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A Deep Voice: How Newspapers Talk About Harry Allen, 1900 - 1923.

A Senior Paper

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Graduation

Undergraduate History Program of the University of Washington Tacoma

by

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Abstract

Looking at a variety of newspaper articles published in Seattle, Tacoma, other Washington cities, and a few published sparsely across the rest of the country, I examined how these texts represented Harry Allen: his crimes, his character, and his gender expression and presentation. Reporters were fascinated with Allen's deviancy from gender norms. Over years of culminated exaggerations and false details, they weaponized Allen's life as a man against him. Contradictions and manipulations in reporting help to show how Allen's dangerous persona was crafted over the course of his life. Harry Allen's closeness, or perceived closeness, to the criminal underworld was used to make him seem more dangerous. When dubious reports blamed Allen for multiple suicides, they further emphasized his true sex and represented his daily life as abnormal and inherently dangerous. All this unwanted media attention not only added stress into his life but gave him a bolstered reputation—turning him into a Seattle character.

Introduction

Harry Allen was a public figure of Seattle from 1900 to past his death in 1922. He appeared to live a fairly normal day-to-day life. Allen liked to wear nice clothes, frequent saloons, worked wherever he could, and occasionally stole. However, he was also harassed by police, often with meaningless vagrancy charges, because he lived and did things outside what was considered appropriate for his sex.

He was born on September 11th, 1882, assigned female at birth, and originally named Nell Pickerell.¹ Harry, his mother, father, and sister then moved to the Seattle area in 1884.² Even as a child, Allen acted “boyish,” and preferred to do men’s farm work with his father.³ At the age of fifteen, he was married to an adult man (whose specific age was never mentioned) and gave birth to a son.⁴ After his husband’s disappearance (it is unknown what year he disappeared or if he died), Allen looked for jobs as a man in order to help take care of his child, having already grown up doing what was considered “men’s work.”⁵ In Seattle, he began going by the name Harry Livingston and later Harry Allen. In 1900, the press outed his sex in various newspapers and he became a public character.⁶ Over the course of his life he traveled across Washington and into Oregon, unwillingly interacting with police and press.

¹ Department of Health Death Index 1907-1960, Washington State Archives, Death Certificate for Nell Pickerell.

² “Two Seattle Girls Committed Suicide,” *The Evening Statesman*, editorial, November 6, 1903, www.newspapers.com/image/148729847.

³ Granville Stanley Hall, *Journal of Religious Psychology, 1914-1915* (London: Forgotten Books, 2018) 108.

⁴ Hall, *Religious Psychology*, 108; King County Auditor, Birth Records, 1891-1907, Washington State Archives, Digital Archives.

⁵ Hall, *Religious Psychology*, 108.

⁶ “In Boy’s Apparel,” *The Washington Standard*, editorial, July 6, 1900, www.newspaper.com/image/337475732.

Over the years, many articles pondered Allen's motives in his choice of dress, describing him as a strange woman in men's attire.⁷ *The Times* exemplified this sentiment in one article stating he believed "[he] was intended to be a boy," and "the ambition of [his] life is to act like a man."⁸ Even with just these two phrases, there was some understanding that Allen didn't just wear men's clothes, but that he lived as a man. To grapple with this idea, one article claimed that Allen's demand to be called Harry Livingston pointed to him having a "double identity," which—probably inadvertently—added some public validity to Allen's identity by insinuating that a part of him was in fact a man.⁹ Allen's fine dress and many jobs—agricultural labor, tending bar and clerk desks—were used to highlight, and somewhat ogle, his ability to live as a man. An article from the *Washington Standard* (that was then also published in newspapers from Missouri, New York, and Virginia) describes Allen as "a woman ... [who] dresses like a man, works like a man and fights like a man."¹⁰ These different articles are good examples of how throughout the years, different publications had to struggle to describe what they believed to be the difference between a man and someone who did things assigned to men.

While certain scholars, like Peter Boag, argue that gender nonconformity and gender queerness was a much more common occurrence than many think, especially in the historic western frontier, the media of the time treated Allen like an odd spectacle.¹¹ The fact that Allen's sex did not align with people's expectations added a layer of oddity to the various reports on

⁷ "Woman By Nature – Man By Choice," *The Times*, editorial, May 6, 1900, www.newspapers.com/image/52374764.

⁸ "Woman By Nature," 18; "Wickedest Spot," 26.

⁹ "Odd Roles For Girl," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, editorial, June 1, 1900, www.newspapers.com/image/138146493.

¹⁰ "Odd Roles," 3; "Odd Occupations," 4; "Wears Male Attire," 7; "In Boy's Apparel," *The Washington Standard*, editorial, July 6, 1900, www.newspapers.com/image/337475732.

¹¹ Peter Boag, *Re-dressing America's Frontier Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 1.

Allen's life. Every scandal published involving Allen drew on this perceived deviance. The press suggested that Allen's gender expression had a role to play even if that role was unclear. While a large aspect of gender is personal expression, there is an unfortunate other part that relies on the perception of others. While gender expression is the expression of identity—not reliant on others' perceptions—gender presentation is the act of following cultural expectations of gender in appearance and behavior.¹² According to various reports, Allen was taken as a cisgender man by those who weren't aware of his sex.¹³ This, along with the fact that Allen lived and worked as a man, gender presentation was that of a man. When his sex was publicly outed, Allen's gender presentation confused and scared the media, resulting in the press weaponizing his gender deviance and criminal actions to turn his character into a perceived dangerous threat to society.

Today there is a concern, in scholarship and mainstream discussion, about how to refer to people of the past. The use of more recent terminology can be inappropriate for people who lived a hundred years ago, since those exact concepts did not exist or existed in different forms. There's also a lot of missing information about how some people existed and identified so, by nature, assumptions about past gender queer people can easily be wrong. With that being stated, out of respect for Harry Allen's public sentiments, this essay will not use the name Nell Pickerell. It, and the feminine pronouns used in newspaper articles, have been replaced with the name Harry Allen and masculine pronouns. All quoted newspaper articles in this paper solely referred to Allen as a woman, used feminine pronouns, and used his legal name. This decision to

¹² Susan Stryker, *Transgender History: The Root's of Today's Revolution* (New York: Seal Press, 2017) 20, 25.

¹³ "In Masculine Attire," 5.

change his name and pronouns came from Allen's own insistence to be referred to as such for decades.¹⁴

While in some instances gender neutral terminology may be appropriate, this is not one. Since 1901, reports of women that had fallen for Allen referred to him as Harry, even when Allen claimed they were aware of his sex.¹⁵ In 1908, there were also multiple articles that mention Allen's mother called him Harry, even when dealing with police on her son's behalf.¹⁶ Allen insisted on being addressed as Harry Allen.¹⁷ The *Seattle Mail and Herald* even claimed that Allen's mother raised his son, telling his child that Allen was actually his uncle.¹⁸ In one instance, he tried to hide his sex when arrested, but was pushed to admit it "or take a sentence of [thirty] days on the chain gang."¹⁹ Peter Boag, having researched trans men in the western frontier of the United States, believes the fact that Allen faced so much harassment and still lived as a man points to him "truly" seeing himself as a man.²⁰ While this paper can't definitively make any statements about Allen's true identity, it will respect his wishes and follow the example of his close family and friends.

¹⁴ "Nell Pickerell, the 'Man-Woman,'" *The Seattle Star*, editorial, June 9, 1915, www.newspapers.com/image/145541613.

¹⁵ "Goes By the Name of Harry," *Seattle Daily Times*, editorial, October 12, 1901, The Seattle Times NewsBank; "Tragedy Ends Strange Love," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, editorial, December 26, 1901, Newsbank.

¹⁶ "Weird Story of How Two Seattle Maids Committed Suicide Over a Third Who Dressed as a Man," *Seattle Daily Times*, editorial, January 12, 1908, the Seattle Daily Times NewsBank; "Police are Puzzled Over Nell Pickerell," *The Seattle Star*, editorial, February 5, 1908, www.newspapers.com/image/87709656.

¹⁷ "Nell Pickerell Held For Selling Whisky," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, editorial, September 19, 1911, NewsBank.

¹⁸ Boag, *Re-dressing*, 29.

¹⁹ "Nell Pickerell Arrested," *The Tacoma Daily News*, editorial, January 21, 1908, www.newspapers.com/image/725861925.

²⁰ Boag, *Re-dressing*, 50.

Methodology

When attempting to understand the relationship between the press and Harry Allen, the most important resource to analyze are the abundant newspaper articles published about him between 1900 through 1923. Some of the more regular publications came from local newspapers like *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, *The Seattle Daily Times*, *The Seattle Star*, and the *Tacoma Daily News*. The majority of these articles were published in Washington State, but one notable exception was Portland, Oregon where Allen also lived. Some of these publications outside of the Pacific Northwest—for example in Virginia and New York—republished some of these articles and circulated certain narratives about Allen. Other papers, from Missouri and California, published alternate versions of accounts that bring into question some papers' credibility. In order to parse how newspapers reacted to Allen, I analyzed the specific language used and what kind of information was being presented, specifically around discussions of gender. Perceptions, expectations, and the practice of gender are what I kept at the forefront of my research. I took into careful consideration how the information presented to readers and the motive behind the word choice and framing reporters used. The surplus of articles are valuable resources but they left out a lot of perspectives and information, intentionally or unintentionally. The press's reporting showcased how Allen was supposedly dangerous. While I used gender as a lens and focus, I also looked at the broad role of the press in large cities. Information about Allen's life was sparse and newspapers are the main resource left. There was one credible interview that Allen gave that wasn't published in a newspaper, and for this research nothing else was found. Scholarship helped to fill in information and tied up information about gender and the press from the Gilded Age into the Roaring Twenties.

Literature Review

Scholarly sources vary wildly on their academic opinions of gender nonconformity in the nineteenth century moving into the start of the twentieth. There is not just the application of gender to consider, but also the changing of the West and urbanization of the West Coast. In *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past*, Peter Boag argues that cross-dressing and trans experiences were supported in small communities in the nineteenth century US West, and much more common than most suspect.²¹ These instances of living comfortably clashed with social control within large urban cities.²² He argues urbanization and moving out of the frontier erased large aspects of these experiences from public knowledge.²³ Harry Allen, living between 1882 – 1922, grew up in the heat of this transition and did so very publicly, both in Seattle and more rural areas. Boag explores how Allen's relationship with the public in this period was shaped by harassment, also pointing to the criminalization of his existence.²⁴

In comparison, Emily Skidmore's *True Sex: The Lives of Trans Men at the Turn of the 20th Century* focuses more squarely on the relationship between trans men and gender non-conforming individuals and the press in the early twentieth century. Emily Skidmore points to newspapers as holding up systemic institutions, like the ever-growing eugenics movement and purity culture of the period, while encouraging violence against nonconforming behavior.²⁵

²¹ Boag, *Re-dressing*, 1.

²² Michael Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2011) 85.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 25.

²⁵ Emily Skidmore, *True Sex: The Lives of Trans Men at the Turn of the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (New York: New York University, 2017), 136.

While looking at the role newspapers played, Skidmore also examines the practical lives of trans men, although not mentioning Harry Allen.²⁶

In Seattle, Portland, and through Washington, Harry Allen was arrested and harassed many times on different charges depending on the local laws. *Arresting Dress: Cross-dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-century San Francisco* provides a look at the differing severity of laws regarding cross-dressing and ‘disguise’ laws. Clare Sears argues that various laws were created in late nineteenth century San Francisco with flexibility in mind (like charges of vagrancy) in order to punish the wide array of ways people deviated from the gender binary.²⁷ Executions of these tactics have been clearly seen in Washington within Allen’s interactions with law enforcement. Even though Sears’ book focuses on San Francisco, it still represents a lot of the sentiments that were found in different areas along the West Coast.

From these scholars we get a picture about the social backdrop that Allen lived in. Within large cities, according to Boag, the tolerance and memories of tolerance for any queerness was erased. Skidmore brought to light how cities and newspapers allowed the growing eugenics and purity movement to flourish, which sought to gain social control. Any gender deviance was seen as sexual delinquency, and therefore against the social control purity culture tried to establish. Then Sears showed how this social control was enforced in large cities.

Looking more broadly at eighteenth and nineteenth century perceptions of gender, Jen Manion’s *Female Husbands: A Trans History* comes into play. Manion looks at the development of the term “female husband” and the people who it represented. While the book covers generally how described ‘female husbands’ lived and interacted with the public in the

²⁶ Ibid., 10.

²⁷ Clare Sears, *Arresting Dress: Cross-dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-century San Francisco* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015) 139.

United States and the United Kingdom, the most important argument the book makes is that the gender of these individuals was provided by the press, the public and their perceptions, rather than by individual expression.²⁸ The book is also unique in its argument compared to the previously mentioned scholars, since it places any intention of gender nonconforming people more so in the background. Manion even claims that any attempt to parse any intention is impossible, so using gender neutral language and examining their relationship with the public is the more reasonable way of studying the lives of female husbands—one member of a same sex couple, living as a man, before the nineteenth century.²⁹ In Allen’s case, this would place more weight on the press’s descriptions of his character, intentionally or not.

Since newspapers and the press at the turn of the century are a large part in how Allen’s story was presented, scholarship focused on them is important. Andie Tucher’s, *Not Exactly Lying*, explores the development of the American press and its relationship to exaggerated reporting and blatant lying throughout its entire history. She explains that the clash between the truth and the manipulation of the truth is a key component of American journalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.³⁰ At the end of the nineteenth century, lying was commonly practiced, but even though it lost traction moving into the twentieth century, journalists were still willing to lie without publicly admitting it.³¹ Tucher’s examination of the culture surrounding journalism is particularly important when looking at inconsistencies in reporting and sensationalized stories about Allen. While there’s no way to know for certain if specific articles were lying or how untrue they were, this context is important to consider within

²⁸ Jen Manion, *Female Husbands: A Trans History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 259.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 265.

³⁰ Andie Tucher, *Not Exactly Lying*, (New York: Columbia University, 2022) 6.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

the background of this research because lying for money is an ingrained part of American journalism.

Life as a “Bad Man”

Harry Allen’s criminal career was the most defining part of his legacy. Defiance, harassment, and a surplus of vagrancy charges fill descriptions of his life on the west coast. The media-invented persona of Allen’s public figure established an important tie between his sex, his attire, and his moral character. His Seattle fame began when he was eighteen in 1900.³² The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* published an article in February, describing Allen as a young woman in fancy attire running from police, and this article spawned a wave of similar publications in Minnesota, Missouri, New York, and Virginia, mainly republished word-for-word.³³ When these articles were republished across the country, they only spread Allen’s perceived abnormality as entertainment for the country.

Since Allen lived in Seattle, it’s important to note that large cities were hubs for the purity movement and the tension they caused with their efforts of “social control.”³⁴ As previously stated, purity culture, empowered by the eugenics movement, also saw to it that “sexual delinquency” was criminalized—resulting in police targeting women.³⁵ Even people perceived as women who wore male attire were considered sexual delinquents.³⁶ This meant that

³² “Maiden Who Masquerades,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, editorial, February 14, 1900, www.newspapers.com/333590669.

³³ “Wickedest Spot in the World,” *The Saint Paul Globe*, editorial, May 13, 1900, www.newspapers.com/78678016; “Odd Roles For Girl,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, editorial, June 1, 1900, www.newspapers.com/image/138146493; “Odd Occupations For Young Woman,” *Buffalo Evening News*, editorial, June 6, 1900, www.newspapers.com/image/328300473; “Wears Male Attire,” *Richmond Planet*, editorial, June 30, 1900, www.newspapers.com/image/72104561.

³⁴ Bronski, *A Queer History*, 85, 87.

³⁵ Gloria Elizabeth Myers, “Lola G. Baldwin and the Professionalization of Women’s Police Work, 1905-1922” (master’s thesis, Portland State University, 1993), 40, <https://doi.org/10.15760/etd.6571>.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

Allen was a target since all reporting of the time considered him to be more a woman in men's attire and not a "real" man despite their amazement at his ability to "pass" as a cisgender man. This also explains why the press continuously published about Allen. They were exposing and reporting about an individual who was seen as a sexual delinquent. Testimony from Allen explained that whenever he "[came] to the cities," police would hunt him down, while in the country he didn't have to worry about the police.³⁷ This shows how the police were a force that acted to enforce social control.

Early articles published about Allen gave some details about his relationship with the police. In one example of his interactions with the police, one article describes Allen as "irrepressible" in his ways, polite but filled with rebellious energy – demonstrated by his climbing away from police up a rocky slope in an attempt to get away.³⁸ This report also shows how much Allen didn't want to be troubled by police, and it wasn't the only example of Allen scrambling to get away. In another instance, Allen fell down an embankment and had to be pulled out of the water by police.³⁹ Police also shot at Allen in some of his attempts to run away.⁴⁰ Allen faced many charges of vagrancy around this time. One paper referred to this period as the "height of [his] notoriety," although a lot of these charges did not get a lot of press—most likely due to their frequency.⁴¹ A later article published about his life implies that these vagrancy

³⁷ Hall, *Religious Psychology*, 108.

³⁸ "Maiden Who Masquerades," 10.

³⁹ "Maiden Who Masquerades," 10; "Nell Pickerell Is Jailed," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, editorial, September 13, 1901, NewsBank.

⁴⁰ "Nell Pickerell in Ballard," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, editorial, October 1, 1905, NewsBank.

⁴¹ "Nell Pickerell In The Toils Again," *Seattle Daily Times*, editorial, April 23, 1907, The Seattle Times NewsBank.

charges were to pressure Allen into wearing women's clothes but were unsuccessful in persuading him.⁴²

An anecdote about Allen that circulated in 1900 described his involvement as a second in a fighting ring.⁴³ Over the next fifteen years, occasional stories about fights involving Allen and the police evolved into describing Allen as a "bad man." These more violent actions varied. In 1902, Allen was arrested for "throwing a spittoon" at a saloon owner, destroying a showcase, and fighting a police officer who told Allen and his friends to quiet down.⁴⁴ In 1904, after making a ruckus with "a crowd of disreputable women," Allen fought another officer who chided him to calm things down.⁴⁵ Years later, in 1914, articles described Allen fighting police while being arrested for causing "a disturbance at [his] mother's home," going so far as to "[kick] out [the police car] window pane" and throwing a police badge.⁴⁶ Then in 1915, Allen bit the hand of an officer who had been trying to arrest him.⁴⁷ Although these short sentences certainly paint a picture, a lot of information was left out of these newspaper articles, almost as if encouraging the reader to jump to conclusions. Unfortunately, any details about the context that caused these confrontations was not mentioned.

While fighting and acts of aggression were normally seen as masculine activities, Allen's interactions with the police were used to both masculinize and feminize him in order to further

⁴² "The 'Man-Woman,'" 1.

⁴³ "In Boy's Apparel," 1.

⁴⁴ "Nell Pickerell in Court," 14; "Nell Pickerell Fined Twenty," *The Seattle Star*, editorial, August 5, 1902, www.newspapers.com/image/221364088; "Three Women In A Fight, To Say Nothing Of The Man," *The Seattle Star*, editorial, August 15, 1902, www.newspapers.com/image/221364996.

⁴⁵ "Nell Pickerell Again," *Seattle Daily Times*, editorial, July 10, 1904, The Seattle Times NewsBank.

⁴⁶ "Woman Jailed," *Seattle Daily Times*, editorial, April 22, 1912, The Seattle Times NewsBank.

⁴⁷ "Trousered Woman Bites Policeman," *Seattle Daily Times*, editorial, July 22, 1915, The Seattle Times NewsBank.

emphasize his perceived abnormality. For example, to feminize him, consider in 1912 when Allen kicked out the police car window and threw an officer's badge. While this was certainly aggressive, conceptions of the time portrayed this behavior as manic, falling in line with stereotypes of "female hysteria," which also had its roots linked to gender and sexual delinquency.⁴⁸ His taste in clothing was even referred to as a "mania" Allen had.⁴⁹ Articles that suggested that Allen might have been neurodivergent weren't uncommon, like the previously mentioned theory about double-identity. Then, to masculinize him, an article from 1902 described Allen's fight with an officer. The text cited that Allen had been "raised as a man," and had "powerful muscles," to give a good fight.⁵⁰ This language explicitly emphasized Allen's masculine qualities, making him seem more dangerous.

Two other common occurrences that allowed newspapers to comment on Allen's gender were his court appearances and his time in jail. On August 4th, 1902, the *Seattle Daily Times* reported on Allen's appearance in court, after being arrested for the spittoon incident.⁵¹ Alongside an in-depth detailing of Allen's clothing (a usual note that gets added), the paper describes him as "girl like," while he "innocently chewed gum during ... the trial."⁵² A year later, an article from the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* about a court appearance for loitering, states "few of those who pass [Allen] on the street would guess [him] to be of the feminine gender."⁵³ After being arrested for working as a bartender, the *Seattle Daily Times* described Allen as having large

⁴⁸ Andrew Scull, *Hysteria: The Disturbing History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) 14.

⁴⁹ "Girl Tries to End Her Life," *Seattle Daily Times*, editorial, November 4, 1904, The Seattle Times NewsBank.

⁵⁰ "Three Women," 4.

⁵¹ "Nell Pickerell in Court," *Seattle Daily Times*, editorial, August 4, 1902, The Seattle Times NewsBank.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ "In Masculine Attire," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, editorial, April 17, 1903, NewsBank.

hands, large feet, and “such a deep voice” that he easily passed as a cisgender man.⁵⁴ From reports describing Allen being arrested for bootlegging, the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* described him as having “masculine skill” to do labor, and reported his sex wasn’t discovered until after his arrest.⁵⁵ This instance alone sparked multiple other articles describing the incident where Allen had to be moved from the men’s jail to the women’s.⁵⁶ The fact that he had been “mistaken” as a man was the highlight of these stories, and the fact that it happened to someone who had been arrested linked the two together in a very public way.

Visiting saloons, fighting police, disorderly conduct, and running from police while being shot at are common stories.⁵⁷ While these were considered serious charges, some of the writing about them frames these instances as mischievous with phrasing like, “[Allen] gave [police] a merry chase.”⁵⁸ This unserious tone could easily come from reporters viewing Allen as a woman, and a much less dangerous person than an “actual” man. More serious charges wouldn’t fall upon him until 1906.

On October 2nd, 1905, a train on the outskirts of Seattle was held up and robbed of over seven hundred dollars in valuables with another thirty-six thousand rumored to have been taken.⁵⁹ While known bandits Bill Miner and Jake Terry were named likely culprits by the press,

⁵⁴ “Nell Pickerell Tended Bar In Montana Town,” *Seattle Daily Times*, editorial, April 27, 1908, The Seattle Daily Times NewsBank.

⁵⁵ “Held For Selling Whisky,” 8.

⁵⁶ “Nell Pickerell Is Again In Limelight,” *The Yakima Herald*, editorial, September 27, 1911, www.newspapers.com/image/148711949; “Woman Smokes and Sings,” *The Spokesman-Review*, editorial, September 28, 1911, www.newspapers.com/image/566217852; “Woman Prisoner Balks at Skirts,” *The Spokesman-Review*, editorial, October 2, 1911, www.newspapers.com/image/566219294.

⁵⁷ “Nell Pickerell Again,” 17; “Nell Pickerell Jailed,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, editorial, July 10, 1904, NewsBank; “Nellie Pickerell Arrested,” 10; “Nell Pickerell in Ballard,” 22.

⁵⁸ “Nell Pickerell Again,” 17.

⁵⁹ Daryl C. McClary, “Bill Miner holds up his first passenger train near Portland Oregon, on September 23, 1903,” HistoryLink.org, June 21, 2013, www.historylink.org/File/10285.

no one was ever convicted of the crime.⁶⁰ A couple months later, in January of 1906, the *Seattle Daily Times* and the *Seattle Star* reported Harry Allen was arrested and had a requested bail of two thousand dollars although charges were never released to the public.⁶¹ A month later, the *San Francisco Call* reported that the arrest and high bail was from an attempt to get information about the train robbery.⁶² While authorities believed Allen personally knew the bandits, Allen declined to be their “stool pigeon” (paid informant).⁶³ The *Seattle Daily Times* speculated this could have been a refusal because of the harassment Allen received from police for years.⁶⁴ His “connections” to the criminal underground were only ever hinted at, so it is unclear how legitimate that claim was. Either way, with Allen’s silence the police were forced to let him go.⁶⁵ For the press, this further cemented the idea that Allen did have serious connections to criminals. While the incident with the train heist was the most serious legal trouble Allen found himself in—even when considering the fact that he was only wanted for information—his serious criminal “career” manifested in later articles framed as biographical.

In 1912, the young anthropologist Miriam Van Water interviewed Allen. She verified his story with correspondence with his mother and available police records.⁶⁶ After studying his criminal record, she concluded her interview by stating Allen’s arrest record was due to his

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ “Nell Pickerell Wanted On A Serious Charge,” *Seattle Daily Times*, editorial, January 23, 1906, The Seattle Daily Times NewsBank; “Is Serious This Time,” *The Seattle Star*, editorial, January 24, 1906, www.newspapers.com/image/221344040.

⁶² “Police Baffled By Silence of a Nervy Young Woman,” *The San Francisco Call*, editorial, February 21, 1906, www.newspapers.com/image/87820972.

⁶³ “Woman Declines to Act as Stool Pigeon,” *Seattle Daily Times*, editorial, March 31, 1906, The Seattle Daily Times NewsBank.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Hall, *Religious Journal*, 108.

gender presentation and not “criminal tendencies.”⁶⁷ Despite Van Water’s thoughts on Allen, they went unnoticed by the press. Articles still culminated in descriptions of calling Allen a “bad man.” On April 8th, 1912, the *Tacoma Times* published an article titled, “Fighter, Bootlegger, and ‘Bad Man’ is [Mr. Harry Allen] for Love of Whom Three Women Have Killed Themselves.”⁶⁸ This article describes Allen as an avid fighter, constantly starting brawls.⁶⁹ It then goes on to briefly mention Allen’s arrest for bootlegging and refusal to wear women’s clothing while in jail, but then compares some of his working clothes to that of a gunfighter.⁷⁰ This intentionally gave Allen’s name a much more dangerous connotation. Mentions of Harry Allen using a gun only appear twelve years earlier, explaining he was a sharp bottle shooter with a rifle when he was younger.⁷¹ These little details purposefully painted Allen to be a much bigger threat, taking some aspects of Allen’s life and either exaggerating them or slightly twisting them. In addition, like the article’s title mentions, it also does this with details about the suicide scandals that came to surround him in the media.

Romantic Scandals and Suicides

One of the most intriguing, and notable, narratives the media perpetuated was how two (sometimes three) girls had killed themselves after their romantic involvement with Allen. This reporting consumes a significant portion of articles published about Allen, and the heavy themes

⁶⁷ Ibid., 109.

⁶⁸ “Fighter, Bootlegger and ‘Bad Man’ is Miss Pickerell For Love of Whom Three Women Have Killed Themselves,” *The Tacoma Times*, editorial, April 8, 1912, www.newspapers.com/image/68075141.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ “Woman by Nature,” 18.

strongly swayed the public's opinion about him. Over a period of twenty years, these stories changed substantially and the narratives created are worth examining.

This series of events started on December 21st, 1901, when the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* published an article describing Harry Allen being arrested again, this time on suspicion of stealing a coat.⁷² Five days later, on the 26th, articles were being published all along the West Coast reporting on the suicide of Dolly Quappe. The story according to these reports was that Quappe—new to Seattle—had spent a couple weeks in Allen’s company.⁷³ She had taken an interest in Allen due to his resemblance to her former partner.⁷⁴ After hearing word of Allen stealing a coat, she wrote a letter to him, addressed to ‘Harry Livingston’ and asked him to “dispose of the coat.”⁷⁵ This letter was apprehended by police, and was what led to Allen’s arrest on the 21st.⁷⁶ Police released Allen quickly since no one had pressed charges.⁷⁷ He remarked to one of the officers that Quappe wasn’t aware of his real sex, joking and laughing about it with police.⁷⁸

Shortly after, Quappe learned that Allen had been seeing another woman, Mabel Lacke, and she angrily took a locket of Allen’s that had a picture of Lacke inside.⁷⁹ At noon on

⁷² “Again Under Arrest,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, editorial, December 21, 1901, Newsbank.

⁷³ “Her Woman Lover Faithless and Finding it Out Dolly Quappe Kills Herself,” *The Seattle Star*, editorial, December 26, 1901, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/145546105>.

⁷⁴ “Her Woman Lover Faithless,” 3; “Dolly Quappe’s Suicide,” *The Los Angeles Times*, editorial, December 26, 1901, www.newspapers.com/image/380020050.

⁷⁵ “Tragedy Ends,” 14.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ “Her Woman Lover Faithless,” 3; “Tragedy Ends,” 14.

⁷⁹ “Her Woman Lover Faithless,” 3.

Christmas Day, Dolly got a letter from Harry, accusing her of destroying the picture.⁸⁰ Then a couple hours later, she went and purchased carbolic acid from a nearby pharmacy, went home, drank the acid, and died around six pm.⁸¹ When questioned, Allen insisted Quappe knew of his real sex even while all the letters she wrote still addressed him as “Harry.”⁸² While these two details don’t inherently contradict each other, reports deliberately framed them as doing so.

Most articles mention that Quappe “mistook” Allen as a man or was deceived in some way. The *Seattle Star*’s mention of Mabel Lacke suggests that jealousy and a broken heart motivated Quappe.⁸³ While the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* article also went into detail about Lacke, it more blatantly framed Allen as a distrustful deceiver, describing Allen as having “false[ly] woo[ed]” Quappe and the women in Allen’s life as “victims.”⁸⁴ One article described Allen’s joking about Quappe not knowing his sex as having happened after she died.⁸⁵ Intentionally or not, this blatantly painted Allen as being uncaring or cruel and was repeated for years to come.

Many smaller articles only focus on four points: Dolly Quappe killed herself, she had been romantically involved with Allen, “she believed [Allen] to be a boy,” and Allen had been involved with multiple women in the past.⁸⁶ Although the phrasing, “she believed [Allen] to be a

⁸⁰ “Tragedy Ends,” 14.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ “Her Woman Lover Faithless,” 3.

⁸⁴ “Tragedy Ends,” 14.

⁸⁵ “‘He’ Was A Woman,” *The Tennessean*, editorial, January 7, 1902, www.newspapers.com/image/118828085.

⁸⁶ “Loved A Girl In Men’s Clothing,” *The Tacoma Daily Ledger*, editorial, December 26, 1901, Newsbank; “Her Sweetheart Proved A Boy,” *The Butte Miner*, editorial, December 26, 1901, www.newspapers.com/image/348516333; “Young Woman Loves Another Girl Who Masquerades as a Boy,” *The Anaconda Standard*, editorial, December 26, 1901, www.newspapers.com/image/354259900; “Her Lover A Girl,” *The Ogden Standard*, editorial, December 26, 1901, www.newspapers.com/image/304921018; “Drank Carbolic

boy” could imply she died not knowing of Allen’s sex, due to the lack of information provided, it would also be incredibly easy to conclude the shock of finding out Allen’s sex caused her suicide. There’s also some emphasis placed on Quappe's “morbid passion,” focusing on Allen’s resemblance to her ex-partner.⁸⁷ Jealousy, unrequited love, swearing, and threats against Allen’s life also frame Quappe as unstable, although these elements in the narrative were not common.⁸⁸

In November 1903, there was a second wave of articles about another suicide. According to these reports, Pearl Waldron, daughter of the widow Imogen Waldron, hung out with Harry Allen and became under the impression that they were engaged, even telling her friends.⁸⁹ Allen broke Waldron’s heart when he said they couldn’t get married because of his sex.⁹⁰ She shot herself in the chest with a .32 caliber revolver, and was found bleeding out in a park.⁹¹ At first she refused to give her identity, but eventually did while receiving care, and then asked to see Harry Livingston.⁹² Despite the medical care she received, and an hour long surgery, the doctor was unable to get the bullet out of her chest and Waldron died the next day.⁹³

Acid,” *The Fresno Morning Republican*, editorial, December 26, 1901, www.newspapers.com/image/60704562; “Suicide Ends the Love Affair,” *The San Francisco Call*, editorial, December 26, 1901, www.newspapers.com/image/46559128.

⁸⁷ “Untitled,” *The Washington Standard*, editorial, December 27, 1901, www.newspapers.com/image/337482743.

⁸⁸ “Tragedy Ends,” 14; “Untitled,” *Washington Standard*, 3; “She Loved A Girl,” *Minneapolis Daily Times*, editorial, December 31, 1901, www.newspapers.com/image/813622485.

⁸⁹ “Due to Love of Nell Pickerell: Pearl Waldron Attempts to End Her Life,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, editorial, November 4, 1903, NewsBank; “Victim of Nelle Pickerell,” *Morning Oregonian*, editorial, November 6, 1903, <https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn83025138/1903-11-06/ed-1/seq-7/>.

⁹⁰ “Drove Two Girls to End Their Lives,” *Salt Lake Telegram*, editorial, November 6, 1903, <https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=23720653>; “Victim of Nelle,” 7.

⁹¹ “Due to Love,” 16; “Shoots Herself In the Chest,” *The San Francisco Call*, editorial, November 5, 1903, www.newspapers.com/image/466119074.

⁹² “Due to Love,” 16; “Shoots Herself,” 9.

⁹³ “Due to Love,” 16.

Article headlines covering this case were filled with phrasing like, “Second Similar Case,” “Two Seattle Girls Committed Suicide,” and “Victim of [Harry Allen].”⁹⁴ The spectacle of Allen’s fault was much more prevalent. Multiple articles out of Oregon reference the mixed-up timeline, where Allen was characterized more cruelly by laughing with the police after Quappe’s suicide.⁹⁵ There were also some references to Allen’s history with the police. “The police declare that they can do nothing with [Harry Allen]” was a common phrase that comes out of these papers.⁹⁶ The *Seattle Republican* went so far as to say, “... while probably not guilty of murder, [Harry Allen] is at least responsible in a sense for the lives of these two young women, and it is quite time there was some steps taken to suppress this seemingly [immoral] individual, with perverted ideas.”⁹⁷ There were also the same vague insinuations that the revelation of Allen’s sex played a part or, at least, played an unnatural aspect in the death. Allen’s sex and clothing choices were seemingly used as evidence that he had a poor moral character and the narrative he “tricked” two women to their deaths was the final proof. Although, these women were also subjected to speculations about their character. Articles from the time also quote police, saying that Pearl Waldron was often seen in saloons and with “fast young girls.”⁹⁸

While the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* published this story on November 4th, later the same day the *Seattle Daily Times* also reported on the story but claimed to have spoken to the referenced Imogen Waldron, who said she never had a daughter, but doesn’t mention any other

⁹⁴ “Due to Love,” 16; “Two Seattle Girls,” 5; “Victim of Nelle,” 7.

⁹⁵ “Victim of Nelle,” 7.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ “Tales of the Town,” *The Seattle Republican*, editorial, November 6, 1903, www.newspapers.com/image/72076435.

⁹⁸ “Due to Love,” 16.

information concerning the widow.⁹⁹ What is more interesting was the lack of Dolly Quappe's name. Instead, when referencing the earlier suicide, papers mentioned a woman named Hazel Walters. The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* mentioned the name, listed her address and method of death the same as Dolly Quappe's, but claimed Walters died in March of 1902.¹⁰⁰ Every article following that mentioned the previous suicide used the name Hazel Walters.¹⁰¹

On April 20th, 1904, an article from the *Tacoma Daily Ledger*, published a story about a man named Steve Waldron who killed his wife.¹⁰² After the story, the article mentioned he was the brother of "Blanche Waldron," the woman who "committed suicide because of her love for," Harry Allen.¹⁰³ With Waldron's refusal to give her name when she was found, it was possible her name was Blanche. It could also have been another mistake or instance of false reporting. Nevertheless, it brings the validity of the story further into question.

On January 12th, 1908, the *Seattle Daily Times* published a story going over the entire affair and quoted Harry Allen directly, although they had not asked about any of the women or their actions, only about his choice of dress.¹⁰⁴ Since he wasn't asked about the women, he was not given the chance to refute or defend his character. This paper described Pearl Waldron as the first victim, shooting herself, and Hazel Walters was listed as the second.¹⁰⁵ Walters was still

⁹⁹ "Girl Tries to End Her Life," 3.

¹⁰⁰ "Due to Love," 16.

¹⁰¹ "Girl Tries to End," 3; "Due to Love," 16; "Shoots Herself," 9; "Two Seattle Girls," 5; "Victim of Nelle," 7; "Drove Two Girls," 10; "She Finds Herself Engaged to a Woman," *The Anaconda Standard*, editorial, November 6, 1903, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/354229197>.

¹⁰² "Teamster Tries to Kill His Wife," *The Tacoma Daily Ledger*, editorial, April 20, 1904, www.newspapers.com/image/724911355.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ "Weird Story of How Two Seattle," 47.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

described with Dolly Quappe's address and same method of suicide.¹⁰⁶ The article also mentioned the false detail that Allen joked or laughed with police after the suicide, rather than days before, and even took a strong stance and placed firm blame onto Allen stating, "It was not possible to prosecute [him] for a crime, yet in the eyes of the moral law could any crime be worse than [his]?"¹⁰⁷ Some articles mentioned Hazel Walters as having written a detailed letter to Allen.¹⁰⁸ This detail might have resulted from a story published in 1901, where an unnamed woman sent a heart-felt letter to Allen while he was in jail, begging him to be with her.¹⁰⁹

Three months later, another scandal appeared in Tacoma newspapers. According to the *Tacoma Daily News*, in an article published on March 14th, 1908, Laura Kelly from Yakima had been recently "duped" by Harry Allen.¹¹⁰ Allen tricked Kelly into a mock marriage and made away with her savings, leaving her heartbroken.¹¹¹ The article also detailed Allen's history of wooing "several women," taking their savings, and disappearing.¹¹² On the 18th of March, the *Tacoma Daily News* did a follow-up, this time with quotes from Allen. He denied tricking anyone and stealing anything, and that he and Laura Kelly had been friends for a long time.¹¹³ Another interview of Allen came from Yakima about the same instance, but in addition to

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ "Victim of Nelle," 7.

¹⁰⁹ "Goes by the Name Harry," 5.

¹¹⁰ "Nell Pickerell Figures in an Elopement," *The Tacoma Daily News*, editorial, March 14, 1908, www.newspapers.com/image/725738910.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ "Woman's Wear Don't Fit Her Right," *The Tacoma Daily News*, editorial, March 18, 1908, www.newspapers.com/image/725739221.

denying the story, he also claimed, “no women ever committed suicide over me.”¹¹⁴ He referenced the suicide/s as “The Seattle Story” and said that it was made up by a reporter for easy money.¹¹⁵ It’s unclear whether “The Seattle Story ” was in reference to one suicide or both. These last two articles also mentioned Allen was already held in jail when the first article about Kelly was released and was only made aware while interviewed.¹¹⁶

On January 30th, 1909, an article from the Record came out in Los Angeles, California, about “both” suicides, but there were even more inconsistencies throughout.¹¹⁷ The article referenced Allen being twenty years old, while his actual age was twenty-seven.¹¹⁸ His older name, Livingston, was also used rather than his current name for the time, Allen.¹¹⁹ Dolly Quappe, Pearl Waldron, and Laura Kelly went unmentioned. The first “victim” reported was a new woman named Gertie Samuels.¹²⁰ According to the article, Samuels had been tricked by Allen and left at the altar, resulting in her shooting herself in the temple.¹²¹ Hazel Walters was still described as the “second victim,” although now she died falling from a fifty-foot cliff.¹²²

¹¹⁴ “Notorious Nell Pickerell Lands in Yakima Jail,” *The Yakima Herald*, editorial, March 18, 1908, www.newspapers.com/image/149124182.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ “Women’s Wear,” 2; “Notorious Nell,” 7.

¹¹⁷ “Two Died for Love of This Girl,” *Record*, editorial, January 30, 1909, www.newspapers.com/image/677840663.

¹¹⁸ “Two Died for Love,” 8; Department of Health Death Index 1907-1960, Washington State Archives, Death certificate for Nell Pickerell, <https://www.digitalarchives.wa.gov/Record/View/AA97CC337A82151663E55BA41FD47611>.

¹¹⁹ “Two Died for Love,” 8.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Ibid.*

This same article was published in Evansville, Indiana on February 10th, of that year.¹²³ At this point in time, nothing from the original series of articles from seven years ago persisted except for the judgment on Allen. Another article from the Tacoma Times, published in 1912, was another attempt to summarize Allen's fame but it focused on him as a "bad man," talking more about his reputation than anything else.¹²⁴ It was notable in how there was mention of three suicides, but no names given. This detail protected it from any blatant contradictions, but the reference to three further cemented Allen's culpability and poor character.

The last published scandal involving Allen and romancing women was in June 1912. According to reporting from the *Oregonian* and *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Allen was arrested on suspicion of white slavery (the specific crime of sex trafficking white women) when Isabelle Maxwell was found posing as his wife.¹²⁵ After interrogation from the Department of Justice, Allen broke down and confessed his true sex and his life as a man for the past twelve years.¹²⁶ Maxwell then revealed to the investigating agent details about their courtship, elopement, and her parents' objections.¹²⁷ The *Evening Times-Star*, out of Alameda, California, claimed that a woman from Seattle, named Alice Maxwell, said that Allen was a white-slaver and had forced her into sex work.¹²⁸ This was the only article I found that mentions this information. This paper concluded that "in this case, the masquerading woman was as dangerous to the community, if not

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ "Fighter, Bootlegger and 'Bad Man' is Miss Pickerell For Love of Whom Three Women Have Killed Themselves," *The Tacoma Times*, editorial, April 8, 1912, www.newspapers.com/image/68075141.

¹²⁵ "Police Get Woman Posing as Husband," *Oregonian*, editorial, June 4, 1912, Oregonian Newsbank.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ "Nell Pickerell Held for White Slavery," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, editorial, June 4, 1912, NewsBank.

¹²⁸ "Untitled," *The Evening Times-Star*, editorial, June 5, 1912, www.newspapers.com/image/607182303.

more so, than a genuine male white slaver.”¹²⁹ The charges of white slavery were dropped, but he was charged with sixty days in jail for vagrancy.¹³⁰

Published on June 9th, 1915, the *Seattle Star* released one of the last articles to discuss these suicides. Gertie Samuels and Hazel Walters were still named with the same modes of death as listed in 1909.¹³¹ At the time it was released, Allen was once again in jail for vagrancy, but the paper asserted that the majority of his arrests were for stealing.¹³² Despite this, the article had a much more sympathetic tone in comparison to most other publications. It mentioned that Allen’s choice in attire started when he was a child, and that its continuous use came from standard reasoning, because he wanted to.¹³³ The fervor around Allen’s involvement in any suicides ceased after this point in time. While Dolly Quappe and Pearl Waldron had a surplus in reporting and fleshed out narratives, Gertie Samuels and Hazel Walters only got a couple sentences in articles whose main focus was on Allen. The latter two were only used as tidbits for emphasis and shock in larger narratives about the “dangerous” Harry Allen.

In Miriam Van Waters interview and investigation in 1912, she claimed there was no evidence Allen was a white slaver and Allen was in fact known to take in homeless women and prostitutes to get them off the street—even getting two girls out of a brothel and back home.¹³⁴ In addition, one of these women (who was unnamed) who supposedly killed herself, did suffer from “an advanced stage of syphilis.”¹³⁵ If any of the women from these stories existed, this may

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ “Babies Call Nell ‘Papa,’” *Oregonian*, editorial, June 10, 1912, Oregonian Newsbank.

¹³¹ “The ‘Man-Woman,’” 1.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Hall, *Religious Journal*, 108.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 109.

explain some of the women's behaviors from the press's narratives. Some articles called Waldron promiscuous and described Quappe as being odd with her "morbid passion."¹³⁶ This also brings up the possibility that a death from syphilis could have been what sparked the reporting and suicide narrative, but this idea is speculation.

Conclusion

Harry Allen died at 6:10am, on December 27th, 1922 from syphilitic meningitis.¹³⁷ A couple articles in the following days mentioned his death and cremation.¹³⁸ About six months after his death, the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* published an article titled "Seattle Offers Refuge for Girls in Male Attire."¹³⁹ It mentioned that in San Francisco the law prohibited women from wearing men's clothing, but Chief of Police Severyns of Seattle explained that women were free to wear men's clothes in Seattle.¹⁴⁰ Severyns then went on to say that women were only not allowed to "pretend they are men," and that Harry Allen was one of these people.¹⁴¹ This showed a believed idea from the police institution that Allen wasn't just a woman in men's clothing, even if they couldn't see him fully as a man. Despite the fact that Allen was constantly referred to as a woman by police and newspaper publications, he was seen as trying to pass or live as a man and was therefore masquerading as one. While the few published interviews of Allen cannot be

¹³⁶ "Due to Love," 16; "Dolly Quappe's Suicide," 3.

¹³⁷ Department of Health Death Index 1907-1960, Washington State Archives, Death Certificate for Nell Pickerell.

¹³⁸ "Nell Pickerell Dead," *The Seattle Star*, editorial, December 28, 1922, www.newspapers.com/image/145482937; "Posed as Man," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, editorial, December 28, 1922, NewsBank.

¹³⁹ "Seattle Offers Refuge for Girls in Male Attire," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, editorial, May 29, 1923, NewsBank.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

confirmed as genuine, in one of those interviews Allen specifically said that he “wasn’t masquerading.”¹⁴² This can be interpreted in a lot of different ways, but one is that Allen merely existed.

Publications about Allen rarely told the entire truth, especially concerning the romance scandals. The previously mentioned articles that described some of Allen’s crimes were shorter and left out information. What information was provided left blanks that pushed readers to jump to certain conclusions about Allen. They also characterized Allen’s gender in almost contradictory ways alongside speculations of Allen being neurodivergent to ostracize him to the reader. His sex and gender presentation were used against him as proof that he was of poor moral character and that something had to be wrong with him. They did this by highlighting crimes that tied his life to criminality. There is the possibility the media’s fascination with Allen might have started out with somewhat innocent intentions, simply pointing out a person who lived outside of normal social standards. That being pointed out, purity culture within Seattle would have seen Allen as a sexual delinquent and someone to be stopped. With facing police harassment, Allen’s turn to other social outcasts should not have been a surprise. When Allen began to associate with robbers and sex workers and started to commit crimes, the charges of vagrancy he was given—attempting to force him back into the time’s gender roles—blurred into his life as a perceived criminal.¹⁴³ This taken and used to further justify Allen as a dangerous individual as the stories of the suicides developed over the years. While every individual article may seem innocuous, with a few troubling false details or leave out some information, the culmination of these over years of reporting painted Allen as a danger to women and the public.

¹⁴² “Women’s Wear,” 2.

¹⁴³ “The ‘Man-Woman,’” 1.

One thing to take away from this paper is that the United States has a long history of gender queerness and an equally long history of apprehension towards it. Within the last few years there has been a powerful resurgence in transphobia, especially from right-wing journalism and lawmakers, but there are also a lot of people working against it. As a transgender scholar I feel it is important to fully understand the history that has gone into the publicized fear and villainization of deviation from the gender binary. Washington, and the United States, need to realize how people like Harry Allen were treated in the past and strive to do better. At the time of this paper's publication, Allen will have died one hundred years ago. While a lot has changed, a lot still seems to be the same. Because of this, it is also important for transgender and queer people to be able to see some of Allen's story and see his determination and persistence underneath the words of journalists; it is important to know someone can survive having such a publicized life. There are a lot of mysteries surrounding Harry Allen's life, but his perseverance is one aspect that shines through.

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