

make the tennis team his first year at the University of Pennsylvania, but the following decade, Tilden became the most dominant tennis player of his era. He also became the game's first theorist, writing the book *Match Play and the Spin of the Ball* (1925), which is still relevant to a game that has changed dramatically since Tilden's day.

Tilden won seven U.S. singles championships and three Wimbledon titles, and he led the United States to seven consecutive Davis Cup victories in the 1920s. In 1950, despite his public humiliations, he was voted, in a poll by the Associated Press, the greatest tennis player in the first half of the twentieth century.

While playing his best tennis, Tilden was also writing fiction and plays, trying to become an actor, and cultivating his celebrity. He lost much of his modest fortune trying to finance a career on the stage. In the 1930s he became a professional tennis player during the amateur era. He toured with a small group of players (including the much younger Bobby Riggs), playing exhibition tournaments for pay, which rendered him ineligible for competition on the international circuit. (Tennis did not become a professional sport—a sport for pay—officially until the late 1960s.)

Tilden's homosexuality was an open secret in the tennis community. The United States Lawn Tennis Association was concerned that public knowledge of his homosexuality would be detrimental to the game. On the professional tour, where he served as a kind of executive, he was often accompanied by his favorites, teenage boys who were somewhat promising on the tennis court. Once, when Tilden was a player and coach for the U.S. Davis Cup team, he played doubles with one of his favorites, a fifteen-year-old named Junior Coen, in a match against China—a move some regarded as rather scandalous.

Tilden's boys traveled everywhere with him. Although there was much talk, nothing serious ever came of it. However, in the mid-1940s, when Tilden was living in Los Angeles and keeping company with the likes of movie stars Charlie Chaplin and Errol Flynn, everything changed when he was arrested on Sunset Boulevard in November 1946 for "lewd behavior" with a teenager. He was convicted of "contributing to the delinquency of a minor" and served almost eight months in jail. Arrested again in 1949, this time for making a pass at a sixteen-year-old hitchhiker, he served ten more months. This conviction was his final undoing. Most of his friends abandoned Tilden, except, interestingly enough, Marion Anderson, whose teenage son Arthur was one of his students—and favorites.

Acclaimed sports journalist Frank Deford set out to write a feature on Tilden in the early 1970s for *Sports Illustrated*, but he found the man and his story so fascinating that he wrote a surprisingly sympathetic biography called *Big Bill Tilden: The Triumphs and the Tragedy* (1976). Depicting the tennis star as flamboyant and self-centered, Deford argues that most of Tilden's relationships with his favorites were that of a teacher and student, and none of the favorites claimed that Tilden ever made sexual advances.

After Tilden's first arrest, Deford sets the scene: "Nervous when first arrested, then nonchalant, Tilden grew increasingly uncooperative and even a bit cavalier with his lawyer" (p. 246). This posturing echoes Wilde's when the Marquess of Queensberry, the father of Wilde's lover Lord Alfred Douglas, accused Wilde of "posing as a sodomite [sic]." Wilde's perceived arrogance in the courtroom contributed to his spectacular downfall, as did Tilden's. As Deford tells it: "Tilden was unconcerned, and he acted as if indestructible, certain that no court would dare put the great American world champion behind bars" (p. 250). He could not have been more wrong. His Hollywood friends were of little help. Indeed, both Chaplin and Flynn had been in trouble for their involvement with teenage girls.

His 1949 jail time was Tilden's ultimate humiliation. He was barred from nearly every tennis club and professional venue in Los Angeles. On 5 June 1953, Tilden died of an aneurysm. The sixty-year-old former star was found in his modest Hollywood apartment with his bags packed, about to depart to play in the U.S. professional championships.

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See also SPORTS.

TIPTON, Billy (b. 29 December 1914; d. 21 January 1989), musician.

Billy Lee Tipton was born Dorothy Lucille Tipton in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. When Dorothy's parents divorced in 1928, she and her brother went to live with an

aunt in Kansas City, Missouri, where Dorothy became a proficient piano player. During the Great Depression Tipton found work as a jazz musician in Oklahoma City. Dressed as a young man, she took the name of Billy Tipton. No one in the family was happy about Dorothy's transformation into Billy, but times were tough and jobs were scarce.

Itinerant Career, Female Companions

Billy Tipton lived and worked as a jazz pianist, saxophonist, and vocalist in and around Oklahoma City until 1941. Except for a brief period (1939–1940), Tipton dressed full-time as a man in an environment where many people knew him to be female-bodied. During this time Tipton began living as husband (1934–1943) to a sturdy, non-conformist, former farm girl named Non Earl Harrell, who also knew of Tipton's femaleness. In 1941 the couple moved to Joplin, Missouri, where Tipton permanently took up full-time life as a man and began to work with the band George Mayer and His Music So Rare. In 1943 Tipton and Non Earl broke up, and Tipton formed his own band, the Billy Tipton Quartet.

Shortly thereafter, Tipton started living with his second common-law wife, a singer named June. Over the next few years (1943–1946), June and Billy moved from Joplin to Springfield, Missouri, to Corpus Christi, Texas, and back to Joplin while Tipton worked in various jazz bands. By the end of 1946 June and Billy had ended their relationship. June subsequently intimated to others that Billy was a hermaphrodite.

Tipton continued his career in Joplin for another year, during which he met and began a seven-year relationship (1946–1954) with Betty Cox, then an eighteen-year-old just off the farm. Betty and Billy lived and traveled together as husband and wife through Texas, Missouri, and the Pacific Northwest. Many years later, when confronted with the fact of Billy's female body, Betty said, "I cannot in my wildest dreams accept the fact I finally know to be true" (Middlebrook, p. 175). During his Pacific Northwest years, Tipton at first joined up again with Mayer in George Mayer and His Sophisticated Swing Trio (1949–1951), after which he formed the Billy Tipton Trio.

No sooner had Betty and Billy parted ways in 1954 than Billy began living with a Jewish call girl around his own age named Maryann Cattanach. Maryann happily traveled with the Billy Tipton Trio but did not partake of the nightlife that went with Billy's role as an entertainer. Throughout their relationship (1954–1961), Maryann always respected Tipton's fastidious need for personal privacy, and she reported that she never doubted Billy's maleness in any way.

Peak Year and Decline

The year 1956 was a banner one for Tipton as a musician. The trio backed him on two record albums, *Sweet Georgia Brown* and *Billy Tipton Plays Hi-Fi on Piano*. However, in 1958, at the age of forty-five, Tipton decided that he had had enough of the itinerant life and settled with Maryann in Spokane, Washington, where he worked part-time as a musician and full-time as a booking agent at the Dave Sobol Theatrical Agency.

It was at the jazz gigs that Billy met and courted a twenty-year-old stripper named Kitty Kelly while still living with Maryann. By 1961 Maryann had moved out and Kitty had moved in. The following year Tipton staged a wedding with Kitty before a fraudulent justice of the peace, using forged documents. During their relationship, Kitty had little interest in sex and she later reported that she, too, never had any reason to doubt Tipton's maleness. In 1963, 1965, and 1969, respectively, they adopted three sons, John Thomas, Scott Lee, and William Alan (Little Billy). The family lived together until 1980, when disagreements about disciplining the boys resulted in Billy and the boys leaving Kitty.

Arthritis had by this time ended Tipton's career as a musician. He tried taking over the booking agency but was not very good at collecting fees and rapidly slipped into debt. Tipton eked out a small living at the agency during his final years while living with his youngest son. By 1988 Tipton was nearly destitute and very ill, but he refused to seek treatment. He died in 1989 of untreated hemorrhaging ulcers with his son William by his side in his Spokane home.

A Focus of Controversy

The paramedic attending Tipton at the time of his death observed Tipton's female body and remarked on it to William's astonishment. The coroner who examined Tipton's body leaked the story to the press, and a minor media frenzy ensued. Headlines proclaimed that Tipton was "really" a woman. Tipton's story became an inspiration for newspaper and magazine articles, a play and a video, at least one all-female jazz band, academic treatises, and a full-length biography.

The story of the life of Billy Tipton became a contested arena for theories of sex, gender, and sexuality. On the one hand, many women's, feminist, and lesbian groups claimed Tipton as a woman who followed in the centuries-old tradition of females who defy gender conventions to pursue their dreams of lives otherwise closed to women. From this perspective, Tipton and the five Mrs. Tiptons might all have been thought of as lesbian women, whether they knew it or not.

By contrast, many transgender people and others expressed the opinion that Tipton was clearly a transgender person in action and deed, if not by his own proclamation. They argued that Tipton purposefully hid his femaleness in all ways possible for almost half a century, died of a treatable illness rather than allow a doctor to examine him and discover his femaleness, and requested that one of his trusted cousins have his body cremated immediately after his death (which did not happen) so that his secret could die with him. Speaking to a cousin in 1983, Billy Tipton summed it up this way: “Some people might think I’m a freak or a hermaphrodite. I’m not. I’m a normal person. This has been my choice” (Middlebrook, p. 278).

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See also FEMMES AND BUTCHES; MARRIAGE CEREMONIES AND WEDDINGS; MUSIC: POPULAR; TRANSEXUALS, TRANVESTITES, TRANSGENDER PEOPLE, AND CROSS-DRESSERS.

TOKLAS, ALICE B. see STEIN, GERTRUDE, AND ALICE B. TOKLAS.

TOURISM

Three social processes have contributed to the emergence of U.S. LGBT tourism: the rapid development of a global consumer/commodity culture; sexual and LGBT liberation; and a fast-growing tourist industry. While U.S. LGBT communities are marked by significant class and

economic differences, on the whole, their members make up an affluent and thus significant consumer group; their sexual orientation makes them an identifiable niche market; and many have considerable disposable income to spend on travel. While LGBT tourism has become increasingly visible since the end of World War II, it began much earlier, as Esther Newton has documented in her study of Cherry Grove, Fire Island.

LGBT tourism covers a broad range of activities, including any travel—individual or group, spontaneous or organized—motivated by or targeted to nonstraight orientations and interests. At least four LGBT travel trajectories are identifiable: tourism to LGBT-friendly cities in North America (e.g., San Francisco, Seattle, New York, Montreal, and Toronto); tourism to LGBT-friendly resorts in North America (Fire Island, Provincetown, and Key West are notable examples); tourism to popular LGBT non-North American destinations (Amsterdam, Paris, Berlin, Sydney, Tangier, and Bangkok, among many others); and travel by LGBT people to locations other than resorts and cities known to be LGBT-friendly.

As the involvement in LGBT tourism of an affluent, largely white traveling constituency has grown, so has the participation of people from less affluent and nonwhite groups. LGBT tourism now embraces diverse populations with a broad spectrum of motivations and activities. Also noteworthy is a set of variable and elusive, but nonetheless real, distinctions between the tourism of GBT men and LBT women that make any simple amalgamation of the two impossible.

Early History

LGBT tourism has a long history. Men and women of predominantly same-sex sexual orientation from repressed northern European and North American countries have long sought out more sympathetic, more relaxed, and more economically dependent communities in southern Europe (especially Italy and Greece). Rumors and informal networks signaled the value of certain destinations for travelers desiring same-sex sexual encounters. In the early twentieth century, while southern Europe remained popular, LGBT tourists also made a point of visiting the expatriate community in France surrounding Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas, and later James Baldwin.

After World War II, the long and sometimes tortured residence of Paul and Jane Bowles in Tangier, Morocco, became a magnet for North American and European LGBT people seeking contact with an exotic and erotic avant-garde. The Bowleses’ patronage of indigenous storytellers highlighted a complex dynamic between Western