

Building a Better World for Transpeople: Reed Erickson and the Erickson Educational Foundation

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ABSTRACT. This article argues that through its role as a national clearing house and funding agency, Reed Erickson and the Erickson Educational Foundation (EEF) actively directed the course of trans research and contemporary social services and policies effecting trans people. We structure this article around the EEF's three key areas of work in the field of transsexualism: support and referral, advocacy and education, and research and professional development. We show how these three main efforts lead to widespread medical and social change for trans people during the years of EEF operation. doi:10.1300/J485v10n01_07 [Article copies available for a fee from The Haworth Document Delivery Service: 1-800-HAWORTH. E-mail address: <docdelivery@haworthpress.com> Website: <<http://www.HaworthPress.com>> © 2007 by The Haworth Press, Inc. All rights reserved.]

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BUILDING A BETTER WORLD FOR TRANS PEOPLE: REED ERICKSON AND THE ERICKSON EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION PART ONE¹

In 1964, wealthy Louisiana businessman Reed Erickson launched the Erickson Educational Foundation (EEF) as a philanthropic organization “to provide assistance and support in areas where human potential seems limited by adverse physical, mental or social conditions, or where the scope of research was too new, controversial or imaginative to receive traditionally oriented support.”¹ The EEF,

funded entirely by Erickson himself,² focused on three main areas over the next twenty years: homosexuality, transsexualism, and new age spirituality. For example, one of its earliest and longest running recipients of financial support was ONE Inc. of Los Angeles, the early homophile organization founded in 1952 and still operating today, which received over \$2 million dollars from Erickson.³ In its later years, Erickson and the EEF concentrated on what have come to be called New Age Movements, funding, for example, the \$60,000 first hardcover edition publication of *A Course in Miracles*, a spiritual text that *Psychology Today*, in 1980, ranked “among the most widely read of

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the new spiritually oriented literature”⁴ and continues to be used around the world.⁵ Erickson’s money also funded many other prominent researchers in this area, including Robert Masters and Jean Houston’s research into non-drug-induced altered states of consciousness, Stanley Krippner’s dream research, and John Lilly’s early research into dolphin and computer communications systems.⁶ The bulk of the EEF’s projects during its most active years of operation, however, focused on transsexualism, and this was the area in which Erickson’s interest and support would come to be most influential.

The work that Erickson and the EEF did to bring attention to and disseminate information about transsexualism was instrumental in making tremendous improvements to the provision of health care and other services for trans people;⁷ it built a solid groundwork which fostered the growth of diverse advocacy and support groups and was foundational to the development of worldwide networks of transsexual researchers. Recent scholarship has recognized the important contributions of Erickson and the EEF, but none have had the opportunity to fully explore the substance of its work.⁸ Thus, this article looks at the many ways that Reed Erickson and the EEF influenced contemporary social and medical policies, the lives of trans people, and the future development of trans research. Part one considers Erickson’s own vision and role in the organization, as well as that of other key actors, including Zelda Suplee and Harry Benjamin, among others. We argue that Erickson and the EEF provided essential financial and structural support to a fledgling movement, as in the case of the many grants it provided to researchers, and that through its role as a national clearing house and funding agency, Erickson and the EEF actively directed the course of trans research and contemporary social services and policies effecting trans people. Thus, after briefly looking at Erickson’s own life and socio-historical context, we structure this article around the EEF’s three key areas of work in the field of transsexualism: support and referral, advocacy and education, and research and professional development. The article is divided into two parts. Part one looks at both the EEF’s support and referral and its education and advocacy work, and part two looks at its

contributions to research and professional development. We show how, together, these three main efforts lead to widespread medical and social policy and attitude changes affecting trans people during the years the EEF was actively operating.

REED ERICKSON

Reed Erickson was born as Rita Alma Erickson in El Paso, Texas on October 13, 1917. Growing up, Erickson lived in the Olney neighborhood of Philadelphia, and graduated from the Philadelphia High School for Girls. Erickson studied secretarial and commerce courses at Temple University from 1937-1940. In 1938, Erickson’s mother, Ruth died and two years later, when Erickson had finished taking courses at Temple University, Erickson’s father, Robert B. Erickson, moved the family to Baton Rouge, Louisiana where he had transferred his lead smelting business. In Baton Rouge, Erickson attended Louisiana State University and became the first woman graduate from LSU’s school of mechanical engineering. Erickson then spent two years in Mexico, where the family also owned property, before moving back to Philadelphia to work as an engineer and live with a woman partner in a lesbian relationship. Together they were active in the Wallace campaign of 1948, and took part in various left-wing social and political activities. As Erickson was unable to find work in Philadelphia as a female engineer, in 1953 they moved to Baton Rouge where Erickson worked in the family business and started an independent company making stadium bleachers. Throughout the 1950s Erickson “looked masculine,” with short hair, tailored clothes, and no make-up, apparently cross-dressing more when traveling outside Baton Rouge.⁹ In the mid- to late-1950s Erickson claimed to have traveled to Casablanca and Tijuana for surgical procedures, and began taking testosterone.¹⁰ By the end of the decade, the lesbian romantic relationship had become an ongoing family-like involvement which continued for many years. Erickson was a very private person considered by business associates and employees to be somewhat distant. One person who had worked with Erickson at the time remembered the grad-

ual transition from Rita to Reed as relatively well-accepted, likely because Erickson was a manager/owner.¹¹ After the elder Erickson's death in 1962, Erickson and a sister inherited the family business, ran it successfully until the end of the decade, and then sold it to Arrow Electronics for several million dollars. In 1963, Erickson became a patient of Dr. Harry Benjamin, the most well-known medical advocate of sex reassignment in the U.S., and the widely heralded "father of transsexualism."¹²

Erickson lived a colourful personal life and was very financially successful, eventually amassing a fortune estimated at over \$40 million. He earned this fortune largely from the oil revenues of properties he had acquired throughout the areas surrounding Baton Rouge and was very proud of his fiscal acumen. Over the next thirty years he lived alternately in Mexico and the Los Angeles area, marrying a total of four times and becoming the father of two children with his second wife Aileen. He was devoted to his pet leopard of twenty years, Henry, and lived for a decade in an opulent home, dubbed the "Love Joy Palace Ashram," which he had designed and had custom built in Mazatlan, Mexico. Although a reclusive person, his interests and wealth brought him into contact with a tremendous range of people who would themselves become historically significant in a number of fields, and it's clear that Erickson sought out innovative people and projects in which he saw great potential. He encouraged such projects financially and seemed to take a great deal of pleasure in the social power that his personal wealth allowed. He was a strong believer in developing social conditions that enabled individual self-sufficiency, and this vision framed his EEF grants, which he saw as "seed money" invested in the future of human society.

In the early 1950s, when Erickson began thinking about changing from female to male, the social realities for trans people were very different from what they are today. Despite the overwhelming media attention given to Christine Jorgensen's male-to-female transition in 1952, changing one's sex was not a very feasible possibility. Jorgensen certainly wasn't indicative of widespread acceptance for transsexualism or of the presence of medical systems which would allow people to easily change their sex. As David Serlin has shown,

the media initially represented Jorgensen as an anomaly, a "medical miracle of modern science," but when it was "discovered" that her feminizing procedures didn't actually include a vaginoplasty or the ability to reproduce, she was deemed a fraud, and the procedures she had undergone were seriously questioned.¹³

But the news of Christine Jorgensen's sex-change was perhaps most important to so many people precisely because Jorgensen represented a sign that there were others out there like them. Indeed, right after her initial media appearance, her endocrinologist in Denmark, Christian Hamburger, received 765 letters from people who wanted to know if they, too, could have such medical procedures performed on them.¹⁴ For many people, Jorgensen represented a new possibility for gender expressions and the possibility that modern medical technologies could allow them to re-make themselves physically for social rehabilitation, a common theme in the post-war period in America.¹⁵

And while the lengths to which Jorgensen went to undergo feminizing treatments were simply impossible for many who may have wanted to follow in her footsteps, they certainly weren't beyond the scope of Reed Erickson in his quest for masculinization. So unlike so many, who were disappointed to find out that they would not be able to undergo the process the media had popularized through its depictions of Jorgensen, Erickson was able to seek out, travel to, and afford the few possibilities then existing. More importantly, he also had the resources and ability to actually increase the number and quality of services available to trans people, a process he began shortly after his own transition.

Erickson's personal experience trying to locate and obtain masculinizing procedures would have made him aware of the many barriers facing such attempts, especially for those without the financial resources to maintain employment, travel, or pay high medical bills. Thus, in light of his generosity, creativity, vision, and interest in social issues, it may be no surprise that shortly after his own transition began, he formed the EEF, which would go on to encourage and provide many of the support structures now available, such as peer support and professional networks, research publica-

tions, and international conferences, all of which were previously simply non-existent. Having already provided funding to ONE, Erickson was aware of the importance and impact of large, open, easily-found organizations for sexual minorities, and he created the EEF to act as a central hub for transsexuals and the researchers and clinicians who would work with them.

At the time of the EEF's creation, however, most gender variant people were extremely isolated and marginalized, as trans-positive medical services were virtually non-existent, long-distance telephone calls and travel were very costly, and to be known as gender variant was to be extremely marginalized. Homosexuality was still considered a mental illness and gender variance was considered both a sign of homosexuality and a serious pathology. Those who were willing to risk violence, imprisonment, loss of family, friends, and livelihood might try to find their way to small secretive communities in major urban centres where they could "be themselves" for brief periods of time or write fearful letters to people like Jorgensen or Benjamin, but most simply closed that part of themselves off or furtively lived double lives.

Only the most privileged and determined among those who wanted to change their gender or sex were able to find their way to the few doctors in the world who might be able to help them. For others, their lot was isolation, secrecy, and shame, or worse, suicide, addiction, mental illness, poverty, incarceration, and abuse at the hands of those who purported to be official "helpers." For example, one transwoman who wrote to Benjamin in 1972 relayed the story of having told her parents about her gender identity: "my father threatened to beat me within and inch of my life. My mother told me that if I didn't 'straighten myself out,' I would be institutionalized. The family doctor and our minister agreed."¹⁶

Clearly, resources for trans people were extremely rare. Despite the fact that Jorgensen's "sex change" was widely publicized by the American media, there were still no surgeons who would perform sex reassignment surgery in the United States, nor were there many doctors who were willing to administer cross-gender hormones to their transsexual patients.

Benjamin was the first, and for some time the only one in the U.S. experimenting with hormone therapy for trans people, taking the stance that it seemed to have a positive effect on what he saw as a group of desperate people. But his approach was extremely unique at the time. Most doctors, if they had even heard of the word transsexual,¹⁷ refused to treat trans patients, other than to institutionalize them in psychiatric facilities.¹⁸ Others, who were more open-minded, would agree only to refill prescriptions that Benjamin had begun. So despite significant interest by people wanting to undergo "sex change" procedures and scattered interest by various individual researchers and clinicians during the first half of the twentieth century,¹⁹ there was almost nowhere for people to access such services in the U.S., particularly before the mid-1960s.

In 1963, Erickson became a patient of Harry Benjamin, and their meeting would prove pivotal to the future of transsexualism. Benjamin's willingness and interest in helping trans people fit well with Erickson's vision, drive, and financial resources. Together they imagined a future in which trans people were recognized, understood, respected, and could access medical services and social support. Perhaps most importantly, they each had access to a significant set of resources that could make such a vision a reality: Benjamin, the medical expertise and authority, and Erickson, the commitment and financial resources to fund research programs and social and medical services for trans people.

At the time of their meeting, there was no recognized professional group familiar with or supportive of trans people, and individuals such as Benjamin were fairly marginal in terms of medical legitimacy and recognition. The ability of people like Reed Erickson and Christine Jorgensen, then, to change their sex, rested on their being able to locate and access individual practitioners, like Hamburg and Benjamin, who were willing to experiment. But Erickson and Benjamin both saw a need for what we would now call a trans-positive medical and social system, and together they advocated and developed a number of projects that would realize that vision.

THE ERICKSON EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION

Erickson incorporated the Erickson Educational Foundation (EEF) in Baton Rouge, Louisiana in 1964, only a year after his first meeting with Benjamin. Over the next twenty years, he put a significant amount of his personal wealth towards his goal of providing seed money to projects which had the possibility of liberating the “human potential” in which he had such great faith. The EEF was active between 1964 and 1984 and had public offices in New York and Baton Rouge, as well as private offices in Ojai and Los Angeles, California; Phoenix, Arizona; Mazatlan, Mexico and Panama City, Panama. The Foundation was always under the close direction of Erickson himself, although he preferred to remain a behind-the-scenes actor, leaving its day-to-day operations to Zelda Suplee, the EEF’s Assistant Director (and later Director), with whom he was always in close contact. Suplee was a plump, enthusiastic and dynamic woman with steel-gray hair and a strong interest in spirituality, alternative healing and nudism. She was exuberant and enthusiastic about her work with trans people and did most of the EEF’s public relations work. She also acted as office manager, directing administration staff in the maintenance of the EEF’s public offices which acted as resource centers on transsexualism.

The EEF engaged in a wide variety of projects and approaches to address both the needs of trans people and professionals who wanted to work with them, as well as to fund research about transsexualism. The EEF’s approach was interdisciplinary and multi-pronged, and the bulk of the EEF’s work in transsexualism focused on three main areas: (1) support and referrals, (2) advocacy and education, and (3) research and professional development. A more in-depth look at each of these aspects of the EEF’s work shows how Erickson’s general vision, combined with his ability to put this vision into practice had a major impact on trans history and has significantly influenced our present social circumstances, especially in its focus on developing professional expertise and improving the provision of medical services for transsexuals.

SUPPORT AND REFERRAL

Recognizing the lack of accessible and adequate social resources facing trans people, the EEF provided a front-line safety net through their support and referral systems. At their public offices in Baton Rouge and New York, they provided one-on-one emotional support and informal counseling for the many transsexuals who came to their offices. Many trans people would remember the EEF support system as a life-line that kept them alive through times when suicide seemed to be the only way out. For example, one trans woman, after having swallowed a bottle of sleeping pills, phoned the EEF to “say good-bye to a woman there who had given me some literature” (presumably Zelda), who then had the police trace the call and send an ambulance; as the woman would later remember: “I was alone and if not for that sweet woman on the other end of the phone line at the Erickson Educational Foundation . . . I would not be here.”²⁰ Clearly, then, the direct one-on-one support offered by the EEF was essential, and Suplee’s personal skills and commitment were crucial for many trans people.

Their support and referral system, was then the EEF’s most important function to trans people in crisis. One woman, for example, a Belgian immigrant to the United States in 1976, remembered looking for information and support in the United States. She found it through another transwoman she had met in a pub, who connected her to the EEF. She would later describe herself as “a lonely, 22-year-old transwoman which had just started hormone therapy from a doctor which didn’t particularly know what he was doing nor care about my health” [sic].²¹ At the EEF, she, like many others, not only found the spiritual support she needed, but was also given advice, an information packet, and connected with trans pen-friends for social support.

In addition to providing individual personal support for trans people, the EEF worked on developing more broad networks of social support and also clearly recognized the importance of peer-support networks. Especially in major urban centers such as San Francisco and New York City, it could and did refer people to peer-support groups and highlighted the formation of new groups in its newsletter. For exam-

ple, in 1972, it noted that St. Luke's Hospital Mental Health Clinic in New York City was planning to establish a weekly group therapy session "to help individuals find more comfortable ways of relating to themselves and to others while living in their chosen gender identities."²² They announced the formation of a group of transvestites and transsexuals in Los Angeles "into a formal, non-profit organization for mutual help and companionship," and published the contact information for the group.²³ Likewise, in 1976, the EEF advertized that readers could contact the EEF to access its "list of the growing number of transvestite-transsexual social and self-help groups and periodicals."²⁴

The EEF also maintained lists of the few trans community newsletters being produced by small local movements or through individual efforts. It kept file copies of these newsletters and made contact information available to inquirers about how to receive copies. For example, the EEF kept in touch with newsletter editors such as Rupert Raj, who published *Metamorphosis* in Canada (first in Calgary and then Toronto). It was through such connections that the EEF was able to respond to inquiries from all over the world and encourage the development of what would become an international trans movement. Whereas Jorgensen's surgeons, Jorgensen herself, and Benjamin had all received hundreds of letters requesting assistance, there had been very little they could do to respond to the majority of such requests. But by the 1970s, the EEF had become the organization to which one could turn for support and it acted as a central hub of information.

One of the key resources the EEF created to provide for the needs of trans people was its referral list of sympathetic and knowledgeable professionals. During the 1960s and 1970s, this resource proved invaluable to trans people who were unable to access trans-positive health care on their own. The EEF proudly advertised that it had developed and maintained the only "referral service with national listings"²⁵ and that it could provide trans people with "referral to a professional network for treatment."²⁶ The referral list was an ongoing project and the EEF encouraged many professionals to become a part of its referral network, including general practitioners, medical specialists, counselors,

and any other professionals who would be willing to work with trans people.

In compiling this referral list, the EEF not only made existing resources available, it also encouraged the development of new resources. The EEF sought out new contact information for its referral list from a variety of sources. For example, Dr. Harold Lief, Director of the Center for Sexual Studies at the University of Pennsylvania gave the EEF access to the 56 medical schools associated with the Centre, which, as stated in the EEF newsletter "helped to add many names to our list."²⁷ The EEF also sought new contact information for the referral list from its newsletter readers, asking them to send in the names of their own physicians as recommendations for others and so that the EEF could approach them in the interests of the wider trans community. If a physician was interested in working with trans patients, the EEF would send them educational information that would give them some of the background necessary to potentially treat these patients with hormone therapy, "in an attempt to help build competence in this new area."²⁸ Likewise, they could also connect such practitioners to other specialists with whom they could confer.

By bringing trans people's needs to the attention of medical professionals, the EEF encouraged physicians who might never have ventured to investigate transsexualism to develop the expertise they needed in order to be able to fulfill the health care needs of the trans people who came to the EEF so desperate for help. Thus, the referral system fulfilled two important sets of needs that the EEF always saw as complimentary: those of trans people and those of the medical profession. By the Fall of 1969, the EEF had been able to contact and list physicians in 21 states, and their goal was to eventually have referral information for every state and province in North America.²⁹ Throughout 1970, the EEF assured newsletter readers of its continued progress in the development of its referral network,³⁰ and by 1971, its list included 250 names nationwide.³¹ The EEF also developed and maintained a less extensive, but nevertheless important referral list of legal and religious professionals to whom it could likewise refer inquirers.

The referral list project was particularly important because of the high volume of diverse

requests the EEF received from across the U.S. and around the world. That the EEF could respond to such requests with accurate and supportive information was essential to the many people who contacted it. When trans people wrote to the EEF, they would get a response from Suplee, who provided encouragement, outlined current treatment possibilities and sent referrals to three physicians in their area with whom they could make an appointment. As Sarah Santana, a former EEF staff member recalled, the EEF's responses were "basically holding their hand and telling them that they weren't alone in the world,"³² and the physician referral list was a key part of that message. Whereas Jorgensen had only had Benjamin to refer people to,³³ and Benjamin had to turn down many requests because the writers were unable to come to one of his practices in New York or San Francisco, the EEF had developed an important network of individuals to whom they could refer otherwise isolated trans people. The EEF's centralized referral system was a place to which trans people could turn and know that they could get reliable information and have their questions answered. It provided some cohesion to the scattered individual efforts of local activists, individual medical practitioners, or legal or social service providers.

By bringing together existing contact information, creating a system of support and referrals, and contacting various professionals (including many physicians) to encourage them to consider the issues facing trans people, the EEF was able to take up the work of supporting trans people on a broad social scale, thus providing a base of security for what would become the trans social movement. Its emphasis on professional co-operation and the fact that it was fully funded by one very powerful and involved individual greatly influenced and shaped how trans people, and transsexuals in particular, would come to be recognized and treated. More immediately, the referral system provided trans people with information that was vital to them, and many felt that the EEF had saved their lives. As one transwoman remembered, "the EEF was life-saving for me in those very dark and seemingly hopeless days . . . and I continue to be very grateful for their support and concrete help."³⁴ And while the individual support and referral

system that the EEF developed was so important to so many, it was perhaps its role as an organization that could intervene in social, medical, and legal affairs on behalf of trans people that was more significant in creating a social shift towards trans people being considered as a distinct minority group deserving of social respect, medical recognition, and legal rights.

ADVOCACY AND EDUCATION

During the 1960s and 1970s individual trans people often had to deal with institutions or individuals who simply had no knowledge of trans issues. On an individual level, this created many problems for trans people, and on a systemic level, it meant their erasure and marginalization. The EEF worked towards social solutions on both these levels and its advocacy and education work was an important part of this. The EEF was able to intervene in specific individual cases by providing medical and legal information, referrals to sympathetic clergy, recent research publications and information on surgical procedures, as well as other supporting documentation. For example, the EEF provided identification cards for trans people who were being administered hormone treatment to carry with them as official verification in case of police harassment; the cards included such identifying features as name, height, weight, and date of birth, as well as a statement that "the undersigned is required to live in the gender of his/her choice for six months or more as a pre-requisite to sex-reassignment surgery."³⁵ Similarly, the EEF advocated for individual trans people in circumstances where social structures were not in place. For example, in 1973, it intervened in the "interrogation of a postoperative applicant at the Naturalization Dept. to give relevant information on transsexualism and the sex reassignment operation as well as on the character of the individual," and eventually, citizenship was granted to this individual.³⁶

Erickson also recognized the importance of broad social education to increase awareness and support for trans people, which would, in theory, eventually diminish the need for direct advocacy on behalf of trans people. This approach, of wider social education, fit with his

overall vision of creating the social conditions in which individuals could be self-sufficient and free from social oppression. A large part of the EEF's advocacy for trans people, then, involved general education on transsexualism, and the EEF worked with a broad range of social institutions in an attempt to ensure that its message of understanding and acceptance for trans people would be heard throughout society.

The EEF's education and advocacy work involved three main forms of public outreach. First, the EEF conducted speaking engagements at colleges and universities and professional schools and conferences. Through these talks, it specifically encouraged and supported the development of expertise on trans issues in the areas of law, religion, higher education, psychology, social services, and medicine. Second, it developed its own print resources, including, most importantly, the EEF newsletter and EEF information pamphlets. Finally, it used traditional media such as television, radio, magazine and newspapers to self-consciously construct its education and advocacy campaign for the wider public, and it saw positive media attention as proof of the public acceptance it sought.

All of these projects were somewhat separate, but they were also designed to respond to a variety of needs in a co-ordinated fashion, so they also clearly overlapped as well. For example, audio-visual and print resources were used at speaking engagements, while discussions and questions raised at such speaking engagements were in turn used to develop new print resources. And yet the EEF developed each of these separate education and advocacy efforts distinctly, and as such, its speaking engagements, print resources, and media involvement each warrant particular attention.

EEF speaking engagements were an important part of the public outreach work central to its education and advocacy focus. Presentations were free of charge and were generally provided to professional organizations or university and college classes. Usually organized by Suplee, they were sometimes in response to requests, and sometimes initiated by the EEF itself in an attempt to educate groups believed to be in need of such information, such as medical students, lawyers, law enforcement officers, social workers, and clergy. For example, in

1971 Suplee took part in the First National Conference on Religion and the Homosexual in New York City.³⁷ Likewise, in 1974, the EEF attended the 5th Annual Workshop Seminar of the National Association of Police Community Relations Officers with Elliot Blackstone, the Police Community Relations Officer in San Francisco who worked closely with the EEF and trans people in the Bay area.³⁸ At this national workshop, the EEF co-hosted a "hospitality hour," including a screening of the film "I'm Something Else," which was an important part of the EEF public outreach campaigns. At this venue, the EEF also made its pamphlets and resources accessible to law enforcement officers from around the U.S. Suplee was almost always the one to represent the EEF at such events, and as such was well-known as the public face of the EEF.

The EEF kept a busy schedule of speaking engagements, reporting, for example, that in April 1974 alone, the EEF was involved in eight different presentations throughout the Eastern United States.³⁹ The EEF also publicized other educational efforts, especially of those to whom it had granted funding, since it saw them as part of its wider vision and representative of the shared social goals between trans people and the professionals who worked with them. Like its support and referral system, the EEF saw its advocacy and education work as national, if not international, in scope, and worked to foster a network of potential speakers across the United States, often co-operating with regional or local groups to ensure national coverage. Likewise, it spoke to many college and university classes in addition to professional groups. The EEF always included trans people themselves in its speaking engagements, and in 1972 it advertised an ongoing and increased need for volunteer trans people who were willing to participate in such presentations.⁴⁰ The centrality of transsexuals to the EEF talks was an important part of their public outreach speakers' series. Wendy McKenna and Suzanne Kessler, sexuality researchers and authors of the influential 1985 text *Gender: An Ethnological Approach*, like many others, used the EEF to introduce their classes to transsexualism. McKenna surmised

they must have hand picked the people who got to speak at these colleges . . . every single one was attractive, credible, articulate and somebody who was able to get the students to sympathize with them, with their story. They were people it was impossible to see as any other gender than they presented themselves.⁴¹

McKenna and Kessler also recalled the useful print literature that the EEF brought to their classrooms, to leave with both themselves and interested students.⁴²

The second aspect of the EEF's education and advocacy public outreach campaign was its print literature, which included an original newsletter and pamphlet series as well as reprints of popular and professional articles on relevant subjects. The newsletter and pamphlet series were especially important in that they could be crafted for and used in a variety of situations and purposes; they could be distributed at speaking engagements and through the mail, and were easily kept, reproduced and circulated for years to come.

The EEF newsletter was published quarterly between 1969 and 1976 and again briefly in 1983. In it the EEF reported an ongoing dialogue between the EEF, trans people, and the professionals who worked with them. It also provided a general "progress report" on both trans issues in general and the work of the EEF specifically. The newsletter, although compiled by Suplee (and proofread by Erickson), was a venue for networking, the distribution of information, research announcements and requests, and legal updates. It also announced new grant recipients and congratulated trans people and professionals on their various personal accomplishments.⁴³ The newsletter was free, but the EEF occasionally requested donations to help with production costs. Recipients rarely actually made such donations, and the newsletter was nevertheless widely distributed free of charge.

The newsletters provided dynamic, and concise, up-to-date news, but the EEF "pamphlets" (small booklets, averaging 15-30 pages in length), which it published throughout the 1970s, offered specific in-depth information on various aspects of transsexualism. The series included *Information for the Family of the Transsexual*

and *Children with Gender Identity Disturbances* (1971), *Legal Aspects of Transsexualism and Information on Administrative Procedures* (1971 and 1973), *Religious Aspects of Transsexualism* (1972 and 1978), *Counseling the Transsexual: Five Conversations with Professionals in Transsexual Therapy* (1973), *An Outline of the Medical Management of the Transsexual* (1973), *Information on Transsexualism for Law Enforcement Officers* (1974), *Guidelines for Transsexuals* (1974 and 1976), and *Transsexualism: Information for the Family* (1977).

The pamphlets were used as part of the general information packages sent out to trans people, professionals, and others who requested information, and they were also used as reference material. The information compiled in these booklets was also used in a variety of more formal publications, including journal articles, book chapters, and in the curricula of various higher education institutions. At the time, these publications were of tremendous importance to many people because there were so few resources available to trans people or professionals working in the field, and because they were written in a straight-forward, accessible manner. Well-known sexuality researcher and author Leonore Tiefer, for example, who worked in the sexuality program at New York City's Bellevue Hospital in the mid-1970s, remembers Suplee and the EEF pamphlets as one of the only reliable sources of information about transsexualism then available.⁴⁴ Tiefer, like many others, valued these resources so highly that she retained them for over 30 years. They were reprinted well into the 1980s by successor organizations to the EEF, Janus Information Services and J2CP, and can today be found reproduced on the internet with endorsements as to their continuing relevance.⁴⁵

The pamphlets were written by Harriet Slavitz, a free-lance writer in New York with whom the EEF contracted for this work. Their contents, however, were developed by various advisory boards the EEF had convened for that purpose.⁴⁶ The advisory boards, which included medical, religious and legal advisory boards, were an important part of the EEF's public image, and the presence of respectable professionals on these boards was clearly in keeping with Erickson's vision of respectabil-

ity for transsexualism. Members of the advisory boards over the years included Rev. Ted McIlvenna, director of the Glide Foundation Urban Centre at Glide Methodist Church in San Francisco, Dr. Evelyn Hooker, chair of the National Institute of Mental Health Task Force on Homosexuality, Dr. Marie Mehl, consultant and criminologist, and Dr. Benito Rish, a plastic surgeon in New York City, and well-known sexuality researcher Dr. John Money, among others.

The pamphlets generally dealt with one particular social institution or group's relationship to transsexualism, attempting in the process to meet the needs of both trans people and members of that profession or group. For example, for *Religious Aspects of Transsexualism* (1972) the EEF had "canvassed a number of distinguished clergymen of various faiths who [had] generously agreed to share with us their conscientious reflections on the religious and ethical aspects of this question."⁴⁷ As noted in the pamphlet, this project was based on the "vital concern [of many transsexuals] as to the views of their clergy on the transsexual condition."⁴⁸ And while the text stressed that no churches had formed official opinions on the matter of transsexualism, and that the individual clergy contacted by the EEF represented only their own personal individual views rather than official church interpretations, their trans-positive perspectives were nevertheless significant. That these individual viewpoints had been "enriched by personal experience in counseling transsexuals or members of other sexual minorities"⁴⁹ was particularly important in keeping with the EEF's vision that education and advocacy could end the social oppression of trans people. Likewise, the pamphlet was also designed to educate other clergy who had not had previous experience with trans people and who may have otherwise had a more negative reaction to trans people in their congregations.

Similarly, the EEF also published two legal booklets in association with its legal advisory board, which it had convened in 1970 at the suggestion of one of its lawyers and as a result of having received so many legal inquiries.⁵⁰ The first pamphlet, *Legal Aspects of Transsexualism and Information on Administrative Procedures*, printed in 1971 and reprinted in 1973, dealt with legal issues facing transsexuals, including in-

formation on civil rights, employment and job training, how to manage identification documents such as birth certificates, social security cards, and driver's licenses, as well as what to do in case of arrest. Dedicated "to those transsexuals who so generously provided information from their personal experiences with legal and administrative procedures,"⁵¹ it spoke directly from and to the legal experiences of trans people, and was developed in conjunction with the legal professionals who may have otherwise been inaccessible to many trans people facing such legal problems.

The second legal booklet, *Information on Transsexualism for Law Enforcement Officers* (1974), was designed "to put law enforcement officers abreast of the latest medical findings with regard to gender-disturbed persons . . . in the hope that this information may be useful in assisting in the current progressive review of police policies and practices."⁵² This booklet answered commonly-asked questions about transsexualism and responded to the needs and inquiries of law enforcement professionals, complimenting and reflecting other work the EEF had done with police departments and professional organizations across the United States, and it was based on questions the EEF had been asked by law enforcement professionals.⁵³

In addition to providing trans people and professionals who encountered them with information, the pamphlet series also allowed the EEF to demonstrate the supposed support for trans people of many well-respected professional groups. But this focus on establishing respectability for trans people was perhaps most evident in its third form of education and advocacy work: public outreach through the media. Indeed, the EEF saw the media as a central component of social change, and when dealing with radio, television, magazine or newspaper, the EEF drew on its connections with medical professionals, lawyers and law enforcement officers, religious leaders, universities, colleges and professional schools to show that trans people could thrive and be respected in all aspects of social life.

Through its third form of education and advocacy work the EEF engaged the media through newspaper and magazine articles, television and radio programs and documentary films. Pieces over which the EEF had some

measure of control were clearly crafted to be informative both for trans people and the general public. Articles such as “My Daughter Changed Sex”⁵⁴ which appeared in *Good Housekeeping* in 1973 with assistance from the EEF, could have a huge impact on the general public, and the EEF saw such pieces as a huge opportunity to sway public opinion and advance its goals.

The EEF also always made a point of encouraging reporters to include its contact information in every article. For example, one particularly influential article in nationally-circulated *LOOK* magazine in January 1970 called “The Transsexuals: Male or female?”⁵⁵ essentially “introduced transsexualism to the nation,” as physician and EEF advisor James Lorio recalled.⁵⁶ Importantly, it included contact information for the EEF. Sarah Santana remembered that “the letters were raining after that. Whenever there was something in a major publication, you know, that people could get the address of the Foundation from, we got this flood of letters.”⁵⁷ In fact, the Spring 1970 newsletter even advised readers that the EEF had had to employ additional secretaries to help respond to the mass inquiries it was receiving as a result of the article.⁵⁸ Like other aspects of its work, the EEF saw such articles as particularly important in providing social legitimacy for trans people, and it encouraged trans people to use the *LOOK* article as a tool to initiate and support discussions about transsexualism with their families. Indeed, in its *Letter from a Brother* pamphlet, “Brad” wrote about how his then-brother had written him a letter explaining that she was now his sister, and had included the *LOOK* article to help him better understand what that meant.⁵⁹ This was yet another example of how various EEF efforts built upon each other.

The EEF also encouraged and assisted in the development of television and radio programs that interviewed trans people or professionals who worked with them. For example, it 1973 it announced that in Washington, D.C.

A series of 10-minute segments on transsexualism was presented by Metromedia News, Channel 5-TV [from] March 5-9, on the 10 PM News program nightly. Interviews with transsexuals [and] profes-

sionals in the helping disciplines were featured.⁶⁰

It also announced that the series was scheduled to be distributed later that year in New York and Los Angeles. Similarly, in 1970, the EEF had announced that the Wendy Kohler, of the National Transexual Counseling Unit (NTCU) in San Francisco, which was partially funded by the EEF, was hosting a live one-hour bi-weekly radio broadcast from Crown-Zellerbach Square that would feature in-depth discussions on trans topics with trans people and professionals who worked with them.⁶¹

Kohler and the NTCU were particularly good at organizing public outreach events that also took full advantage and recognized the importance of media. For example, also in 1970 she hosted a panel discussion with Elliot Blackstone that brought together speakers from a variety of social services and media outlets, including the *San Francisco Chronicle* and KQED-TV, where both media representatives gave their perspective on the importance of positive media representations of trans people (as well as, of course, reporting on the event itself).⁶²

The EEF also reported on a variety of radio and television appearances that it hadn’t necessarily organized directly, seeing all positive media representations as a step in the right direction and seeing itself as playing a role in almost anything to do with transsexualism. Indeed, because the EEF was involved in so many projects, most media representations could in fact be traced back in some way to the EEF, whether or not the connection was made explicit. For example, Vicki Maymon, who had originally appeared in the *LOOK* magazine article, was subsequently interviewed in a variety of prominent media outlets, including on NBC’s *Radio Monitor* program with Barbara Walters.⁶³ Clearly, the EEF saw the media as important collaborators in shifting public opinion towards trans people, and it frequently gauged its ability to effectively use the media as a sign of success. For example, in the Spring of 1975, the EEF newsletter proclaimed

When a subject like transsexualism reaches two episodes of national television, then we know it has become part of the na-

tional medical-social topical scene. We have come a long way from the pioneering days of Dr. Harry Benjamin's early lectures when many of his colleagues considered him foolhardy to be concerned in research and treatment of transsexualism [sic].⁶⁴

Indeed, the EEF saw the media as so important to its work, that in 1980 it awarded Dr. Richard Sabatino of the University of Rhode Island a \$35,000 grant for a project called "A Social and Economic Analysis of the Activities of the Erickson Educational Foundation," which was to be based on the scrapbooks of national and international media clippings that Suplee and the EEF office staff had collected over the years, as an assessment of the EEF's success.

The EEF also participated in and promoted several films, which, like so many of its other coordinated efforts, could then be used in a variety of ways, in this case mainly at professional and public speaking engagements, where such films could be screened. In 1971 the EEF sponsored production of a 28-minute documentary film called "I am Not This Body," which featured a group discussion in the EEF's New York office between Pamela Lincoln, described as "a famous television and movie actress," Zelda Suplee, Dr. Leo Wollman (a general practitioner trained by Harry Benjamin, then-president of the American Society of Psychosomatic Dentistry and Medicine, and an avid medical spokesperson on transsexualism), and two transwomen, one of whom was introduced as pre-operative and the other as post-operative.⁶⁵ In the film, Lincoln was ostensibly seeking out information on transsexualism from the perspective of someone who knew nothing about it, and her inclusion in the film was presumably in part to add celebrity appeal and to encourage transsexualism as a topic of interest to the mainstream public. The pretense of this film was importantly consistent with the EEF's overall perspective, demonstrating the interchange between medical experts, trans people themselves, the uneducated public, the media, and the EEF, whose role was to negotiate this exchange.

The film was available to be rented from the EEF office for a moderate fee and could also be requested as part of an educational panel featur-

ing Suplee and several transsexuals. For example, in 1971 the film was presented to students in the psychology department of Farleigh Dickinson University in New Jersey as part of such a panel.⁶⁶ Likewise, it was shown at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, Long Island in several departments: the University Health Services Department, the College of Medicine and Allied Health Professions, and also to a class of paramedics.⁶⁷ The following year, it was used in a graduate class in Human Sexuality at the University of Connecticut.⁶⁸ In April of 1972, it was also shown to approximately 135 people at a presentation on transexualism led by EEF grantee and criminologist Dr. Marie Mehl, who had by then become the EEF Director of Education and Research, at the Midwestern Regional Conference of the American Humanistic Psychology Association in Chicago.⁶⁹ The film was also selected to be screened at the Brooklyn Arts & Culture Association's Annual Film Festival in October of 1971.⁷⁰

But "I Am Not This Body" wasn't the only film the EEF used in its presentations. For example, it also used a research film produced by Colin Markland at the University of Minnesota that had been awarded the National American Urological Association Meeting film award in 1971 in Chicago.⁷¹ The EEF used it in a presentation that included "Vocational Rehabilitation, Federal and State Parole and Probation office representatives as well as members of the medical, psychiatric and psychological professions," among other places.⁷² In 1972, it was also screened at the American College of Surgeons Annual Meeting in Atlantic City.⁷³ Similarly, in 1973, the EEF advertised the film "I'm Something Else," produced by Deborah Pecker for Canadian CTV Television Network, which featured both American and Canadian medical specialists as well as an electrologist and three male-to-female transsexuals, and subsequently announced that the office had since been inundated with requests for the film.⁷⁴ The EEF also worked with a number of smaller audio-visual projects, including, for example, "a color-slide and interview presentation" at the Stanford Gender Dysphoria Clinic in 1976.⁷⁵

The EEF's work in advocacy and education through public outreach illustrates one of its key values and goals: the improvement of the

lives of trans people through the dissemination of information about transsexualism between and among various professionals and trans people as well as throughout mainstream society. The EEF worked to inform and educate the general public in an attempt to reduce the marginalization of individual trans people and their families on a personal level, and it also focused intently on educating professionals and the wider public.

The EEF developed key strategies to meet their goal of encouraging increased acceptance of trans people. Firstly, it established support and referral systems to build networks and provide essential support to trans people. Secondly, it used advocacy and education strategies to fight for broader social awareness and to change public perceptions of trans people, including professional attitudes towards trans people in the arenas of law, religion, and medicine. The EEF's involvement with so many collaborative ventures was central to its strategy of promoting, coordinating and, where needed, creating networks which could strategically educate those in positions of power and social legitimacy about trans people and issues—those who could either positively (or negatively) effect the lives of trans people on a broad, social level.

The EEF also worked extensively with professionals to encourage and guide new research. Part two of this article will look at the EEF's role in developing the research and professional infrastructure that would come to influence much of the medical, legal, and social treatment of trans people.

***BUILDING A BETTER WORLD
FOR TRANS PEOPLE:
REED ERICKSON AND THE ERICKSON
EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION
PART TWO***

Part one of this article looked at the formation of Reed Erickson's Erickson Educational Foundation and its goal "to provide assistance and support in areas where human potential seems limited by adverse physical, mental or social conditions, or where the scope of research was too new, controversial or imaginative to receive traditionally oriented support."⁷⁶ In part one we noted that the EEF's focus on so-

cial change for trans people involved two major areas of activity: its support and referral network, and its education and advocacy work. The EEF developed communication networks and information services that directly benefited trans people, and it also created and disseminated general, introductory information about transsexualism to the mainstream public and to professionals who might deal with trans people. The EEF also saw a clear need for more in-depth investigation and research exploration of trans issues, and saw various professionals as key players in solving the legal, social and medical issues facing trans people, such as lack of adequate health care services, discrimination, and legal problems. Erickson clearly felt that professional development and expertise on trans issues was key to meeting the needs of trans people. Through its newsletter and pamphlet series, and to a certain extent through its advisory boards, the EEF had brought together individual professionals interested in trans issues, and felt that further support of such work was necessary for broader social change. Thus, the EEF provided major financial support for research and professional development concerning transsexualism in two major forms: its granting program and its sponsorship of international symposia, both of which will be the focus of part two of this article.

The EEF provided grants to both individuals and institutions working in the provision of medical and social services for trans people. It also provided funding for those doing research in areas it was thought would benefit trans people (such as law, etiology, and history, among others). Many of the professionals who would come to play important roles in the field of transsexual medicine in particular were initially funded in part (if not wholly) by the EEF, including Harry Benjamin, John Money, Richard Green, Milton Diamond, Roger Gorski, Don Laub, Ira Pauly, Anke Erhardt, and June Reinisch, among others. Likewise, the EEF funded many non-medical research grants, including to social scientists such as historian of sexuality Vern Bullough, sociologist Harold T. Christenson, and criminologist Marie Mehl. Similarly, the EEF funded a wide variety of social services through its grant program. For example, it funded the National Transsexual Counseling Unit's walk-in "non-profit counseling

and referral service aiding individuals with gender identity problems” at 243 Turk Street in San Francisco (which was operated by Blackstone and Kohler),⁷⁷ as well as smaller projects, such as vocal training for trans people in New York.⁷⁸

While the EEF did fund a variety of projects, from major group research endeavors to individual research fellows to smaller, self-contained projects, one of the main goals in its granting program was to develop a network of individuals, a series of collaborations, and to contribute to projects that would move beyond the specific work covered by the grant, advancing Erickson’s overall social goals. For example, in 1975, it announced that “in accordance with [its] policy to contribute support in a way to provide the widest benefit rather than directly to individuals, the EEF has given a small grant to the American Civil Liberties Union Sexual Privacy Project.”⁷⁹

The strategic importance of EEF grants is particularly poignant, given the social and professional context of the time. In a climate where very few (if any) other avenues of financial support existed, Anke Ehrhardt, who worked with John Money at the Johns Hopkins Clinic and went on to become professor of medical psychiatry at the New York State Psychiatry Institute, publish numerous works in the field, and sit as a Director on the Board of Trustees for the Ford Foundation, remembers Erickson’s funding as “critical” to the development of the field.⁸⁰ Erickson himself was the adjudicator in the granting process, in contrast, for example, to some of the other aspects of the EEF’s work, over which Suplee had more influence. Potential grantees had to discuss their ideas with Erickson before he would authorize staff to send them a formal application. When they had returned the application, which included a detailed account of their plans, a budget, curriculum vitae, and information about the duration of the proposed project and its institutional affiliations, Erickson would review their application and decide whether or not to fund the project.

Because one of the major problems facing trans people in accessing services was the fact that specialists were both few and far between and tended to work in relative isolation, Erickson wanted to encourage the development of professional networks among those who worked

with trans people. Many of his grants built on or encouraged the development of new collaborations or institutions. One of the first projects related to transsexualism in which Erickson invested, for example, was the Harry Benjamin Foundation. As early as 1964 the EEF had given Benjamin a grant of \$18,000 annually for three years “to investigate the nature, causes and treatment of Transvestism and particularly Transsexualism.”⁸¹ Benjamin intended to undertake this investigation with colleagues using his own extensive patient files. The Harry Benjamin Foundation met in Benjamin’s New York offices, where attendees discussed specific patients’ cases as well as more general issues related to trans research. Participants varied over time and included medical professionals such as Harry Benjamin, John Money, Richard Green, Leo Wollman, Ruth Doorbar, Henry Guze, and Wardell Pomeroy, as well as the occasional legal professional or patient (for consultation/treatment). Erickson himself also usually attended or sent a representative.

The Harry Benjamin Foundation contributed to transsexual medicine in a variety of important ways. For example, in 1967 it presented a series of eight papers to the New York Academy of Science on transsexualism.⁸² Likewise, the discussions that took place at the HBF meetings also acted as the incubator for the establishment of the Johns Hopkins University Gender Identity Clinic, and for Richard Green and John Money’s ground-breaking influential 1969 edited collection *Transsexualism and Sex Reassignment*.⁸³

In 1969, Harry Benjamin wrote that the opening of the Johns Hopkins Clinic (in 1966) had been a great sign of progress in transsexual medicine.⁸⁴ The Johns Hopkins Clinic was perhaps the most famous of the Gender Identity Clinics because it was the first university-based provider of sex reassignment surgery in North America and because its opening was heralded with a highly publicized announcement in the *New York Times* in 1966.⁸⁵ The EEF provided the entirety of the initial funding for the clinic,⁸⁶ as well as funding for the research John Money, one of the clinic’s chief advocates, and a post-doctoral fellowship for Anke Erhardt.

Thus, Erickson and the EEF, like Benjamin, saw the establishment of Gender Identity Clinics as evidence of the achievement of one of the

primary goals they had been working towards for years: growing professional expertise and support from the mainstream medical establishment to meet the needs of trans people. In 1970, the EEF newsletter reported that

Only two years ago we were glad to enumerate six Gender Identity research and treatment teams in the United States and Canada. While there is still enormous room for expansion, we are more than happy to report that there are at present twelve units that are endeavoring to ameliorate the suffering of individuals with the transsexual condition.⁸⁷

The EEF had encouraged the development of many Gender Identity Clinics by providing both individual research grants to those who later established such Clinics, as well as by providing initial funding for many of the Clinics themselves. The EEF also provided the initial funding to many of the smaller clinical services centres, such as the Boston Gender Identity Service,⁸⁸ and the Seattle Counseling Center for Sexual Minorities,⁸⁹ among others. It proudly announced the formation of new clinics in its newsletter and updated readers and clinicians on progress towards establishing and maintaining various clinics. For example, in 1976 it announced that the Boston Gender Identity Service had seen 250 individuals between 1974 and 1976.⁹⁰ Likewise, it frequently pointed out that the demand for treatment far exceeded available resources,⁹¹ and it worked to alleviate this situation through its funding program and by promoting wider social awareness about the needs of trans people in hopes that such clinics would be able to find more traditional means of financial support.

The EEF clearly saw Gender Identity Clinics as an important step in making medical services for trans people legitimate and accessible, but in its front-line support and referral work with trans people it was also being confronted with their limitations. The EEF encouraged readers not to be dismayed if these new clinics were not yet able to meet their needs, explaining in its 1977 *Transsexualism: Information for the Family* pamphlet that

The gender identity clinics frequently associated with a university are engaged in a variety of research projects in the field of gender identity. If the individual applying does not meet the precise requirements of the work in progress at the clinic of his choice, he may be refused treatment there solely on these grounds. This does not necessarily mean that he is not a good candidate for sex reassignment, and should not discourage him from applying to another clinic where help may be available to him.⁹²

The EEF was highly aware of public opinion in this aspect of its work as well; it wrote in its 1973 pamphlet *An Outline of Medical Management of the Transexual* that gender identity clinics were in an extremely vulnerable position “if unsuccessful treatment or mistaken diagnosis produces adverse publicity.”⁹³ Thus, in much the same way as the EEF focused on presenting “passable” transsexuals in its speaking engagements, the Gender Identity Clinics sought to treat only the most socially respectable trans people in their attempts to establish the legitimacy of their programs. As such, the EEF recognized that Gender Identity Clinics were not a complete solution to what it saw as the problems of transsexualism, but it did see them as a positive shift, especially in terms of developing a professional climate in which researchers and clinicians could develop appropriate health care, or “treatment methods” for trans people while increasing their own social legitimacy. The clinics represented an important formalizing of the process Benjamin had begun on his own when he met informally with colleagues to discuss patient cases, and when he began referring patients for psychiatric assessment before treating them with hormones, and this more formal, legitimate system was certainly in keeping with both Erickson and Benjamin’s visions.

By the 1970s, the professional climate had changed significantly since the early days of Benjamin’s practice with trans people, in part because of the tremendous amount of money and energy Erickson and the EEF had put into the movement. The EEF had encouraged individual practitioners to work together and develop research, institutions and social services, and they were beginning to meet the needs of

some trans people. Together, they had built a strong foundation for the professional development of those working with trans people, and particularly those working in transsexual medicine. But the gender identity clinics weren't the only places that the EEF was encouraging the building of such foundations. Perhaps one of the greatest successes of the EEF's professional development work was its sponsorship of a series of international and interdisciplinary symposia. These symposia would later lead to the formation of both larger and smaller off-shoots, most notably, the formation of the Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association at the 1979 Symposia.⁹⁴

The first of such symposia was called "The First International Congress on Gender Identity: Aims, Function and Clinical Problems of a Gender Identity Unit," and, as its name indicates, it focused on the development of medical centers for research into, and treatment of gender identity. It took place in London in July of 1969, and was sponsored jointly by the EEF and the Albany Trust (of London), but funded entirely by the EEF and co-ordinated by Suplee.⁹⁵ Its program spanned the course of three days, and featured speakers from London, Los Angeles, Baltimore, Manchester, and New York, including Richard Green (from U.C.L.A.), John Money (from Johns Hopkins), and John Randell (of Charing Cross Hospital in London). It dealt with topics ranging from indications for sex reassignment surgery and its surgical details, to social aspects and legal problems, to the sexual orientation of transsexuals' partners. In keeping with the high value the EEF placed on media coverage, the congress also featured a press conference scheduled at its closing so as to invite publicity for transsexualism without disrupting the proceedings of the congress itself. Reporters from the *General Practitioner*, the Press Association wire service, *the Daily Telegraph*, *the Sun*, *The Mirror*, *Nature*, *Science Journal* and *The Times* asked questions about success rates, potential demographic increases in the number of transsexuals, legal problems, and differences between transsexualism in America and Britain, for example.⁹⁶

The Second International Symposium on Gender Identity, which took place in Elsinore, Denmark, was modeled after the first, and

funded and co-ordinated solely by the EEF. Its aim was to "focus attention on the problem of gender identity disorientation, not only as a psychiatric entity but as an area of ongoing specialized medical study and treatment as well as a social undertaking."⁹⁷ Citing the fact that there were then 15 Gender Identity Clinics in the U.S. and approximately 1000 people using hormone therapy to treat Gender Identity Disorder, the EEF saw the congress as an opportunity for

the international co-operation of scientists, researchers, teachers and social workers, as well as the active assistance of socially concerned citizens and the use of every medium of communication . . . needed to make the public aware of the scope of this problem, and of the need to reduce the social waste and misery associated with it.⁹⁸

The second symposium, like the first, spanned three days, and featured papers clustered around the themes of the psychological, hormonal and surgical management of transsexualism, as well as its sociological and legal aspects, and possible etiological factors. It also featured a screening of Markland's University of Minnesota Gender Identity Clinic research film.⁹⁹ This congress featured a wider range of speakers from around the world, including Japan, England, Denmark, Sweden, the United States, England, Canada, and Holland, clearly making it a more international endeavor than the first. Likewise, there was a wider range of discussion topics. For example, one full day of panels dealt with "Sociological and Legal Aspects of Transsexualism," including papers discussing the legal problems of transsexuals in Sweden and Japan, and featured one paper called "International Plea for National Treatment of Transsexuals," by P. Fogh-Anderson of Copenhagen.¹⁰⁰

In 1973, two international conferences took place. The first, in February of 1973, had grown out of a previous, smaller meeting of Gender Identity Centre professionals in New Orleans,¹⁰¹ and was designated as the "Second Interdisciplinary Symposium on Gender Dysphoria Syndrome." It took place at Stanford University's School of Medicine, and was sponsored by the

Divisions of Urology and Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery, with a much more strictly medical approach. Organized largely by Don Laub, EEF grantee and Chief of Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery, with assistance from Ira Dushoff and Zelda Suplee, it brought together 105 medical professionals from the U.S., Canada, Mexico, Morocco and Australia to “provide a forum for the exchange of scientific information about the patient who desires and is considered for gender re-identification.”¹⁰² Erickson penned the forward to the proceedings of the conference, in which he heralded the occasion as a sign of social progress:

Now that transsexualism is an open subject, and doctors and other professionals have come to know or have contact with transsexuals, understanding has grown. Furthermore, now that we have all seen the hopeless, depressed person with the ‘unsolvable’ gender identity problem bloom forth happily and fit into the more normal matrix of society, professionals are encouraged to lend the helping hand which will relieve society of a dependent, alienated segment. The transsexual, thus, not only may fulfill himself, but also contribute to society. How we may best aid in this transformation is considered in what follows.¹⁰³

The other major conference of 1973 was more in keeping with the original EEF congress traditions. The “Third International Symposium on Gender Identity,” again fully sponsored by the EEF, took place in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia. Also consistent with the previous two original EEF symposia, it took place over three days and focused on a wide range of social as well as medical issues, including transsexuals’ families, transsexualism in the past, and sexual responses of transsexuals. Featured speakers included Americans John Money, Vern Bullough, Ira Pauly, Anke Ehrhardt, Leo Wollman, Don Laub, as well as speakers from Japan, Australia, Canada, the Netherlands.¹⁰⁴

Thus, 1973 represented both a split and a shift towards more medicalized symposia. As it became possible for international congresses to be funded through established medical programs, Erickson shifted EEF funding to other

areas, which, again, was consistent with his vision of providing seed money rather than ongoing financial support. Thus, future congresses were funded through more traditional medical means and took place at various medical centres: in Palo Alto, CA in 1975 at the Children’s Hospital at Stanford; in Norfolk, VA in 1977 through Eastern Virginia Medical School; in Coronado, CA in 1979 through UC-San Diego School of Medicine, Departments of Reproductive Medicine and Psychiatry, Divisions of Urology and Plastic Surgery, and the Office of Continuing Education; in Lake Tahoe in 1981 through the University of Nevada–Reno, and in Bordeaux, France in 1983 through the Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association, which had formed at the 1979 conference in San Diego. Several of these medically-focused conferences were also able to be used by attendees to qualify for course credit towards professional development.¹⁰⁵ All this marked an important shift away from the original EEF congresses’ equal focus on social issues facing trans people towards the professionalization of transsexual medicine. Indeed, the programs for these conferences lacked the strong interdisciplinary and reform-activist tone of the original, EEF-sponsored conferences. But the EEF certainly did support this professionalization; it applauded the formation of HBIGDA, and funded the publication of the HBIGDA newsletter for its first year.¹⁰⁶ The feelings were mutual; in 1981, at the 7th International Gender Dysphoria Symposium, for example, HBIGDA presented lifetime achievement awards to Erickson, Suplee, and Benjamin.¹⁰⁷

THE END OF THE EEF

By the late 1970s, several important changes had occurred in the life of Reed Erickson that contributed to the eventual demise of the EEF. He had become interested in new projects, and shifted the focus of his funding to the fields of new age spirituality, psychedelics, and animal communications and protection. In its 1974 newsletter, the EEF announced that “the Foundation continue[d] to see its role as coordinator and catalyst in the field of psychosexual research” but that although “the service to tran-

sexuals and professionals [would] continue, the publication of pamphlets and the newsletter, distribution of information to organizations and institutions, as well as the role of clearing house for speakers, research library, guidance” would no longer be offered.¹⁰⁸ This was in part because it had always been Erickson’s intention to provide only the initial funding for new and creative social projects and investigations; research on transsexualism and the accessibility of services for trans people had ostensibly moved beyond this stage. Similarly, his attention had turned to more spiritual and existential questions, and he was having serious personal and health problems, which negatively impacted his ability to effectively run the Foundation. Finally, his personal wealth was rapidly diminishing and he simply had to be more selective in his funding. Sadly, by the time of his death in 1992 at the age of 74, he had become addicted to illegal drugs and died alone and in squalor in Mexico as a fugitive from U.S. drug indictments.

Luckily, when it became necessary for the EEF to close down altogether, it was able to draw on the network it had built. On February 28, 1977, the EEF offices closed their doors, to the dismay of many who had worked with the Foundation over the years.¹⁰⁹ Most of its programs were transferred to the newly-founded Janus Information Facility, headed by Dr. Paul Walker, a long-time EEF grantee who had been formerly involved with the Johns Hopkins Clinic and was then Director of the Gender Clinic in Galveston, Texas. Walker was able to arrange the transfer of remaining EEF operations, including Suplee herself, to Galveston, with Erickson agreeing to continue funding her position. In 1980, though, Walker ended his affiliation with the University of Texas and, with the help of a \$30,000 loan from Erickson, moved to San Francisco to open a private practice, taking the Janus Information Facility with him.¹¹⁰ Erickson, although by that time largely disengaged from the field of transsexualism, continued to provide funding to Walker in the form of a \$15,000 grant so that he could still “advise lawyers, church officials, doctors, librarians, school and college teachers and students on the subject of gender dysphoria,”¹¹¹ produce and distribute the pamphlets, and continue to engage in some public outreach ef-

forts.¹¹² Unfortunately, Walker himself was having personal and health problems and eventually died in the early 1990s.

In 1983, the EEF produced one newsletter, mainly updating readers of “progress” since its last newsletter, without explanation of the facts surrounding its official closing or apparent re-opening. It seemed to imply that the newsletter itself had simply been on hiatus, and indeed, Suplee was clearly working with Erickson again. This newsletter detailed Erickson’s new interests in the California Marine Mammal Center and John Lilly’s human-dolphin communication systems research, both of which Erickson was providing substantial funding for by that time.¹¹³ Erickson had also continued to provide significant grants in the field of transsexualism, including \$20,000 to the Department of Psychology and Behavioral Sciences at the University of Nevada, \$3,300 to the Gender Dysphoria Program in Palo Alto (which had previously been the Stanford Clinic), \$1,600 to the Johns Hopkins clinic,¹¹⁴ and \$32,000 to surgeon Robert Farino, professor of the Urology Department at the Escola Paulist de Medicina in Sao Paulo, Brazil, to pay for translation of his monograph on transsexualism into English.¹¹⁵ But the EEF’s direct support and referral, education and advocacy work had ended, and Erickson’s finances were being quickly depleted.

In 1986, Janus, too, closed and it transferred some aspects of its work to J2CP services, run by Sister Mary Elizabeth (then Joanna Clark) and Jude Patton, both of whom were transsexuals themselves and had been associated with and previously funded by the EEF. Neither had the kind of personal resources that Erickson had been able to invest, but J2CP continued to reprint and update many of the booklets the EEF had originally compiled.

The EEF’s work as the only national clearing house for information and support for trans people had meant the development of social resources unlike anything that had previously been available. This was especially important in meeting the immediate needs of contemporary trans people, many of whom were in crisis or near-crisis situations. Likewise, its work in education and advocacy meant widespread social awareness and change through its relationships with the media and other social institu-

tions such as law, religion, academia and medicine. It clearly saw and used these institutions as a means to garner support, legitimacy, and respectability for transsexuals. Furthermore, by providing key initial funding for the newly emerging field of transsexual research the EEF had a major international impact on the social status of trans people between the 1960s and the 1980s. Because of its funding and support, individuals researching transsexualism, especially in the U.S., were able to develop both a systematic professional network and organization (HBIGDA) with widespread medical recognition and authority, and to increase the volume and rigor of research into various aspects of gender identity and expression.

The significance of the EEF's diverse, far-sighted and far-reaching contributions, then, are difficult to over-estimate. Because of its historically crucial role, the ways in which the EEF, and Erickson himself, interacted with other groups and institutions and imagined the problems, solutions, and composition of trans people as a group were extremely significant. That he chose to work so closely with socially legitimate and powerful groups such as medical professionals, legal experts, clergy and the media to bring respectability to trans people in general, but transsexuals in particular, had a major impact on the ways in which trans people in the future would be able to access services, be understood, and organize socially.

NOTES

1. Concerning the EEF (pamphlet), Erickson Educational Foundation, n.d., 2.

2. There were sporadic efforts over the years to perhaps solicit donations, but this was never successfully developed. The EEF newsletter welcomed contributions towards printing costs, but very few (if any) seem to have been made. The Spring 1972 EEF newsletter did announce that one transwoman had willed her estate to the foundation to support their work on transsexualism, although she likely didn't die before the EEF dissolved, and this announcement was the only one of its kind and an anomaly rather than the norm.

3. Aaron Devor and Nicholas Matte, "ONE Inc. and Reed Erickson: The Uneasy Collaboration of Gay and Trans Activism, 1964-2003," GLQ 10.2, 2004: 179-209; also see ONE National Gay & Lesbian and Archives at www.oneinstitute.org.

4. Psychology Today, September 1980, "The Gospel According to Helen," 74-90: 77.

5. Several editions of A Course in Miracles has been published and it is now available around the world in 13 languages; for more information, see the Foundation for Inner Peace web site at <http://www.acim.org>.

6. Each of these authors have made extensive and considerable contributions to their fields; for more information, see their personal web sites at www.jeanhouston.org, www.robertmasters.org, www.stanleykrippner.org and www.johnclilly.org.

7. In many places we refer to trans people in general, but it should be noted that the EEF's focus was (in terms of trans issues) specifically directed at transsexualism. This focus also had an impact on trans people in general, though, and reflected then medical thinking about which types of trans people could most successfully be integrated into society, themselves "helped," and how this could occur.

8. Other works which discuss or mention the EEF include Aaron Devor and Nicholas Matte, "ONE Inc. and Reed Erickson: The Uneasy Collaboration of Gay and Trans Activism, 1964-2003," GLQ 10.2 (2004): 179-209; Holly Devor, "Reed Erickson (1917-1992): How One Transsexed Man Supported ONE," in *Before Stonewall: Activists for Gay and Lesbian Rights in Historical Context*, ed. Vern Bullough (London and New York: Harrington Park Press, 2002): 383-392; Janice M. Irvine, *Disorders of Desire: Sex and Gender in Modern American Sexology* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990); Members of the Gay and Lesbian Historical Society of Northern California, "MTF Transgender Activism in the Tenderloin and Beyond, 1966-1975: Commentary and Interview with Elliot Blackstone," GLQ 4.2 (1998): 349-372; Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2002); Susan Stryker, "Portrait of a Transfag Drag Hag as A Young Man: The Activist Career of Louis G. Sullivan," in *Reclaiming Genders: Transsexual Grammars at the Fin de Siecle*, ed. Stephen Whittle and Kate More (London: Cassell, 1999): 62-82; Deborah Rudacille, *The Riddle of Gender: Science, Activism, and transgender Rights* (New York: Pantheon, 2005).

9. Interview with Jody Carrigan, 7/12/1997.

10. Interview with James Lorio, 7/23/1997; Erickson underwent chest surgery in Tijuana in 1957 or 1958. He also underwent further surgeries in New York and Baltimore in 1965; his medical records do not indicate that any surgeries took place in Casablanca.

11. Confidential Interview (7/26/1997)

12. Leah Cahan Schaefer and Connie Christine Wheeler, "Harry Benjamin's First Ten Cases (1938-1953): A Clinical Historical Note," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 24.1 (1995), 73-93: 74.

13. Serlin, David. *Replaceable You: Engineering the Body in Postwar America* (University of Chicago Press, 2004): 186.

14. Hamburger, Christian. The Desire for Change of Sex as Shown by Personal Letters From 465 Men and Women, *Acta Endocrinologica* 14 (1953), 361-375.
15. Serlin, David. *Replaceable You: Engineering the Body in Postwar America* (University of Chicago Press, 2004)
16. D.B. to Harry Benjamin (1/9/1972), Kinsey Institute Archives, Harry Benjamin Collection: Box 3.
17. Many early medical and activist efforts centered around distinguishing between homosexuality, transvestism and transsexualism. See, for example, C.V. Prince, "Homosexuality, Transvestism and Transsexualism: Reflections on their Etiology and Differentiation," *American Journal of Psychotherapy* (November 1957): 80-85. Indeed, most of Harry Benjamin's early work focused entirely on this question. For a discussion of the history of the term "transsexual," see Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuals in the United States* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2002).
18. Benjamin, Harry. "Introduction," in *Transsexualism and Sex Reassignment Surgery*, ed. by Richard Green and John Money (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969): 5.
19. A few individuals had experimented with various types of procedures to modify a person's sex over the course of the twentieth century, most notably at Magnus Hirschfeld's Institute for Sexual Science in Berlin in the early Twentieth Century; see Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuals in the United States*.
20. Confidential email from D.L., 6/4/2004.
21. Confidential email from F.G., 1/19/2004.
22. "In Manhattan," EEF Newsletter 5.4 (Winter 1972), 4.
23. "New L.A. Association," EEF newsletter 6.1 (Spring 1973): 5.
24. "TS-TV Organizations," EEF Newsletter 9.1 (Summer 1976): 3.
25. Concerning the Erickson Educational Foundation Pamphlet, n.d.
26. The Erickson Educational Foundation, Pamphlet, n.d.
27. "Progress," EEF Newsletter 4.3 (Fall 1971): 2.
28. "Gratifying Progress—and Help Wanted," EEF Newsletter 3.2 (Fall 1970): 2.
29. "Medical Network for Transsexuals," EEF Newsletter 2.2 (Fall 1969): 1.
30. "Gratifying Progress—and Help Wanted," EEF Newsletter 3.2 (Fall 1970): 2.
31. "Progress," EEF Newsletter 4.3 (Fall 1971): 2.
32. Interview with Sarah Santana, 12/11/1997.
33. In her memorial for Harry Benjamin, Jorgensen said "I encountered a mountain of mail and I do mean a mountain—thousands and thousands of letters, many of which were from people who had problems that were similar to mine . . . needless to say, I could recommend Harry to all these thousands of people who contacted me. So suddenly the deluge fell onto poor Harry's shoulders."; Christine Jorgensen, "Memorial for Harry Benjamin," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 17.6 (December 1988): 24-26.
34. Confidential email from M.M., 3/20/2004.
35. "Identification for Cross-Dressing," EEF Newsletter 3.2 (Fall 1970):3.
36. "On Citizenship," EEF Newsletter 5.4 (Winter 1972):1.
37. "Religious Conferences," EEF Newsletter 4.2 (Summer 1971): 1.
38. "In Little Rock," EEF Newsletter 7.1 (Spring 1974): 2.
39. "On the Agenda," EEF Newsletter 7.1 (Spring 1974): 4.
40. "College Class Presentations," EEF Newsletter 5.2 (Summer 1972); 3.
41. Interview with Wendy McKenna and Suzanne Kessler, 12/28/1997
42. Interview with Wendy McKenna and Suzanne Kessler, 12/28/1997
43. For example, in 1971, the EEF congratulated Wendy Kohler on her recent sex reassignment surgery, and in 1975 it wished Harry Benjamin a Happy 90th birthday.
44. Interview with Leonore Tiefer, 7/24/1997.
45. See, for example, www.the-sisterhood.net/id22.html, www.susans.org/reference/gfam6.html, www.sexuality.org/incoming/eetrans.htm, www.genderweb.org/general/ts-inf.phtml.
46. Zelda Suplee to Reed Erickson, 1/27/71, Erickson Family Collection.
47. "Religious Pamphlets," EEF Newsletter 4.4 (Winter 1971): 2; *Religious Aspects of Transsexualism*, Erickson Educational Foundation (1972 and 1978), 1.
48. *Religious Aspects of Transsexualism*, 1.
49. *Religious Aspects of Transsexualism*, 1.
50. "On the Legal Front," EEF Newsletter, 3.1 (Spring 1970): 2.
51. *Legal Aspects of Transsexualism . . .*, Erickson Educational Foundation, p#? to those transexuals who so generously provided information from their personal experiences with legal and administrative procedures" from *Legal Aspects and Admin procedures*
52. *Information on Transsexualism for Law Enforcement Officers*, Erickson Educational Foundation (1974): 4.
53. *Information on Transsexualism for Law Enforcement Officers*, 4.
54. Anonymous, "My Daughter Changed Sex," *Good Housekeeping*, May 1973, n.p.
55. Roland H. Berg, "The Transsexuals: Male or female?" *LOOK* (January 27, 1970): 29.
56. Interview with James Lorio, 7/23/1997.
57. Interview with Sarah Santana, 12/11/1997.
58. "Mail Response to LOOK Article," EEF Newsletter, 3.1 (Spring 1970): 1.
59. *Letter from a Brother*, Erickson Educational Foundation, n.d., 1.

60. "In Washington, D.C.," EEF Newsletter, 6.1 (Spring 1973): 4.
61. The program was to air every second Friday at 2pm on KQED-FM; "On-the-Street Radio Series," EEF Newsletter, 3.1 (Spring 1970): 2.
62. "Pioneer Seminar on Transsexualism," EEF Newsletter, 3.1 (Spring 1970): 1.
63. "A Pretty Girl not Always a Melody," EEF Newsletter, 3.1 (Spring 1970): 1.
64. "Thank you MGM-TV," EEF Newsletter, 8.2 (Winter 1975): 1. Also note that throughout the 1960s and 1970s there were two widely-used spellings of the word "transsexual," which could be spelled with either one "s" or two. The EEF newsletter even addressed this situation for confused readers in its Fall 1971 edition in an article called "What's in an S?"; EEF Newsletter, 4.3 (Fall 1971): 2.
65. "I am not this Body," EEF Newsletter, 3.2 (Fall 1970): 2.
66. "New Jersey Next," EEF Newsletter, 4.2 (Summer 1972): 1.
67. "An EEF First at SUNY," EEF Newsletter, 4.4 (Winter 1971): 2.
68. "Connecticut Presentation," EEF Newsletter, 5.1 (Spring 1972): 1.
69. "In Chicago," 5.2 (Summer 1972): 1.
70. "Film Honored," EEF Newsletter, 5.1 (Spring 1972): 2.
71. "Minnesota Film Honored," EEF Newsletter, 5.2 (Summer 1972): 3.
72. "In Sarasota," EEF Newsletter, 5.2 (Summer 1972): 2.
73. "Minnesota Film Honored," EEF Newsletter, 5.2 (Summer 1972): 3.
74. "New Film Available," EEF Newsletter, 6.2 (Fall 1973): 3.
75. "Audio-Visual Aids," EEF Newsletter, 9.1 (Summer 1976), 2.
76. Concerning the EEF (pamphlet), Erickson Educational Foundation, n.d., 2.
77. "In San Francisco," EEF Newsletter 5.2 (Summer 1972): 2.
78. "And Then There's The Voice....," EEF Newsletter, 3.1 (Spring 1970): 4.
79. "Recent Grants," EEF Newsletter, 8.1 (Spring 1975): 6.
80. Interview with Anke Ehrhardt, 7/24/1997.
81. Harry Benjamin to Frances Khan, December 3, 1964: Erickson Family Collection; EEF Minutes, August 27, 1964: Erickson Family Collection.
82. See, for example, Harry Benjamin, "The Transsexual Phenomenon," Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, Series II, 29.4 (February 1967): 428-30.
83. Richard Green and John Money, "Preface," in *Transsexualism and Sex Reassignment Surgery* ed. by Richard Green and John Money (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969): xv.
84. Harry Benjamin, "Introduction" in *Transsexualism and Sex Reassignment Surgery*, ed. by Richard Green and John Money (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969), 1-10: 8.
85. Thomas Buckley, "Change of Sex Surgery Begun at Hopkins," New York Times, November 21, 1966: 1.
86. Johns Hopkins University Office of Institutional Public Relations, "Statement on the Establishment of a Clinic for Transsexuals at the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions," November 21, 1966 in *Transsexualism and Sex Reassignment Surgery*, ed. Richard Green and John Money (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1969): 267-269.
87. "Gratifying Progress and Help Wanted," EEF Newsletter 3.2 (Fall 1970): 2.
88. Boston Gender Identity Service: "Boston Also Serves," EEF Newsletter 9.1 (Summer 1976): 5.
89. Interview with Bryant Vehrs, (8/18/99); Robert W. Deisher, M.D. to RE and the Staff of the Erickson Educational Foundation (2/10/77), Erickson Family Collection; "Seattle Counseling Service Expands," EEF Newsletter 3.2 (Fall 1970): 4; "Johns Hopkins Jottings," EEF Newsletter 4.4 (Winter 1971): 3.
90. "Boston Also Serves," EEF Newsletter 9.1 (Summer 1976): 5.
91. For example, in the EEF's 1973 pamphlet *An Outline of Medical Management of the Transsexual*, it wrote that "the most prestigious of these clinics is currently accepting only ten to twelve patients a year, and has a waiting list of some 600. At this rate, it would be fifty years before all those now waiting could be accommodated!" (3).
92. *Information for the Family of the Transsexual*, Erickson Educational Foundation (1971), 7.
93. It wrote in its 1973 pamphlet *An Outline of Medical Management of the Transsexual* that gender identity clinics were in an extremely vulnerable position "if unsuccessful treatment or mistaken diagnosis produces adverse publicity." (3)
94. The Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association was formed for "improved care of the patient, education and increased, perhaps lifetime, contacts among [members of the organization]"; Donald Laub, "From the Association President," Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association Newsletter 1.1 (Spring 1983): 1. HBGIDA today remains the main professional organization for people who work with trans people. It also sets the HBGIDA Standards of Care for Gender Identity Disorders, which guide the treatment of many gender dysphoric patients. See <http://www.hbigda.org/soc.cfm>.
95. An alliance had been made between the Erickson Educational Foundation and the Albany Trust through Dorr Legg of ONE inc., a homophile group in Los Angeles that was funded by the EEF. The Albany Trust was a British group founded in 1954 "to promote psychological health through research, education and social ac-

tion,” in response to the Wolfenden report; interview with Antony Grey, 08/23/1999.

96. “Transcript of Press Conference following First International Symposium on Gender Identity (Sunday, 27 July 1969),” 1-25.

97. Second International Symposium on Gender Identity (Pamphlet), n.d., 6.

98. Second International Symposium on Gender Identity (Pamphlet), n.d., 6.

99. Second International Symposium on Gender Identity Programme, n.d., 2.

100. Second International Symposium on Gender Identity (Pamphlet), n.d., 3.

101. Edgerton, Milton. “Introduction” in *Proceedings of the Second Interdisciplinary Symposium on Gender Dysphoria Syndrome*, ed. by Donald Laub and Patrick Gandy (Stanford: Division of Reconstructive and Rehabilitative Surgery), 1974: 3

102. “The Symposium,” in *Proceedings of the Second Interdisciplinary Symposium on Gender Dysphoria Syndrome*, ed. by Donald Laub and Patrick Gandy (Stanford: Division of Reconstructive and Rehabilitative Surgery), 1974: 247.

103. Reed Erickson, “Foreword” in *Proceedings of the Second Interdisciplinary Symposium on Gender Dysphoria Syndrome*, ed. by Donald Laub and Patrick Gandy (Stanford: Division of Reconstructive and Rehabilitative Surgery), 1974: i.

104. Third International Symposium on Gender Identity Program, Erickson Educational Foundation, n.d.

105. For example, the 7th International Gender Dysphoria Symposium, which took place in Lake Tahoe, March 4-8, 1981, and was sponsored by the University of Nevada-Reno (Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences and Division of Continuing Education) and HBIGDA offered participants several accreditation options: physicians could use it to count towards “20 hours in Category 1 of the Physician’s Recognition

Award of the American Medical Association”; nurses from California and Nevada could use it to count towards 20 hours of their relicensing requirements, and other health care professionals would be issued certificates. Participants could also opt to pay \$23 for one academic credit in either undergraduate or graduate course work, with the completion of additional work.

106. “Association Newsletter,” EEF Newsletter 10.1 (Spring 1983), 2; “Deep Appreciation, HBIGDA Newsletter 1.1 (Spring 1983), 1.

107. Paul Walker (as president of HBIGDA) to Reed Erickson, January 9, 1981; Erickson Family Collection.

108. “Foundation Future,” EEF Newsletter 7.1 (Spring 1974): 1.

109. Suplee sent out a mass announcement of the EEF’s closing to members of its mailing list, and received many letters of condolence.

110. Paul Walker to Reed Erickson, “Project Proposal,” March 28, 1980, and Walker to RE, July 24, 1980; Erickson Family Collection.

111. “Now in San Francisco,” EEF Newsletter 10.1 (Spring 1983): 5.

112. Paul Walker to Reed Erickson, April 24, 1980, Erickson Family Collection; Paul Walker to Dorr Legg, February 12, 1981, Erickson Family Collection.

113. In 1983, the EEF gave at least \$29,878 to Lilly’s Human/Dolphin Foundation at Marine World in San Francisco and \$15,000 to the Marine Mammal Center.

114. All financial figures come from the Erickson Educational Foundation Financial Ledger (1983); Erickson Family Collection.

115. Robert Farino, Erickson Educational Foundation Grant Application (approved, October 1983); Erickson Family Collection; Erickson was also involved in helping Dr. Farino’s with legal troubles when Farino was arrested for having performed Sex Reassignment Surgeries in Brazil; see HBIGDA Newsletter 1.2 (Summer 1983): 2.

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