Women and Cross-Dressing* seeks to rethink the varied histories of female cross-dressers within the broader category of a history of female cross-dressing. The anthology sets out to trouble our understanding of the very notion of female cross-dressing, including texts that attempt to determine the characteristics of femininity and masculinity as well as focusing on actual and perceived transgressions of gender conventions by women between the Victorian period and the beginning of World War II. The anthology specifically aims to capture the historical contingencies of gender including material

published in Britain from the scientific, literary and popular spheres, and translations from European texts that impacted on British understandings of cross-dressing.

Marjorie Garber in her study of cross-dressing women and men has taught us to look closely *at* rather than *through* the cross-dresser as a way of recognising how cross-dressing relates to different cultural and historical constructions of masculinity and femininity.³ Judith Halberstam, in a very different project, has politicised further our understanding of gender, focusing explicitly on the phenomenon of female masculinity, which, she argues, constitutes a complex but recognisable and distinct historic gender identity that is more than a mere reaction against socio-cultural convention.⁴ If we no longer take for granted the binaries of sex and corresponding genders, then it is also timely to reassess our understanding of notions such as 'cross-dressing'. For scholars such as Garber, cross-dressing is linked closely to the aspect of clothing, the idea that dress is the primary means for playing with or even 'switching' gender identities. This is a particularly fruitful approach when examining those women for whom the performance of their 'maleness' was a type of commodity such as the male impersonators of the Victorian stage who embody the complex interplay of socio-economic and sexual powers. The success of their performance is based on the very knowledge of transgression taking place. In contrast, the experiential realities of many off-stage cross-dressers was commonly constructed either around notions of secrecy or associated with deliberate political interventions in contemporary definitions of female and male roles. To understand the full range of female cross-dressing, a new approach seems necessary, one that explicitly changes the emphasis from the material of Garber's 'dressing' to the discursive, focusing on a broader idea of 'crossing'.

That the nineteenth and early twentieth century was a crucial time in the conceptualisation of gender, sex, and identity categories more broadly is encapsulated by the emergence of sexology as an organised field of study.⁵ The new *scientia sexualis* produced the first taxonomies of cross-dressing, influencing the understanding of the phenomenon to this day as the entry for ‘cross-dressing’ in the current edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* makes clear. The entry reads as follows: ‘cross-dressing = TRANSVESTISM; hence (as back-formation) cross-dress *v. intr.*, to dress in clothes of the opposite sex, as a transvestite’.⁶ A separate entry defines ‘transvestism’ as the ‘action of dressing in the clothes of the opposite sex; the condition of having an abnormal desire to dress in the clothes of the opposite sex’.⁷ According to the *OED* cross-dressing and transvestism are synonymous, describing a pathological condition. The persistence of such a narrow understanding of cross-dressing, and its pathologisation, amply illustrate the need to broaden out our definition of the phenomenon, focusing especially on its gendered history.

Where does the notion of cross-dressing as a medical condition originate? The term ‘transvestism’ derives from the work of the German sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld who published the first study of the phenomenon in the early twentieth century.⁸ Hirschfeld, a trained physician, was a sympathetic observer.⁹ However, typically of the overall male-dominated makeup of sexology, his theories are based largely on empirical studies of men. The observations were then extended to explain what were thought to be corresponding female behaviours. This bias is indicative of the relatively exclusive scientific context of the new discipline which, while enabling male participation, denied access to women other than as subjects of study, as some of the sexologists themselves acknowledged. Richard von Krafft-Ebing, for example, attributes women’s relative marginality within sexological discourses to the lack of

female doctors, which in his opinion resulted in a wider-reaching absence of explorations of female sexuality within the medico-scientific realm.¹⁰ As a result, the taxonomies of cross-dressing frequently treat female experience empirically and conceptually as a kind of assumed reverse of male experience.

The relative scarcity of empirical observations of cross-dressing women helps to explain the distinct trajectories of male and female cross-dressing discourses in the nineteenth century. In contrast to its sexologically-determined male counterpart, female cross-dressing was closely linked to emergent feminist discourses which challenged the certainties of a binary male and female sex and gender order.¹¹ This is particularly apparent in the discourses of ‘female inversion’. The idea of ‘inversion’ originates within the sexological realm, specifically the theories of the early homosexual activist Karl Heinrich Ulrichs.¹² Ulrichs, trying to explain the phenomenon of men loving men, formulated the idea of same-sex orientation as a manifestation of a kind of natural reversal of the sexual instinct where ‘anima muliebris virili corpore inclusa’ [a female soul confined in a male body].¹³ For Ulrichs, the existence of female inversion was a mere theoretical afterthought. However, the idea of both male and female ‘inversion’ quickly became one of the most pervasive concepts in the sexual discourses of the *fin de siècle*.¹⁴ The notion of male ‘inversion’ was utilised by both sexologists and same-sex oriented men alongside similar new vocabulary such as the ‘homosexuality’. The female ‘invert’, in contrast, was conceptualised largely in terms of gender rather than sexual transgression, aligning the concept with the feminist and anti-feminist discourses of the time.

The emergence of an increasingly insistent new type of feminist, encapsulated by the figure of the ‘New Woman’, turned the so-called ‘woman question’ and related

gender anxieties into one of the key concerns of later nineteenth century Britain.¹⁵

Feminist efforts partook in a new discourse of female gender reversal, which according to Carroll Smith-Rosenberg culminated in feminists of the 1920s adopting the sexual rhetoric of male physicians, sex reformers, politicians, and novelists. This rhetoric represented the New Woman as social and sexual hermaphrodites, as an “intermediate sex” that existed between and thus outside of the biological and social order.¹⁶

Smith-Rosenberg argues that the feminists of the 1920s failed, precisely because they made use of a discursive strategy that was deeply associated with anti-feminist stereotypes, alienating their politics from the rhetoric of their late-nineteenth century foremothers who according to Smith-Rosenberg rejected the new discourse of inversion as it emerged. However, if we scrutinise the texts of the 1880s and 1890s carefully it becomes apparent that the notion of female inversion already played an important role then, employed both by women seeking intellectual recognition (frequently retorting to the Aristotelian notion of the masculine mind), and by anti-feminists who considered the unfeminine woman a threat to the social order, portraying her as ‘inverted’ in a discursive twist that made use of the new vocabulary of same-sex desire to attack women striving towards equality.

If examining the taxonomic history of cross-dressing enables glimpses at the complexity of female cross-dressing discourses, what insights does it offer into the varied historic subject positions of cross-dressing women? It is useful to take a look at some of the earlier records from Britain and the continent to dispel some of the persistent critical oversimplifications of female cross-dressing histories. The encyclopaedia of *Human Sexuality*, edited by Vern and Bonnie Bullough, exemplifies the kind of generalisations made about cross-dressing women. Bullough and Bullough

claim that historically a 'major motivation for the crossover was the restrictions society imposed on women. Women living and working as men had greater freedom of action. Moreover, society in general was very understanding of such women when they were unmasked'.¹⁷ Bullough and Bullough do not fully cite their sources but this type of analysis typically derives from a reading of some eighteenth-century records such as those of women who 'passed' as male sailors.¹⁸ The *Memoirs* of Mary Lacy, for instance, claim that when her sex was discovered Lacy escaped punishment. Similarly, Hannah Snell alias James Knell, probably the best-known of the female sailors, was simply put ashore once she was found out to be woman. Snell then took to performing her male persona on stage, now necessarily capitalising on her female sex. Earning a living on and offstage by cross-dressing was precarious, as the case of Snell illustrates who died penniless in Bedlam.

Indeed historical evidence suggests a fraught reality for many cross-dressing woman.¹⁹ Predating the nineteenth century and its scientific obsession with categorising human behaviour, a main source of knowledge of female cross-dressers and their place in society comes from the legal realm where we find a number of cases against women who tried to pass as men.²⁰ Surviving records made available by Brigitte Eriksson of the trial of Catharina Linck, who was prosecuted for lesbianism in 1721 in the Saxon town of Halberstadt, provide an exceptional insight into the complexities of women who passed as men.²¹ Born sometime in the 1690s, Linck claimed she disguised herself as a man to lead a chaste life, initially as a member of a group of Inspirants, a wandering religious sect. At some point, having adopted the name of Anastasius Lagrantius Beuerlein, she joined the army, deserted in 1708, was captured and sentenced to death but freed when her female sex was discovered. Linck then spent several years alternately in male and female clothes (and switching

between Catholic and Lutheran faith) before marrying Catharina Margaretha Mühlhahn in 1717, allegedly trying to disguise her sex from her new wife with the help of a leather-covered horn that served as a false penis. This plays quite a key part in the trial testimony because Mühlhahn claimed that Linck's use of a 'leather sausage' caused her soreness including when she was forced to take it into her mouth. When Mühlhahn's mother discovered the biological sex of her 'son-in-law' she brought this to the attention of the authorities who tried and convicted both Linck and Mühlhahn for sodomy. While the latter was sentenced to three years imprisonment and labour and then banished for life from the Saxony, Linck was sentenced to be beheaded and then burned.²²

Linck's case was known in the late nineteenth century when a transcript of the trial (still available in the Prussian Secret State Archive) was published by the German doctor F.C. Müller in 1891 although it was not translated into English until 1980 by Eriksson. It illustrates a key difference in the conceptualisation of cross-dressing and male-dominated same-sex discourses. Unlike discourses of same-sex sexuality, which tended to focus on questions of the naturalness of sexual acts, opposing 'natural' congenital same-sex desire to acquired vice which needed to be punished, female cross-dressing was associated with forms of criminal behaviour, lacking a recognised affirmative discourse. While in Saxony cross-dressing was conceptualised as a *sexual* crime, it was criminalised differently in Britain, where the English Criminal Code recognised neither cross-dressing nor lesbianism. Here female cross-dressing was categorised in terms of economic crimes such as fraud and vagrancy. Emma Donaghue, for instance, examines the case of a woman tried at the King's Bench in 1694 for impersonating a man.²³ The woman was accused of trying to pass as a man so that she could marry her maid in order to obtain the maid's dowry.

Focusing on the aspect of greed displaces ideas of sexual transgression onto the woman's perceived economic transgression, which could be punished by sentencing her to be whipped and to serve hard labour. Similar legal cases of female cross-dressing can be found in two eighteenth century accounts of the punishment of women who in male guise married other women. Mary Hamilton was prosecuted for vagrancy in 1746 when it was discovered that she had impersonated a man and married. She was sentenced to being publicly whipped in four market towns followed by six months imprisonment. Like Linck, Hamilton allegedly used a dildo as part of her disguise, a fact which is used to exonerate her 'wife'. Sex played a less overt role in the trial of Ann Marrow who was convicted of fraud in 1877 for impersonating a man so that she could marry three different women and defraud them.²⁴ Marrow was sentenced to three months in prison and 'to stand at the pillory at Charing Cross, where she was pelted so severely, primarily by the female spectators, that she was blinded in both eyes'.²⁵ The spectacle of the sentences was crucial in the very public unmasking of the female body hidden by the passing cross-dresser.

Most scholarship on dress to date falls into either of two categories: those theorists and critics focusing on the intricacies of gender politics for whom dress is one of the facets of gender; and the historians of dress, performance, and fashion for whom the clothes themselves are the object of critical enquiry. *Women and Cross-Dressing* to some extent bridges the distinct approaches, offering a more inclusive definition of the term cross-dressing. It aims to capture the historic specificities of female transgression, understanding cross-dressing in broad terms as the cultural practice of assuming or being thought to assume a gender role of the opposite sex. While most obviously this can be achieved through dress, enabling the cross-dresser to 'pass' as a member of the opposite sex, the anthology makes clear that the

conceptual scope needs to be widened to fully account for the historical variety of the phenomenon. Cross-dressing is placed within a wider cultural context, charting the transformation of gender roles and related changes in dress. If critics have mapped the many histories of sexuality, a focus on the history of women and cross-dressing offers a new perspective on one of the most decisive periods in the history of feminism, for the woman who crosses gender boundaries offers a particularly apt example of the frequently intermeshed emancipatory and oppressive socio-political discourses of sex and gender.

Volume I. Sexology and Taxonomies of Gender

What are the scientific theories that sought to discover what Michel Foucault so famously terms ‘the uniform truth of sex’?²⁶ The anthology opens with a volume dedicated specifically to the scientific literature on gender, dress and female masculinity, reinterpreting Foucault’s ‘sex’ specifically to include questions of the intersection of biological sex, sexual roles and gender. Here the examination of sexual practice is only secondary. The volume is organised in two sections. The first section, entitled ‘the construction of gender’ gives an overview of the kind of gaps between biological sex and the manifestations of gender that preoccupied scientists trying to determine scientifically the ‘truth’ of masculinity and femininity. W. Blair Bell’s investigation of the ‘Psychological Characteristics’ of women is an apt introduction to the close conceptual links between the female body and the idea of a universal femininity which can be deduced from and read back onto the female body, a dominant concept in fin de siècle debates about sex and gender. Bell’s ‘psychology’ is concerned with establishing and confirming norms rather than with analysing perceived deviancies. Bernhard Bauer’s project is similarly motivated. He examines

differences between the sexes, what he calls ‘dimorphism’, in a chapter entitled ‘Vision’, which is taken from his *Woman (Wie bist du Weib): A Treatise on the Anatomy, Physiology, Psychology, and Sexual Life of Woman with an Appendix on Prostitution*. Bauer’s approach is typical for those positivist attempts that aimed to validate Aristotelian philosophical models of femininity by seeking to give them scientific credence.

The framework of discussion is widened by J.C. Flügel who focuses more specifically on dress. Flügel examines ‘the psychology of clothes’ by which he means the effect of clothes on the other sex, a premise that provides a lucid illustration of the gender conventions of the time. Included also is a shorter paper by Flügel presented to at the 1929 meeting of the *World League for Sexual Reform*, a gathering of some of the most eminent scholars and scientists of sex ranging from H.F. Rubinstein, the defence lawyer at the trial of *The Well of Loneliness*, to Magnus Hirschfeld.²⁷ Flügel’s paper is the only one dedicated to aspects of dress, indicating a broader lack of scholarly interest in the topic at the time. Hirschfeld, who plays such an important role in the history of cross-dressing here switched his focus to broader questions of sexuality and sexual difference, as the extracts from *Sex in Human Relationships* indicate.

The section closes with a chapter on the ‘Sex Urge in Women’ by Joseph Tenenbaum, published in 1939, some ten years after the WLSR meeting. Tenenbaum surveys much of the existing literature in the field, indicating a change in the medical circles as more and more women entered the profession. In his discussion of ‘lesbianism’ he claims that the ‘Lesbian masquerading as a male needs a woman (the female principle) to supplement her personality’, revealing the influence of an increasingly distinct psychoanalytical approach to questions of identity.²⁸ However,

far from anticipating a kind of early butch/femme aesthetic as articulated by affirmative later twentieth-century critics such as Sue-Ellen Case, Tenenbaum links lesbian masculinity and lesbian femininity to notions of sadism and masochism in a discursive sweep that pathologises both same-sex desire and female gender transgression.²⁹

The second part of the volume is dedicated specifically to the case studies and new taxonomies coined to describe the phenomenon of female cross-dressing and female masculinity more broadly. The section affirms that while female same-sex desire was associated with female masculinity not all women who dressed as men were seen to be same-sex oriented. The early taxonomies of cross-dressing firmly place the phenomenon alongside sexual practices such as fetishism, distinguishing it from contemporary discourses of sexual identity and related affirmative politics. The section opens with a selection of case studies from Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*, which present some of the first sexological records of female cross-dressing. They are taken from the earliest English translation of the work, which was hugely influential amongst British sexologists.³⁰ Indeed the most important study of female cross-dressing in English, Havelock Ellis's *Eonism*, which follows here, discusses some of the same material as Krafft-Ebing, indicating the relatively limited body of work on which sexologists over time span of more than sixty years based their assumptions about cross-dressing women. The publication of *Eonism* completes Ellis multi-volume study on the *Psychology of Sex*, which had commenced with the production the *Sexual Inversion* in 1896, the first work in English on same-sex sexuality, co-authored by Ellis and the literary scholar John Addington Symonds.³¹ A shorter version of *Eonism* was included in *The Psychology of Sex: A Manual for Students*, a textbook designed for use by medical students. Here 'eonism' forms a

subcategory in the discussion of homosexuality, reinforcing the increasingly close links between ideas of sexual and gender inversion.

Hirschfeld's chapter on 'transvestitism' is the only contemporary English translation of this important text. Despite the fact that Hirschfeld was hugely influential for instance as the founder of the *Institut für Sexualwissenschaften* [institute for sexual sciences] in Berlin as well as the *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen* [yearbook for sexual intermediaries], few of his works were translated into English. Hirschfeld coined the term 'Transvestiten' in an influential eponymous work that was frequently cited but not translated in full. The chapter reinforces the relatively marginal role that women played in the development of the new discourse as for Hirschfeld the focus of analysis clearly lies on men although here we also find a small number of historical and more contemporary cases of women dressing as men.

While the works of many sexologists such as Krafft-Ebing and Ellis focus primarily on Western contexts, there also exist some accounts of cross-dressing in non-Western societies. One of the rare descriptions of cross-dressing women can be found in Edward Crawley's *The Mystic Rose: A Study of Primitive Marriage*. Crawley writes about the practice of female cross-dressing among the Zulus which is employed when their cattle are threatened by sickness. According to Crawley, Zulus associate cross-dressing with forms of superstition, even witchcraft. The analysis of such customs and beliefs plays an important role in nineteenth-century discourses of racial hierarchy, which typically contrast a 'civilised' Western social order with 'primitive' African societies that seem to be in an earlier stage of development. The hierarchy is 'verified' by denouncing the existence of practices such as African beliefs in witchcraft, which are seen to belong to an earlier stage in European history, long since scientifically discredited in an 'advanced' Western context. This kind of

anthropology, developed in the wake of Edward Tylor's influential *Primitive Culture* (1871) which proposed that the races of the nineteenth century world co-exist in different stages of development, frequently draws parallels between contemporary customs in so-called 'primitive' races and contemporary Western society.³²

Following in a similar vein, Edward Carpenter's *Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk: A Study in Social Evolution* includes a more specific discussion of cross-dressing and witchcraft. Carpenter, who believes cross-dressing to be cognate to same-sex sexuality although he emphasises that 'cross-dressing does not *prove* homosexuality', discusses the phenomenon as a mystically imbued custom practised by different societies in different historical stages.³³ Typically, the focus is again on men who dress as women but Carpenter's text nevertheless provides a sense of the supernatural or mystic beliefs different cultures were seen to attribute to the transgression of sexual roles by both women and men. Carpenter's account also to some extent reflects ideas about cross-dressing in his own cultural heritage. The classical and humanist traditions associated cross-dressing with supernatural qualities, for example in the Ovidian tale of the transformation of Tiresias who, when encountering two snakes coupling was turned into a woman, a form he kept for seven years until a similar incident gave him back his male body.³⁴ However, Carpenter also acknowledges that other cultures may follow a model of sexual difference that is more complicated than the simple female/male binary of Western culture. This argument is furthered by Hirschfeld's study of male transvestites in Japan, which explicitly focuses on the role of Japanese male transvestites within their socio-cultural context.

The last case study in the volume, Wilhelm Stekel's analysis of 'Elsa B.', a thirty four year old female cross-dresser, returns to European ground. Predating the translation of Sigmund Freud's work into English, Stekel's case is one of the earliest

and most extensive works developing the new psychoanalytical approach, making explicit the close links between the sexological tradition, and modern psychoanalysis. The overlaps between the two approaches are reinforced in the volume's closing section, which provides short entries taken from *Scott's Encyclopaedia of Sex* (1939) on 'eonism', 'pseudo-hermaphroditism', 'transvestism', and 'tribadism'. The specialist work, which was not for general publication, reveals the prevailing close links between gender and sexual transgression, and their pathologisation, which impacts on definitions of cross-dressing to this day.

Volume II: Fictions and Lives

If volume one examines the conceptual histories of cross-dressing, volumes two and three explore questions of phenomenology. What kinds of female transgression do we find in the period of emergent modernity? The volumes focus on the non-scientific realm, containing fictional and non-fictional accounts of women who dressed as men including writings by and about women, and photographs.

Volume two opens with the play *Captain Charlotte* by the prolific Victorian playwright Edward Coyne Stirling who enjoyed success on the London stages both with his own creations and with dramatic rewritings such as Charles Dickens' *Martin Chuzzlewit*. *Captain Charlotte* was published by the theatrical publisher Thomas Hailes Lacy who aimed to make available the plays of the London stage for provincial theatres.³⁵ Typically for this kind of entertainment, which harks back to plays such as William Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, here the gender confusion caused by a woman dressing as a man functions as the stable of the comedy. Crucially, the audience is aware of the sex of the cross-dresser, and the play itself sets out to confirm rather than to challenge gender conventions.³⁶ In contrast to the specialist

taxonomies of gender, *Captain Charlotte* offers us some insights into popular perceptions of femininity and masculinity. Kristina Straub focusing on the rise of the female actress in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has charted the changing attitudes to cross-dressing women on stage, arguing that there was an increased need to reveal the actresses' 'true' sex on stage towards the mid-eighteenth century.³⁷ For Straub this is tied in to the increasing sexualisation of theatrical performance where gender ambiguity came to signify the threatening prospect of independent female sexuality generally, and female same-sex sexuality more specifically. Predating the later nineteenth-century discourses of female inversion, *Captain Charlotte* reflects the conceptual changes in the representation of women and men on stage, capturing early-Victorian beliefs in the existence of male and female spheres, which increasingly came under attack in the course of the century.

With the increasing popularity of the female actress in the nineteenth-century, the gender politics on stage grew in complexity.³⁸ In the wake of the loosening of censorship and the extension of play licences beyond a few London theatres, theatrical performances flourished, gaining increasing importance both as a form of popular entertainment as well as the 'serious' form of art mocked in Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. Plays such as *Captain Charlotte* follow the more traditional pathway of theatrical cross-dressing, where the changed identity is part of a humorous comedy of errors. These comedies and burlesques inevitably end in the exposure of the characters' 'true' biological sex when their 'true' gender is restored. Here cross-dressing typically functions as a comic device partly dependent on the audience's knowledge of the 'true' identities of the characters. This type of entertainment is distinct from the phenomenon of the so-called male impersonator, which played an important role in later Victorian popular entertainment. Here too the

audiences knew that the 'male' performer on stage was biologically female. However, in contrast to the popular comedies, the performance does not end in a disclosure of the 'true sex'. The male impersonator is largely a spatial phenomenon, confined to the realm of the stage where the performer does not usually reveal her female sex, and it is temporarily limited. Male impersonators usually returned to a female persona off-stage. The off-stage persona of Vesta Tilley, for instance, a Worcester-born actress who as a male impersonator rose from impoverished obscurity and married a conservative politician, was decidedly feminine.³⁹ Here, then, the performance of maleness itself rather than a play with 'proper' gender roles is the basis of entertainment. However, there also exists a different, more affirmative discourse of female cross-dressing on stage. In 1980 Lillian Faderman and Brigitte Eriksson translated into English an account which was originally published in the 1903 edition of Hirschfeld's *Jahrbuch* by Rosa von Braunschweig of 'Felicitä von Vestvali', a German male impersonator who toured Europe and North America.⁴⁰ Von Braunschweig is particularly interested in the same-sex interests of Vestvali, anticipating later twentieth century reconstructions of a lesbian stage culture as imagined for instance on Sarah Walters's novel *Tipping the Velvet* (1998).

While many accounts dedicated to the reconstruction of lives of earlier cross-dressing women are part of an overt feminist discourse, there also exist some less overt, if sympathetic portrayals of female cross-dressing. Charles Whibley's account of Moll Cutpurse 'born in the Barbican at the heyday of England's greatness, four years after the glorious defeat of the Armada' provides a semi-mythic narrative of the 'scoundrel' of Thomas Middleton's play.⁴¹ Published in 1897, only three years after Sarah Grand coined the term 'New Woman' amidst an avid debate about women's role in society, Whibley's narrative is out of sync with much literature of the time

which either saw in the masculine women a threat to the social order or considered female masculinity in feminist terms.⁴² For feminists such as Grand who devoted a substantial interlude in her novel *The Heavenly Twins* to a cross-dressing story in which the female protagonist Angelica in the guise of a boy wins the friendship and love of a tenor, cross-dressing provided a means to experiment with gender roles.⁴³ Indeed new woman literature is partly characterised by exactly the kind of gender play associated with assuming the guise of the opposite sex including the use of male pseudonyms, male narrators, and episodes of partial or full cross-dressing such as in *The Heavenly Twins*, further reinforcing the idea of a distinctive trajectory of female cross-dressing discourses.⁴⁴ In contrast, Whibley story follows more in the tradition of adventure literature.

Women adventurers fascinated many Victorians. Alongside the female writer, the independent woman traveller provided a crucial challenge to the strict separation of the sexes of the nineteenth century. Here the issue of cross-dressing is complicated by the fact that it was not necessarily associated with the notion of passing as a man but more broadly with a kind of 'de-feminisation' caused by the practicalities of travel. If for working-class women the economics of dress was more obviously tied in to the question of labour, the practicalities of dress played a different role for more financially independent women. Missionary activity and imperial expansion increasingly included women who travelled to other continents in the company of their husbands or, at least, as part of a mission.⁴⁵ While an increasing number of British subjects left their home shores for far-flung places, women travelling alone were nevertheless still exceptional. Lady Hester Stanhope is one of the earliest and most intriguing examples of the new travelling women.⁴⁶ From an upper-class background, after the death of her parents and unmarried, Stanhope travelled to the

Middle East, eventually settling in Lebanon where she lived surrounded by local servants until her death. Stanhope adopted the dress of local Arab men. This further complicates our understanding of cross-dressing as the flowing robes of Arab men in British terms may be conceived as more gender-neutral. Dress as well as the fact that she was a foreign woman allowed Stanhope access to male Arab world despite the fact that she did not try to pass as a man.

The lives of women travellers form a crucial part of an emerging feminist discourse in which women sought out specific female histories. Included here is the introduction to a collection of *Women Adventurers* published by the feminist writer Mérie Muriel Dowie in 1897, as well as two of the narratives she included in her book. The story of the eighteenth century Mary Ann Talbot provides an important counterpoint to the historic case studies circulating in sexological literature, in the same way that the story of Madame Loretta Janeta Velasquez alias Lieutenant Harry T. Buford provides an extensive female-authored account of a woman's career as a soldier. The military, partly enabled by the regularity created by the wearing of uniforms, is one of the spheres particularly conducive to female cross-dressing.

If cross-dressing plays an important role in the narratives of women adventurers, their transgression of dress conventions poses a challenge to contemporary observers. Included here is a description of the avid Victorian traveller Isabella Bird by her contemporary Margaret E. Tabor from the book *Pioneer Women* which next to Bird describes the lives of Mrs Sherwood, Mary Kingsley, and Gertrude Bell. While other observers commonly tried to emphasise the feminine appearance of these women travellers, Tabor provides a different narrative in the description of Bird's life, newly-widowed in Scotland. According to Tabor, Bird's dress appears to have been distinctly masculine not only while travelling but also on return to Britain,

which, suggests that for her dress played a role beyond issues relating to the practicalities of travels. Tabor writes that Bird's

appearance in a stout man's Ulster, a weather-beaten hat, and big snow boots shocked some of the Tobermory folk, and a Scotch servant lassie was persuaded it was no wonder she came through savage peoples unhurt for "not even a black man would run away with her".⁴⁷

Here gender transgression is viewed in terms of a casually linked misogyny and racism. The passage makes clear that even the adoption of some items of male attire was enough to count as a significant transgression. A selection of letters written by Bird while travelling through the Rocky Mountains complements Tabor's account, revealing the complex reality of Bird's travels in which she combined horse-riding and hunting with more feminine activities such as baking and needlework.

The volume closes with Arthur Conan Doyle's translation of Leon Denis' *Joan of Arc*. Post World War I in particular the story of Joan of Arc received substantial attention both in writings in French where Denis was one of the most prolific writers on Joan, and in writings in English where the story inspired women writers such as Maude Royden and I.A. Taylor.⁴⁸ Conan Doyle's translation of Denis' text focuses on aspects of the supernatural, associating Joan's dress with her divine mission:

She caracoled lightly on beautiful war-horse in her white armour, which shone in the morning sun. With her banner in her hand and the sword of Fierbois at her side, she was all radiant with hope and faith. She seemed the very Angel of War come down a messenger from high.⁴⁹

The connection between cross-dressing and ideas of the supernatural echoes contemporary sexological-anthropological accounts such as the writings by Carpenter and Hirschfeld. But the emphasis on the phenomenon's *supernatural* rather than its

unnatural aspects also reinforces the distinct discursive trajectory of female cross-dressing where some of the more positive accounts of cross-dressing woman emphasise that the phenomenon is not *against nature* but designates a spiritual mission.⁵⁰

VOLUME III: Fictions and Lives II

If women who dressed as men and masculine women more generally played an important role in the cultural and political landscape of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, this provoked a range of reactions. The last volume focuses more specifically on cross-dressing and the exigencies of modernity including texts and photographs from the early twentieth century. The extracts from an unpublished manuscript by Charles Reade entitled ‘Androgyny, or Woman Playing at Man’, illustrate one way in which men fictionalised the sexual order under threat. The trial of Radclyffe Hall’s *The Well of Loneliness* in 1928 explicitly linked female masculinity to lesbianism, firmly entrenching the stereotype of what Esther Newton so famously called the ‘mythic mannish lesbian’ in the public consciousness.⁵¹ Hall’s novel provoked the first public debates in Britain about lesbianism, following a campaign by the *Sunday Express* editor James Douglas which resulted in the novel’s prosecution on charges of ‘obscenity’.⁵² The key article from the campaign including a picture of Hall is included here. The masculinity of *The Well of Loneliness*’ female protagonist Stephen Gordon is one of the key points of attack, playing an important role in contemporary reactions to the book and continuing to generate much debate by critics attempting to reconstruct a lesbian history.⁵³ Halberstam, for example, reads the novel in the context of a history of lesbian masculinity, which she traces back to the diaries of Anne Lister, a Yorkshire gentlewoman who kept a detailed and frank

record of her same-sex activities at the turn of the nineteenth century.⁵⁴ The diaries, which were written in code, were decoded, edited and published by Helena Whitbread in the late 1980s, reveal that Lister's identity was as much informed by her desire for women as by her distinct and cherished masculinity.⁵⁵ The debates around the trial of *The Well of Loneliness* reveal the close conceptual links between female masculinity and lesbianism.

Hall herself plays an important role in both lesbian histories and histories of female cross-dressing as a short description of Hall by Ethel Mannin indicates. Perhaps her notoriety even inspired E.F. Benson's short story *The Male Impersonator*, published in a limited edition in 1929, the year after the trial of *The Well of Loneliness*, and providing a very different literary engagement with female cross-dressing. In the wake of *The Well's* trial we also find a range of real-life cross-dressing stories reported in contemporary newspapers. The articles of women who lived as men and men who lived as women indicate a direct link to those earlier historic records of attempts to 'pass' as a member of the opposite sex. The most notorious case here is that of 'Colonel Barker', a high ranking military 'man' who turned out to be a woman'. Hall strongly disapproved of Barker reinforcing the many nuances and allegiances in female cross-dressing histories where the boundaries between sexual, economic and political transgression are unstable.

A selection of photographs complements the range of textual accounts of volumes two and three, visualising the increasing changes in dress for women, particularly in a working environment. While the context and circumstance of the two postcards, which are both from North America is obscure, they provide an intriguing glimpse at the existence of a turn of the century subculture of female cross-dressers. The message side is blank on the postcard depicting the staged photograph of two

cigar-smoking female cross-dressers in suits while the second postcard is addressed to a 'Miss Jennie, Stratford, Wisc.', bearing the inscription 'What some people will do.-- -!!!' but no signature. The remaining photographs chart the changing female workplace during World War I. The woman wearing trousers and overall, bent under the weight of a hundredweight sack of coal she is carrying, is a worker at the South Metropolitan Gas Company in London, while the two women in matching short overalls, trousers and caps are munitions workers (munitionettes) at Woolwich Arsenal. A series of three photographs showing women in uniform completes the anthology including Mairi Chisholm and the Baroness de T'Serclaes driving their motor ambulance through the ruins of Pervyse. The two women were stationed at a first aid post in the Belgian front line for most of the war. The role of women ambulance drivers has been famously immortalised in *The Well of Loneliness* where the protagonist Stephen Gordon meets her lover Mary Llewellyn while driving ambulances on the frontline. The following two pictures both depict members of the Women's Royal Naval Service. In the first picture a WRNS officer instructs ratings in the use of anti-gas respirators at Lowescroft wearing a tailored uniform while the ratings are dressed in a serge jacket and skirt. The second photograph shows a WRNS motor driver in the driving seat of an open car. A different profession opening to women is depicted in the photograph of an Inspector and Sergeant in the Women's Police Service, their heavy boots and the long coat of the woman on the right indicating increasingly asexual uniforms. The final photograph was taken during the World War II. It depicts two women dockyard workers at the blacksmith's forge when destroyer HMS ASHANTI was undergoing a refit at Immingham. Their overalls, caps and boots no longer carry any gender specific markers.

The anthology closes with a fictional account of one of the most striking examples of female cross-dressing, Olga Racster and Jessica Grove's novel *Dr James Barry: Her Secret Story* (1932). The work provides an imaginative account of the life of one of the most mysterious cases of a nineteenth century cross-dressing woman who in male guise took a medical degree in Edinburgh, then embarked on a successful and high-profile career as an army doctor from 1813-1859, and whose female sex remained a secret until her death. Barry's case, when it unfolded after her death, made newspaper headlines in number of contemporary articles, but mostly it informed subsequent scientific literature on female cross-dressing well into the first half of the twentieth century.⁵⁶ Havelock Ellis, for instance, in his *Eonism* includes a short paragraph on Barry. Ellis's account reveals the conceptual difficulties such a complete form of gender transgression posed to the scientific observer as Ellis moves between male and female pronouns when referring to Barry. Ellis, trying to dissociate Barry from same-sex practices, claims that while 'there was a certain effeminacy of manner which he was always striving to overcome, there is no indication of any sexual tendency in her history, whether heterosexual or homosexual, and we may believe that, as is fairly common in this psychic anomaly, the sexual impulse was not strong, and, therefore, easy to divert and sublimate in this transformation'.⁵⁷ Ellis, then, attributes a kind of asexuality to Barry based on Barry's assumption of an opposite-sex identity. Ellis's definitional struggle reveals the difficulties of categorisation cross-dressing as a distinct phenomenon, as sexologists frequently failed to forge clear distinctions between categories of sexual and gender transgression.

In contrast to writings by sexologists such as Ellis, *Dr James Barry* follows a rather different project. Racster and Grove explicitly link Barry to female same-sex desire, situating their novel, which was published only four years after *Eonism*, within

the increasingly outspoken affirmative female same-sex discourses of the 1920s and 30s.⁵⁸ Racster and Grove's work, although almost contemporaneous to *The Well of Loneliness*, in many ways anticipates the later debates about lesbian history as the fictionalisation of James Barry is a deliberate attempt to reconstruct an early nineteenth century female same-sex history. *Dr James Barry* illustrates the complex links between histories of female cross-dressing and histories of female same-sex desire which troubled early twentieth century commentators and continue to trouble critics to this day. The book makes clear that while the taxonomies of sexology may have associated sexual inversion with gender inversion, the same was also true in reverse where gender inversion was seen as an indicator of same-sex desire.⁵⁹ At the same time, *Dr James Barry* plays an important role in reconstructions of female same-sex histories, importantly documenting that women at the turn of the last century participated in the writing of female sexual histories in way that was distinct from the medico-scientific sphere that taxonomised their desires, enabling a more affirmative discussions of sexual and gender variation.

What is the relevance of a history of cross-dressing women? The queer theorist Riki Wilchins recently wrote that while ‘gender originated as a feminist concern [...] now other voices are coming forward, promoting gender equality as a political movement and civil rights cause’.⁶⁰ Investigating the many histories of female cross-dressing provides important insights into the links between feminism, gender and identity politics more broadly, enabling a nuanced understanding of gender from an inclusive feminist perspective that accommodates the range of female masculinities. The materials included in this anthology make clear how investigations of women transgressing the gender conventions of their time are closely tied in to the histories of feminism, and of female-same sex desire. The photographs in particular reinforce the premise that a history of cross-dressing is always also a history of the economics of dress more broadly. Examining what one might call the many histories of women and cross-dressing, then, provides a useful phenomenological addition to understanding women’s history more broadly. For it is often within the texts concerned with defining a kind of essential ‘womanhood’, a femininity that can be scientifically proven, that the very opposite emerges, revealing the rich historic variety of female experience. It would be reductive to read female cross-dressing merely in socio-economic terms as a way of earning a living. While it is noteworthy that one of the first areas of unisex clothing emerged in the factories and other places of labour, issues of desire equally play a role in deliberate gender transgressions. Looking at the photographs of the female workers in their uniform clothes we can only speculate about their lives. Here cross-dressing is not necessarily an expression of gender individuality or sexual desire, yet this does not mean that we can exclude issues of desire from our reading.

Cases such as that of Linck, Bonny and Reid, for instance, indicate that it would be reductive to assume that poor women dressed as men solely because of economic reasons. And if we look closely at the photographs of women workers we can see how some of them embrace the masculine role enabled by their clothing. The last photograph of the book in particular illustrates distinct gender awareness. Surely, the female dockworkers with their short hair, heavy tools and decidedly masculine posture are deliberately constructing their identity in terms of female masculinity? A history of women and cross-dressing enables precisely this kind of reading, finding possibilities, allowing some access to the histories and historic variety of female experience, and illustrating the complex ways in which women negotiated their social, sexual and economic roles.

¹ David M. Halperin, 'Is There a History of Sexuality?', in Henry Abelove, Michèle Aina Barale and David M. Halperin, *The Gay and Lesbian Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 416-431. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: an Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (London: Penguin Books, 1990).

² Key studies include Lucy Bland, *Banishing the Beast : English Feminism and Sexual Morality 1885-1914* (London: Penguin, 1995); John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate matters: a History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), and Franz X. Eder, Hall, Lesley and Gert Hekma (eds), *Sexual Cultures in Europe: National Histories* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), and their *Sexual Cultures in Europe: Themes in Sexuality* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Martha Vicinus, *Intimate Friends: Women Who Loved Women, 1778-1928* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), and Jeffrey Weeks, *Sexuality and its Discontent, Meanings, Myths and Modern Sexualities* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985).

³ Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

⁴ Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998).

⁵ Joseph Bristow provides an excellent overview of the development of sexology and sexuality studies in his *Sexuality* (London: Routledge, 1997).

⁶ *OED*, 2nd ed., s.v. 'cross-dressing'.

⁷ *OED*, 2nd ed., s.v. 'transvestism'.

⁸ Magnus Hirschfeld, *Die Tranvestiten: Eine Untersuchung über den erotischen Verkleidungstrieb mit umfangreichen casuistischem und historischem Material* (Leipzig: Spohr, 1910).

⁹ For biographical accounts see Manfred Herzer, *Magnus Hirschfeld: Leben und Werk eines jüdischen, schwulen und sozialistischen Sexologen* (Frankfurt: Campus, 1992); Charlotte Wolff, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet, 1986).

¹⁰ Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis* (München: Matthes & Seitz, 1997), 23.

¹¹ See Lucy Bland, *Banishing the Beast: Sexuality and the Early Feminists* (London: Penguin, 1995).

¹² The works are available in Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, *Forschungen über das Räthsel der mann männlichen Liebe*, ed. Hubert Kennedy (Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1994).

¹³ For a homosexual woman the formula is ‘anima virilis muliebri corpore inclusa’ [a male soul is confined to the female body]. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, *Prometheus* (Leipzig; Gerbe’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1870), 19.

¹⁴ Gert Hekma, “‘A Female soul in a Male Body’: Sexual Inversion as Gender Inversion in Nineteenth-Century Sexology’, in Gilbert Herdt (ed.), *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History* (New York: Zone Books, 1994), 213-239.

¹⁵ Ann Heilmann has made available key material on feminism and notions of gender reversal in her excellent editions *Feminist Forerunners : New Womanism and Feminism in the Early Twentieth Century* (London : Pandora, 2003); and *The Late Victorian Marriage Question: A Collection of Key New Women Texts* (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1998), 4 vols. See also Ann Heilmann, *New Woman Fiction: Women Writing First-Wave Feminism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000); and her *New Woman Strategies: Sarah Grand, Olive Schreiner and Mona Caird* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004); Sally Ledger, *The New Woman:*

Fiction and Feminism at the Fin de Siècle (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); Angelique Richardson and Chris Willis (eds), *The New Woman in Fiction and Fact: Fin-de-Siècle Feminisms* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001); Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (New York: Viking, 1990); and Lyn Pykett, *The "improper" feminine : the Women's Sensation Novel and the New Woman Writing* (London : Routledge, 1992).

¹⁶ Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, 'Discourses of Sexuality and Subjectivity: The New Woman, 1870-1936', in Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus and George Chauncey Jr. (eds), *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past* (London: Penguin, 1991), p.265. 264-280.

¹⁷ Vern L. Bullough, and Bonnie Bullough (ed.), *Human Sexuality: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland, 1994), 157.

¹⁸ Peter Ackroyd gives a brief outline of some of the best known cases of eighteenth century cross-dressing women in Britain in his *Dressing Up: Transvestism and Drag, The History of an Obsession* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979), pp. 69-77.

¹⁹ For discussions of deviant women predating the nineteenth century see for example Judith M. Bennett, "'Lesbian-like'" and the social history of lesbianisms', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, Volume 9 (2000), 1-24; Emma Donaghue's *Passions Between Women: British Lesbian Culture, 1668-1801* (New York: Harper Collins, 1996); Valerie Traub's *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.); and Diane Watt, 'Behaving like a man? Incest, Lesbian Desire, and Gender Play in "Yde et Olive" and its Adaptations', *Comparative Literature*, Volume 50, Number 4 (Fall 1998), 265-85.

²⁰ For an introduction to some of the changing gender notions see Robert B.

Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (Harlow: Longmans, 1998), 59-86.

²¹ Brigitte Eriksson provides an excellent account of the case in her 'A lesbian execution in Germany, 1721: The trial records', in Salvatore J. Licata and Robert P. Petersen (eds), *The Gay Past: A Collection of Historical Essays* (Harrington Park Press, 1985) 27-40. Martha Vicinus provides a useful framework for reading female same-sex history in her "'They Wonder to Which Sex I belong": The Historical Roots of the Modern Lesbian Identity', in Henry Abelove, Michèle Aina Barale and David Halperin (eds), *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 432-452.

²² Rictor Norton's website provides an excellent resource of earlier cross-dressing accounts: <http://www.infopt.demon.co.uk> (last accessed 20 October 2005).

²³ Emma Donaghue, *Passions Between Women: British Lesbian Culture, 1668-1801* (New York: Harper Collins, 1996).

²⁴ See Lucy Chesser, 'A woman who married three wives', *Journal of Women's History*, 9(4) (Winter 1998).

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 69.

²⁷ For more on the W.L.S.R. see Ivan Crozier, 'Becoming a Sexologist: Norman Haire, the 1929 London World League for Sexual Reform Congress, and Organising Medical Knowledge About Sex in Interwar England', *History of Science*, Volume 39, Number 3 (2201), 299-329.

²⁸ Joseph Tenenbaum, *The Riddle of Woman: A Study in the Psychology of Sex* (London, John Lane the Bodley Head, 1939), 75. For the links between sexology and

psychoanalysis see Harry Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry and the Making of Sexual Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

²⁹ Sue-Ellen Case, 'Towards a Butch-Femme Aesthetic', in Henry Abelove, Michèle Aina Barale and David Halperin (eds), *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 294-306.

³⁰ See Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature*, 275.

³¹ An excellent account of the collaboration and the significance of the work is provided by Joseph Bristow, 'Symonds' History and Ellis' Heredity: *Sexual Inversion*', in Bland and Doan (eds), *Sexology in Culture*, 79-99.

³² Edward Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom* (London: John Murray, 1871).

³³ Edward Carpenter, *Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk: A Study in Social Evolution* (London: George Allen, 1914), 40.

³⁴ Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, with an English translation by Frank Justus Miller (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960), Book III, 147.

³⁵ A full collection of all of Lacy's plays is available in the Birmingham Central Library. I am grateful to Chris Hay for her help with library resources. An electronic catalogue of the plays compiled by Heike Bauer and Richard Pearson is available on www.worc.ac.uk/victorian/victorianplays.lacy.htm.

³⁶ For an overview of the issues at stake see J.S. Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

³⁷ Kristina Straub, 'The Guilty Pleasure of Female Theatrical Cross-Dressing and the Autobiography of Charlotte Charke', in Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub (eds), *Body*

Guards: The Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity (London: Routledge, 1991), 142-166.

³⁸ Michael R. Booth, Susan Bassnett and John Stokes, *Bernhardt, Terry, Duse: The Actress in her Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

³⁹ See Sara Maitland's account of *Vesta Tilley* (London: Virago, 1986).

⁴⁰ Rosa von Braunschweig, 'Felicitä von Vestvali', reprinted in translation in Lillian Faderman and Brigitte Eriksson (eds), *Lesbians in Germany: 1890s-1920s* (Tallahassee, Fl., Naiad Press, 1980), 73-82.

⁴¹ Charles Whibley, 'Moll Cutpurse', *A Book of Scoundrels* (London: William Heinemann, 1897), 59.

⁴² Sarah Grand, 'The New Aspect of the Woman Question', *North American Review* 158 (1894), 270-276.

⁴³ Sarah Grand, *The Heavenly Twins* (New York: Cassell, 1893).

⁴⁴ See for example the short stories collected by Elaine Showalter (ed.), *Daughters of Decadence: Women Writers of the Fin-de-Siècle* (London: Virago, 1993).

⁴⁵ See Dea Birkett, *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers* (London: Gollancz, 1989); Cheryl McEwan, *Gender, Geography and Empire: Victorian Women Travellers in West Africa* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

⁴⁶ Lady Hester Stanhope, *Memoirs of the Lady Hester Stanhope as related by herself in conversation with her physician* (London: Henry Colburn, 1845), 3 vols; and The Duchess of Cleveland, *The Life and Letters of Lady Hester Stanhope* (London: William Clowes, 1897).

⁴⁷ Margaret E. Tabor, *Pioneer Women: Mrs Sherwood, Isabella Bird, Mary Kingsley, Gertrude Bell*, third series (London: The Sheldon Press:1971), 49.

⁴⁸ See Leon Denis, *The Mystery of Joan of Arc*, trans. Arthur Conan Doyle (London: John Murray [1924]); Maude Royden, *Blessed Joan of Arc* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1918); I.A. Taylor, *Joan of Arc: Soldier and Saint* (London: Sands & Co, 1920).

⁴⁹ Leon Denis, *The Mystery of Joan of Arc*, trans. Arthur Conan Doyle (London: John Murray [1924]), 56.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁵¹ Esther Newton, 'The Mythic Mannish Lesbian: Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness*', *Signs* 9.4 (1984), 557-575.

⁵² See Heike Bauer, 'Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* Sexual Sourcebook for *The Well of Loneliness*', *Critical Survey*, Volume 15, Number 3 (2003), 23-38.

⁵³ See Laura Doan and Jay Prosser, *The Well of Loneliness, Palatable Poison: Critical Perspectives on The Well of Loneliness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Esther Newton, 'The Mythic Mannish Lesbian: Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness*', *Signs*, Volume 9, Number 4 (1984), 557-575.

⁵⁴ Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*.

⁵⁵ Anne Lister, "'I Know My Own Heart': *The Diaries of Anne Lister (1791-1840)*, ed. Helena Whitbread (London: Virago, 1988).

⁵⁶ See Margaret Bevan's *Dr. James Barry (1795?-1865), Inspector-General of Military Hospitals: A Bibliography* (Johannesburg: Johannesburg Public Library, 1966). A more recent fictionalisation of the life is provided by Patricia Duncker's novel *James Miranda Barry*.

⁵⁷ Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex, Vol. VII: Eonism and Other Supplementary Studies* (Philadelphia: F.A. Davies, 1928), 6.

⁵⁸ See Laura Doan, *Fashioning Sapphism: The Origins of a Modern Lesbian Culture*

(New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); and Doan and Prosser, *Palatable Poison*. For an overview of relevant literary texts published during the period see Jeannette H. Foster, *Sex Variant Women in Literature* (Tennessee, Fl.: Naiad Press, 1985).

⁵⁹ For an analysis of the conceptual links see Gert Hekma, “‘A Female Soul in a Male Body’: Sexual Inversion as Gender Inversion’, in Gilbert Herdt, *Third sex, third gender: beyond sexual dimorphism in culture and history* (New York : Zone, 1994), 213-239.

⁶⁰ Riki Wilchins, ‘A Continuous Nonverbal Communication’, in Joan Nestle, Clare Howell and Riki Wilchins (eds), *GENDERqUEER; voices from beyond the sexual binary* (Los Angeles: Alyson Books, 2002), 16-17.