

From the Street to the Stage: Julian Eltinge, Vaudeville Female Impersonation, and the Emergence of a Queer Subculture

Maxim Greer

In a black and white advertisement, a man stands inside of a canoe next to the bank of a river, holding a paddle at his side. Sitting down in the boat, to the man's right, are three women. On the man's left, sitting at the front of the boat, is another woman holding a fancy sun umbrella. All of the women appear to be wealthy, wearing glamorous jewellery, headpieces, and other fashionable clothing and accessories. The man is also dressed for the occasion, wearing a white pinstripe dress shirt, tucked into dress pants, and a bowtie around his neck. The physical attributes of all the figures are quite similar, such as their noses and cheeks, and broader shoulders, leading to a potential reading of the image as a portrait of a well-to-do family. However, this would be an ironic reading because the male and female figures in the advertisement are in fact all the same person: Julian Eltinge, a legendary vaudeville female impersonator. The image clearly strikes a dichotomy between masculine and feminine archetypes in early twentieth-century American culture and society. The text above the photograph, "The Julian Eltinge cold cream makes me look like these," acts as an advertising slogan that clearly separates the male-presenting Eltinge from his feminine characters, who seem to appear the way they do through the use of the marketed product, as well as through the use of wigs and other gendered accessories. Indeed, the key operation in female impersonation was the deliverance

of an overly artificial woman, using gendered signifiers including dainty, effeminate bodily gestures, long hair, and clothing. The performer was then swiftly "unmasked" as male at the conclusion of the performance, often in the removal of a wig or makeup.¹

The spectacle of staged gender impersonation on the vaudeville theatre circuit calls up questions of agency and gendered power dynamics. To some historians of the modern American theatre, including Geraldine Maschio, the female impersonator momentarily toys with gender as a fluid and shifting category, before re-asserting more traditional gender binaries that distinguished males from females in this era. There was a notion that the male attendees came to be entertained by the tendency of impersonation to present women as caricatures, deriving humour and enjoyment from the gendered archetypes, while female guests supposedly came for the fashion and glamour aspects.² As such, Maschio positions vaudeville female impersonators within turn-of-the-century social discourses around masculinity and femininity, viewing female impersonation as a reductive conservative attempt to reassert masculine power over women by reducing them "to an artificial construction of paint, and powder, created, and dominated by men."³

While the vaudeville stage can certainly be seen as a space of mediation for larger gender power dynamics in pre-world-war



Julian Eltinge, Billy Rose Theatre Division, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

America, which seem to ultimately re-assert conservative notions around gender, this reading is destabilized by adding another layer of theory and history that operates under a queer matrix. Vaudeville was also a space for emerging ideas about homosexual identity and a base for a growing queer subculture.⁴ Claims of homosexuality were a subtext that bubbled under the surface and affected nearly every aspect of Eltinge's career, from his performances to his publicity campaigns, as well as his audiences, and ultimate fall from public grace. Therefore, engaging Eltinge and female impersonation with a queer historical and critical lens reveals the vaudeville stage as a microcosm for broader social and cultural contexts that played out on early twentieth-century American streets, stages, and inside the private domains. Furthermore, the historical trajectory of gender impersonation would see its influence with other categories of art and entertainment that also mediate issues of sexuality and gender and which are also associated with queer subjectivity, specifically, drag performance.⁵

Drag can be traced back to the Elizabethan period, when theatre culture demanded males to play female roles so as to forbid women from acting. Minstrel shows and vaudeville vignettes would follow in the nineteenth century, and involved performance of the exaggerated gender signifiers seen in drag today.⁶ Moreover, the status of drag presently, with the undeniable impact of the highly successful television program *RuPaul's Drag Race* (2009–) on the medium, mainstream gay culture, and contemporary social and political culture, requires an interrogation of drag's historical roots within queer history.⁷ While drag is not always queer, the

association of drag queens with the history of homosexuality as a subculture connects the character Eltinge played on stage and the issues in broader early twentieth-century society to the history and development of drag as an art form by and for queer communities.⁸ The queer subtext of vaudeville gender impersonation demonstrates the instability of gender in the early twentieth century, and through this cultivated the development of modern notions around sexuality and identity.

Female impersonators had been a fixture on the stage for centuries, often because women were forbidden from performing in the theatre. Vaudeville's own iteration of gender bending can be traced back to the minstrel tradition.⁹ Minstrel shows were popular in the mid- to late nineteenth century with pioneer crowds on the American frontier. Minstrel shows consisted of highly problematic racial impersonations of African Americans, wherein white performers would wear blackface and act out racial stereotypes.¹⁰ Julian Eltinge and others had modelled their contrived females after the figure of the "prima donna" seen in many minstrel shows, where white men dressed in black face as elegant and sexualized black women.¹¹ According to Maschio, Eltinge's prima donna style was a kind of "glamour drag," a safe, regal presentation of artificial femininity.¹² The point of such representations seems to be tied to a concern over destabilizing forces leading to fluidity in gender presentation on the streets of America's major cities, which were undergoing a massive cultural shift during the age.¹³

Vaudeville theatre's rise to prominence as one of America's dominant mass cultural enterprises coincided with rapid migrations from the rural peripheries of the nation along

with mass immigration from Europe.¹⁴ Indeed, vaudeville itself was the culmination of a variety of divergent theatrical and artistic genres, from rural circuses, British dramas and comedies, musicals, immigrant beer hall culture, to the minstrel shows that had popped up along the frontier circuit in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁵ Essentially vaudeville theatre was a dizzying mélange of variety acts including actors who performed racial archetypes in blackface, gender impersonators, acrobats, and circus animals.¹⁶ Vaudeville theatre has generally been seen to reach peak popularity by 1915, with New York City as one of the constant cultural hubs of the industry.¹⁷ The cultural realignment from changes in class, gender, and immigration fostered a yearning for an art form that could deliver "images, gestures, and symbols which would objectify their experience and bring to their lives a simple and comprehensive meaning."¹⁸ Such reasoning for vaudeville's mass popularity underscores the view of female impersonation as a conservative display of gender hierarchies, alleviating cultural anxieties.

"On the vaudeville stage the dress, behavior, and occupation of Eltinge implicated him in these social discourses around homosexuality, which had numerous effects on his performances as well the reaction from the public and critics alike."

A key anxiety arose out of the arrival of the "new woman," a new archetype of the female who wore her hair short, smoked cigarettes, and was romantically, socially, and economically independent of men.¹⁹ New York City was now a far cry from the strict rules and regulations that circumscribed bourgeois gender ideals in the nineteenth century, when women had been confined to the domestic realm.²⁰ Moreover, women were not only exercising their freedoms in mobility and fashion, but also engaging in the suffrage movements to achieve the right to vote.²¹ Eltinge's demure characters seem to be based on old models of bourgeois women, and in effect were a mocking reversal of progressive advances for middle-class women.

On the other hand, while Eltinge was an expert at "acting" female, his profession had been linked with men who had been perceived to "act like women" not merely on the stage but on the street, and apparently, in their private sex lives. The notion of the homosexual had entered the collective American consciousness, and early on it was closely associated with ideas about gender and perversion.²² The rapid social change experienced by major American urban centres not only brought new immigrants and empowered women, but entirely new definitions for sexual behaviour. As queer historian Michael Bronski mentions in his

recent book, *A Queer History of the United States*, the growth of American cities in the era of vaudeville theatre helped to shape the development of the homosexual community.²³ Cities like New York were bursting at the seams with single men and women, and with changing ideals about gender and sexuality, lesbian and gay communities began to cultivate an urban American demi-monde.²⁴ Private single-person dwellings in large apartment blocks emboldened a new generation of urbanites with access to sexual autonomy, destabilizing the union of normative heterosexual relationships.²⁵ Corresponding with the creation of same-sex communities was the development of a pathological definition of sexuality that was directly tied to appearance and performance.²⁶ Prominent sexologists and psychologists in the late nineteenth century, including Sigmund Freud, had "invented" heterosexuality and an oppositional homosexuality.²⁷ According to queer historian Jonathan Ned Katz, Freud's "explicit use of the word heterosexual helped to constitute a different-sex eroticism as modern society's

influential, dominant norm."²⁸ Thus, by establishing heterosexuality as the distinct and normal category of sexuality, its opposite homosexuality was to Freud more undefined and a "problem."²⁹ Furthermore, in the book *Sex Scene: The Emergence of Modern Sexuality in America*, historian Sharon Ullman claims that these sexologists are largely credited with the development of sexual pathology models based on observable symptomatology.³⁰ Under this framework, male and female homosexuals were non-normative inverts, who exhibited their "disease" through their dress, behaviour, and occupations, which signalled they were of the "wrong gender."³¹ A man acting effeminate and a woman acting masculine could be perceived as an inversion of gender norms and potentially be deemed as homosexual.

On the vaudeville stage the dress, behaviour, and occupation of Eltinge implicated him in these social discourses around homosexuality, which had numerous effects on his performances as well the reaction from the public and critics alike. Eltinge joined the theatre circuit at a young age, first performing as a woman at the age of fifteen.³² In 1906, he starred in his own show, and not long after he became the most well-known female impersonator in the world.³³ As a result, Eltinge became extremely wealthy, and his producer even named a well-known a

theatre in New York after the star. According to theatre historian Geraldine Maschio, female impersonation had largely been seen as a harmless act throughout its history. However in an age of newfound anxiety over perversions of gender and sexuality, Eltinge and other vaudeville impersonators found themselves on shifting and unsteady cultural ground.³⁴ In this new cultural era, the performance of gender and sexuality in modern New York could be witnessed on the stage as well as on the street, tying vaudeville theatre into broader public discourses around these topics. Indeed, as queer and feminist theorist Judith Butler famously stated in her book *Gender Trouble: Feminism and The Subversion of Identity*, gender is a social construction, made to seem natural or real through a repetition of ritualized, performed acts.³⁵

Butler's theory of gender performance can be extended to elucidate how sexuality was also performed on the streets of New York in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Maschio points to the constructed homosexual archetype of the "fairy" as a prominent example of homosexual "signaling."³⁶ Maschio describes the fairy as an effeminate man that had come to be associated with male homosexual identity, following events such as the trial of Oscar Wilde. Homosexuals would "signal" their sexuality by performing common tropes, through hand gestures, dress, and speech.³⁷ In effect, the "fairy" would signal to other homosexual males his presence and availability—linking him to a larger underground network. Maschio believes one such avenue to safely signal sexuality was on the vaudeville stage, where homosexuals would join the performer in a secret communion of subversive mimicry. To the general public, the fairy was the visible sign of perverted and inverted men who were "trapped in the wrong body."³⁸ As such, the natural association of effeminacy with female impersonation compromised Eltinge, endangering his wholesome brand of "glamour drag," forcing his performances and personal life to withstand the glaring lens of a moralistic public outrage.

Indeed, while the "fairy" and other representations of homosexuality began to permeate all over the nation, a repressive homophobic response was soon to follow. As Eltinge's fame came about during an era that allowed for more spaces of debate and more nuanced identities, it was also a period marked by heightened moral panics and anti-obscenity campaigns around homosexuality.³⁹ As Julian Eltinge performed in his hit comedy *The Fascinating Widow*, police began to clamp down on public and private instances of homosexuality.⁴⁰ Not only had signaling through effeminacy typified a male homosexual identity on the stage and street, it also had become part of more private underbellies. Police all over the country, from Los Angeles, to Sacramento, to New York began investigating reports of homosexual congregations that included drag performance and sexual activity.⁴¹ Naturally, the press and authorities turned their eyes to popular culture, with vaudeville as one of the potential institutions responsible for inculcating such "perverse" instances.⁴²

Ullman views the performances and press strategies of Eltinge as evidence of a strategy of evasion and counter-performance. The clean distinction between Eltinge's "false" female character and the reveal of "true" masculine self was one way the star attempted to dissociate himself with effeminacy.⁴³

The advertisement featuring Eltinge and four of his female characters in a canoe is possible evidence of Eltinge "signaling" his true masculine self's dominance over the female caricatures. The male appears to be the only one with agency, holding the paddle as a sign of his status over the seated, demurely posed female figures. The image illustrates a clear dichotomy between masculinity and effeminacy, symbolically separating Eltinge from any perverse sexual connotations. Eltinge worked tirelessly to harvest in the minds of his audience and critics that he was a man's man, releasing photographs and sanctioning stories on his love for hunting and farming. In many ways this bears a resemblance to the "macho" real man that American president Theodore Roosevelt had campaigned tirelessly for in his speeches and photo-ops.⁴⁴ Despite a deeply concerted effort to spare himself from being labelled a sexual invert, critics and audiences seemed to be allured by the mystique of Eltinge's "glamour drag" persona. Speculations about his sexuality persisted throughout his career, sustained in part because Eltinge never married.⁴⁵ Some viewers were so inspired by Eltinge's fascinating women that they themselves joined the vaudeville circuit. Maschio held that many homosexuals might have joined the theatres because they could seek refuge from public persecution and safely wear the clothes of women.⁴⁶ In fact, Maschio draws her analysis from media reports, wherein there was common speculation that most of the female impersonators and other theatre staff were predominantly homosexual.⁴⁷ As such, the vaudeville circuit could be seen as an early safe haven for those outside of the normative sexual orientation. Whether he preferred the company of men or not, Eltinge seemed to be somewhat of a cult figure for the male homosexual underclasses.

The wealth and status of Vaudeville stardom afforded Eltinge a level of agency that must be distinguished from the underworld over which he supposedly held inadvertent influence. Indeed, while male privilege already granted Eltinge to safely access these supposed havens, any homosexual association may have unsettled an anxious Eltinge. He was noted to react violently when accused of being homosexual, often getting into fights with viewers and bar patrons.⁴⁸ Whether orchestrated like his press releases, such actions seem to underscore Eltinge as a carefully constructed performer on and off the stage. Indeed, one promotional photo depicts Eltinge boxing another man, a visual representation of his fight to project his masculinity onto the public consciousness. The dualities to Eltinge's performativity were equally and stereotypical with both angles as decidedly reflective of the predominant views of gender roles in the new modern America. In inscribing these reductive gendered archetypes in his strategies, Eltinge also brought repressed sexuality onto the



"Therefore, engaging Eltinge and female impersonation with a queer historical and critical lens reveal the vaudeville stage as a microcosm for broader social and cultural contexts that played out on early 20th century American streets, stages, and inside the private domains."

vaudeville stage and into the national conversation. Moreover, his privilege and wealth successfully separated him from those who could not swiftly transform due to lack of agency.

The decline of vaudeville as a prominent genre forced Eltinge to take his star elsewhere, with Hollywood as the most likely stage for a comeback. Historians seem to place the decline of vaudeville, and in particular, the fall of female impersonation as occurring during the mid-1920s.⁴⁹ Maschio sees the rise of a prosperous middle class, following the First World War, as a potential cause for the end of the gender-bending career of Julian Eltinge.⁵⁰ The middle class, notably more conservative in those days, had acquired higher consumer power and cultural capital over what was to be deemed suitable entertainment.⁵¹ Therefore, because female impersonation had become far too closely linked to homosexuality, it could no longer remain in the mass public consciousness.⁵² As always, Eltinge was tied to larger social ideologies of gender and sexuality. In effect, Eltinge's appearance on *The Voice of Hollywood* in 1929 demonstrates the cultural change that claimed the careers of many vaudeville impersonators. The artist is no longer appearing on elaborate stages in front of thousands of visitors; instead, he dances before a small nightclub audience that seems only half-intrigued by his feminine dancing and contrasting masculine voice. Following a tepid applause, Eltinge talks about who designs his costumes and reveals in a relatively monotone delivery that he is in Hollywood to make his first talking picture. The spectacle of vaudeville "glamour drag" is whittled down to a momentary appearance on a news show. Seemingly, Eltinge's career and image were almost entirely as a female impersonator, whether on the vaudeville stage or as film star. However, the cultural climate would become so difficult for gender impersonation that legal statutes forbade future comeback attempts by Eltinge.⁵³

Speculations and rumours of homosexuality run through most of the historical and biographical accounts of the Julian Eltinge and the genre of female impersonation. What many historians seem to overlook are the events surrounding Eltinge's career in

regards to the queer subtext could be connected to an ensuing and decidedly more open homosexual cultural performances. Thus, regardless of the truth of his own sexuality, the subversive power queer audiences derived from Eltinge renders him a kind of prototype to the contemporary drag queen, if not in fact the first of his kind.⁵⁴ One such performer, Charles Ludlam, had trained in vaudeville theatrical styles including gender impersonation, and quickly established himself as a gay cult icon in New York City during the pre-Stonewall 1960s.⁵⁵ Ludlam came into contact with other drag queens such as Divine, who were prominent symbols of an increasingly visible homosexual subculture.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the subversive nature that Eltinge's performances provided for his homosexual viewers, along with the reported private parties, bear a resemblance to the later ballroom cultures presented in Jennie Livingston's seminal 1980 documentary, *Paris Is Burning*. The film presents marginalized homosexual Latino and African American men and trans women partaking in drag performances as way of expressing their contested identities and subverting the repressive powers that confine them.⁵⁷ In fact Judith Butler sees drag as constituting "the mundane way in which genders are appropriated, theatricalized, worn, and done: it implies that all gendering is a kind of impersonation and approximation."⁵⁸ For Butler, drag provides the queer performer with a momentary, insurrectionary position to destabilize the banal conventions of gender and sexuality that order the world. Thus, one could potentially place the subversive spectacle of vaudeville female impersonation under a rebellious queer lens, wherein a momentary catharsis could be drawn from the viewer and performer alike.

Perhaps the most enlightening context of Julian Eltinge's gender-bending career is the idea that he came into the profession at a time when it was no longer considered a suitable form of entertainment. The promotional and artistic strategies employed by Eltinge were in many ways an attempt to redeliver gender impersonation as a serious art form. What Eltinge ultimately could not overcome was a sea change in how gender and sexuality was conceived by the American urban public. The notion of

homosexuality became a problematic affiliation for Eltinge. As Maschio points out, through the work of Michel Foucault, the idea of the homosexual was invented in this period by sexologists and cemented as a definitive sub-culture by social stigmas and broader social realignment.⁵⁹ While such connotations placed Eltinge on constantly shifting ground in terms of his career and his perceived sexuality, it provided a more unified category in which resistance to the heterosexual norm could be structured.⁶⁰ On the other hand, Maschio and other historians such as Ullman seem to be more concerned with how Eltinge mediated the controversies surrounding his profession, ultimately pinpointing his decline within the rise of a more conservative America. Eltinge in many ways stood at a bold new intersection between emerging queer networks and newfound cultural ideologies. Though the female impersonator fell from grace with the dramatic decline of Eltinge and vaudeville theatre, it allowed for homosexuals to build networks and symbolism that would permeate into later queer movements. Vaudeville gender impersonation brought the lived realities of non-heterosexuals to the forefront of visual culture and public life. It allowed previously unrealized identities to be represented and recognized by the very people whom they prescribed. The figure of the "pansy" or "fairy" was not a mere repressive stereotype of a weak homosexual man; it was a constructed embodiment that the homosexual could appropriate for his own gain in forming new queer networks. With Eltinge's glamorous lady, whether he was himself effeminate or gay was of no importance to his homosexual audience. Rather, it merely provided the queer underground with a powerfully subversive model for expression and rebellion in the decades that followed.

Notes

- ¹ Maschio, Geraldine. 1998. "Effeminacy or art? The performativity of Julian Eltinge." *Journal of American Drama and Theatre* 10: 28.
- ² Ibid. 31.
- ³ Ibid. 29. The privileges and agency enjoyed by Eltinge as a white male reinforce the historical contention that his profession often reasserted male mastery over the feminine, bourgeois women he portrayed.
- ⁴ The word "Queer" had an entirely different meaning in the time of Vaudeville gender impersonation. "Queer," which was originally a term to describe something or someone "strange" or "odd," came to be used as a slur to describe homosexuals, especially males, at the turn of the twentieth century, including during the time of Eltinge. In the 1980s and 1990s the word began to be reclaimed by lesbian, gay, transgender, and bisexual academics and activists during the AIDS crisis when solidarity became a means for survival and resistance against antagonism and ambivalence toward "queer" identity, sexuality, and livelihoods. As such, while the histories and theories had yet to be written

and debated, Eltinge and his profession's seeming suspension of alternative gender and sexual issues operates within the fields of queer theory and queer history that developed nearly a century later in the work of academics including Judith Butler and Michel Foucault.

⁵ Miller, Karen. "Drag." In *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture, 2nd ed.*, edited by Thomas Riggs, 166–67. Vol. 2. Detroit: St. James Press, 2013. *Gale Virtual Reference Library* (accessed February 6, 2018). Drag is an artistic medium as well as a form of entertainment that historically came to be associated with male homosexuality during the 1950s; however, its historical development sees routes in gender impersonation which overlap.

⁶ Ibid. 166–67.

⁷ Brennan, Niall, and David Gudelunas. 2017. *RuPaul's Drag Race and the shifting visibility of drag culture: The boundaries of reality TV*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. These authors have published the first such publication that features selected essays and reports which address the reality television program's effects on pop culture, drag, and other political,

cultural, and social factors. The authors make the claim that drag is in its "golden age" at the time of publication in 2017.

⁸ Miller. "Drag."

⁹ Maschio. 28.

¹⁰ Ullman, Sharon R. 1997. *Sex Seen: The emergence of modern sexuality in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Print. 49.

¹¹ Maschio. 28.

¹² Ibid. 28–29. Maschio differentiates "glamour drag" female impersonation from the British style of "dame" impersonation. "Dames" were more cartoonish depictions of femininity; often presenting an older, unattractive female that could clearly be identified as a man in disguise. Intriguingly, until recently the modern day drag queen of gay culture seemed to be split into two similar camps, between an elegant and convincing impersonation of a woman and a more campy and obscene iteration. The rise of *RuPaul's Drag Race* (2009–), a reality television show, simulates this dichotomy while also acting as a catalyst for more gender and sexual inclusivity and

greater experimentation in drag performance.

¹³ Ullman. 4.

¹⁴ Downer, Alan S. 1967. *American Vaudeville as Ritual*. Vol. 38. (Duke University Press): 3.

¹⁵ Moore, F. Michael. 1994. *Drag!: Male and female impersonators on stage, screen and television: An illustrated world history*. (Jefferson, N.C: McFarland): 69.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Downer. 534.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Lavin, Maud. "Representing the New Woman" Chapter from: *Cut with the Kitchen Knife: the Weimar Photomontages of Hannah Höch*. 1. While Lavin is writing about German Dadaism, her chapter on the new woman provides the most detailed analysis of the new cultural archetype that can be applied in an American context.

²⁰ Scobey, David. 1992. Anatomy of the promenade: The politics of bourgeois sociability in nineteenth-century New York. *Social History* 17 (2): 203–27.

- ²¹ Maschio. 29.
- ²² Bronski, Michael. 2011. *A Queer History of the United States*. (Boston: Beacon Press): 106.
- ²³ Ibid. 105–6.
- ²⁴ Ibid. 105. While Bronski provides a thorough history of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender Americans, this paper will largely follow the career of Julian Eltinge and its link to the more contemporary drag performers. There appears to be little research or links between lesbian history and gender impersonation. Male impersonation was also a common trope of Vaudeville, with stars like Eva Tanguay and Elsie Janus as prominent examples. However, studies on male impersonation show less of a link to the homosexual underworld. For a stimulating account of Vesta Tiley's gender bending, please see Deanna Toten Beard's 2014 article "A doughgirl with the doughboys: Elsie Janis, "The Regular Girl," and the performance of gender in World War I entertainment." *Theatre History Studies* 33: 56–307.
- ²⁵ Ibid. 107.

- ²⁶ Maschio. 31.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Katz, Jonathan Ned. 1995. *The invention of heterosexuality*. New York: Dutton. Print. 66.
- ²⁹ Ibid. 67.
- ³⁰ Ullman. 49.
- ³¹ Ibid.
- ³² Dir. Carol Langer. *Lady Bill...The Story of Julian Eltinge*. A two part online documentary. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=66r7L7Ktyrs>
- ³³ Ullman. 51.
- ³⁴ Maschio. 28
- ³⁵ Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge. Print. 140.
- ³⁶ Maschio. 30–31.
- ³⁷ Ibid.
- ³⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁹ Friedman, Andrea S. 2000. *Prurient interests: Gender, democracy, and obscenity in New York City, 1909-1945* / Andrea Friedman. New York; Chichester, West Sussex, England: Columbia University Press. Print.
- ⁴⁰ Ullman. 62-63
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴³ Maschio. 30–31
- ⁴⁴ Ibid. 48.
- ⁴⁵ Dir. Carol Langer. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=66r7L7Ktyrs>
- ⁴⁶ Maschio. 31.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid. 32.
- ⁴⁸ Ullman. 69.
- ⁴⁹ Maschio. 37–38.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid.
- ⁵¹ Ibid.
- ⁵² Ibid.
- ⁵³ Ibid.
- ⁵⁴ Moore. 88.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid. 187.
- ⁵⁷ Gliszinski, Ryan James. 2015. "Paris Is Burning: A Queer Film Classic". Review of *Paris Is Burning: A Queer Film Classic*. *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking 2* (1). Michigan State University Press: 142–44. doi:10.14321/qed.2.1.0142. 1–2.
- ⁵⁸ Butler, Judith. "Imitation and Gender Insubordination," *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*. 307.
- ⁵⁹ Maschio. 29.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid. 29–30.