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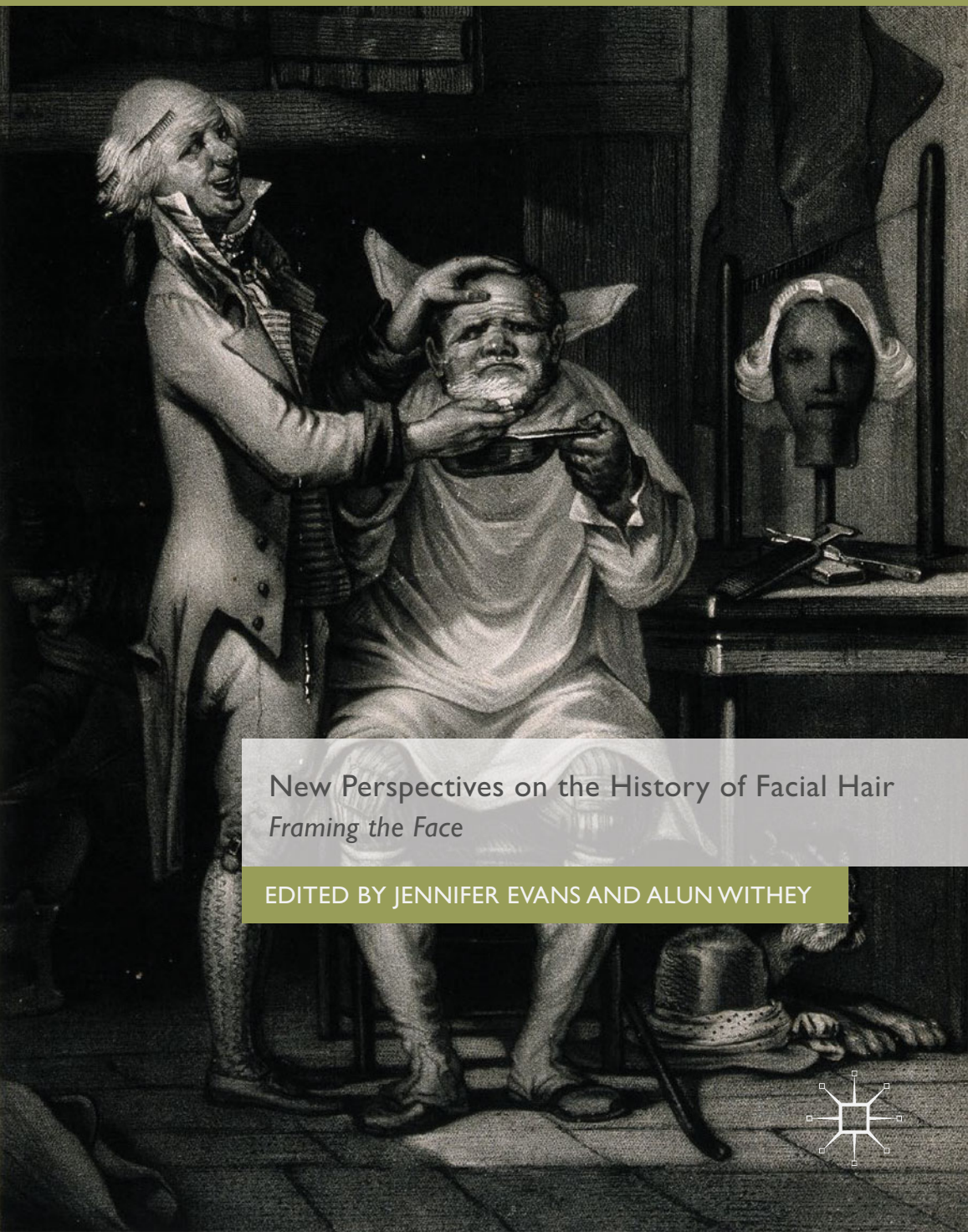

New Perspectives on the History of Facial Hair

Framing the Face

EDITED BY JENNIFER EVANS AND ALUN WITHEY

Genders and Sexualities in History

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New Perspectives on the History of Facial Hair

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Series Editors' Preface

Alun Withey and Jennifer Evans' book entitled *New Perspectives on the History of Facial Hair* seeks to interrogate gender, sexuality, and nationhood through an analysis of facial hair. In a series of essays ranging from the early modern period to the late twentieth century, they explore the socio-political meanings behind the cultivation and removal of facial hair. They demonstrate that styles of hair not only embodied masculinity but were also tied up with questions of colonialism, romance, 'nature', barbarity versus civility, and virility. Facial hair was a cultural artefact that sent powerful messages about power and sexuality. *New Perspectives on the History of Facial Hair* presents a multifaceted and meticulously researched scholarly study, and is a sophisticated contribution to our understanding of the past.

John Arnold
Joanna Bourke
Sean Brady

Acknowledgements

This edited collection has grown out of an international one-day workshop held at the Friends Meeting House in London in November 2015. We would like to thank the University of Exeter, and in particular Prof. Jonathan Barry, and the University of Hertfordshire for the financial support they gave to the workshop, which allowed it to be such a success. We would also like to extend our heartfelt gratitude to all of the speakers and delegates of the 'Framing the Face' workshop. The papers presented there provided stimulating points of discussion and intersection, and convinced us of the need for a new volume examining the history of facial hair. Finally we would like to thank all of the authors who have contributed chapters to this volume, for their good humour and timely responses (particularly those working in different time zones) to queries and demands. Their hard work has produced a rich and engaging collection that underlines the key themes being examined by scholars in this area at the moment. We hope that they are as happy with this collection as we are.

Our thanks also go to Emily Russell and Carmel Kennedy at Palgrave Macmillan for all of their help and advice.

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Introduction

Alun Withey and Jennifer Evans

'Thoughts upon beards! What a dry, absurd, uninteresting, unprofitable subject!' So ran the opening line of an 1833 article in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* on the contentious topic of beards. But after this unpromising start, it soon became apparent that the author was merely setting up a straw man. 'Can that be uninteresting', they argued, 'which is important to every man from the stripling of sixteen to the patriarch that totters on the verge of the grave?'.[1] Anticipating the 'beard movement' of the 1850s, the rest of the article was little less than an encomium to facial hair, bemoaning the fashion for the shaved face, and advocating the swift return of this most manly appendage.

The opening line of the *Blackwood*'s article neatly encapsulates traditional academic attitudes towards the study of facial hair. Until relatively

[1] Anon, "Thoughts Upon Beards," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 34, October 1833, 670.

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recently beards were seldom regarded as a topic worthy of academic attention. Even given the considerable expansion in literature on masculinity and the gendered body over the past fifteen or so years, and the totemic nature of the beard as a marker of masculinity and identity, facial hair was notable by its absence.[2] The past decade, however, has seen a burgeoning interest in the topic, especially in Britain.

As a number of studies have shown, facial hair in the early modern period—where our own interests in the history of facial hair began—was freighted with a complex range of meanings.[3] Unsurprisingly, the relationship between facial hair and constructions or representations of masculinity has been the dominant theme. As Mark Johnston's deconstructionist study of the semiotics of facial hair admirably demonstrated, beards embodied natural strength, procreative power, mental acuity and the inner state of the body. At the same time, however, beard wearing might also symbolise effete vanity, or moral or physical weakness.[4] Faced with such contradictions, philosophers and medical authors attempted to 'fix' the role of the beard, and did so by emphasising its centrality to the male body and sexuality. In this reading the beard was both a proxy phallus and a synecdoche for the male body itself.[5] Johnston has also noted though that facial hair only operated as a signifier of early modern masculinity where masculinity was understood to be economically constituted. In this sense the wearing or removal of facial hair signified economic relationships.[6] Will Fisher has also explored contemporary

[2]Work on the masculine body includes: Joanne Begiato, "Between Poise and Power: Embodied Manliness in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century British Culture," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 26, no. 2 (December 29, 2016): 125–47; Cathy Mcclive, "Masculinity on Trial: Penises, Hermaphrodites and the Uncertain Male Body in Early Modern France," *History Workshop Journal* 126, no. 68 (2009): 45–68; Matthew McCormack, "Tall Histories: Height and Georgian Masculinities," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 26, no. 2 (December 29, 2016): 79–101; Karen Harvey, "Men of Parts: Masculine Embodiment and the Male Leg in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of British Studies* 54, no. 4 (October 2, 2015): 797–821.

[3]For example see Angela Rosenthal, "Raising Hair," *Eighteenth- Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (2004).

[4]Mark Albert Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England*: Sex, *Gender, and Registers of Value* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 43–46.

[5]Ibid., 49.

[6]Mark Albert Johnston, "Playing with the Beard: Courtly and Commercial Economies in Richard Edwards's Damon and Pithias and John Lyly's Midas," *Elh* 72, no. 1 (Spring, 2005): 79–103.

concerns with the nature, meanings and function of male facial hair, and argued that the beard was a marker of masculine identity, one that simultaneously constituted and reflected manliness. Here the beard represents 'a component of manhood [and] a means through which manhood was materialized'.[7] Rather than a synecdoche for the male body, therefore, Fisher sees facial hair as an enabler of masculinity, one that was simultaneously a 'morphological reality' and a cultural artefact.[8] In general, the beard was deemed a 'natural' ensign of a healthy male body, and one that spoke of a range of characteristics from sexual potency to martial strength. As an outward manifestation of the reproductive capacity of the individual man the beard bore strong symbolic significance. The ability to grow one was a clear line of demarcation between masculine and effeminate men.

Fisher, Johnston and others have also explored the place of facial hair within the humoral framework and its relationship to catamenia (menstrual discharge) and the expelling of excess bodily fluids.[9] Broadly speaking beards were linked to male bodily heat, and also the production of semen. They were regarded variously as excrements, sooty residues or 'fumosities'. Within the humoral system, beard hair was regarded as a waste product (an excrement) left over from heat caused by the production of sperm in the loins. Likened to soot rising up a chimney, beard hair was one of the common 'teguments' of the body, which rose up and emerged through the face and head. Less attention has been paid, however, to the relationship between facial hair, the humours and broader ideas about the healthy body. Johnston, for example, reflects upon ideas about the role of beard colour in assessing humoral temperament, and assessments of health based upon the quality of facial hair.[10] Further work is being done in this area, including efforts to gain a deeper understanding of how venereal

[7] Will Fisher, *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 99.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Johnston, *Beard Fetish,* 43–46 and 48–50; Fisher, *Materializing Gender*, 102–3 and 108–9; Also more briefly, Patricia Simons, *The Sex of Men in Premodern Europe: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 27–30; Jennifer Jordan, "'That ere with Age, his strength Is utterly decay'd': Understanding the Male Body in Early Modern Manhood," in *Bodies, Sex and Desire from the Renaissance to the Present*, ed. Kate Fisher and Sarah Toulalan (London: Palgrave, 2011): 35–37.

[10] Johnston, *Beard Fetish*, 44–45.

disease, and other afflictions of the male sexual and reproductive organs, caused and were in turn revealed through the visible loss of facial hair.[11]

The function of medical practitioners both in the physical processes of shaving and managing facial hair, and as social and cultural symbols in their own right, has also drawn much historical attention. Margaret Pelling's pioneering work on barber-surgeons and their place within the nexus of urban occupations highlighted the importance of shaving as part of the broader range of corporeal tasks undertaken by barbers, including blood letting, tongue scraping and ear cleaning.[12] As Pelling argues, of all practitioners, it was barbers and barber-surgeons who were most concerned with the management of bodily surfaces and the regulation of the body's often-foul emissions and excretions.[13] Sandra Cavallo has further explored the health and hygiene functions of the barber in early modern Italy, and noted that the hygiene practices of the barber were in no ways incompatible with the 'medical' function of the surgeon.[14] Eleanor Decamp, whose *Civic and Medical Worlds in Early Modern England* charts the semiotics of barbering practices, material culture and spaces, as well as the centrality of shaving as a function of the barber, highlights the place of the barber as a prominent literary and cultural stereotype.[15]

The nineteenth century has also proved fruitful for historians of facial hair in other ways, with a number of studies focusing upon the Victorian 'beard movement' and the various motivations affecting the return of facial hair after virtually 150 years of beardlessness in Europe.[16] Around

[11] Jennifer Evans, *Men's Sexual Health in Early Modern England* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, forthcoming).

[12] Margaret Pelling, *The Common Lot: Sickness, Medical Occupations and the Urban Poor in Early Modern England* (London and New York: Longman, 1998), 209, 242.

[13] Margaret Pelling, "Appearance and Reality: Barber-Surgeons, the Body and Disease," in *The Making of the Metropolis: London, 1500–1700*, ed. A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay (London: Longman, 1986), 91–95.

[14] Sandra Cavallo, *Artisans of the Body in Early Modern Italy: Identities, Families and Masculinities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), Chapter 2.

[15] Eleanor Decamp, *Civic and Medical Worlds in Early Modern England: Performing Barbery and Surgery* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

[16] See Christopher Oldstone-Moore, "The Beard Movement in Victorian Britain," *Victorian Studies* 48, no. 1 (2005): 7–34; Susan Walton, "From Squalid Impropriety to Manly Respectability: The Revival of Beards, Moustaches and Martial Values in the 1850s

1850, a changing climate of ideas surrounding male identity and bodily appearance, and in particular a new focus upon the physicality of the male body, saw beards and moustaches return to prominence as key signifiers of masculinity. As John Tosh has argued, several factors combined to sharpen gender distinctions and remodel concepts of masculinity and manliness.[17] First were the physical and emotional challenges to men of adapting to a newly industrializing society. Accompanying this was an increasing focus upon, and valorisation of, work that emphasised men's role as the household breadwinner.[18] Second were the increasing questions surrounding patriarchal authority, both in the workplace and at home.[19] Male behaviour and self-presentation were shaped by the need to reassert authority over home and hearth, in the face of increasing claims by women for dominion over the household economy.[20] Third was the polarization of male and female bodies, with emphases upon the sexual 'otherness', and bodily difference, of women, and the privileging of gender-specific bodily characteristics. This polarisation in some ways also encouraged a spectrum of male stereotypes. At one end, fears about weak, effeminate and homosexual men were amplified by claims of the physical and moral laxity of the male population in the mid-century.[21] At the other, however, was the valorisation of the ultra-masculine, heroic soldier. The period after 1840 saw new respect for martial values and, in particular, of soldiers as exemplars of ideal masculine characteristics.[22]

These investigations into the symbolism, meanings and uses of facial hair have been echoed by scholars investigating other types of body and head hair. Malcolm Baker has shown how the representation of hair became a locus for demonstrating skill for sculptors of eighteenth-century portrait busts, because men in this era were usually clean

in England," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 30, no. 3 (2008): 229–45; Jacob Middleton, "The Beard and Victorian Ideas of Masculinity," in *Back to the Future of the Body*, ed. Dominic Janes (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), 27–40.

[17]John Tosh, "Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: 1800–1914," *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005): 330–31.

[18]Ibid., 334.

[19]Tosh, "Masculinities," 332; Oldstone-Moore, "The Beard Movement," 9.

[20]Tosh, "Masculinities," 332–33.

[21]Ibid., 336, 338; Middleton, "The Beard," 33; Walton, "Squalid Impropriety," 234.

[22]Walton, "Squalid Impropriety," 235–38; Oldstone-Moore, "The Beard Movement," 11–14.

shaven.[23] Sculptors used portrayals of hair in order to reflect the status and character of their subjects.[24] Some of the scholarship that examines the eighteenth century has focused on hair that was not fundamentally a part of the body—wigs. Michael Kwass, for example, has considered why Jean-Jacques Rousseau's personal reformation involved not the jettisoning of wig-wearing all together, but a sartorial shift from more elaborate wigs to the round wig.[25] He argues that during the eighteenth century wigs spread beyond the aristocratic elite. This social diffusion changed the meaning of wigs as new styles came to represent convenience, nature and physiognomy, rather than elite luxury consumption.[26] This did not mean that wigs no longer upheld social stratification, but that markers of rank and status were reformulated.

In broader terms too, hair, and its removal, has also been the subject of recent attention, with a number of studies focusing on the technological developments that facilitated the management and removal of facial, body and head hair.[27] Looking at the eighteenth century, Alun Withey and Chris Evans have charted how changing steel production methods created metals more suited to the manufacture of razors.[28] However, technological shifts were not solely the preserve of the eighteenth century. Rebecca Herzig has described how home remedies for hair removal were gradually superseded in the nineteenth century by pre-packaged chemical-based commodities.[29] She highlights that this shift was in part connected to the centralisation and mechanisation of meat production

[23] Malcolm Baker, "'No Cap or Wig but a Thin Hair upon It': Hair and the Male Portrait Bust in England around 1750," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (2004): 63–77.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Michael Kwass, "Big Hair: A Wig History of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century France," *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (2006): 631–59.

[26] Ibid., 657.

[27] Work also exists that does not focus on the technology of depilation but on the aesthetic reasons that drove the removal of hair: Johannes Endres, "Diderot, Hogarth, and The Aesthetics of Depilation," *Eighteenth-Century Studies Fall* 38, no. 1 (2004): 17–38.

[28] Chris Evans and Alun Withey, "An Enlightenment in Steel: Innovation in the Steel Trades of Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Technology and Culture* 53, no. 3 (2012): 533–60; Alun Withey and Chris Evans, "Shaving and Razors in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *BBC History Magazine* (February 2011).

[29] Rebecca M. Herzig, *Plucked: A History of Hair Removal* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2015), 36.

that required an effective and efficient process to remove hair from animal carcasses.[30]

Outside academic history too, spurred on by the recent global fashion for beards, facial hair has continued to attract broad popular interest, particularly in terms of fashions across time and styles.[31] These works have demonstrated the vibrancy of the topic and its potential to reveal the ways in which the experiences of people in the past were shaped by large scale trends and processes. The essays here speak to the continued possibilities that studies of hirsutism offer to scholars in a range of fields.

This collection emerged from a workshop held in London in Autumn 2014. Speakers were drawn from various fields of study, both within and outside history, and from across the globe. The strength and diversity of the papers, the range of interdisciplinary approaches taken by speakers, the geographical and temporal spread of the programme and, more broadly, the enthusiasm of participants for a new and concerted approach to the study of facial hair, all served to convince us of the need for a new volume to bring together the best of current scholarship. In assembling the essays presented here, we were keen to preserve the interdisciplinary nature of the workshop, but also to avoid a narrative, chronological approach. Equally, given the popularity of facial hair as a topic amongst international scholars, and the important work currently being undertaken on the history of facial hair in areas outside Britain and Europe, it is important that the collection should also be outward looking and international in its scope.[32] Emerging out of the vibrant discussions at the workshop and reflected in the chapters presented here are a number of key themes.

The collection is divided into three parts addressing, in turn, beards, moustaches and feminine facial hair. Chapters across the collection

[30] Herzig, *Plucked*, 44.

[31] For some examples see Christopher Oldstone-Moore, *Of Beards and Men: The Revealing History of Facial Hair* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016); Lucinda Hawksley, *Moustaches, Beards and Whiskers* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2014); Rufus Cavendish, *The Little Book of Beards* (London: Summersdale, 2017).

[32] Several papers delivered at the workshop covered European histories, including: John Gagné, "Italian Beards and the Horizons of Violence Around 1500"; Hanna Weibye, "Speaking Through His Beard: Facial Hair as Self-Narrative in the Case of Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778–1852)". Work is also being conducted on non-European areas: Marcelo Marino, "'Shave Him Like a Federal!': Subjectivities, Beards and Politics in Early Nineteenth Century Argentina," unpublished paper.

intersect and reflect the key themes, outlined below. The first part of the book examines beard growth, beard wearing and shaving. Margaret Pelling's chapter on the beard's importance to self-representation in early modern portraiture builds on the work she has been conducting for some years that considers what social science research can add to our understanding of facial hair in the early modern period. For Pelling, masculinity is a necessary concept but not sufficient to explain the great variety of forms of expression focused on the hair and beard. She argues for the adoption of the concept of social hair, and for categories derived from the history and analysis of fashion. This chapter sits alongside Christopher Oldstone-Moore's opening chapter that considers, similarly, how social science research can illuminate histories of facial hair beyond the early modern period. Drawing on his recent academic monograph on the history of facial hair, Oldstone-Moore also argues for the predominance of the clean-shaven face in history, with the exception of four bearded eras. This serves to complicate assumptions of beardedness as a default for male appearance. Together the two chapters, with their varying approaches, highlight the complexities of the theoretical approaches to the history of facial hair, as well as the resources available for interpretation.

Pelling's chapter resonates with Victoria Alonso Cabezas's discussion of beardlessness in nineteenth-century artists' self-portraits. Together they reveal that across several hundred years the beard, or the potential to grow one, was an important symbol of manhood, both impending and achieved. They both emphasise the key role that portraiture plays in building our understanding of the uses and meanings of facial hair in the past. Helen Casey's discussion of beards and facial hair in film notes that in more recent times beards have functioned to signify a greater range of characteristics, including wealth and status. She reveals the embodied experiences of those wearing real and false facial hair in order to project different personas. Both Oldstone-Moore and Mark Anderson illustrate the ways in which shaving a beard could represent social order, or disorder, but more importantly allowed men to reflect on, and reflect, past cultures and social memory. Eleanor Rycroft's chapter pushes this discussion overseas and reveals how English interpretations of other nations' facial hair fashions were centred on notions of social order, and importantly on the ways in which they read a lack of beards among the indigenous populations as a sign of a lack of governmental ability.

Part II of the book looks in greater detail at the shifting meanings of the moustache. Sharon Twickler's material culture study of an American nineteenth-century moustache comb reminds us that facial hair is not simply worn, but groomed and maintained. This places the moustache at the centre of a series of ritualistic behaviours, rules of etiquette and consumer choices. Alice White's investigation of militarism and moustaches continues to address the idea that facial hair could be regulated and was bounded by rules of etiquette—this time in the context of the twentieth-century British military.

Part III explores female facial hair and feminine adaptations of male hair. Morwenna Carr and Aurore Chéry's chapters emphasise that facial hair was important to women too. This could be, as Carr demonstrates in relation to early modern playwrights, the ability to adopt, co-opt and subvert the notions of masculinity associated with facial hair in order to underline their own talent and skill in a male dominated sphere. While these playwrights used false beards to engage with the symbolism and cultural freight attached to facial hair, other women's unruly facial hair, as Chéry shows, was used as a means to read and interpret their inner character. The growth of darker facial hair was read as a sign of sexual appetite and sexual deviance. Historians have already emphasised that bearded women, while often interpreted as masculine, represented a range of gendered and sexed possibilities.[33] In many cases the ability of these women to marry and conceive was emphasised, underlining their feminine qualities.[34] Chéry's analysis further problematises readings of hairy women by considering meanings of facial hair beyond the beard.

Cutting across these sections, and across chapters, are the individual themes raised by our authors. One constant theme is the complex relationship that often exists between facial hair and prevailing concepts of gender and/or masculinity. In addition to the two chapters addressing women, several authors note the importance of this complex dynamic. In her chapter on the fashioning of manhood in early modern travel texts, for example, Rycroft explores the place of the beard both within early modern discourses of bodily difference between men and women, but also as a marker of difference between English and non-English bodies.

[33] Helen King, *The One-Sex Body on Trial: The Classical and Early Modern Evidence* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 77.

[34] King, *The One-Sex Body*, 76.

Here the Muslim, Turkish beard could be seen as an invidious symbol of the 'Islamic infiltration of English manhood'. In her study of facial hair and masculinity in nineteenth-century Spanish portraits, Victoria Alonso Cabezas charts the various meanings of facial hair in art, and the importance of representations of 'fuzz' as a marker of a life stage, and the transition from male youth to adulthood. Mark Anderson's chapter also touches upon this theme by illustrating that modern notions of shaving and beard growth were developed in active dialogue with women. The fashions that developed were, in part, unique from those that had gone before because they represented an important site of negotiation between the sexes.

Closely related to gender is the important issue of identity. Several chapters, for example, deal explicitly with the nature of facial hair as a component in the construction of specific identities, relating to particular environments and cultures. Alonso Cabezas and Carr both show how groups perceived as lacking in masculinity utilised facial hair to create and express identities that appropriated masculine qualities. The materiality of beard care is explored by Twickler, whose chapter argues that the moustache comb stands as a metaphor for refinement and self-control amidst nineteenth-century concerns about the potentially negative connotations of moustaches in America. Here, whilst facial hair could be imbued with animalistic meanings, the comb acted as the vector through which American men could manage their own appearance and thus their identity. Facial hair served both individual and group identities. Twickler and White both emphasise this. White demonstrates that varieties in military moustache style were equated with different ranks. Wearing a moustache of any kind therefore symbolised belonging to the army, while the style symbolised incorporation into more select groups and ranks. The trimming and maintenance of the moustache meanwhile spoke of individual identity.

Second is the important issue of fashion.[35] As White's chapter explains, even in contexts where growth was regulated—notably in military settings—choices about style and size were still employed to

[35]The history of fashion has attracted much academic attention over the past two decades although, until now, fashion historians have yet to engage seriously with the place of facial hair as an expression of, or component within, dress and the articulation of fashion. For examples see Cheryl Buckley and Hazel Clark, eds., *Fashion and Everyday Life* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017); John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007); Beverley

represent identity and conform to notions of what was fashionable. Oldstone-Moore and Anderson also emphasise that what was considered unfashionable was a significant motivation for avoiding facial hair.

The role of technology in shaping and facilitating attitudes towards facial hair—particularly in terms of styling and removal—has emerged as a key theme in this collection, as it has done in the existing literature. The language of technology was increasingly important in post-war British advertising, as Anderson illustrates. This aligned shaving with science and expertise, innovation and progress. Thus shaving and depilation are intimately connected to notions of modernity. Alice White's chapter reinforces this connection, as opponents of the obligatory military moustache in the twentieth century framed their own desire to be clean-shaven as modern.

Finally, as these brief discussions have revealed, the discussion of facial hair has now broadened beyond the beard. Moustaches, eyebrows and other forms of aberrant hair growth all have histories revealing the complex cultural meanings that were attached to the face. The stray whiskers on a woman's cheeks in the early modern period denoted more than age and ugliness; rather they were a sign of the specific gendered and sexual deviance of the bawd.[36] Bushy eyebrows could suggest female homosexuality and excess libido, and chin fuzz could symbolise emerging artistic genius.

Taken as a whole, the volume substantiates *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*'s conclusion that facial hair cannot be 'uninteresting'. The chapters presented here illustrate continuities and contrasts in experiences and representations of wearing facial hair across early modernity and modernity, and emphasise that, at various moments, beards, moustaches and whiskers signified much more than masculinity. It is the intention of the editors and contributors to this volume that the essays here act not only to stimulate further study into the history of facial hair, but also to offer new possibilities for broader academic studies into the meanings and importance of hair more broadly.

Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade Before the Factory, 1660–1800* (London: Palgrave, 1997); see also Lemire's various publications on fashion history; Neil McKendrick, "The Commercialization of Fashion," in *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, ed. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982).

[36]Emily Cock, "Bearded Bawds and the Economics of Female Masculinity in Early Modern London" (paper presented at 'Framing the Face: New Perspectives on the History of Facial Hair,' November 2015).

PART I

(Re)Building the Beard?

Social Science, Gender Theory and the History of Hair

Christopher Oldstone-Moore

After decades of theorising about the historical significance of the body, gender historians have only recently begun to consider hair.[1] By contrast, psychological, anthropological and sociological researchers have for seventy years investigated hair's cultural significance. As historians move forward into this new field of study, they stand to benefit from a consideration of this social scientific legacy. In an earlier work, I traced

[1]General works on masculinity and the body do not yet reflect recent studies of the history of hair. Susan Bordo's, *The Male Body* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2000) does not discuss hair at all. There is very limited consideration in other important works, including George L. Mosse's, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Derek G. Neal's, *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2008); Christopher E. Forth's, *Masculinity in the Modern West: Gender, Civilization and the Body* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine, et al.'s, *A History of Virility*, trans. Keith Cohen (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016). An impressive body of new work is building our understanding of hair in history, including Alun Withey, "Shaving and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36 (2013): 225–43;

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the history of beards in the West from ancient times to the present.[2] In this chapter, I will consider the extent to which this history confirms or conflicts with social scientific theories of hair, and in so doing, elucidate some helpful principles to guide further research in the history of gender, hair and the body.

This chapter offers four fundamental observations. The first is that beard history confirms an anthropological hypothesis that cultural understandings of hair are deep-seated and durable, and that control of hair reflects social control more generally. Second, beard history confirms a sociological theory that a primary social purpose of hair is to communicate contrasting social and ideological identities, with the important caveat that hair has often been used to establish contrasts between past and present, as well as between social groups. Over the long span of history, variations of facial hair have reflected periodic reconsiderations of masculine identity. Third, beard history illustrates and amends the sociological concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' advanced by Raewyn Connell and others.[3] A fourth and final conclusion is that the history of beards and shaving underscores and extends the argument of historians George Mosse and Christopher Forth that modern men have relied heavily on the idealised male body as the source of authentic and authoritative manliness.[4]

Daisy Hay, "Hair in the Disraeli Papers: A Victorian Harvest," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 19, no. 3 (2014): 332–45; Michael Kwass, "Big Hair: A Wig History of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century France," *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (2006): 631–59; E. Snook, "Beautiful Hair, Health, and Privilege in Early Modern England," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 15, no. 4 (2015): 22–51. In 2004 a special issue of *Eighteenth-Century Studies* was dedicated to hair: *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (2004). Recent work has also looked at baldness: Anu Korhonen, "Strange Things Out of Hair: Baldness and Masculinity in Early Modern England," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 41, no. 2 (2010): 371–91.

[2] Christopher Oldstone-Moore, *Of Beards and Men: The Revealing History of Facial Hair* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).

[3] R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). John Tosh has discussed the value and weaknesses of the theory in "Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender," in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 41–58. Many historians who have found Connell's theory to be inadequate have proposed modifications of the idea, rather than its abandonment. A recent example is Henry French and Mark Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, 1660–1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1–18.

[4] George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Christopher E. Forth, *Masculinity in the Modern West: Gender, Civilization and the Body* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

The Search for Subconscious Meaning

Our survey of social science begins with Sigmund Freud, whose theories inspired a string of scholarly investigations into the meaning of hair. On a few occasions, Freud identified female hair with the phallus. He argued, for example, that neurotics who expressed an urge to cut woman's hair were enacting a symbolic castration.[5] In his discussion of the myth of Medusa, Freud also interpreted Medusa's serpent hairdo as a representation of castration. The horror of Medusa, he insisted, is rooted in the fear of castration that a boy develops when he discovers that his mother has pubic hair, but no penis. Medusa's hair of serpents (penises) is the subconscious restoration of the absent penis with phallic pubic hair. Medusa thus produces fear by presenting the spectre of castration, but the stiffness she (and pubic hair) causes in men is also an erection, and thus a reassurance for the terrified man that he still has a penis.[6]

It is a strange fact that Freud, though a bearded man himself, offered no similar psychosexual interpretation of the beard, or of male hair in general. His only comment, in his discussion of Michelangelo's statue of Moses, was a rather bland affirmation of the beard as a noble 'masculine adornment.'[7] Ironically, it may be precisely *because* he was bearded that he ignored the psychology of beards. When Carl Jung, Freud's greatest protégé, broke his association with the old master in 1912, he accused Freud of blindness to his own neuroses, particularly the fear of younger men like Jung contradicting or surpassing him. 'For sheer obsequiousness,' Jung declared in a letter to the older man, 'nobody dares to pluck the prophet by the beard and inquire for once what you would say to a patient with a tendency to analyze the analyst instead of himself.'[8] In Jung's thinking, Freud's beard became emblematic of his self-proclaimed roles as prophet and domineering father. Freud may well have avoided analysing the meaning of beards in order to avoid contemplating his own choice of personal symbolism.

[5] Sigmund Freud, "Leonardo da Vinci," in *Standard Edition of Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 11 (London: Hogarth Press, 1957), 96; see also "Fetishism," *Works*, vol. 21 (London: Hogarth Press, 1961), 157.

[6] Sigmund Freud, "Medusa's Hair," in *Standard Edition of Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 18 (London: Hogarth Press, 1975), 273–74.

[7] Freud makes this comment with regard to the beard on Michelangelo's statue of Moses. See Sigmund Freud, *Standard Edition of Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 13 (London: Hogarth Press, 1975), 218.

[8] William McGuire, ed., *The Freud/Jung Letters*, trans. Ralph Manheim and R. F. C. Hull (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 535.

Freud's reticence did not, of course, prevent his successors from venturing down this untrodden path. In his 1951 volume, *The Unconscious Significance of Hair*, English psychotherapist Charles Berg pronounced a general law:

> When we attend, preserve, or love our hair, we are expressing in displaced form our appreciation of, and pleasure in, our genital sexuality. When we remove, cut, or control our hair we are giving expression to reaction formations against the genital (and anal) libido. Both forms of activity are necessary to express both sides of the sexual conflict.[9]

This formulation prompted Berg to wonder whether men shaved their faces to please women, or rather, to renounce the Oedipal desire for the mother.[10]

Berg further theorised that growing a beard indicated masculine aggression, as in the case of military men, or an attempt to compensate for unconscious feelings of femininity: 'In such cases,' he wrote, 'the beard is a compensation for unconscious castration, that is to say a reinstatement of the penis.'[11] This conclusion seems straightforward enough, except that Berg also entertained the Freudian idea that the beard, like Medusa's hair, might also represent female pubic hair. Beards, after all, can take on the aspect of hair surrounding a vulva.[12] This interpretation led Berg towards a rather contradictory supposition that a man might grow a beard not to assert the penis, but to gratify his 'unconscious femininity'. While Berg seemed to relish this sort of Freudian paradox, he did not entertain the equally reasonable possibility that men shaved to avoid, rather than enact, one or another of the contradictory sexual impulses manifest in beards.

Berg's intriguing, if muddled, interpretation of hair invited other social scientists to take up the challenge. The English anthropologist Edmund Leach believed that the psychosexual meaning of hair was evident in myth as well as cultural practice around the world. His 1958 article 'Magical Hair' asserted that there was remarkable consistency of hair symbolism across cultures that pointed to a universal, subconscious equation of hair with genitalia and sexual potency.[13] To Leach's thinking, then, the hair's

[9] Charles Berg, *The Unconscious Significance of Hair* (Washington, DC: Guild Press, 1951), 76.

[10] Berg, *The Unconscious Significance of Hair*, 15.

[11] Berg, *The Unconscious Significance of Hair*, 76.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Edmund Leach, "Magical Hair," in *Myth and Cosmos: Readings in Mythology and Symbolism*, ed. John Middleton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988 [1958]), 90.

role as a stand-in for libido and aggression meant that haircutting was a universal sign of self-denial and appeasement. This, for example, was its role in mourning rituals like those of the Trobriand Islanders, and also for Buddhist and Christian monks, who shaved all or part of their heads to indicate their subservience to divine authority and to their monastic order. Leach believed that a few exceptions in ethnographic studies only proved the general rule: that long hair equated to unrestrained sexuality; short hair or partially shaved head or tightly bound hair equated to restricted sexuality; and a close shaven head equated to celibacy.[14]

In ritual contexts, the cutting of hair was the suppression of the aggressive libido for the benevolent social purpose of placing it under symbolic control. Suppression of sexuality in this way reduced conflicts and promoted social harmony—even between the living and the dead. In many such rituals, moreover, the act of symbolic suppression spared people the need for actual suppression of sexuality, which would lead to neurosis. Such rituals therefore provided the very practical benefit of balancing expression and repression of the libido.

Berg and Leach provided a theoretical starting point for a psychosocial theory of hair that has informed recent historical analyses of beards and shaving. Robert Mills, for example, contended that medieval monks figuratively castrated themselves by shaving their heads and faces.[15] Mark Albert Johnston adopted a Freudian approach in arguing that men of the Renaissance made a fetish out of beards by equating them with sexual potency and manly power.[16] These arguments, however, like those of Berg and Leach, come with serious complications. While the phallic associations of facial hair are evident in history and myth, it is not a simple equation. As Mills himself acknowledged, medieval churchmen did not consider themselves to be emasculated when they shaved their heads and faces, and they managed to use celibacy as a basis for social power, not just renunciation.[17] As for men of the Renaissance, Margaret Pelling reveals in her study of English portraits later in this volume that the Freudian approach is inadequate because men were clearly communicating more with their bearded portraits than their sexuality.

[14] Leach, "Magical Hair," 97.

[15] Robert Mills, "The Signification of the Tonsure," in *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, eds. P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 112–16.

[16] Mark Albert Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England: Sex Gender, and Registers of Value* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 33–56.

[17] Mills, "The Signification of the Tonsure," 122–23.

Researches in Social Meaning

Pelling points to English-Canadian anthropologist Christopher Hallpike's critique of Freudianism as a more promising avenue for theorising about hair. Hallpike offered three primary empirical objections to Berg and Leach's arguments. First, women as well as men shaved their hair in rituals of mourning, and so it made little sense to see this as ritual castration. Second, if hair were really phallic, one would expect to find beards playing a prominent role in 'phallic rituals', and yet this did not appear to be the case. Third, many ascetics let their hair grow long, rather than cutting it.[18]

The main thrust of Hallpike's criticism, however, was not so much the inadequacies of Berg and Leach's formulations as it was the superiority of an alternative perspective on the ritual and magical uses of hair. From an anthropological point of view, there were ample reasons to think of hair as 'soul-stuff' rather than libido. Hair grows constantly, notably from the head; it is therefore readily associated with vitality and personality. Severed hair can serve as a remnant of this vitality and personality, and can in turn serve as the ritual or magical presence of a person.[19] It follows from this that trimmed hair represented a regulated personality. Hallpike's formula was that 'cutting the hair equals social control'.[20] The shaved and tonsured monk, for example, was not simply renouncing sexuality; he was more fundamentally placing himself under the authority of a religious order. The same was true of soldiers and convicts whose heads were also shaved. Loss of hair was loss of independence. On the other hand, intellectuals, juvenile rebels and women were often associated with long hair. The first two groups were individualists, while women were traditionally considered outside the control of reason, and were excluded from social power. For men, hairiness was characteristic of being outside society altogether—even of beastliness—while shaving signified submission to authority. This could be observed as far back as the ancient Hebrews, in the cases of Esau and Jacob, Samson, Elijah and John the Baptist.

In spite of his criticism of Leach for neglecting to consider beards, Hallpike likewise failed to provide a beard theory of his own. This omission was one of several concerns of New Zealand sociologist Raymond

[18] C. R. Hallpike, "Social Hair," *Man* 2 (1969): 259–60.

[19] Hallpike, "Social Hair," 259.

[20] Hallpike, "Social Hair," 261.

Firth when, in 1973, he proposed improvements on Hallpike's efforts. He knew of too many examples from around the world of long hair signifying social conformity, and vice versa. Amish men, for example, grew long beards to express their submission to authority rather than the personal freedom from control.

Firth devoted a great deal of thought to beards, and was able to draw two general conclusions. First, society takes beard fashions very seriously, and is willing to impose strong sanctions for or against a particular style. He noted, for example, how sports clubs, schools and government agencies enforced strict guidelines on facial hair. Second, in spite of such strong views, beards were socially ambiguous, set uneasily between positive and negative associations, specifically between manliness and savagery.[21] He observed also with some puzzlement that Western society had fluctuated back and forth on attitudes towards facial hair, in contrast with a rather steady preference for women to wear long hair. This fluctuation seemed to be linked to changing needs to distinguish one sort of men from another.[22] The confusion of beard symbolism, Firth noted, was evident in his own day (the early 1970s), when young men were admonished to cut their long hair because it made them look like women, even as they were also instructed to shave their faces, which had the effect of making them look *more* like women than otherwise.

Firth doubted that a specific meaning could be assigned to any particular style or treatment of hair. He did, however, think that, as a general rule, hairstyling communicated social affinities and distinctions. Firth was aware that these contrasts could be quite complex and often at cross-purposes. He suggested, therefore, that we should recognise 'the symbolism of the conjoined likenesses and contrasts, in systematic arrangement'.[23]

In 1987 Canadian sociologist Anthony Synnott attempted to delineate the systematic arrangement of hair contrasts for modern Western society.[24] He proposed two basic rules. The first was that opposite sexes displayed opposite hair; the second was that opposite ideologies

[21] Raymond Firth, *Symbols: Public and Private* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), 266.

[22] Firth, *Symbols*, 285–86.

[23] Firth, *Symbols*, 298.

[24] Anthony Synnott, "Shame and Glory: A Sociology of Hair," *British Journal of Sociology* 38 (1987): 381–413.

likewise displayed opposite hair. In respect to gender, Synnott pointed out that men of many societies typically had short hair, while women kept theirs long. Women shaved their body hair; men did not. Women's styles changed rapidly; men's did not. With respect to ideology, Synnott offered as examples the hairy legs of feminism and the shaved skinheads of youthful rebelliousness. Punks chose still another contrary style: outrageous technicoloured hair.

Synnott's model was intriguing, but it proved difficult to get the facts to line up on the page. He recognised, for example, that body-builders were notorious shavers of body hair in contradiction to his rule of gender opposition. They did this, ironically, to emphasise manly muscles. Synnott decided to call them 'athletic deviants' who were trying to be 'super-masculine', much as punks were 'sexual deviants' in their destruction of stylistic differences between the sexes. Synnott also recognised that his rule of ideological opposition was also repeatedly violated. He might have noted that customs regarding beards during the 1980s, when Synnott composed his study, also broke his rule of gender opposition, because both sexes were expected to have smooth faces. For some reason, the beard appeared to function as an ideological marker rather than a sexual one.

In light of Firth and Synnott's difficulty in explaining the social role of beards, English social psychologist Nigel Barber proposed in 2001 that the solution could be found in fluctuations of the 'marriage market'.[25] He observed that during the late nineteenth century, facial hair grew in popularity as the relative proportion of men increased, and their marriage prospects weakened. He presumed this occurred because men needed to enhance their manliness to attract mates. Conversely, when the relative number of men shrunk in the twentieth century, and women found it harder to find mates, men shaved in order to appease their girlfriends and wives who, given the difficulties of finding a mate, were more afraid of straying husbands. Clean-shaven men could not hide their feelings so well, and therefore inspired more confidence in worried women.

Barber's solution offered elegant simplicity, but was of little use. The first difficulty was the prodigious investment of speculation required to make it stand. It was just as reasonable to assume that men and women would respond to changes in the marriage market in an opposite manner to that suggested by Barber. The most glaring failure, however, was

[25] Nigel Barber, "Mustache Fashion Covaries with a Good Marriage Market for Women," *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior* 25 (2001): 261–72.

in the data. The convergence between market data and beard trends holds true only in the arbitrary timeframe that Barber set, namely the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He offered no accounting of the centuries before or afterward, when facial hair was generally banished from European life.

The complexity and contradictions of hair symbolism forced Hallpike to admit in 1987 that 'no single theory can account for all the symbolic uses of hair'.[26] In 2008, French anthropologist Christian Bromberger agreed that no satisfactory theory existed, but he still held out hope for the eventual elaboration of what he called 'general hairology'.[27] As an expert in Middle Eastern societies, Bromberger was intrigued by the ways in which, from the tenth century to the present day, Muslims and Christians differentiated themselves from each other with facial hair (as Eleanor Rycroft's chapter in this collection illustrates for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), as did Latin Christians from Greek Christians. He noted also how hair helped to define male and female, to delineate those who were conformists or dissenters, and to indicate the contrast between refined civilisation and primitive naturalism. He hoped it would be possible to systematise for a given society the contrasting hairstyles—such as artificial/natural; long/short; hirsute/hairless; light/dark; smooth/frizzy—and the social oppositions they were meant to indicate. Such a hair dictionary, as it were, would serve to translate a wide range of explicit and implicit social messages.[28] As an example of such an approach, he pondered the style of 'metrosexuals' who blurred the hair and body distinctions between male and female. In this case, he surmised, the carefully managed hair of such men was meant to declare a commitment to the 'deodorization and de-animalization of the body', in affirmation of the values of urbane civilisation.[29]

In retrospect, there has been a definite trend in the past seventy years of social scientific thought. The quest for a universal theory dissolved in the soup of cultural complexity. Later theorists abandoned the simple equation of haircutting with psychic or social control, in favour of

[26] Christopher Hallpike, "Hair," in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 5, ed. Mircea Eliade (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987).

[27] Christian Bromberger, "Hair: From the West to the Middle East Through the Mediterranean," *Journal of American Folklore* 121 (2008): 380.

[28] Bromberger, "Hair," 395.

[29] Bromberger, "Hair," 392.

a more neutral stance that hair was cut or cultivated to establish a variety of social distinctions. The chapters of this volume amply confirm that facial hair has served a variety of cultural purposes in different times and places. Ultimately, the meaning of hair is to be found in history, rather than psychology or innate patterns of human society.

Gender and the Body

In recent decades, social scientists and historians have devoted a great deal of attention to gender theory. This avenue of research promised new ways of understanding the relationships between the body, symbols and society. Starting in the 1980s, feminist scholars deconstructed biological determinism with respect to sex and gender, and forced a fundamental reconsideration of the cultural role of the human body. Joan Wallach Scott and Judith Butler, taking their cue from Michel Foucault, advanced the groundbreaking principle that masculinity and femininity are not natural, but constructed according to social and political discourse.[30] The corollary of this argument is that the body, rather than being the source of sexual and gender identities, is instead regulated, conditioned, clothed and groomed to enact idealisations of gender, race, class and other social categories.

The key promise in this line of thinking is the potential for a historical analysis of culture and the body. In her ground-breaking work on masculinity, sociologist Raewyn Connell argued that 'the body… is inescapable in the construction of masculinity; but what is inescapable is not fixed. The bodily process, entering into the social process, becomes part of history and a possible object of politics'.[31] In this view, gendered identity and values arise from the historical interplay of biology and culture. Connell framed her historical interpretation around the concept of periodic reconfigurations of 'hegemonic masculinity'. In every phase, she argued, one model of manly sexuality, deportment and social values was idealised to the exclusion of others, establishing the boundaries between men who stood within the circle of privilege and power, and lesser men and women who were excluded.[32] Some two decades after Connell proposed her theory, John Tosh concluded that despite its

[30] See Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York: Routledge, 1990). See also Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

[31] Connell, *Masculinities*, 56.

[32] Connell, *Masculinities*, 67–86, 185–203.

oversimplifications and distortions, the idea of hegemonic masculinity had proved useful in directing scholarly attention to the social and material inequalities in gender relations.[33] The history of beards and shaving offers another opportunity to put this model to the test.

The history of facial hair can also help evaluate other gender theories as well. Thomas Laqueur's *Making Sex*: *Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* argued that European societies adopted in the eighteenth century a 'two-sex' model, that is, a perception that the male body was fundamentally different from the female body.[34] This correlated with the idea that men, rather than being simply a stronger variant of a single human type, were essentially different from women. Laqueur described this as a revolution in which 'biology – the stable, ahistorical and sexed body – is understood to be the epistemic foundation for prescriptive claims about the social order'.[35] His methods and conclusions have convincingly been challenged, and it seems unlikely that there was any decisive shift in scientific thinking on bodies at the end of the eighteenth century.[36] This does not, however, negate the observation that there was indeed a cultural effort to establish sharper distinctions between the sexes at that time. Laqueur and John Tosh, both posited that this shift in thinking emerged in defence of newly established masculine political rights in a democratic age.[37]

Subsequent historians of modern masculinity have further explored the role of the male body in conveying and enacting a dominant masculine type. George Mosse, in his *Image of Man*, traced 'the evolution of a stereotype that became normative' in the modern period.[38] In particular, he theorised that 'the stereotype of masculinity was conceived as a totality based upon the nature of man's body'.[39] The modern West, in other

[33] Tosh, "Hegemonic Masculinity," 55–56.

[34] Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1990).

[35] Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 6.

[36] Helen King, *The One-Sex Body on Trial: The Classical and Early Modern Evidence* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013). See also Karen Harvey, "The Substance of Sexual Difference: Change and Persistence in Representations of the Body in Eighteenth-Century England," *Gender and History* 14 (2002): 202–23.

[37] John Tosh, "Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800–1914," *Journal of British Studies* 44 (April 2005): 336–37.

[38] Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 4.

[39] Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 5.

words, perceived in the idealised, healthy, youthful and muscular man the foundation of key values such as progress, self-control and moderation. Christopher Forth, in *Masculinities in the Modern West*, proposed a more complex story. In his view, modern masculinity was built around a fundamental paradox, namely an unresolved contradiction between ideals of nature and civilisation. In his view, urbanised, technological and consumerist civilisation 'both supports and dismantles the "natural" rationale for male dominance'.[40] In other words, the advance of civilisation continually threatened to reduce the male body to social and economic irrelevance, thus destabilising masculine identity and authority. In anxious response, men have strained to create ways to affirm and display the 'natural' male body as the anchor of manly virtue and power.

Male-Pattern History

None of these historians of body and gender considered hair. By the same token, social theorists who examined the meaning of hair neglected to consider history. Now it is a matter of examining how well these social theories and gender histories correlate with what we know about the history of beards. What follows is a brief survey of beard history, followed by an analysis of correspondences and conflicts with the social and historical theories discussed above.

In the 2300 years since a beardless Alexander the Great established the Greeks as the dominant culture in the Mediterranean world shaving has prevailed as the default mode for respectable masculinity in the West.[41] This norm was interrupted by four bearded eras of varying duration. The first lasted about a century, from the middle of the second century to the middle of the third century. In this case, Greek and Roman Stoic philosophers led the way, convincing Roman Emperor Hadrian, among others, that a beard was the accoutrement of a wise man who conformed to the order of nature. Later emperors, however, restored the old allure of Alexandrine youthful heroism. The second bearded era was much longer, coinciding with the emergence of feudalism in the tenth century and enduring until the middle of the fourteenth century. Beards were not, however, entirely dominant. Competing patriarchies—the clergy and nobility—distinguished themselves with contrasting hair.

[40] Forth, *Masculinity in the Modern West*, 5.

[41] This outline of the history of beards is derived from my book *Of Beards and Men*.

Priests and monks shaved their heads and faces as a sign of their otherworldly authority. Laymen grew out their beards as men of the world. By the late Middle Ages, churchmen had lost much of their real-world power to the nobility, but their moral influence remained strong. The priestly habit of shaving established an association between goodness and beardlessness in the Western European mind, which inspired a return to smooth faces for all men by the late fourteenth century.

Whereas late medieval men followed the churchly precedent of shaven virtue, Renaissance men wholeheartedly embraced the world. They focused less upon the corruption and sin of man, and more upon human skill and potential. During Europe's third beard movement, facial hair was the proud emblem of the dignity of man. By the late seventeenth century, however, a reconfiguration of masculine respectability once again required the return of razors. In the wake of civil and international warfare that swept Europe during the Reformation era, increasingly powerful royal courts imposed a high degree of political and social conformity. The means to achieve this was the centralisation of power and the imposition of new standards of elegance, grace and comportment for royal subjects. This quest for social order required men to discipline their bodies and their faces, and to demonstrate that they were able and willing to abide by elaborate rules of etiquette. With the court of Versailles leading the way, natural hair was banished, replaced by profuse, though carefully styled, creations of false hair.

The fourth and final beard movement lasted only half a century after 1850. It was rooted in the hopes and fears of a democratic and industrial age. Revolutions in Europe and America declared the rights of man, investing power in a sex, rather than a class. The more ardently revolutionary a man was, the more likely he was to grow facial hair. Liberal students, artists and socialists were enthusiastically bearded. The resulting linkage between beards and political radicalism placed them off limits for respectable men in the early nineteenth century, who eagerly grew long side whiskers, but stopped them short of the chin. Victoria Alonso Cabezas, in her study of nineteenth-century Spain in this volume, describes the particular political anxieties about emergent facial hair in that country. When the liberal revolutions of 1848 failed, however, and the spectre of radical beards vanished, facial hair was immediately repurposed as a bravura display of masculine pride. This pride expanded with the advance of the male franchise, but was simultaneously threatened by the rise of women in public life, as well as the decreasing relevance of

physical strength in urbanised life. Mid-century beard apologists were united in arguing that God, providence and/or nature had provided men with the beard to ensure their dignity as men and their authority over women. Facial hair served as tangible evidence of masculine distinctiveness and superiority.

Even before the arrival of the twentieth century, new imperatives dictated the abandonment of beards. One factor was the rise of sporting culture, and bodybuilding in particular, which offered men another option for the physical performance of manliness. Another blow was the discovery of micro-organisms as the source of disease, which prompted a dramatic about-face on the matter of facial hair and health. The most powerful force for shaving, however, was the insistence of employers. Far fewer men in the twentieth century were economically self-reliant. Increasingly, they served governments or businesses, which demanded reliability and discipline. A shaved face, clean and regular, was part of an employee's uniform. The growth of youthful, rebellious hair in the 1960s did not fundamentally alter this norm. As a protest, the leftist beard was dissent against authority, but it did not represent an alternative masculine ideal. By the 1980s a powerful conservative reaction had asserted itself, heralded by the return of shaving requirements, often backed by law as well as custom.

There are three key findings in this general outline of beard history. First, some degree of shaving was the prevailing norm of masculine respectability in the West for more than fifteen of the twenty-three centuries since Alexander the Great. Even some of these bearded centuries were not entirely so, because the medieval clergy made a point of remaining beardless in deliberate contrast to the nobility. Second, a shaved face was the default mode of respectable Western masculinity, interrupted by distinct beard movements. Each general shift to beards can be characterised as a 'movement' in the sense that champions of facial hair explained and promoted a new look for men. Reversions to shaving, by contrast, proceeded with relatively little comment. It is notable, moreover, that the final two bearded eras were progressively shorter. Third, shifts from shaving to beards, and back again, were not a matter of men changing their minds about facial hair itself. On the contrary: beard apologists in every era (including our own times) consistently thought of beards as an affirmation of natural masculinity. They advocated beards or moustaches as a display of authentic manliness rooted in the nature of the male mind and body, which supposedly endowed a

man with strength, hardiness, reason and will. The logic of shaving was just as consistently the inverse, namely an association with transcendence of nature and the body, and a commitment to ideals beyond the self, whether God, nation or corporation. This means that shifts in prevailing facial hair norms did not reflect a re-evaluation of hair, but rather a reorientation of masculinity. The move to beards, always accompanied by advocacy and controversy, involved opposition to older social and political norms, whereas a shift back to shaving reflected a quiet acceptance of increased social regulation.

One may object that there are many cases that appear to contradict the historical pattern I have described. To be sure, regional, ethnic and religious minorities have adopted alternative gender constructions, and have departed from mainstream Western hair norms. On the other hand, these minorities did not exist in isolation, and their choices were often a deliberate response to the values of the majority culture. The case of the Amish is a striking example. Their founder, Jakob Ammann, instructed his late seventeenth-century followers to wear their beards (without the militant moustache) in disapproving contrast to worldly European men of that age.[42] Ever since, the Amish have, in effect, staged their own localised beard movement that has endured for more than three centuries. Orthodox Jews and traditionalist Muslims living in the West have followed a similar pattern.

History and Theory

Each of these three basic observations about beard history has implications for the theory of hair, gender and the body. First, the prevalence of shaving in the West lends credence to Edmund Leach's description of shaving as a tool of social harmony, and also Christopher Hallpike's linkage between shaving and social control. This pattern is particularly evident in the practice of the medieval church, early modern royal courts, and modern military camps and corporate offices. Perhaps, as Leach theorises, symbolic castration helps limit masculine irregularity and self-assertion. It is not necessary, however, or even helpful to see beard

[42]The Amish beard style was a deliberate choice. They shaved their moustaches and grew the rest of the beard: the exact opposite of late seventeenth-century moustachioed gentlemen. See Donald B. Kraybill, Karen M. Johnson-Weiner, and Steven M. Nolt, *The Amish* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 34.

shaving as castration or subordination. Historically, men who shaved did not see themselves as lesser men, but rather as committed men—committed to their vows to God, honourable service to their king, or respectable professionalism. What is more, this commitment was associated with power, not impotence. In her study of the English Renaissance later in this volume, Margaret Pelling finds that Hallpike was right to doubt the Freudian model and to see the management of hair instead as a means of expressing aspects of social independence and moral discipline. As Pelling notes, however, it was not a simple matter of smooth control and hairy licence. She demonstrates, along with Eleanor Rycroft and Sharon Twickler in this volume, that men in bearded eras exhibited a preference for restraint and cultivation of hair as a reflection of temperance. Champions of beards, in other words, hoped to shift the balance towards anti-fashion and autonomy without abandoning civilisation and self-control.

The second key observation of beard history was a pattern of beard movements bracketed by reversions to shaving. This dynamic partially confirms the idea advanced by Raymond Firth, Andrew Synnott and Christian Bromberger that hair and beards helped to establish social distinctions. It also demonstrates something these sociologists have overlooked: the manner in which men of one era used beards or shaving to distinguish themselves from ideals and modes of the past. This is not to deny that there were many cases when subgroups of men used contrasting facial hair to differentiate themselves from the prevailing norm. Notable cases of this are the radical youths of the 1830s and 1960s, as well as religious minorities of the present day. Tracing the appearance and disappearance of beards over time, however, adds a new level of understanding about the social purpose of beards in the historical conversation about masculinity. Shifts towards, or away from, beards traced an ongoing cultural argument about whether self or society constituted the essential source of masculine honour and authority. Bearded eras embraced a critique of masculine social norms by appealing to the legitimacy of nature and the self.

The third observation derived from history—the consistent association of beards with the authority of nature, and of shaving with acceptance of social norms—reveals something of the historical dynamics of 'hegemonic masculinity'. Beard movements occurred at crisis points, when hegemonic norms came into question and when an appeal to the 'natural' freed men from older social conventions. The first beard movement proclaimed the authority of philosophic wisdom over mythic custom; the second, the ascendancy of a feudal warrior aristocracy after the

collapse of the Carolingian (and merely moustachioed) empire; the third a humanist challenge to medieval pieties; and the fourth an assertion of democratic manhood in opposition to the aristocratic past—as well as an emergent feminism. In each case, beards became the new hegemonic norm until such time that social and political institutions were strong enough to enforce a new shaving regime. The current confusion of facial hair standards accurately reflects the uncertain and contested state of gender norms in our own time.

In his appraisal of the theory of hegemonic masculinity, John Tosh lauded Connell's focus on the social and material processes of inclusion and exclusion, and warned historians against an overemphasis on symbolic and discursive expressions of gender.[43] The study of hair responds to Tosh's challenge by examining an important point of contact between symbolism and social practice. For men, the grooming or removal of facial hair is the everyday embodiment of masculine ideals. In this respect, facial hair norms represent what Henry French and Mark Rothery have termed 'conjunctural' stereotypes, in which engrained gender conceptions are enacted in thought and behaviour.[44] This explains the deep relevance of facial hair for men of every era, and it also explains why changes in facial hair track shifts in masculine ideals. As the theory of hegemonic masculinity would suggest, at any given time there has been a single, dominant standard for facial hair for the respectable and aspiring classes. The single and remarkable exception was the central Middle Ages, when the competing patriarchies of clergy and nobility adopted contrasting norms of facial hair.

In its entirety, the history of facial hair and shaving supports a fourth theoretical conclusion, namely that the idealisation of the male body—including hair—has often played an important part in establishing a supposedly authentic and authoritative masculinity. This observation presents a challenge to Laqueur's argument that the deployment of 'two-sex' physiology was a modern innovation. To be sure, not all eras relied equally on natural arguments to create gender standards, but the recurrence of beard movements, with their appeals to male biological uniqueness, demonstrates that at certain points in history, such as the second, sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, the body rises to special prominence.

[43]Tosh, "Hegemonic Masculinity," 52–56.

[44]French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 11–14.

A consideration of facial hair adds a further dimension to George Mosse and Christopher Forth's emphasis on the importance of the body to modern masculinity, and suggests that their approach might be extended to earlier periods as well. Eleanor Rycroft's study in this volume of early modern conceptions of the non-European 'other' is a case in point. Well before the eighteenth century, Europeans attempted to establish a somatic stereotype of superior European masculinity. In general outline, beards, along with appeals to nature, emerged periodically as a sort of cultural reboot of masculinity when old political and social alignments proved inadequate. In these transitional phases, men reverted to arguments of essential maleness until such time as a new collective order—and a new shaving regime—could be established.

In the final analysis, facial hair in the West has been associated for thousands of years with nature, autonomy and self-reliance, while shaving has been linked with constructions of manliness grounded on commitments to authorities beyond the self. These deep-seated cultural ideas lie below and behind changing modes of hegemonic masculinity. This long-term stability in the meaning of beards and shaving amounts to a virtual rule, and one can observe it continuing through the present and into the future. It persists, however, not because it is built into our social or psychological natures, but because it is embedded in our cultural traditions as a useful tool. A stable beard symbolism created a visual syntax for expressing and enacting alterations of gender ideals over time. Today, the wide variation of facial hair does not represent a dispute about the meaning of beards, but instead an unsettled argument about the right way to be a man.

Admittedly, these conclusions are general and broad. They are intended as an opening for further research. The advantage of the long view comes at the cost of specificity, and at the risk of error. On the other hand, it can be equally erroneous to focus on any time or place too narrowly. Any attempt to understand beards in the Renaissance, for example, is incomplete without also considering the medieval precedent, as well as the succeeding era of absolutism and enlightenment. It was only after—or because—men of the sixteenth century deliberately eschewed the pieties of the past that, in Mark Albert Johnston's terms, they made a 'fetish' of beards. That seeming fetish vanished like a dream when a new logic of masculine deportment was established in the mid-seventeenth century. As the chapters of this book demonstrate, facial hair, and hair in general, are powerful means of social communication. Deciphering this communication in specific periods, and across time, offers fresh ways of understanding our gendered past.

‘The Very Head and Front of My Offending’: Beards, Portraiture and Self-Presentation in Early Modern England

Margaret Pelling

Burckhardt’s claim that the Renaissance was the cradle of individual identity is an idea which has proved very durable.[1] It has arguably been given a new lease of life by the upsurge of interest in the history of the body and in techniques of self-representation and self-fashioning by material as well as cultural means, together with the relationship of these techniques to social mobility and social cohesion. For many, however, the idea that the western European Renaissance created new concepts of selfhood is simplistic as well as too traditional. The difficulty then arises

[1]The most influential work of Jakob Burckhardt (1818–1897), Swiss historian and art critic, is *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860). See John Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 4–12 and *passim*.

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of establishing a new chronology for ideas about the body and the self.[2] In this chapter, I hope to combine period-specificity with concepts and experiences which are of near-universal application. Much of the discussion will be based on sixteenth-century portraiture, especially miniatures, as a primary source, and its connection with contemporary attitudes and behaviour; but I will also argue for the applicability of distinctions derived from classic texts in mid-twentieth-century sociology.[3]

My focus will be on the early modern head, principally the hair and the beard. In much of the recent literature, the body and its clothing have tended to be dealt with separately, partly because they attract the attention of rather different historical constituencies, and partly because they seem to represent different substances.[4] Hair provides a possible bridge between the two. Hair grows with the body, and reflects its age and state of health; it changes as the body changes, and is continuous with it. On the other hand, hair is detachable, and is almost as mutable, indeed as optional, and as subject to fashion, as clothing. In spite of possessing this interesting hybrid character, with its potential for revealing different aspects of a given society, until recently, among early modern

[2] For a concise overview see Peter Burke, "Representations of the Self from Petrarch to Descartes," in *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present*, ed. Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1997), 17–28. From a very large literature see also Caroline Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (1980): 1–17; Michael Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591–1791* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997); Jerrold Seigel, *The Idea of the Self: Thought and Experience in Western Europe Since the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); *Modelling the Individual: Biography and Portrait in the Renaissance*, ed. Karl Enenkel, Betsy de Jong-Crane, and Peter Liebregts (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998); Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*.

[3] See Christopher Oldstone-Moore's overview in this volume for a helpful endorsement of aspects of the approach taken here, especially the critical use of the social sciences, stress on forms of communication and the feasibility of combining universals with historical specificities. He adds useful detail on several of the twentieth-century figures referred to below.

[4] On clothing, see exemplary studies by Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Regime*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme/Past and Present Publications, 1996); Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity During the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); *Clothing Culture, 1350–1650*, ed. Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

historians at least, hair or rather beards have been of serious concern primarily to those writing about periods before 1500.[5]

This is not the case with the head. Indeed, a focus on the head rather than its appendages may require some justification, given the amount of attention that heads, crowned, decapitated, and otherwise, have historically received.[6] Older historians emphasised the head at the expense of the rest of the body, and in some ways the more recent focus of cultural and art historians on the authoritative and bewigged heads of the eighteenth century is continuous with this older tradition, even where it is supposed that this totem of masculinity is fragile rather than supreme. By way of redressing the balance, current historiography has worked hard to reveal the importance of other members of the body. The 'body in question' in recent discussion has often been nominally headless as well

[5]Giles Constable, "Introduction on Beards in the Middle Ages," in Burchard of Bellevaux, *Apologia de barbis*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum, vol. 62 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), 47–150; Robert Bartlett, "Symbolic Meanings of Hair in the Middle Ages," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 4 (1994): 43–60; Pauline Stafford, "The Meanings of Hair in the Anglo-Norman World: Masculinity, Reform, and National Identity," in *Saints, Scholars and Politicians: Gender as a Tool in Medieval Studies*, ed. Mathilde van Dijk and Renée Nip (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 153–71; Laura Clark, "Fashionable Beards and Beards as Fashion: Beard Coats in Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*," *Parergon* 31 (2014): 95–109. But see Will Fisher, "The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001): 155–87; Christopher Oldstone-Moore, *Of Beards and Men: The Revealing History of Facial Hair* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2015).

[6]Much impetus has come from anthropologists and older cultural historians, who emphasised the human head as the site of honour and the senses. See for example Julian Pitt-Rivers, "Honour and Social Status," in *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society*, ed. John Peristiany (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965), 21–77 at 25; Folke Henschen, *The Human Skull: A Cultural History*, trans. Stanley Thomas (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966). Subsequent discussions include Samuel Edgerton, Jr., "*Maniera* and the *Mannaia*: Decorum and Decapitation in the Sixteenth Century," in *The Meaning of Mannerism*, ed. Franklin Robinson and Stephen Nichols, Jr. (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1972), 67–103; Angus Clarke, "Metoposcopy: An Art to Find the Mind's Construction in the Forehead," in *Astrology, Science and Society: Historical Essays*, ed. Patrick Curry (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 171–95; Karl Hulton, *The Arcimboldo Effect: Transformations of the Face from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987); Lorna Clymer, "Cromwell's Head and Milton's Hair: Corpse Theory in Spectacular Bodies of the Interregnum," *The Eighteenth Century* 40 (1999): 91–112; Margaret Owens, *Stages of Dismemberment: The Fragmented Body in Late Medieval and Early Modern Drama* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005).

as naked, in that historians have sought to explore new bodily territory, material and immaterial, by means of a wide range of interdisciplinary approaches.[7]

This is more than justifiable, but heads nonetheless retain a tendency to force themselves on our notice. There are, in fact, sound historical reasons why the head is hard to get away from, and it is an illustration of this that we also have renewed interest in such subjects as 'hat honour', and reassessments of beheading and its meaning for the most important part of the body.[8] In stable forms of the 'body politic', the lower body, with few exceptions, was dominated by the head.[9] In concentrating on the head myself, together with its appendages, I hope I will be respecting contemporary priorities, reflected not only in cultural attitudes but also in everyday practices followed by all members of society, not just the elite. Much of my evidence necessarily derives from elite sources, but behind this we can

[7] See for example Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn, eds., *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture c.1540–1660* (London: Reaktion Books, 1990); Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg, eds., *A Cultural History of Gesture* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993); Gail Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993); Florike Egmond and Robert Zwijnenberg, eds., *Bodily Extremities: Preoccupations with the Human Body in Early Modern European Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Owens, *Stages of Dismemberment*. For a wide-ranging reassessment, see Caroline Bynum, "Why All the Fuss About the Body? A Medievalist's Perspective," *Critical Inquiry* 22 (1995): 1–33. See also Kevin Stagg, "The Body," in *Writing Early Modern History*, ed. Garthine Walker (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005), 205–26.

[8] See note 5; Penelope Corfield, "Dress for Deference and Dissent: Hats and the Decline of Hat Honour," *Costume* 23 (1989): 64–79. From antiquity systems of medical treatment were organised from head (the noblest part) to toe: Luke Demaitre, *Medieval Medicine: The Art of Healing, from Head to Toe* (Santa Barbara and Oxford: Praeger, 2013); Anon., *Another Collection of Philosophical Conferences of the French Virtuosi*, trans. G. Havers and J. Davies (London, 1665), Conference CXLIX, 'Of hair'. However the heart, the 'throne of majesty', had a rival claim: [Robert Underwood], *The Little World. Or, a Lively Description of All the Partes and Properties of Man* (London, 1612), 8, where the body is likened to a house. See Scott Stevens, "Sacred Heart and Secular Brain," in *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (New York and London: Routledge, 1997), 263–82.

[9] For the major texts, see Paul Archambault, "The Analogy of the 'Body' in Renaissance Political Literature," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance* 29 (1967): 21–53; see also David Hale, *The Body Politic: A Political Metaphor in Renaissance English Literature* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), esp. Chapter 4; Jonathan Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic: Discourses of Social Pathology in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Writers frequently used a triploid analogy of head, prince and physician.

glimpse a different class of creators of the bodily image, namely artists, and more particularly the artisanal barber or barber-surgeon.

From hair and beards, it seems but a short step to masculinity, and in gender terms I will certainly be focusing almost entirely on the male sex, with glances at affect, and the important issue of the mutability of gender as represented by allegations of effeminacy. I hope, however, to develop the argument that, contrary to most approaches, sex or sexuality is *not* the best organising principle for beards in history, because it is insufficiently broad to encompass the full spectrum of beard phenomena and beard behaviour.

I

To indicate the range of signifiers clustering around the head, we can begin with two familiar figures from contemporary drama who, as we shall see later, may also represent conceptual antitheses central to this discussion. The quotation in my title is spoken by a leader of men and military hero, Shakespeare's Othello, who is referring to his successful wooing of Desdemona.[10] Othello's phrase also implies his awareness not just that his marriage is only the foremost of his offences, but that objections to his marriage are merely a front, a pretext, for more deep-seated hatreds. As well as jealousy of his military successes—his successful headship, in fact—Othello's metaphor refers literally to his worst offence, the immutable and visible fact of his colour. In every other superficial respect, Othello may have been able to remodel himself to fit in with his adopted city. Contemporary fashion would even have allowed him to cover his hands with gloves, but there was no way of concealing the skin colour of his face, or possibly, the type and distribution of his hair and beard—both still identified, sometimes crudely, as major genetic differences in human populations.[11]

[10] *Othello*, act I, scene iii, line 80: Arden edn, ed. M. R. Ridley (1958; repr. London: Methuen, 1985), 25. The play was first performed in 1604 (p. xv). On Othello's racial characteristics as evidenced in the play, see pp. l–liv. The issue of race in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama is hotly debated. See for example Peter Erickson, "The Moment of Race in Renaissance Studies," *Shakespeare Studies* 26 (1998): 27–36, and more generally, Kim Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).

[11] C. B. Goodhart, "The Evolutionary Significance of Human Hair Patterns and Skin Colouring," *Advancement of Science* 17 (1960): 53–59; Rodney Dawber, ed., *Diseases of the Hair and Scalp*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), 68–71; Raymond Firth, "Hair as

Othello surpassed his peers, but he nonetheless chose assimilation, except for those characteristics, tragically crucial, that he was unable to change. He may be contrasted with another denizen of imaginary Venice, Shylock. In this character, Shakespeare represents, in terms of dress, beard and other visible features, a deliberate *resistance* to the stereotype of self-presentation prevailing in Shylock's society. This stereotype is underlined by Portia's rejection of her foreign or barbaric suitors, and it conformed in general terms to the ideal Christian gentleman. Portia's golden hair—albeit concealed, in order to defeat Shylock, in the court scene—contrasts with the latter's dark and alien cultural practices, which ultimately he is forced to relinquish. Her fair hair, portrayed in a miniature, is lovingly described by Bassanio as a golden mesh or web, and certainly her web draws even Shylock's daughter, Jessica, as well as Antonio, into her sphere of influence.[12]

Shylock undoubtedly saw his beard as intrinsic to his identity and required that it be respected, but it seems inadequate to see this, or Othello's marks of identity, simply in terms of masculinity. Instead, it seems worth adapting a distinction reformulated in the 1970s by the anthropologists Ted Polhemus and Lynn Procter, writing about the meaning not of hair but of costume.[13] This is between fashion and anti-fashion, a contrast based on one drawn by John Carl Flugel in 1930 between 'modish' and 'fixed' styles of dress, itself a reformulation of a classification by Georg Simmel of 1904.[14] The two categories of fashion and anti-fashion have opposite relations in space and time, with both

Private Asset and Public Symbol," in *Symbols: Public and Private*, ed. Raymond Firth (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1973), 262–98 at 263. On contemporary opinion and prejudice, see Eleanor Rycroft's valuable chapter in this volume; similarly, on evolutionary notions to do with hair, see the chapter by Sharon Twickler.

[12] *The Merchant of Venice*, act I, scene iii, line 112; I, ii, lines 169–70; act III, scene ii, lines 120–23: Arden edn, ed. J. Russell Brown (1955; repr. London: Methuen, 1984), 28, 14, 83–84. The play was written in the later 1590s and first printed in 1600 (pp. xxi–xxvii). The figure of Shylock has also been much contested: John Gross, *Shylock: Four Hundred Years in the Life of a Legend* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1992). On the gendered connotations of webs and spinning, see Ann Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), Pt II.

[13] Ted Polhemus and Lynn Procter, *An Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment: Fashion and Anti-Fashion* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978).

[14] John Flugel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (London: Hogarth Press, 1930); Ernest Jones, [Obituary of Flugel], *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 37 (1956): 193–97; Georg Simmel, "Fashion," *International Quarterly* 10 (October 1904): 130–55, repr. in Simmel,

space and time being seen as culturally constructed. Anti-fashion implies stability, it often has a regional emphasis, and it establishes membership of a social group. It incorporates the body in that the ultimate form of anti-fashion is deliberate bodily mutilation, because of its permanency. Fashion, on the other hand, is labile: it builds on previous styles but seeks to supersede them, and it seems to depend on a high degree of social mobility and ultimately on the presence of a bourgeoisie.[15] For Polhemus and Procter, social climbers use the latest fashion to project an image of time as change and progress—but (and this is an important qualification) only as long as they themselves stand to benefit from the status quo.

According to these definitions, both Othello and Shylock can be seen as casualties played out in terms of different versions of anti-fashion. Othello cannot change all his appearance to conform to the Christian hegemony, and Shylock refuses to do so. (For his part, the impressionable Bassanio learns to conform to his true nature as Portia's chosen consort.) In different ways and to different degrees, Shakespeare allows each to earn the sympathy of the audience because of this irreducible sense of identity. Whatever the sophisticated ambiguities of the tragicomedies, such as *Measure for Measure* and *Twelfth Night*, both written in the 1600s, one might argue that as a playwright Shakespeare could be relied upon to endorse the aims of anti-fashion, at the expense either of fashion, or of attempted rivals in anti-fashion such as Puritanism.

II

As I hope to establish, this distinction between fashion and anti-fashion is very helpful in dealing with the bewildering world of men's hair and beard styles in the Tudor and Jacobean periods. When it comes to the cultural meaning of hair, we are faced not only with the preconceptions

O*n Individuality and Social Forms: Selected Writings*, ed. Donald Levine (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 294–323; Donald Levine, Ellwood Carter, and Eleanor Gorman, "Simmel's Influence on American Sociology," Pts I & II, *American Journal of Sociology* 81 (1976): 813–45, 1112–32. For later commentary on the distinction, see Fritz Redlich, "A Needed Distinction in Fashion Study," *Business History Review* 37 (1963): 3–4; Fred Davis, *Fashion, Culture and Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Valerie Steele, "Anti-Fashion: The 1970s," *Fashion Theory* 1 (1997): 279–95.

[15] On fashion as currently understood, see for example Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*; Jennifer Craik, *The Face of Fashion: Cultural Studies in Fashion* (London: Routledge, 1994); Diana Crane, *Fashion and Its Social Agendas: Class, Gender and Identity in Clothing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

of post-Freudian analysis, and the contributions of nineteenth and twentieth-century anthropology, but also the vast range of incidental references made by early modern people, who used a vocabulary of personal appearance, health and illness as a matter of course, and whose vocabulary of personal description, and consequently of metaphor, was arguably far larger than our own. This richness of language was especially marked with respect to complexion and humour in the Galenic sense, but it is also evident in descriptions of posture and references to colour. In this respect at least, post-Reformation iconoclasm notwithstanding, Tudor England was a visual society. Nor do early modern references lack all the other significances which modern commentary has enthusiastically attached to hair. As already suggested hair, being alive but visible and alterable, was, like dress, able to express differences in ritual, social and even occupational status.

What modern interpretations of hair see as natural and obvious are its sexual connotations.[16] In classifying practices relating to hair, functionalist anthropologists have tended to stress its role in designating sexual maturity and hence its place in rituals to do with self-definition and initiation into the adult community. In these contexts, long hair has been identified with masculine qualities like virility, cutting and shaving with restriction and celibacy. For Freudians, few individuals are free from some degree of hair fetishism, and concern about hair loss represents a displacement of castration anxiety.[17] In early modern references to hair and beards, sexual connotations are undeniably highly significant and indeed explicit, and this is rightly reflected in recent historical writing on the subject. However, it is worth remembering the extent to which such interpretations are themselves specific to modern culture, and we should also recognise the existence of rivals to these apparently dominant interpretations. Hence we find that some later-twentieth-century writers,

[16]See for example Wendy Cooper, *Hair: Sex, Society, Symbolism* (London: Aldus Books, 1971), which includes the physical characteristics of hair; Paul Hershman, "Hair, Sex and Dirt," *Man* 9 (1974): 274–98, an illuminating study of Sikh and Hindu Punjabis which includes women's hair; and Neil Hertz, "Medusa's Head: Male Hysteria Under Political Pressure," *Representations* 4 (1983): 27–54, which dwells less convincingly on castration symbols, sexual difference and history as physiognomy.

[17]Emily Apter and William Pietz, eds., *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993); Charles Berg, *The Unconscious Significance of Hair* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1951); and most relevantly, Mark Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England: Sex, Gender and Registers of Value* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

notably Christopher Hallpike, have stressed apparently non-functional associations and *exceptions* to the organising principles based on male sexuality, such as the behaviour of ascetics, and ritual attention to the hair of women.[18] I would argue that early modern evidence also suggests that we should not concentrate exclusively on the sexual, individualistic aspects of male appearance.

I therefore prefer the approach of Hallpike, who, in the context of the anthropology of rituals involving hair-cutting, rejected a mainly sexual interpretation in favour of a broader stress on social control.[19] One of the main reasons for this was his view that the functionalist anthropologists had neglected the need for *communication* as a main imperative in human societies. For Hallpike, uncut or undressed hair symbolised the individual outside society, or animality; hair or beard control denoted conformity to the social group. As Hallpike notes, this is neatly encapsulated biblically in the contrast between the hairy hunter and outcast, Esau, who is unable to control his appetites, and the smooth man Jacob, who profits from Esau's incontinence.[20] 'Smooth men' are of course not necessarily hairless: rather, their hair or beards are in some way (visibly) regulated.

III

Hallpike's contrasts are useful and quite comprehensive. Historians are, however, likely to conclude that they are not enough in themselves to cover all the multifarious appearances suggested by early modern sources. Early modern England does not sort itself neatly into smooth insiders and hairy outsiders. We may be forced to conclude that there is in fact no single fixed meaning, sexual or otherwise, to be attached to any state of the hair, even within a single cultural group. On the other hand, stresses on communication, fashion and control all seem appropriate to

[18] Christopher Hallpike, "Social Hair," in *Social Aspects of the Human Body*, ed. Ted Polhemus (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), 134–46 at 140–41, repr. with revisions from *Man*, n.s. 4 (1969): 256–64. Cf. Edmund Leach, "Magical Hair," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 88 (1958): 147–64.

[19] Firth, while accepting Hallpike's theories as plausible, questions their ethnographic range: "Hair as Private Asset," 290–91, 297–98. See also Hershman, "Hair, Sex and Dirt," 291. That is less of a consideration here.

[20] Hallpike, "Social Hair," 142–43; Genesis 27.

early modern society and can be related to deep-seated preoccupations in religion and politics. For example, early modern England was deeply concerned with defining the natural or pre-lapsarian state of man, and to some extent with enforcing or trying to re-create it. But, for themselves, contemporaries rejected that state of man which they saw as primitive. Even Philip Stubbes, a satirist of fashion, concluded that barbers were very necessary to a commonwealth, 'for otherwise men should grow verie ougglisom and deformed', monsters rather than Christians.[21] A certain tolerance, albeit dismissive, seems to have been reserved for the lack of trimming associated with rustics, possibly because most men, even among the gentry, enjoyed the freedom of not shaving when they went into the country themselves. Some forms of human extravagance in appearance were seen as running into the danger of descent into 'beastliness', but this was often, paradoxically, the result of forms of artifice which had become decadence. The tensions in early modern society certainly included concern with lack of restraint, but also involved conflicts between different forms of artifice or control which approximate quite closely to the Flugel–Polhemus distinction between fashion and anti-fashion.

Notions around communication and control, as emphasised by Hallpike, would seem to offer obvious means of interpreting sumptuary legislation, one of the standard reference points for early modern society's attitude to appearances. Moreover, this long-maintained body of law would also appear to be a striking exemplar of the principles of anti-fashion, given its aim of perpetuating social differences in terms of fixed notions of dress.[22] The problem with sumptuary law is that it was evidently a dead letter in terms of enforcement; and its connections with social *habitus* are very difficult to establish. We have to assume that it was historically significant, but it is not clear how, nor is it easy to explain why it could not be renewed after 1604 even though concern over appearances was arguably building to a peak before the civil wars.[23] In this respect, sumptuary law might have most affinity with other contemporary

[21] Philip Stubbes, *The Second Part of the Anatomie of Abuses, Conteining the Display of Corruptions* (London, 1583), sig. H1 verso.

[22] Recent work has tended to focus on Italy: see Catherine Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy 1200–1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002).

[23] See Wilfrid Hooper, "The Tudor Sumptuary Laws," *English Historical Review* 30 (1915): 433–49; Negley Harte, "State Control of Dress and Social Change in Pre-industrial England," in *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-industrial England*, ed.

attempts at the perpetuation of traditional elite signifiers, like chivalry and heraldry.[24] Sumptuary law at the national level was primarily concerned with textiles, including furs—clothing, rather than the body—and it does not seem that beards and hair fashions were ever included, in spite of the fact that both beards and hair were the subject of separate legislation in the Tudor period.[25] Such exclusions could be seen as supporting an argument in favour of the intended economic functions of sumptuary law, including the suppression of luxury imports. This may well be the case, but it should be noted that gear relating to the barber's craft, like combs, razors and even aprons, was certainly imported, and attempts were made to displace such essential items with products made at home.[26]

IV

Arguably the most effective 'freezing' of dress and appearance into at least a semblance of anti-fashion was achieved through portraiture. However we have to question what it was that was being frozen, and for whom. I am not aware whether anyone has tried to relate the sumptuary specifications as to how each degree should dress to the surviving pictorial record—which, for early modern England, similarly means a coverage largely restricted to the elite.[27] It is only occasionally

Donald Coleman and Arthur John (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), 132–65; Valerie Cumming, "'Great Vanity and Excessse [sic] in Apparell': Some Clothing and Furs of Tudor and Stuart Royalty," in *The Late King's Goods: Collections … of Charles I*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (London and Oxford: Oxford University Press and Alistair McAlpine, 1989), 322–50. Cf. Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996).

[24] See for example Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500–1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), esp. 100–133; Christian Liddy and Christian Steer, "John Lord Lumley and the Creation and Commemoration of Lineage in Early Modern England," *Archaeological Journal* 167 (2010): 197–227.

[25] See below. Cf. Firth who, with reference to Peter the Great's personal edicts on beards, equates this with sumptuary law: "Hair as Private Asset," 266.

[26] [Owen Ruffhead], *The Statutes at Large*, 8 vols (London: for Mark Basket, 1768–1770), vol. iii, 150, 151, 158 (1660); Thomas Heywood, *The English Traveller* (London: 1633), act 4, sig. [I2 verso].

[27] Using a rare source, Groebner is able to link portraiture and styles of clothing, but stresses self-description and transformation (fashion?), rather than enforced stability: Valentin Groebner, "Inside Out: Clothes, Dissimulation, and the Arts of Accounting in the

that garments as opposed to jewellery were both pictured and recorded in other sources such as inventories, in spite of the significance to the individual of single expensive items of dress.[28] Although the genealogical and public functions of the English portrait of this period might suggest that painters would portray appropriate dress as carefully as they provided other indications of rank, this degree of adherence to sumptuary principle appears unlikely. What seems fairly certain is that the costume depicted in what Roy Strong has called the English icon may, like sumptuary law, have borne little relation to what was actually worn, at least on an everyday basis. Portraits are routinely dated according to the styles of dress and hair depicted, but this is largely achieved by comparing portraits, rather than by linking portraits with other forms of evidence.[29]

As is well known in the case of Elizabeth I, in the Tudor and Jacobean period most individuals, even those of high status, did not sit repeatedly for their portraits, which were, in general, forms of communication rather than unique works of art.[30] One sitting could provide a pattern which was then the basis of a range of portraits of the sitter. Above all, we have to take into account the emblematic or ceremonial nature of costume as depicted in portraits, which could determine colour, pattern and perhaps even style, in ways which it is often now difficult to recapture. What can appear to be the vagaries of fashion may have been

Autobiography of Matthaüs Schwarz, 1496–1574," *Representations* 66 (1999): 100–21. See also Enenkel, de Jong-Crane, and Liebregts, eds., *Modelling the Individual.*

[28]For one example, see Jones and Stallybrass, eds., *Renaissance Clothing*, 38. On jewellery and miniatures, see Susan James, *The Feminine Dynamic in English Art, 1485–1603: Women as Consumers, Patrons and Painters* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 101–9.

[29]Roy Strong, *The English Icon: Elizabethan and Jacobean Portraiture* (London: Routledge, 1969). But see Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (1975; Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1993). For a judicious early warning against dating any portrait from the style of the beard, see John Repton, *Some Account of the Beard and the Moustachio, Chiefly from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (London: J. B. Nichols & Son, 1839), 3.

[30]Roy Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, National Portrait Gallery, 2 vols (London: HMSO, 1969), vol. i, p. ix. On the role of the sitter in determining the 'psychology' of a portrait, see Harry Berger, Jr, "Fictions of the Face: Facing the Gaze of Early Modern Portraiture," *Representations* 46 (1994): 87–120. See also Jones and Stallybrass, eds., *Renaissance Clothing*, Pt I; Enenkel, de Jong-Crane and Liebregts, eds., *Modelling the*

inspired by a very different cultural dynamic.[31] The positive side of this degree of detachment from realism is that it is legitimate to search for intended meaning in portraiture, tempered by due regard for the requirements and habits of the craft. These observations apply a fortiori to miniature painting, with its mixed origins in book illumination and the goldsmith's art, and its frequent function as a semi-private token, with meanings intended only for the few.[32]

There are of course other, more broadly based problems attached to the use of portraiture as a source for appearance and social practice in early modern England. For example, English painting after the Reformation is seen as cut off from the Renaissance, or even as neo-medieval, with all that this might imply for the realistic representation of the body, its appendages and its coverings. Admittedly, most of the identifiable portrait painters came from outside England, but the majority originated in other parts of northern Europe, especially the Netherlands and northern France, as did the innovation of portraits in miniature, which is often seen as a purely English style of painting.[33] Another issue is one already mentioned: sixteenth-century England is seen as a non-visual culture, partly because it was behind in terms of the Renaissance and ahead in terms of the Reformation. Possibly this should now be seen as an old-fashioned view, and it is certainly one difficult to reconcile with

Individual. On images of Elizabeth I, see Roy Strong with V. J. Murrell, *Artists of the Tudor Court: The Portrait Miniature Rediscovered 1520–1620* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1983), 117–32.

[31] As stressed by James, *The Feminine Dynamic*, pp. 141ff.

[32] In general on miniature painting, see Nicholas Hilliard, *A treatise concerning the arte of limning … together with A more compendious discourse concerning ye art of liming [sic] by Edward Norgate*, ed. Thomas Cain and Robert Thornton (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1992); Graham Reynolds, *English Portrait Miniatures*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Torben Colding, *Aspects of Miniature Painting: Its Origins and Development* (Copenhagen and Edinburgh: E. Munksgaard and Thomas Nelson, 1953); Roy Strong, *The English Renaissance Miniature* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1983); Richard Walker, *Miniatures: 300 Years of the English Miniature* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1998); James, *The Feminine Dynamic*. At least one (later) barber was also a miniaturist: Hilary Evans and Mary Evans, *John Kay of Edinburgh: Barber, Miniaturist and Social Commentator 1742–1826* (Aberdeen: Impulse Publications, 1973). For stress on miniatures as private love tokens, see Patricia Fumerton, "'Secret' Arts: Elizabethan Miniatures and Sonnets," *Representations* 15 (1986): 57–97.

[33] See esp. Colding, *Aspects of Miniature Painting*.

contemporaries' love of colourful display and their preoccupation with appearances. Nor can I be the only viewer to find many of the English icons surprisingly individual, and, as a result, 'real'. But what conveys individuality, as opposed to a general effect of colour and decoration, is the head, and to a much lesser extent, the hands.[34] In this I would differ from the general thrust of the argument of Jones and Stallybrass that portrait heads were mere inexpensive background compared with what was revealed by painted clothing.[35]

V

I have attempted elsewhere to discuss the primacy given in early modern dress and deportment to the head and the hands.[36] These were at once the most vulnerable and the most publicly exposed parts of the body, a paradox readily conveyed by portraiture.[37] Hence Michel de Montaigne, in pondering the relationship between the good and the beautiful, stated that uncomeliness was, for better or worse, lodged mainly in the face, and that the irony of clothing was that it left exposed the most vulnerable parts, namely the eyes, mouth, nose and ears.[38] These, with the hands, were of course the locations of the five senses. We can note in passing that in Elizabethan portraits, give or take a few real exceptions

[34]On the hands as 'negligibly individualised' by fifteenth and sixteenth-century Northern portraitists as compared with the face, see Stephan Kemperdick, *The Early Portrait: From the Collections of the Prince of Leichtenstein and the Kunstmuseum Basel* (Munich: Prestel, 2006), 20.

[35]Jones and Stallybrass, eds., *Renaissance Clothing*, Chapter 2.

[36]Margaret Pelling, "Appearance and Reality: Barber-Surgeons, the Body and Disease," in *London 1500–1700: The Making of the Metropolis*, ed. Lee Beier and Roger Finlay (London: Longman, 1986), 82–112 at 89–95.

[37]On rare occasions in portraits the (heroic) male body could be portrayed as partly naked for allegorical reasons: see images of Sir John Luttrell and Captain Thomas Lee as discussed by Maurice Howard, *The Tudor Image* (London: Tate Publishing, 1995), 42–44, Figs. 31 and 32. On the Lee portrait, see also Jones and Stallybrass, eds., *Renaissance Clothing*, 50–52.

[38]Michel de Montaigne, *The [Complete] Essays*, ed. and trans. Michael Screech (London: Allen Lane/Penguin Press, 1991), 1198 ('On Physiognomy'), 254 ('On the Custom of Wearing Clothing'). See also on sumptuary laws 300–2. Montaigne was first translated into English in 1603. He is usually seen as a pioneer in the Renaissance discovery of the self, but see Carol Clark, "Talking About Souls: Montaigne on Human Psychology," in *Montaigne: Essays in Memory of Richard Sayce*, ed. Ian McFarlane and Ian Maclean (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 57–76, which stresses the traditional injunction to self-knowledge.

such as one highly atypical nude by Isaac Oliver, and an unusual portrait by Hans Eworth, the mouth is always firmly closed and the ears vary considerably in their degree of visibility.[39] Judging from his attitude to change in general, which would place him firmly among the anti-fashionists, I would suggest that Montaigne shrank away from the face not only because of its grossnesses and deformities, but also because it was the site of mutability, not just through ageing but constantly, from the rubbery effects of feeling and communication. The face could, in a great many different ways, betray the mind.[40]

We thus return to the pre-eminence of the head. The brain may not have been the only important organ in the body, but the head was dominant in all external relations, and was the signifier, however cryptically, of the soul.[41] Since only man, *not* woman, was made in the image of God—or the Godhead—the heads of men acquired particular significance.[42] Physiognomy was potentially a valuable political science, both for the individual and for the state, in deciphering the thoughts and character of other people.[43] At the same time, that which could be read also needed,

[39]The Eworth portrait (1563) is of the Catholic Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, and the soft, half-open mouth may simply be unusually realistic: Howard, *The Tudor Image*, 38 and Fig. 27. It was similarly very rare for subjects to be depicted as smiling or laughing: Karen Hearn, *Marcus Gheeraerts II: Elizabethan Artist* (London: Tate Publishing, 2002), 46; Kemperdick, *The Early Portrait*, 21. Although Kemperdick suggests bridal portraits may be a rare exception, it is not surprising that the closed mouth was particularly prescribed for female subjects: Peter Stallybrass, "Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed," in *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Margaret Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy Vickers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 126–29. For the 'unprecedented' Oliver portrait, of an 'unknown melancholy young man' in almost Counter-Reformation style, see Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, 108–9, cat. 161.

[40]Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, 1198–201.

[41]As summarised by Juan Huarte, *Examen de ingenios: The examination of mens wits (1594)*, trans. Richard Carew, facs. edn (Gainsville: Scholars Facsimiles, 1959), 24.

[42]Hence the necessity for steel helmets in battle or jousting to protect 'the most hye & principal membre': Ramon Lull, *The Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry*, trans. William Caxton, ed. A. T. P. Byles, Early English Text Soc. 168 (1926), 78.

[43]See Carroll Camden, "The Mind's Construction in the Face," *Philological Quarterly* 20 (1941): 400–12; Peter Meller, "Physiognomical Theory in Renaissance Heroic Portraits," *The Renaissance and Mannerism*, Acts of the 20th International Congress of the History of Art, vol. 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 53–69; Clarke, "Metoposcopy".

at least on occasion, to be concealed. Many males portrayed in early modern English painting were not only tight-lipped but bearded. The question may be raised whether, and at what stage in their lives, English politicians found it useful to acquire a beard, in order to present an impenetrable front, or to suggest gravitas. The static quality of portraiture encourages the idea that facial hair was most useful as a screen, but here, too, portraiture may give us only one dimension of reality. In life, the grimaces of the face can move the beard and moustaches in a most expressive manner, and this is reflected in other forms of contemporary comment. That facial hair was meant to be expressive rather than mere camouflage is conveyed by Stubbes, whose barber, a finger-snapping, rather camp figure who prefigures the stereotypical barber of later periods, asks the customer whether he will be cut 'to looke terrible to your enimie, or amiable to your friend, grime & sterne in countenance, or pleasant and demure'.[44]

In 'reading' the variety of hair and beard styles affected by Stubbes's contemporaries, we should also take into account, especially for all those forced to attend on others either as politicians, diplomats, courtiers or clients, the need to counter the boredom factor—the tedium and effortful frivolity identified by Lewis Mumford as inherent in the baroque city in particular.[45] The boredom factor must have increased as the English court became more stationary. Much of court life, and London life in general, consisted of standing around waiting. A pretended 'new look' could pass the time and attract attention, from one's peers if not from one's patron, and the beard, the moustaches and even the hair could be played with as the contemporary equivalent of worry beads or a cigarette. Like the ritual of lighting a cigarette, playing with facial hair could be used as a delaying tactic or to give an impression of mature deliberation. (In the clean-shaven, stroking down from the nose and tugging at the skin of the neck are observable but are presumably poor substitutes.) This aspect is caricatured by the playwright James Shirley in 1638:

> 'Las he has no imployment in the state;
> He waites like a dull cipher …
> This is an honest easy Nobleman,

[44] Stubbes, *The Second Part of the Anatomie*, sig. G4 verso.

[45] Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (London: Routledge/Thoemmes, 1997 [1938]), 110.

> Allowed to weare some Court formality;
> Walke on the tarres [terrace], picke his teeth, and stroake
> Upon a festivall some golden sentence
> Out of his beard, for which the guard admire him,
> And cry him up a Statesman.[46]

A most striking representation of the focus on male heads in the political context, as others have also noted, is the well-known group portrait commemorating the Anglo-Spanish peace accord at Somerset House in 1604.[47] Two rows of men sit on either side of a table, the Hispano-Flemish delegation on one side in order of precedence, and the English on the other. Although their surroundings are rich, and arguably full of meaning, all wear dark clothing and their bodies melt away indistinguishably, except for the hands and the heads.[48] The heads dominate and are given even greater emphasis by the neck-ruffs. Individuality, especially on the Spanish side, is mainly given by understated varieties of hair and beard. Although both men and women wore ruffs at this period, it is worth noting that one function of the white ruff in portraits is to give definition to the shape, texture and colour of the beard.

The 1604 Somerset House painting is no literal representation, since, other things apart, one of the Spanish delegation is depicted even though he was not there, and Sir Robert Cecil, as was invariably the case in his official portraits, is made recognisable by his face but not by the humped back and shrunken body from which he suffered in real life.[49]

[46] James Shirley, *The Royall Master* (London: 1638), act I, scene i.

[47] See Pauline Croft, "Brussels and London: The Archdukes, Robert Cecil, and James I," in *Albert and Isabella 1598–1621: Essays*, ed. Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 79–86, which stresses the influence of the representatives of the Spanish Netherlands; Gustav Ungerer, "Juan Pantoja de la Cruz and the Circulation of Gifts between the English and Spanish Courts in 1604/5," *Shakespeare Studies* 26 (1998): 145–86. See also Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, vol. i, pp. 351–53 and vol. ii, plate 680; Karen Hearn, *Talking Peace 1604: The Somerset House Conference Paintings*, Exhibition Catalogue (London: Somerset House, 2004). Ungerer endorses Pantoja as the author of this painting, which survives in two versions. He deduces that it was based not on sittings but on standard portrait types with the heads worked up from Pantoja's London drawings (172). Note also his references to miniatures as part of gift exchanges.

[48] On the surroundings, see Hearn, *Talking Peace*. See in general James, *The Feminine Dynamic*, 87–98.

[49] Cecil would allow use of only one image of himself: Hearn, *Talking Peace*; Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, vol. i, p. ix.

Moreover, although there are subtle differences between the two rows of men—the English vary slightly more in posture, for instance—Pantoja, if he was the artist, has not shown any pronounced national differences in appearance between the two groups.[50] This may well have been deliberate, because by this time, 1604, the satire aimed at national styles—which in the case of Stubbes (1583) and Robert Greene (1592) included beard and hair styles—was fully established. Greene's decadent urban character Master Velvet-Breeches, for example, is asked by his barber whether he will have his hair cut

> after the Italian manner, shorte and round, and then frounst with the curling yrons, to make it looke like a halfe moone in a miste or like a spanyard long at the eares, and curled like to the two endes of an olde cast periwig, or will you bee Frenchefied with a love locke downe to your shoulders, wherein you may weare your mistresse favour?

The English cut, Greene's barber adds disparagingly, is base, and gentlemen scorn it. It is novelty, he insists, that is dainty. After dressing Velvet-Breeches's head, which requires 'combing and rubbing some two howers', and washing with a 'camphire bal', the barber 'descends as low as his berd' and asks

> whether he please to be shaven or no, whether he will have his peak cut short & sharpe, amiable like an inamorato or broad pendant like a spade, to be terrible like a warrior & a Soldado … or his mustachios fostered to turn about his eares like ye branches of a vine, or cut down ye lip with ye Italian lash.

Cloth-Breeches, on the other hand, simply came to his barber 'plaine to be polde, and to have my beard cut'.[51] Here, Greene is setting up English style as a kind of anti-fashion, the old, stable ways despised by the fashionable. It seems unlikely that the painter of the 1604 Somerset

[50] On the influence of Spanish styles, including reference to portraits, see Brian Reade, *The Dominance of Spain, 1550–1660*, Vol. 4 of *Costume of the Western World*, ed. James Laver (London: G. G. Harrap, 1951).

[51] Robert Greene, *A quip for an upstart courtier … Wherein is plainely set downe the disorders in all estates and trades* (London: 1592), sigs [C3 verso]–[C4]. Note that Greene is already referring to 'beastly and counterfeit Perriwigs' (sig. [A4 verso]).

House picture would have wanted to stress English imitation of the Spanish, following the line of the satirists. It seems more plausible that any harmony of appearance was meant to signify the harmony and rightness of the peace agreement. A final point worth noting is that none of those present is wearing a hat, perhaps indicating mutual and equal deference. Apart from salutations, men normally wore hats indoors, even at meals; in the early seventeenth century a man could be criticised for going bare-headed, just as he could be castigated for not observing the customs of 'hat honour' according to the hierarchies of deference and status. This must however have varied, at least among intimates, as hats became larger, hair styles more luxuriant and full wigs more fashionable.[52]

As Tudor and Stuart portraiture overall is regarded as depending on the court for patronage, it needs to be asked whether beard and hair styles as depicted owed anything to ideals based on the royal person, the head of state, that is the noble part of the body politic. Henry VIII was bearded after 1519, but his hair and beard, in contrast to his heavy, overbearing face and body, were made to look thin and certainly not long.[53] Henry issued various decrees about beard and hair behaviour, and demanded in 1535 that courtiers should wear their hair polled.[54] During the rest of the century, the court was dominated by women and a beardless boy, Edward VI. Elizabeth, as the virgin queen, made a statement of her hair by dyeing it and also wearing a wig. James I and VI's beard was

[52] See Corfield, "Dress for Deference"; Hilda Amphlett, *Hats: A History of Fashion in Headwear* (Chalfont St Giles, Bucks: Richard Sadler, 1974).

[53] For an attempt to flatter the beard of 'King Harry', see Anon., "A Commendation and Censure of Beards," in Benjamin Rudyerd, *Le Prince d'amour … with a collection of several ingenious poems and songs by the wits of the age* (London: For William Leake, 1660), 128. On Henry VIII's portraiture, see Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, vol. i, 152–61; James, *The Feminine Dynamic*, 270–79. For a rejection of the clichés said to attach to Henry's portraiture, see Tatiana String, "Henry VIII and Holbein: Patterns and Conventions in Early Modern Writing about Artists," in *Henry VIII and the Court: Art, Politics and Performance*, ed. Thomas Betteridge and Suzannah Lipscomb (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 131–41.

[54] John Stow, *The Chronicles of England* (London: For Ralphe Newberie, 1580), 1004; Sidney Young, *The Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London* (1890; repr., New York: AMS, 1978), 96–97; Frances Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1926), 146, 162.

said to be thin and weak, possibly as a representation of his wasting his sexuality on males, although this was not applicable to Henry VIII, who was more likely to fall under suspicion of hair loss due to venereal infection.[55] We may not be over-indulging in universals to suggest that Henry VIII would have disliked being surrounded by beards more impressive than his own. Contemporaries themselves certainly thought this way. Portraiture at Henry's court was dominated by Holbein the younger, many of whose male likenesses are shaven, though, I would suggest, not smoothly so.[56] However, we have to note that many of Holbein's subjects were of the middling ranks in court society, or of the merchant class.[57] One might more confidently postulate a grave, long-bearded style among Edward VI's advisers, and a virile but youthful image among Elizabeth's courtiers. And, perhaps, a youthful, more effeminate style among James's favourites. For us, such speculations may seem merely frivolous, but fashion historians might advise to the contrary, and early modern people, while as capable if not more so than ourselves of detecting human folly, faced harsher realities than do members of Western democratic societies in their approach to the contemporary equivalent of the cult of celebrity. Giving offence, appearing to compete or even excelling could have serious consequences.

[55] Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, vol. i, 175–80, esp. 178. For disparagement of a thin beard, along with a thin lip, a 'gandered' neck and dwindled legs, see the speech given to Rossaline in *Antonio and Mellida*, act I, scene i (published 1602): *The Selected Plays of John Marston*, ed. Macdonald Jackson and Michael Neill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1986), 25.

[56] Early modern men were rarely clean-shaven on a daily basis. Before Samuel Pepys was able to buy his own razor in 1664, his barber gave him a close shave on Sundays, before church; during the week Pepys reduced his stubble with a pumice stone: *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. X, Companion, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews (London: Bell and Hyman, 1983), 101.

[57] See Susan Foister, "Foreigners at Court: Holbein, Van Dyck and the Painter-Stainers Company," in *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Courts*, ed. David Howarth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 32–50; Morgan Ainsworth, "'Paternes for Phiosioneamyes': Holbein's Portraiture Reconsidered," *Burlington Magazine* 132 (1990): 173–86 at 180, heads; 182, hands; Oskar Bätschmann and Pascal Griener, *Hans Holbein* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997). Notable here is Holbein's painting commemorating the union of the barbers and the surgeons of London in 1540: Henry has a short, 'fringe' beard and moustache, while most (but not all) of those present are clean-shaven, including his physicians and his apothecary: Young, *Annals of the Barber-Surgeons*, 80–94.

A factor needing to be taken into account, and one providing ballast to this kind of discussion, is that of age, and resistance to the effects of age. There are several reasons, including an increasingly youthful population and Elizabeth's own consistent preferences, why the late Tudor court, as represented in portraiture, may have been younger in age as well as self-image. One of the constants throughout the period seems to be that an older man was more likely to be bearded.[58] A rule of thumb I would propose for the male portraits as a whole, which may point to a biological or even a psychological constant—taking into account the biological constant of male-pattern baldness (*androgenetic alopecia*), and the apparent *longue durée* of male dislike of this state—is that the more meagre the hair, the greater the beard.[59] Conversely, the more hair around the head, the less hair on the face. However, it should be said that, for this period, obviously compensatory dense and bushy beards (as opposed to long ones) seem rarely to be portrayed. This may be a warning that we are concentrating too exclusively on the sexual meanings of hair criticised by Hallpike. For the Henrician period particularly, we need also to consider health-related factors, including plague, the first, florid effects of the venereal disease epidemic, and the 'crisis of public health' of that period more generally.[60] Thinning or tufted hair and beard raised the spectre of venereal infection; short hair and a close shave appeared less

[58]Or should be: William Harrison exclaimed at the fact that 'many old men do wear no beards at all': *Description of Elizabethan England* (Hoboken, NJ: Bibliobytes, [199–?], e-book), "Of Our Apparel and Attire," 42.

[59]See Huarte, *Examen de ingenios*, 213; Thomas Cash, "Losing Hair, Losing Points? The Effects of Male Pattern Baldness on Social Impression Formation," *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 20 (1990): 154–67; Frank Muscarella and Michael Cunningham, "The Evolutionary Significance and Social Perception of Male Pattern Baldness and Facial Hair," *Ethology and Sociobiology* 17 (1996): 99–117; Dawber, *Diseases of the Hair*, 101–22. Elizabethan portraits of hatless bald men are rare, but several bald or balding courtiers are portrayed in 'Eliza triumphans', c. 1600, attributed to Robert Peake: see Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, pp. 21–22, Fig. xvii, 127–28, cat. 204. On the trauma for both men and women associated with hair loss, see Elizabeth Steel, *Coping with Sudden Hair Loss* (Wellingborough: Thorsons, 1988).

[60]On the Henrician public health crisis, see Charles Webster, "Thomas Linacre and the Foundation of the College of Physicians," in *Linacre Studies: Essays on the Life and Work of Thomas Linacre c. 1460–1524*, ed. Francis Maddison, Margaret Pelling, and Charles Webster (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 198–222 at 207–9.

suspicious, especially if this could be made to look de rigueur. Human hair, like the fur of dogs and cats, was seen as spreading infection.[61] Some, it was alleged, wore beards 'because theyr faces be pocky, manngy, sausflewme,[62] lyporous, & dysfygured by the whiche many clene men were infected'.[63] In this context, a prudent courtier, or a fearful king, might choose to keep hair and beard as short as possible. More generally, it could be that the absence of bushy beards confirms the applicability of Hallpike's notion of social hair, in that Tudor portraits were designed to represent a society well under control, even when hair was allowed, or even encouraged, to achieve gravity and length in (impotent) old age. Possibly, as suggested earlier, bushy, unshaped beards were seen as primitive, 'ugglesome' and uncontrolled.

What of the other limbs of the body politic? Another factor on the Hallpike side is that of occupation, especially in portraits showing social groups, the church and the military. It must of course be conceded at the outset that the two latter are occupations whose stereotypes stress degrees of masculinity and by implication sexuality, reduced in the case of the clergy, and exaggerated in the case of the military. Clerics could be given a clean-shaven or stubbly look by painters, but many are shown with longish, relatively unshaped beards and hair short enough to be concealed under a cap. Allegedly the 'biggest' beard of the sixteenth century was grown by a puritanically inclined cleric, the Rev. John More, known as the apostle of Norwich, who wore it, he said, 'that no act of

[61] Pepys was concerned that his new wig might be made of the hair of plague victims: *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Companion, ed. Latham and Matthews, 100. On animals, see Paul Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), 45, 47; Mark Jenner, "The Great Dog Massacre," in *Fear in Early Modern Society*, ed. William Naphy and Penny Roberts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 44–61 at 55–56.

[62] There is no modern equivalent of this Middle English term for a skin disease, which also occurs in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. It connotes phlegm and saltiness, and examples of it tend to come in recipes for curing the condition.

[63] ———Barnes, *The treatyse answerynge the boke of berdes* (London: R. Wyer, 1541(?)), sigs A2 recto-verso. This small book, dedicated to 'Barnarde barber dwellynge in Banbery', was a riposte to a now-lost work against beards by the ex-monk, physician and writer Andrew Boorde, whom Barnes accused of coming to dislike beards because he vomited into his own through drunkenness.

his life might be unworthy of the gravity of his appearance'.[64] Clerics may have been allowed long beards by way of compensation for their skirts and as a signifier of wisdom, but such beards could later have become unpopular through their association with leading religious figures such as Knox, Cranmer and Grindall (all Protestant) and Cardinal Pole.[65] Archbishop Laud is depicted with a modest, rather Frenchified goatee and moustache, possibly in compliment to (or by way of association with) his master Charles I.[66] With respect to the military, mercenary soldiers were sometimes blamed for setting fashion against anti-fashion, by bringing home with them outlandish appearances promiscuously adopted abroad. But the military had an anti-fashion of its own, then represented not by the heavily disciplined close-crop of today, but in the jutting square beard and bold whiskers designed to impress the enemy. As already indicated, such styles were the butt of satirists, but whether they were more than an enduring literary stereotype remains unclear.[67] Factors of convenience, and indeed of health, particularly the prevention of cold, may also have lain behind the bristling martial stereotype.[68] Thus Francis Wilson, serving in the Low Countries in the 1630s, asked for, as part of his military outfit, 'a Munmouth capp to lye in my hutt in the night, that I may preserve my health'. The head needed to be covered and protected, especially at night.[69]

[64] Quoted in the entry on More by John Blatchly, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (OxDNB). More's preaching was such that it had a chastening effect on Robert Greene: ibid. See also 'The Bishops breast/A beard doth invest/With milk-white spreading hair': Anon., "A Commendation," 128.

[65] On various sixteenth-century clerical beards see Margaret Aston, *The King's Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 16–18.

[66] See the portrait of Laud by Anthony Van Dyck, 1630s, reproduced in the entry by Anthony Milton in the OxDNB.

[67] See for example Meller, "Physiognomical theory".

[68] On beards as a 'shelter from the cold', see Anon., "A Commendation," 126.

[69] Robert Blencowe, "Paxhill and Its Neighbourhood; with Extracts from the Manuscripts of the Wilson Family," *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 11 (1859): 1–49 at 22. See Anon., *Another Collection*, 195, stating, on the basis of classical sources, that the hair had been 'chiefly design'd' for the preservation of the brain from external injuries, but that men should wear short or long hair according to the constitution of their brains.

There is however at least one record of military experience explicitly influencing beard behaviour. Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, grew a beard during his expedition to Cadiz in 1596, when he was aged 30. This was noted on his return, and Essex went so far as to sit—or rather, stand—for a commemorative portrait as a bearded man of military background, which became the 'face of Cadiz'. There may have been as much in this of the pose, as of the rite of passage—that is, it may be seen as fashion as much as anti-fashion. Essex's new growth was also capitalised upon in a second painting of about the same date, in which the beard is used to denote a statesman-like appearance.[70] Essex's self-fashioning is roughly contemporaneous with the self-representation of Thomas Whythorne, the gentleman's son turned musician. Whythorne had himself portrayed in paint on his own musical instruments, as the personal equivalent of the occupational signboard, but he also had his portrait (or 'counterfeit') painted after a bad attack of fever, to record the change in his appearance—a change reflected less flatteringly in *Twelfth Night*'s Sir Andrew Aguecheek. For Whythorne, this may, like Donne's sculpture of himself in a shroud, have served as a memento mori. His purposes seem different from those of Essex.[71]

Contemporary comment upon Essex's changing image is a reminder that much of late Tudor satire on personal appearance can be seen as deploring the fickle appropriation of legitimate anti-fashions—associated with nationality, status or occupation—by those with no claim to them, that is, by the merely fashionable. Character writers like John Earle used satire, but they also sought stability by trapping different groups within a fixed appearance.[72] On the whole, cases like Essex's notwithstanding, Tudor portraiture, like heraldry and sumptuary law, seems to have been

[70]See the entry by Paul Hammer in the OxDNB and reproductions of the portraits by Marcus Gheeraerts the younger and Isaac Oliver in Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, 105–7, cats. 154, 155. Strong states that both 'must have been designed for mass production', 105. On other uses of images of Essex, see Alexandra Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 202, 205, 221.

[71]Strong, *English Icon*, 38; Thomas Whythorne, *Autobiography*, ed. James Osborn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 20, 133–35 and App. V; Katharine Hodgkin, "Thomas Whythorne and the Problems of Mastery," *History Workshop Journal* 29 (1990): 20–41. For Donne in effigy and in miniature, see Piper, *The English Face*, 69.

[72]John Earle, *Microcosmography* (1628), repr. of Bliss edn, ed. S. T. Irwin (Bristol: W. Crofton Hemmons & Simpkin Marshall, 1897).

aimed at recording anti-fashion rather than fashion, including the meanings to be read from clothing. The resistance to change in the image of Elizabeth I might be cited as an extreme, individual example. It would, of course, be absurd to expect early modern portraiture to record the contemporary riot of differences in personal appearance in the same way as does modern photography.

VI

There are however certain exceptions to the anti-fashion tendency of portraiture, which go beyond the unusual individual case to create a more general trend. One of these clusters around 1600 when, as it is formulated, English neo-medievalism was beginning to give way to the Baroque. In these later portraits, genealogy, status and memento mori give way to the expression of spirituality as an attribute of the intellectual young man. Though the mode of execution marks a change, the theme is in a sense medieval, in that the young man often appears to be presenting himself as dedicated to courtly love. This induces melancholy and a rejection of the world, sometimes symbolised by a reclining posture in a sylvan setting, often by a certain disorder of dress.[73]

The attributes regarded by Roy Strong as definitive of this portrait type are all, except for the sylvan setting, to be seen in the famous portrait of John Donne as a young man, the 'Newbattle Abbey' portrait.[74] Donne is portrayed with a full (but closed) mouth and hollow-eyed expression gazing into space, his arms crossed (passive rather than active, compared with other portraits), wearing a large black floppy hat and loose falling

[73] See for example Lawrence Babb, *The Elizabethan Malady: A Study of Melancholia in English Literature from 1580 to 1642* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1951), esp. 73–101; Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art* (London: Nelson, 1964); Bridget Gellert, "The Iconography of Melancholy in the Graveyard Scene of *Hamlet*," *Studies in Philology* 67 (1970): 57–66; "Melancholy and Material Unity of Man, 17th–18th Centuries," ed. Claire Crignon-De Oliveira and Mariana Saad, Special Issue of *Gesnerus* 63 (2006).

[74] Roy Strong, "The Elizabethan Malady: Melancholy in Elizabethan and Jacobean Portraiture," *Apollo* 79 (1964): 264–69 (268 for Donne). The Newbattle Abbey or Lothian portrait, *c.* 1595, by an unknown English artist, was recently acquired by the National Portrait Gallery. Donne's portraiture is much debated: for references see David Colclough, ed., *John Donne's Professional Lives* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), 122–23.

bands. Whether Donne's melancholy is amorous or religious or a sign of alienation, this portrait is one of a genre, in which one consistent motif is male youth. Strong does not deal with the question of facial hair, but it is characteristic of these portraits that one cannot imagine any of the subjects in a full set of whiskers. The hair of the head is usually abundant, even unconstrained, but the facial hair is limited to delicate but suggestive smudges and shadows. Today's fashion for 'designer stubble' and for male icons close to adolescence may well be catering primarily for a wide spectrum of sexual preferences, but in terms of pleasing early modern women, this youthful look, offering the promise of a beard without the beard itself, may have been well judged.[75] In plays, strong-minded but susceptible women of the Rosalind or Beatrice type often focus on beards as 'the front of man's offending'.[76] An example is Rossaline in John Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, published in 1602. When asked by her uncle when she would marry, his 'mad niece'—mad in the sense that the Beatrice of *Much Ado About Nothing* is mad, that is, a madcap—replies:

> Faith, kind uncle, when men abandon jealousy, forsake taking of tobacco, and cease to wear their beards so rudely long. O, to have a husband with a mouth continually smoking, with a bush of furze on the ridge of his chin, ready still to slop into his foaming chaps; ah! 'tis more than most intolerable.[77]

Montaigne, by contrast, saw his moustache as a natural filter, 'at the threshold of the self and the world'.[78] Rossaline, like Beatrice, is of course the mouthpiece of a male author, and the outbursts of these strong-minded women against beards could be double-edged, as indicating the woman's desire to dominate.

[75] For a convincing development of this point about adolescent potential, see Victoria Sparey, "Performing Puberty: Fertile Complexions in Shakespeare's Plays," *Shakespeare Bulletin* 33 (2015): 441–67. See also the Chapter by Victoria Alonso Cabezas in this volume.

[76] In general, see Eleanor Rycroft, "Facial Hair and the Performance of Adult Masculinity on the Early Modern English Stage," in *Locating the Queen's Men 1583–1603: Material Practices and Conditions of Playing*, ed. Helen Ostovich, Holger Syme, and Andrew Griffin (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 217–28.

[77] *Antonio and Mellida*, act V, scene i, in Jackson and Neill, eds., *Selected Plays of John Marston*, 82.

[78] Hélène Cazes, "Apples and Moustaches: Montaigne's Grin in the Face of Infection," in *Imagining Contagion in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Claire Carlin (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 79–93 at 86.

It is in a few portraits of the melancholy type that we see in paint the lovelocks worn by men and denounced from the late sixteenth century onwards until the general assumption of wigs. The lovelock seems to have been an extension of the luxuriant wavy hair of the melancholy lover or intellectual, which was brushed back from a high forehead and worn long on either side of the face. Apart from the law of compensation proposed above, which would decree some luxuriance of hair to balance the beardlessness of the face, it is possible that the lovelock was adopted because it could still communicate its message if the owner was wearing a big hat. In the best examples, however, the subject is hatless. One of these is Shakespeare's patron and the associate of Essex, Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton, painted by Nicholas Hilliard in 1594, when Southampton was twenty.[79] The lovelock falls down the left shoulder to heart height, which was possibly intentional, and is less like a single lock than one side of a full head of hair, untrimmed but possibly curled using tongs. This is presumably the style dismissed as 'Frenchified' by Greene.[80] Inevitably, this artful naturalness was destroyed by further artifice—several lovelocks were seen as better than one, and they were plaited and tied up with ribbon. William Prynne accused his fashion-obsessed contemporaries of violating the 'grave and ancient cut' of their ancestors in order to imitate heathenish (or womanish) practices, and of conferring more often with their barbers, than with their ministers.[81] These offensive excesses were cruelly parodied and punished, as contemporaries were quick to point out, first by the moth-eaten appearance produced by venereal disease, and then by Plica Polonica, a repulsive, allegedly new disease in which the hair matted into soggy snakes, which were said to bleed when pricked by a pin. Plica was a judgement on 'our monstrous fashionists' of both sexes, women for cutting their hair, men for 'nourishing their horrid bushes of vanity'.[82]

[79] See Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, 81–82, cat. 96; Piper, *The English Face*, 73–74.

[80] For a female portrait of similar date approximating to this style, see Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, 24, Fig. xxiv. For a more 'manly' version of the lovelock, combined with beard and moustache, see ibid. 82, cat. 97 (John Molle, by Hilliard, *c.* 1595).

[81] William Prynne, *The Unlovelinesse, of Love-Lockes* (London, 1628), Dedication 'To the Christian reader', and pp. 2–5. Prynne traced the 'sinister' (i.e. left-handed as well as evil) lovelock to the devil-god of the 'idolatrous Virginians' or native Americans (4). See also Eleanor Rycroft's chapter in this volume.

[82] Robert Bolton, *Mr. Boltons Last and Learned Worke of the Foure Last Things, Death, Judgement, Hell, and Heaven* (London: by E. B., 1632), 40.

Again, however, sexual attractiveness or otherwise may be only part of the picture. The so-called love-melancholy portraits of young men overlap in a confusing way with portraits involving symbols of intellectual attitudes to man and nature, together with a sense of alienation from a society oblivious to a young man's ambitions and abilities.[83] Melancholy and wit were of course linked in humoral terms. The melancholy young man is also contemplative, solitary, sometimes has a book to hand, and is placed in a verdant setting which seems to reject more artificial environments but which is ordered in other significant ways.[84] It could be argued that this pose of solitude represents a particular version of anti-fashion, and certainly an intent to communicate, although the desired audience might be select. These intriguing portraits, notably Hilliard's of the Wizard Earl, Henry Percy, dated to the 1590s, and Isaac Oliver's of Edward Herbert of Cherbury, ascribed to the 1610s, may, as Strong cautiously maintains, be meant to convey Ficinian melancholy and elements of neo-Platonism.[85] Hilliard's Percy is clean-shaven; Oliver's image of Herbert, which is somewhat Arthurian in its knightly trappings, shows crisp short hair and beard.[86] One suggestive aspect of this is the view,

[83]For an early study positing a generational divide and a 'group mind' among ambitious and frustrated young men of this period, see Anthony Esler, *The Aspiring Mind of the Elizabethan Younger Generation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1966); also Richard Helgerson, *The Elizabethan Prodigals* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976). For a slightly later period, see Joan Thirsk, "Younger Sons in the Seventeenth Century," *History* 54 (1969): 358–77. See in general Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500–1700* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1994), esp. Chapter 6.

[84]See Steven Shapin, "'The Mind Is Its Own Place': Science and Solitude in Seventeenth-Century England," *Science in Context* 4 (1991): 191–218 at 198–200. Shapin does not deal with portraiture but stresses the symbolic nature of such locations and that 'solitude' was often an 'intensely public pose' (195). Zera Fink, "Jaques and the Malcontent Traveller," *Philological Quarterly* 14 (1935): 237–52, first argued for Italian and French influence on English depictions of melancholy. See also Strong, "The Elizabethan Malady".

[85]See Hugh Trevor-Roper, "Robert Burton and *The Anatomy of Melancholy*," in *Idem*, *Renaissance Essays* (London: Fontana, 1986), 239–74 at 257–58; Strong, "The Elizabethan Malady," 264–65.

[86]See Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, frontispiece and 158–59, cat. 266 (Percy); Fig. xxiii, 164–65, cat. 273 (Herbert). Strong describes the Percy portrait as 'one of the most abstruse of all Hilliard's miniatures'. For another example from the 1590s by Oliver, of an unknown melancholy man in a woodland setting just beyond a formal garden, see ibid., cover and 161–62, cat. 268. This young man, as in the Newbattle Abbey portrait of Donne, has abundant hair under a large hat and a mere shadowing of moustache and beard.

put forward in the 1650s by John Bulwer, that neo-Platonism tended to favour 'cosmetic physic', the enhancement of the natural by all lawful means to come as close as possible to the ideal type. This was said to contrast with the line derived from Galen, which excluded cosmetic practices from true physic.[87] Cosmetic physic is well represented at the early Stuart courts by the Paracelsian physician Sir Theodore de Mayerne, whose fortune was possibly based as much on his success in manufacturing pigments and perfumery as on his pre-eminent medical practice.[88] On this reading, the neo-Platonic young man might see himself as in many ways estranged from society, but he did not become a hairy outsider. Rather, he established fashions—or asserted anti-fashions—of his own.

Bulwer's exhaustive anthropological survey provided his mid-seventeenth-century contemporaries with a catalogue of fashions and anti-fashions practised on the body by different races of men. He considered the whole body from head to toe, but began with, and spent most time on, the head, showing much interest in practices aimed at changing its shape, which he blamed on children's nurses and midwives as well as on custom. Bulwer also made the remark, interesting in this context, that round heads were greatly to be preferred, as this was one of the ways in which man showed himself to be different from other animals. Moreover, the circle was, of course, the perfect figure, and a round head was, by association, likely to contain the best kind of mind.[89] Significantly, Bulwer showed a certain concern about the relationship

[87] John B[ulwer], *Anthropometamorphosis*: man transform'd: or, the artificiall changling (London, 1653), Introduction, sig. [B2 verso]. The first 16 of Bulwer's 24 'scenes' or chapters are devoted to the head and neck. On this author see H. J. Norman, "John Bulwer and his *Anthropometamorphosis*," in *Science Medicine and History*, 2 vols, ed. E. A. Underwood (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), vol. ii, 82–99; Justin Smith, "'A Corporall Philosophy': Language and 'Body-Making' in the Work of John Bulwer (1606–1656)," in *The Body as Object and Instrument of Knowledge*, ed. Charles Wolfe and Ofer Gal (Dordrecht: Springer, 2010), 169–83.

[88] Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician: The Various Life of Sir Theodore de Mayerne* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 11, 27–28, 60–83, 167; Reynolds, *English Portrait Miniatures*, 40, 47, 66.

[89] Bulwer, *Anthropometamorphosis*, 15–16; Huarte, *Examen de ingenios*, 25; [William Prynne], *A gagge for long-hair'd rattle-heads who revile all civill round-heads* [London: 1646], all of whom draw heavily on classical sources. But compare the satirical attack on bald, periwig-wearing and fashionable 'roundheads': Anon., *The Soundheads Description of the Roundhead* (London: I. B., 1652).

between man and monkeys, which also have round heads.[90] Bulwer's work was published in the 1650s, but the influence of Platonism in the previous century might allow us to pose the question whether the preference for round heads according to some principles had anything to do with the almost perfectly round heads depicted in some late Tudor and early Jacobean portraiture, especially miniatures. In some of these portraits, the close-cropped beard and hair, with the hair often deeply peaked above the forehead, seem expressly designed to reinforce the circular effect while preserving the image of a shapely head.

It has to be admitted, however, that what one is seeing might be no more than the personal style of a small group of painters, or even the effect of painting portraits in miniature. The form of miniatures is said to have shifted from circular to oval, although there seems no convincing explanation for the change. Similar queries might be raised about the high incidence of tightly curled hair and beards, the significance of which may be related to the rather similar effect produced by tongues of flame in some portraits. Following Aristotle, heat, curly hair, wiliness and 'aptness' were connected, and curly hair, especially if it was blond, was likened to flames.[91] This could also have provided a reason for portraying the subject, unusually, as bare-headed.[92] It might be objected that such portraits merely showed off the Italianate style as defined by Greene; but it seems just as likely that they were meant to be interpreted, if only by the inner circle of the few. It is worth noting that Greene's dismissive description, quoted above—'short and round … like a half-moon in a mist'—echoes the motif of (mysterious) circles and spheres.[93] Prynne also refers to 'our gentrie' demanding that their hair fall readily into 'its rings, and circles'.[94]

[90] Bulwer saw this proximity as increasing, owing to man's degeneracy: *Anthropometamorphosis*, sigs B3 recto-verso. On attitudes to apes and monkeys see Edward Topsell, *The historie of foure-footed beastes* (London, 1607), 2–20; Susan Wiseman, "Monstrous Perfectibility: Ape–Human Transformations in Hobbes, Bulwer, Tyson," in *At the Borders of the Human: Beasts, Bodies and Natural Philosophy in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Erica Fudge, Ruth Gilbert, and Susan Wiseman (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1999), 215–38; James Knowles, "'Can ye not tell a man from a marmoset?': Apes and Others on the Early Modern Stage," in *Renaissance Beasts: Of Animals, Humans and other Wonderful Creatures*, ed. Erica Fudge (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 138–63.

[91] Huarte, *Examen de ingenios*, 188; Firth, "Hair as Private Asset," 270.

[92] For two examples of 'fiery' portraits, both by Isaac Oliver of unknown men, see Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, Fig. xxv, 109–10, cat. 163 (*c.* 1600); 112, cat. 171 (*c.* 1610). Strong favours amatory interpretations of the flaming backgrounds.

[93] See note 50.

[94] Prynne, *Unlovelinesse of Lovelockes*, sig. [A4 recto].

Whether these painted curls represent reality or not, the ridicule of satirists like Greene and social critics like Prynne suggests that barbers were ready and willing to curl men's hair, with tongs or otherwise.[95] Barbers may even have produced, or improved upon, effects like the dramatically V-shaped hairlines or 'widow's peaks' seen in some miniature male portraits.[96] Some barbers were certainly stylists, at least in the metropolis, able to offer cuts intended to convey occupation, nationality, fashionability and even intellectual allegiance, as well as sexual allure. We can assume also that barbers dyed beards and hair to disguise grey hair, while bearing in mind that looking venerable also had its place in early modern society.[97] Beards were also starched, to give them shape and substance. In spite of the concealment offered by hat and cap wearing, at least one portrait suggests that a hair style might be adopted to make the most of thinning hair.[98] William Harrison deplored the fact that his countrymen adopted hair styles to mitigate defects of appearance: 'if [his face] be platter-like, a long slender beard will make it seem the narrower'.[99]

As well as the means of enhancement and disguise which barbers offered, including washing, dyeing, perfuming and other cosmetic operations,[100] there is a further dimension for which I have not found a term

[95] See for example Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician*, 167. The meagre inventory, dated 1632, of William Turner, barber of Wymondham, near Norwich, included 'kirlinirons': *Wymondham Inventories 1590–1641*, ed. John Wilson (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies with Norfolk and Norwich Branch of the Historical Association, 1983), 35. A more prosperous barber, Robert Blome senior of Norwich, possessed curling irons as well as casting bottles at his death in 1608: Norfolk Record Office, NCC, Inv. 22/75 (1608).

[96] This style is especially characteristic of Hilliard's miniatures, including his self-portrait: Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, 59, cat. 49 (1577); 60, cat. 50 (Sir Thomas Bodley, 1598); p. 82, cat. 97 (John Molle, *c.* 1595); Walker, *Miniatures*, 20–21, cats. 5 & 6 (Sir Walter Raleigh, *c.* 1585, and Sir Francis Drake, 1581). As with the lovelock, a similar effect is visible in women's portraits.

[97] Bulwer, *Anthropometamorphosis*, pp. 212–13; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, act I, scene ii, lines 83–91: Arden edn, ed. H. F. Brooks (London: Methuen, 1984, rev. and repr.), 24. Looking youthful and beardless was seen as a disadvantage for physicians: Giovanni Loredano, *Academical Discourses. Upon Several Choice and Pleasant Subjects*, trans. J. B. (London: for John Playfere, 1664), Chapter. VIII, 'Wherefore Physitians Affect to Weare Great Beards'.

[98] Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, vol. i, 286–87, vol. ii, plate 557 (George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury); vol. ii, plate 558 (Duke of Portland). See also the unusually sleek, modern-looking style with side-parting of one of the 'fiery' portraits: Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, 112, cat. 171.

[99] Harrison, *Description of England*, 42.

[100] Pelling, "Appearance and Reality," 89–95.

in the literature on fashion and consumerism, in spite of the fact that it is a standard trope in historical sources. This consists in making a fashionable statement out of what would otherwise be a potentially isolating, ridiculous or offensive necessity. There are of course functionalist undertones to this, and historians are familiar with the traditional version of it, in which the misfortunes of the ruler in terms of dress and appearance are flattered by the deliberate highlighting or adoption of them by his or her inferiors.[101] However the phenomenon can be seen as a broadly based one, which could include the evolution of substances like tobacco and chocolate from medicines to luxuries and thence to consumables, or the wearing as jewellery of stones said to ward off poison or plague. This sort of fashion, involving making a virtue out of necessity and leading to imitation, could be called the fashion of euphemism, or euphemic fashion. It contrasts with fashions that *defy* necessity, like bound feet. Thus we could see Tudor and Jacobean portraits, attitudes and barbers as making a positive advantage, in terms of high foreheads and dramatic effects, out of receding hairlines and male-pattern baldness. More obvious examples relating to the head are the use of patches, face-painting, masks and wigs.[102] By the same token, an obvious strategy open to those condemning change and excess was to accuse the fashionable of merely trying to conceal their defects.

As already indicated, barbers were needed to moderate deformity as well as to control the primitive state of man, and this view was widely shared. One of the difficulties experienced by the Puritan writers on hair and fashion arose from their willingness to sanction practices originating in the need for concealment or 'decency'. The most striking example of this in practice is Prynne, author as we have seen of works denouncing disguise and long hair, who wore his own hair long in order to conceal what his enemies hoped would brand him for ever in the eyes of

[101] For example Anon., *Another Collection*, 193 (on Francis I setting hair and beard fashions via his need to cover up scars); *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Companion, ed. Latham and Matthews, 100 (fashionable wigs in imitation of Louis XIII's concealing his baldness).

[102] See for example Cecil Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Sixteenth Century*, rev. ed. (London: Faber & Faber, 1970); idem, *Handbook of English Costume in the Seventeenth Century*, 3rd ed. (London: Faber & Faber, 1971); Frances Dolan, "Taking the Pencil out of God's Hand: Art, Nature, and the Face-Painting Debate in Early Modern England," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 108 (1993): 224–39 at 229–36.

all observers, the removal of his ears.[103] Similarly, there was a tension for Puritan writers between their sense that sublunar and lapsarian man could and should be improved, even physically, and their burning sense that both fashion and anti-fashion—that is, both ephemeral and deeply ingrained practices—had come full circle and succeeded in forcing what was comely into monstrosity.[104]

VII

In this chapter I have sought to present hair and beards as an area of interest providing a bridge between the body and its clothing, raising issues of communication, fashion and control as well as sexuality. I have been concerned to look at the head both as a means of expression and as a potentially wild region which, in Hallpike's terms, had to be socialised before its owner could take his chosen place in the social hierarchy. However, as I hope I have shown, early modern society was too sophisticated to sort itself simply into smooth insiders and hairy outsiders. This is not to overlook important instances of regulation such as those laid down for citizens, apprentices or members of the Inns of Court, all of whom could, or should, have provided employment for barbers in imposing order and trimming back excess.[105] Rather, I have chosen to focus on drama, satire and portraiture, all of which are sources using extreme degrees of artifice in order to convey their messages. These messages may sometimes be too cryptic now for us to read with total accuracy, but it seems worthwhile to try. Although the connections between the daily life of early modern people and their chosen means of representation are far from direct, discussion of the one can give us new means of access to the other.

[103] William Lamont, *Marginal Prynne 1600–1669* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), viii, 33, 39–40, and plate 1.

[104] Anne Laurence, "Women, Godliness and Personal Appearance in Seventeenth-Century England," *Women's History Review* 15 (2006): 69–81, rightly stresses the gender imbalance inherent in these themes, but male appearance and effeminacy were also major concerns.

[105] For attempts at hair and beard control, see Paul Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (London: Methuen, 1985), 116–17; Royal College of Physicians of London, Annals, 5 April 1633; *The Records of the Honorable [sic] Society of Lincoln's Inn: The Black Books*, ed. J. Douglas Walker and William Baildon, vol. 1, 1422–1586 (London: The Society, 1897), 259 (1542, no beards at 'repasts'), 312 (1555, fine for overmuch speaking in defence of beards; no beards to be older than 3 weeks),

As a final illustration I would like to end with one of the few extended first-person accounts of what I have called beard behaviour. As with the Essex and Whythorne examples, this provides a rare opportunity to bring together representation and experiential embodiment.[106] Since the person involved is the gentleman-lawyer Bulstrode Whitelocke, his hair and beard have—in spite of the distinction of his patronymic—the advantage that they lack the heightened and almost atavistic significance of the beards of kings and popes which inevitably features in much of the historical discussion on this subject. In 1634/5, Whitelocke was at his place in the country following the death in tragic circumstances of his first wife. He had allowed his hair and beard to grow, partly no doubt to be comfortable, partly perhaps because he had no servant on hand skilled enough to shave him, but also, we can infer, in Hallpike's terms, to express his sense of loneliness and desolation. One of his tenants urged the lonely Whitelocke to pay court to Frances Willoughby, living nearby with her aunt, the Countess of Sunderland. Whitelocke duly called upon the Countess, but under another pretext; his thoughts were, as he asserted, no doubt even to himself, so far from wooing that he went in mourning, and 'with his haire all overgrown on his face, so that he appeared as one 50 years old' (he was then aged 30). In spite of this careful, self-deprecating disguise, which might also have served as a displacement of the considerable social and status distance between Frances and himself, Whitelocke managed to gain Frances's affections. Some connections hostile to the match contrived to have Whitelocke summoned before the Privy Council for leniency to local Nonconformists, and it was not until this point that he shaved. Once in London, he 'cutt off his great beard, trimmed & better habited himselfe, and waited on the Earle of Holland', a patron who then got him out of his difficulties. On his return to the country, Whitelocke found that 'his beard being trimmed and he better clothed then before was not unpleasing',

320–21 (1557, regulations for apparel and none under the degree of knight to wear beards older than 3 weeks); 328 (1559, no beards older than two weeks), 329 (1559, all beards orders repealed) and *passim*. Dates and the reference to repasts are both suggestive of health concerns.

[106] Stagg, "The Body," 207, 219, 221.

and he was classified in the neighbourhood as a suitor, even though the Countess had now taken against him.[107]

This single episode of beard behaviour, unusual in being fully recorded but probably not unusual in itself, is a clear example of a deliberate and effective mode of bodily communication. In it, we may see Whitelocke first embracing a version of anti-fashion, in which he sought to be valued for his essence rather than his surface, and then returning to fashionability in order to gain wider support and acceptance. The episode expresses a wide range of the changing roles considered in this discussion—outsider, insider, old man, young man, the repulsive, the attractive, the bereaved, the melancholic, the lover and the courtier, the suitor and the man of affairs, the socially deferential and the socially assured, 'natural' man and urban man. While not losing sight of sexuality, it epitomises both the value of the concept of social hair, and the need to broaden this formula with concepts derived from the analysis of fashion.

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[107] Ruth Spalding, ed., *The Diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke 1605–1675*, British Academy Records series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 89–93; Ruth Spalding, *The Improbable Puritan: A Life of Bulstrode Whitelocke 1605–1675* (London: Faber & Faber, 1975), 45 (portrait), 54, 59–63. I am grateful to Mark Jenner for first pointing me to this source.

Hair, Beards and the Fashioning of English Manhood in Early Modern Travel Texts

Eleanor Rycroft

Hair has a unique and peculiar relationship with the world. Both a part of the body and external to it, it is a social as well as biological signifier, existing on the threshold of nature and culture. Margaret Pelling describes hair's vacillating nature in this volume, writing: 'hair grows with the body, and reflects its age and state of health; it changes as the body changes, and is continuous with it. On the other hand, hair is detachable, and almost as mutable, indeed as optional, and as subject to fashion, as clothing'.[1] Alongside an increased interest in the body across early modern studies in recent years, the historicising of hair has become a burgeoning area of scholarship and, as Christopher Oldstone-Moore clarifies in his chapter, such histories confirm 'a sociological theory that a primary purpose of hair is to communicate contrasting social and ideological identities'. Early modern scholars such as Will Fisher and Mark Albert Johnston have significantly contributed to our understanding of

[1] Margaret Pelling, "'The Very Head and Front of my Offending': Beards, Portraiture, and Self-Presentation in Early Modern England", in this volume.

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how facial hair relates to early modern socio-economic structures, and their work has been complemented by research into other aspects of material culture, such as Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass's work on clothing and Farah Karim-Cooper's work on cosmetics.[2] The study of hair enhances this field through its related interrogation of the cultural production of identity through means often taken for granted. But there is also a danger in this research. Alan Sinfield writes that the general move in cultural materialism towards objects may turn the theory into 'a kind of textual anthropology' in which 'the political edge is blunted'.[3] The study of the material apparatus of identity must therefore remain attentive to the political and social contexts in which objects operate in order to retain its theoretical relevance. However, when hair and beards are discussed with reference to their ideological contexts, understanding of the religious, domestic, political and colonial discourses of early modern England also comes into focus.

In this chapter I will specifically consider the role of hair in the construction of masculinities in early modern travel writing. That differences between European and non-European bodies were fundamental to processes of colonialism is not a new concept. Kim F. Hall has argued, for instance, that interchangeable 'tropes of disorder, racial otherness, and unruly sexuality become the terms by which European expansion first appropriates the strange newness of lands "discovered" in the Renaissance'.[4] However, while emphasising the role of appearance in the colonial subjugation of the New World, early modern historians have tended to focus on colour as the privileged site of 'racial otherness'. Complexion has been hierarchised over clothing for instance, and other characteristics that denote physical difference—such as stature, body shape, facial features and hair—have tended to be underplayed or ignored.

[2]Will Fisher, "The Renaissance Beard," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (2001): 155–87; Mark Albert Johnston, "Playing with the Beard: Courtly and Commercial Economies in Richard Edwards's *Damon and Pithias* and John Lyly's *Midas*," *English Literary History* 72, no. 1 (2005): 79–103; Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) and Farah Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006).

[3]Alan Sinfield, *Shakespeare, Authority, Sexuality: Unfinished Business in Cultural Materialism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 4.

[4]Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 25.

Yet hair proves equally important in the production of non-European bodies in early modern travel literature; and not only in accounts of the New World, but also in those of encounters with 'the Great Turk', Jews, the inhabitants of Muscovy, Persia, India, and the far East, as well as in descriptions of England's European neighbours. Indeed the slipperiness of hair—its ability to symbolise both physical and cultural 'otherness'—make it a particularly useful tool for writers with either expansionist or mercantile *and* ideological projects in mind. It is one of the crucial features by which travel writers can create the spectacle of difference for their readers, and proves pivotal to the fashioning of both the early modern writer's own identity, as well as that of the 'others' whom he seeks to circumscribe. This was, after all, an era, as Stephen Greenblatt has shown, in which identity was more of a socially constituted entity than an unchangeable inner truth, founded partly in culturally constructed behaviours such as 'manners and demeanour' and controlled by a 'cultural system of meanings that create[d] specific individuals by governing the passage from abstract potential to concrete historical embodiment'.[5]

This chapter will show how an analysis of the absent or present facial hair in depictions of Native American and Turkish or Moorish men can illuminate the study of early modern travel writing. Elliot Horowitz was the first to write on this theme in his compelling discussion of how the early modern fashion for facial hair was partly a consequence of European contact with new cultures.[6] More recently Rebecca Herzig has furthered understanding of the role of hairlessness in the oppression of Native Americans in pre-Civil War America through her book, *Plucked*.[7] In 2011, Mark Albert Johnston made a sophisticated intervention into the field of early modern beard studies with his wide-ranging book *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England*, which used psychoanalytic, Foucauldian and Marxist perspectives to investigate the early modern

[5] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 3–4.

[6] Elliot Horowitz, "The New World and the Changing Face of Europe," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28, no. 4 (1997): 1181–201.

[7] Rebecca Herzig, *Plucked: A History of Hair Removal* (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 19–34.

fetishising of facial hair.[8] However, Will Fisher was one of the original proponents of the idea that facial hair was fundamental to the ideology of manhood during the early modern era, arguing that beards became a primary means through which masculinity was materialised and stabilised at a time when the 'one-sex model' meant that there was greater fluidity between the sexes. Fisher establishes how humoral theory informs the discourses underpinning the English fashion for facial hair in the sixteenth century. Believed to be a by-product of seminal production—the heat from the testes rising through the body as smoke and emerging through the face as excremental hair—beards provided visual evidence of male virility and thus proved crucial in matters of marriage as well as the ascription of manhood.[9] John Bulwer, for instance, a vehement pogonophile and promoter of the connection between beards and manliness in *Anthropometamorphosis*, is able to reiterate the argument of Marcus Ulmus and claim, 'Nature gave to mankind a Beard, that it might remaine as an Index, in the face, of the Masculine generative faculty'.[10] Bulwer's text condemns the 'Changeling Proteus' or 'National Gallant', the shape-shifting Englishman who contrives to change his appearance and even alter the beard that is 'the signe of a man' according to fashions influenced by foreigners, including the native cultures of the New World.[11] Prior to exploring the English encounters with indigenous populations that Bulwer finds so disturbing, however, I wish to situate the ideology of beardedness in relation to the Old World otherness of Islam during the era, and in particular to discuss how English manhood relates to representations of Turkish masculinity. My use of the term 'other' does not assume an individual 'self', but rather, and variously, invokes a national, continental or religious masculine group: it is influenced by Mary Douglas's notion that processes of group formation often liken the desired unit 'to a human body' with orifices 'to be carefully guarded from unlawful intrusions'.[12] Anxiety over individual bodies in

[8] Mark Albert Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England: Sex, Gender, and Registers of Value* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011). His work also importantly considers the issue of bearded women and relates the masculine ideology of beardedness to hermaphroditism in a critically stimulating way, 159–212.

[9] Fisher, "The Renaissance Beard," 173–75, 177–78.

[10] John Bulwer, *Anthropometamorphosis* (London, 1650), 131.

[11] Bulwer, *Anthropometamorphosis*, 131.

[12] Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols* (London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1970), viii.

colonial situations therefore represents an anxiety over the boundedness of the social group with which the traveller identifies. The early modern texts used often indicate different audiences—whether English, British, European or Christian—but Douglas's idea proves particularly useful for thinking about travellers united by any of these identities, who imagine their likeness and difference to foreigners via the concept of a body that also served as a model for patriarchal early modern society at large, with man—bearded of course—at its head.

Hairiness and Muslim Masculinity

While traditionally Islamic men had been represented as barbarously inferior to Europeans, the successful empire building of a supposedly uncivil people necessitated a somewhat different construction of the Ottoman Muslim during the early modern era. The perception of the Ottoman Empire morphed into a warlike, bloody nation under the absolute rule of a fierce tyrant: the 'Great Turk'. This construction helped to alleviate the blame for Christians' late arrival on the imperial scene through its conception of a historical body of Muslims working progressively towards territorial and mercantile domination. Hence Richard Knolles's epistle 'To the Reader' that prefaces his *Generall Historie of the Turks* condemns Christian princes for in-fighting rather than accounting themselves 'principall members of one and the same bodie' banding together to fight 'the common enemie'. A call to arms for Christians across Europe to mobilise in the face of the Ottoman threat, this enemy, according to Knolles, 'call themselves Islami … men of one mind, or at peace among themselves'.[13]

In the portraits that accompany Knolles's biographies, Turkish rulers are repeatedly represented with headdress, a dark beard and a fierce countenance. Even Knolles's account of the Emperor Achmat in the 1610 edition of *Generall Historie* portrays him with facial hair at 22, an age when he might still be beardless or incompletely bearded by the conventions of English portraiture, although its fairness and patchiness signify an immature stage in the development towards a full sultan's beard: 'His beard being but little, is of a browne chesnut colour, growing in

[13] Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (London: Adam Islip, 1603), sig. A4v, sig. A5r.

little tuffes'.[14] Bulwer similarly uses the assurance of Ottomans having facial hair to shame the English by writing, 'verily the Turkes who shave their slaves, do justly scoffe at such Christians who cut or naturally want a Beard, as suffering themselves to be abused against Nature'.[15] If beards are a secondary effect of seminal production according to the early modern model of manhood, then the certainty of the hairy-faced Muslim in Bulwer's text indicates his perceived fertility and virility, despite the associated carnivalesque implication that he is ruled by his lower half.

For British people anxious about the encroachment of Islam—and many had direct experience via the thousands of Britons taken captive on the Barbary Coast in the early 1600s—the enemy was imagined as a known quantity: swarthy and turbaned, heavily bearded on top and circumcised below.[16] Yet one of the problems of rhetorical counter-attack was making British men themselves cohere into one body during this incipient period of a union of nations. Frequently, when writers attempt to assert the stability of English identity in their texts, cracks begin to appear. In Book One of his *Cosmographie*, for instance—a work which aspires to fix the history, chorography and national characteristics of all countries known to exist at the time—Peter Heylyn views the inhabitants of outlying parts of the British Isles as more aligned with uncivil Muslims then Englishmen, noting the retention of 'barbarous Customs' in Scotland, and writing that the Kerns of Ireland are 'extremely barbarous; not behaving themselves like *Christians*, scarcely like men'.[17] The Scythian descent of Turks is also often ascribed to the ancestry of the Irish by early modern writers. In his *Itinerary*, Fynes Moryson is therefore able to explain the wearing of turbans among Irish harpers by their shared heritage: 'they weare Turkish heades and are thought to have

[14] Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (London: Adam Islip, 1610), 1297.

[15] Bulwer, *Anthropometamorphosis*, 125–26.

[16] See Nabil I. Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 71–82. In *Britain and Barbary, 1589–1689* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005) Matar further argues that such events reorganised gender roles back in Britain with women being "forced to fend for themselves and their children", 76.

[17] Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie in Four Books: Containing the Chorographie and Historie of the Whole World, and all the Principal Kingdoms, Provinces, Seas and Isles Thereof* (London: Anne Seile, 1669), 282, 291.

come first out of those parts'.[18] Peripheral savagery, combined with deep internal religious rifts, posed a problem of common ground for nationhood.

A similar instability in terms of Continental identity is evident in the deep divisions between fellow Europeans, particularly in more competitive mercantile endeavours, such as one made to Tripoli in 1583 by Thomas Sanders and relayed in Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*. Soon after the *Jesus* embarks, a Frenchman, Romaine Sonnings, cheats an Englishman out of three pounds, which Sanders finds 'the more detestable among Christians, they being in Turkey among the heathen'.[19] Sanders's text thus evinces the reality of European rivalries and xenophobia during early modern travel. In 1607 Sir Thomas Lowe related to Parliament the injurious treatment of Englishmen at the hands of the Spanish when a merchant ship, the *Tryall*, was forcibly searched by an Admiral of Sicily who proceeded to torture the purser and ultimately force all the 'principal Men' of the ship into prisons and gallies, 'where they endured many more Miseries than before, in so much as few or none of them, but had the Hair of their Heads and Faces fallen away'.[20] Even when attacks on English merchant vessels were conducted by 'foreign' Barbary corsairs, they were complicated by the fact that some of these pirates were of British origin. As Matar writes: 'These English, Welsh, Scottish, and Irish seaman learned the language of their hosts and clipped their beards as Muslims did rather than let them grow, as was

[18] Cited in Andrew Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 92.

[19] Richard Hakluyt, *Hakluyt's Voyages*, ed. Richard David (London: Chatto & Windus, 1981), 141. The un-Christians nature of the event foreshadows the fact that Sonnings later turns Turk to avoid execution when the ship is plundered and the crew taken captive by Moors.

[20] "House of Commons Journal Volume 1: 25 February 1607," *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 1: 1547–1629* (1802): 340–42, accessed 28 February 2011, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=5759&strquery=hair. While Europeans may behave in ways that were destructive to English manhood, foreign Christians can also be perceived as distorted and inverted, as when Fynes Moryson uses tropes of sexual and social disorder to describe the "warlike" women of the Georgian sect in Jerusalem, whose men are then linked with the incivility of poor grooming as well as papistry: 'The men weare long haire on their heads and beards, save that they are all shaven like Clerkes upon the Crowne of the head.' Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary … Containing his Ten Yeeres Travell through the Twelve Dominions* (London: Printed by John Beale, 1617), Part 1, 232.

the style in England.'[21] Piracy complicated Englishness in other ways as Claire Jowitt has shown, arguing for its centrality to the 'mercantile nationalism' which prefigured England's imperial ambitions.[22] In a very real sense then, the shifting identities of the countrymen who 'turned Turk', a valorisation of piracy, and the presence of an infidel who penetrated the English body of trade led to related ambivalences about the discontinuousness of English Christian from North African and Turkish Muslim manhood. Despite the discourse of alterity, the enemy was often represented as indistinguishable from the ally.

The sense of an Islamic infiltration of English manhood was intensified by tales of forced circumcision emerging from the Levant, one of which occurs during the aforementioned voyage of Thomas Sanders. Narratives from those captured by Turks and Moors focused on the fleecing of prisoners as a gendered sign of physical and spiritual submission, with shaving coming to stand for the act of circumcision. Sanders claims that not only were the crew starved and beaten, 'we were also forcibly and most violently shaven, head and beard'.[23] That shaving is selected by Sanders as one of the brutalities suffered by the prisoners is clarified by what Jonathan Goldberg, following Alan Bray, would term the 'sodometry' of the ensuing text—or the process of attaching sodomitical ideas to individuals as a way of separating self and 'other' in 'particularly stigmatizing contexts' and via 'relational structures' that more usually infer religious, ethnic or social disturbance rather than sexual acts per se.[24] The episode of forced shearing is followed by the forced conversion of Richard Burges and James Smith, the latter physically resisting his attempted circumcision: 'for it was so much as eight of the King's son's men could do to hold him; so in the end they circumcised him and made

[21] Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, 58.

[22] Claire Jowitt, "The uses of 'Piracy': Discourses of Mercantilism and Empire in Hakluyt's *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake*," in *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Chloe Houston (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 115–35, at 134. The phrase is taken from Richard Helgerson's exploration of trade and nationalism in the works of Hakluyt in *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writings of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 187.

[23] Hakluyt, *Hakluyt's Voyages*, 146.

[24] Jonathan Goldberg, *Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 19–20.

him Turk'.[25] Further details of the conversion—including the fact that the men are selected because of their youth—reveal the sodomitical associations of the circumcision: the 'desire' of the Turks to 'inforce' themselves on the youthful Englishmen indicates that the violation was sexual as well as religious.

The shaving which precedes their genital mutilation is also effeminising. By removing the 'sign' of seminal production, the beard, the spectre of the gelded Turkish eunuch is raised. Bulwer elucidates the properties of effeminacy and boyishness resulting from the eunuch's lack of a beard, writing that 'shaving the Chin is justly to be accounted a note of effeminacie … as appears by Eunuchs, who are not so effeminate in any thing, then that they are smooth, and produce not a Beard, the signe of virility, and therein not men'.[26] A belief that shaving is effeminate similarly underscores John Leo Africanus's dismay that the inn keepers of Fez 'goe apparelled like women, and shave their beards, and are so delighted to imitate women, that they not only counterfeite their speech, but will sometimes also sit down and spin'.[27] But the emasculation of hair removal informs European conflicts too, such as Francis Drake's 1587 assault on the Spanish warships at Cadiz, which became known as 'the singeing of the King of Spain's beard'. Johnston writes of this event that 'the beard is vulnerable to figurative shaving through attack in any of its effective registers, including economic and erotic'.[28] Thus the military expedition might be seen as an attack on Spain's martial power, but it is also one on Philip's manhood and virility because of the 'naturalized equivalence between beards and the values they signal'.[29] The humiliation of a fleecing is further elaborated by Patricia Parker in the context of conflicts with Turks. She writes that Knolles 'characterizes the temporary defeat of the Ottoman forces at the battle of Lepanto in 1571 as an only temporary shaving of the Sultan's "beard", which would soon grow back again, reflecting in its language not only the assimilation of shaving

[25] Hakluyt, *Hakluyt's Voyages*, 149.

[26] Bulwer, *Anthropometamorphosis*, 125.

[27] John Leo Africanus, *A geographical historie of Africa*, trans. John Pory (London: Georg. Bishop, 1600), 130.

[28] Fisher, "The Renaissance Beard," 134.

[29] Fisher, "The Renaissance Beard," 134.

to defeat but the signifying uses of the beard as an index of the loss and regaining of comparative power'.[30]

Nevertheless the association between beardlessness and the sexual disorder of effeminacy or sodomy is made much more explicit in accounts of Islamic sexuality than those which trace conflicts between Europeans. Bulwer, for instance, asserts that the removal of a beard is:

> [R]epugnant to the consent of the Learned of all Nations, who with one mouth pronounce a Beard comely, for a grave, constant, just and honest man. Nay, even the Turkes (whom we account but Barbarians) herein doe more homage to nature, who if a man have a fair, long Beard they reverence him … But if they have no Beard at all, if they be young, they call them Bardasses that is Sodomitical Boyes.[31]

Bulwer manages to disparage the Turkish even as he praises their customary pogonophilia, and at the same time conflates the beardlessness of eunuchs and boys and the desire of the bearded sodomite Muslim. Hirsutism and hairlessness in representations of Turks, as well as the sodometrical shearing of English seamen and merchants during the early seventeenth century, thus provide entry points to consider other aspects of Islamic sexual and religious identity. These attributed meanings of facial hair, in turn, reflect the diplomatic, commercial and military interactions of the two cultures. However, there is a slippage between the masculine identities represented in English travel writings and English manhood itself whereby the shape-shifting Fez innkeeper, or the Englishman deformed by the Turkish barbarian's shaving of his head, beard or foreskin, are elided with the many thousands of British citizens transformed whilst in Turkish or Moorish territories. These transformations take the form of acculturation—the 'clipping of their beards', donning of native apparel and the other small physical changes which occur

[30] Patricia Parker, "Barbers and Barbary: Early Modern Cultural Semantics," *Renaissance Drama* 33 (2004): 201–44, at 214.

[31] Bulwer, *Anthropometamorphosis*, 131–32. Parker illuminates the semantics of the term 'Bardasses': 'In its variable orthography in early modern English, "bardash" itself (frequently traced to Arabic *bardaj* or slave) appeared in forms that suggested the shaven, depilated, or "bared" ass of the pathic or beardless youth. "Bardasses" or "bardassoes" were part of an early modern set of associations that included shaving or barbering of all kinds', 217.

simply by virtue of living in foreign lands, such as tanned skin—but also the forced or voluntary conversion of British males into 'other' sorts of men, hence the anxiety surrounding religious renegades, the Janissaries and pirates.

In the early modern theatre, these concerns further inflect the character of the barber when he appears on-stage. Parker outlines the 'contemporary connections between barbering, Barbary, barbarisms, and the barbarian or barbarous, including iterated references to the "barbarous" (or "barberous") Moor and Turk. Barber in early modern English … was repeatedly conflated with barbarous as well as Barbary, in ways enabled by both unstable orthographies and sound'.[32] Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* uses the polyvalence facilitated by this aural semblance in the character of the barber who assumes the qualities of the barbarous Muslim. In Parker's words: 'the threat of "Nicke the Barbor" summons both the shaving that was a synonym for piracy and the "nicking" or circumcising of a phallic "pestle", associated with the Barbarossa who took Christian captives and inspired (or forced) so many to turn Turk'.[33] In the theatre as in the marketplace, where the barber-surgeon held a prominent place in his provision of grooming and minor surgical procedures as well as a forum for socialising, we find that, rather than a discourse of 'otherness', there are rather multiple points of identification with Islamic masculinity.[34] So at the same time that the beard had become the masculine norm at home, the cultural prominence of the barber, as well as foreign stylings of the beard among the nation's representatives abroad and returning ex-captives, materialised a subordinate and alien Islamic social identity *within* Britishness. This generated the problem of who the 'other' actually was. The body of the national group in travel texts to Turkish and Moorish lands is uncanny; its changeability means that it keeps on becoming strange to itself. The projected characteristic of the protean 'other's' transformations thus repeatedly comes to be reflected back onto the mutable and shifting British 'self'. In this way, the order which an incipient nationalism seeks to define and protect is shown to be polluted from within.

[32] Parker, "Barbers and Barbary," 205.

[33] Parker, "Barbers and Barbary," 228.

[34] See Margaret Pelling, *The Common Lot: Sickness, Medical Occupations and the Urban Poor in Early Modern England* (New York: Addison Welsey Longman, 1998), 203–30.

Hairlessness and New World Natives

The contamination of an emergent English identity upon contact with foreigners would take on new dimensions as it moved in a westerly direction, and one of the most notable differences between the barbarian of the New World and the Old would concern his facial hair. Accounts of journeys to Ottoman and other Islamic territories utilised an ideology of ordered and disordered (hyperbolically hairy or shaved) hair to enact a separation from bearded Turks and Moors, but in those towards the west the marker of Christian difference would be the contrast of bearded European faces with those of beardless natives. Indeed, the name for the Spaniards among the Mayas was, Horowitz claims, 'the bearded ones'.[35] He writes that following the European encounter with the inhabitants of the Antilles and the Americas,

> [N]either could apprehend the presence or absence of facial hair in precisely the same way they had done so before. The whiteness of the faces of the conquistadors and the heaviness of their beards became part of a single image of European identity on both sides of the Atlantic in which beardedness was closely associated with whiteness and, hence, European culture in its widest sense.[36]

Previously functioning as a sign of Turkish 'otherness' then, the beard in the New World came to be identified with the dominant culture of Europe, in ways enabled by their position as superiors and oppressors in colonial roles.

The fact that early modern descriptions of natives were generated more by imagination than reality is a point made by historians and anthropologists from Hogden—who writes that 'only too often phenomena come to be viewed through the media of old and congenial ideas'[37]—through to Greenblatt, Knapp and Elliott.[38] More recently,

[35] Horowitz, "The New World," 1186.

[36] Horowitz, "The New World," 1181.

[37] Margaret Hogden, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), 9.

[38] J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and The New 1492–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest* (California and London: University of California Press, 1992).

Chloe Houston has made clear the interconnection between processes of utopianisation and travel writing in *New Worlds Reflected*.[39] The role of both truth and fabrication in colonial discourse is evident from the very first accounts of the New World to reach British shores. Richard Eden's 1555 translation of Peter Martyr's *Decades* portrays all American natives as being 'commonly without beards: In so much that it is in maner a marvayle to see any of them eyther men or women to have any downe or heare on theyr faces or other partes of theyr boddies'.[40] The use of the word 'marvel' links up later in the narrative with the correlation Martyr draws between the inhabitants of the mainland and 'those of the Ilande of giantes' intimating a relationship between indigenous peoples and the mythical races of Pliny.[41] Therefore the ascription of beardlessness to Native Americans, whether natural or artificial, should not be accepted as their bodily reality, but rather understood in terms of the figurative uses of hair to express social and cultural deficiency.

Martyr's excerpt depicts a hairlessness which results from nature and not nurture, yet other accounts refer to the cultural practice of depilation. John Hawkins's encounter with the people of Santa Fe during his second voyage to the Indies of 1564–1565 describes 'the men … without beards, neither men nor women suffering hair to grow in any part of their body, but daily pull it off as it groweth'.[42] The reification of the hairless Native American body in the European imagination was achieved through the accounts of returning travellers that vociferously proclaimed their truthfulness and authenticity. Theodor de Bry's widely circulated engravings in his 1590 edition of Thomas Hariot's *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* were also hugely influential in constructing the indigenous American 'other'. De Bry's reproductions of John White's watercolours effectively disseminated the idea of Native American beardlessness throughout a Europe in which the beard materialised manly identity. Whether this hairlessness was natural or artificial is not important; the pictures showed beardlessness and, by doing so, represented a society that was *without* adult men, and therefore without order, reason and governance. In the one image of native facial hair in his

[39] Chloe Houston, "Introduction," *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 1–14.

[40] Cited in Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels*, 247.

[41] Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels*, 248.

[42] Hakluyt, *Hakluyt's Voyages*, 373.

collection, De Bry portrays 'an ageed manne', an enfeebled elderly male, presumably swathed in a 'winter garment' because of the humoral cooling of his body, belying the sort of beard associated with the idealised virility and strength of early modern manliness.[43] Native American society is thus represented as under the disordered rule of unmanly men.[44]

It would be tempting to ascribe the European production of unmanliness among America's natives to the need to legitimise their domination. Indeed related accusations of sodomy in the New World usually function to demonstrate the sinfulness of pagans who require Christianity in order to become civilised, or to justify European massacres of of indigenous peoples. Peter Martyr's relation of the story of Vasco Núñez de Balboa's massacre in 1511 at a Panamanian village when he discovered the 'most abhominable and unnaturall lechery' at the house of their 'kynge' which included the transvestism of the king's brother—resulting in Balboa's feeding of 40 Amerindians to his dogs—was one which, according to Goldberg, knew 'no national borders'.[45] In such instances the beardless boy or eunuch sodomised by the bearded Muslim is replaced by a sexual disorder not even contained within a hierarchy between males—they are all beardless and 'they are all sodomites' as Bernal Diaz del Castillo wrote in 1519.[46]

In light of the ascription of indigenous beardlessness it is necessary to look at the vocabulary of other hair to determine precisely what work is being done by the beardless Native American body in ideologies of nationalism and colonialism emerging at this time. In English

[43]Thomas Hariot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia of the commodities and of the nature and manners of the naturall inhabitants* … (1590), sig. Br. The attendant text clarifies the synthetic practice of hair removal: 'The yonnge men suffer noe hairr at all to growe uppon their faces but assoone as they growe they put them away, but when thy [sic] are come to yeeres they suffer them to growe although to say truthe they come opp verye thinne.'

[44]How early colonialists represent Native American beardlessness accords with Oldstone-Moore's observation in this volume that transhistorically, "facial hair has been associated for thousands of years with nature, autonomy and self-reliance, while shaving has been linked with constructions of manliness grounded on commitments to authorities beyond the self"; Christopher Oldstone-Moore, "Social Science, Gender Theory and the History of Hair", in this volume. Positioning indigenous peoples as beardless anticipates the oppression that 'autonomous' Europeans will enforce upon them.

[45]Goldberg, *Sodometries*, 180.

[46]Cited in Goldberg, *Sodometries*, 193.

accounts, for instance, the blackness of the hair of the head is repeatedly emphasised in New World travel writing to illustrate the unsightly darkness of the American Indian 'other'. William Strachey notes both the excessive presence of head hair and notable absence of facial hair as a primary feature of the Virginian in his *Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania*: 'Their haire is black, grosse, longe and thick, the men have no beards'.[47] However, at the same time many English writers were careful to produce Virginians as not *too black* so as not to put off potential colonisers—demonstrated by Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow's construction of the Virginian Indian's appearance in their report to Walter Raleigh of their 1584 voyage along the Eastern coast of America, stating that they are 'of colour yellowish, and their hair black for the most part; and yet we saw children that had very fine auburn and chestnut-coloured hair'.[48] Their account therefore suggests some underlying 'whiteness', and therefore civility, to those who inhabit the space desired for English colonisation. Other texts produced to advertise Virginia unfavourably contrast the paradisiacal, unspotted Utopian land with its inhabitants. One of the mariners set on shore by Captain Hawkins in 1568 encounters a nation he calls the Chichemici who 'use to wear their hair long, even down to their knees. They do also colour their faces green, yellow, red and blue, which maketh them seem very ugly and terrible to behold'.[49] In place of a groomed and proper beard, the tribespeople instead display a polychromatic cosmetic mask. Indeed, a riot of colour explodes in the texts of the Indies and Americas, the palette of the landscape, the wildlife and the natives themselves, who are frequently described as tattooed, sparkling with trinkets and brightly apparelled. The Chichemici who avail themselves of Hawkins's men's clothes are notably only interested in 'any coloured clothes … but those that were apparelled in black they did not meddle withal'.[50] Native Americans' hair is also subject to the dying of the various forms which are grown or cut into it: the crests, ponytails and lovelocks which define the head hair of the American Indian man. This colourful exorbitance

[47]William Strachey, *The Historie of Travel into Virginia Britania*, ed. Louis. B. Wright and Virginia Freund (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953), 71.

[48]Hakluyt, *Hakluyt's Voyages*, 448.

[49]Hakluyt, *Hakluyt's Voyages*, 408.

[50]Hakluyt, *Hakluyt's Voyages*, 408.

thus becomes a method through which social disorder and a lack of civil moderation is signified in travellers' accounts. Not only do they lack sober judgement, the natives are also indistinguishable from the flora and fauna of their lands.

The ways in which colour is employed in the emergent discourse of colonisation should warn against any general conflation of the black 'other' during the early modern period, but keep the historian alert to the contingencies of physical description alongside the constructed cultural condition of various dark-skinned peoples, so as to analyse the many different 'othernesses' produced in accounts of foreign journeys. Thus the tribes of the East Indies and South Seas can be discursively linked with those of America despite the geographical distance. The 'sundry and many strakes and devises' unnaturally cut into a Filipino chief's body in Francis Petty's relation of the 1586–1588 voyage of Thomas Cavendish, anticipate the charges of sodomy to follow: 'the women of the countrey … finding their men to be given to the fowle sinne of Sodomie, desired some remedie against that mischiefe'.[51] And yet, in the next sentence, native sodomy becomes a facet of the abnormal sexuality and heathenish faith of the Muslim, made possible by the extant presence of Moors in the South Seas: 'Moreover all the males are circumcised, having the foreskinne of their flesh cut away. These people wholly worship the devill'.[52]

Foreignness is partly conceived of as an indeterminacy of form, and it is for this reason that Bulwer is able to draw comparisons between the fashions of the 'National Gallant' and the cultural bodily practices of all foreigners. In the case of English representations of Native Americans, tales of societies of beardless men combined with the colourful multiplicity of native bodies do not produce objective descriptions for the readers at home. They rather reveal the disarray of, and deviations from, the ideal English model in the Americas, with the perceived inversions and distortions of sodomy, cannibalism and paganism inscribed onto

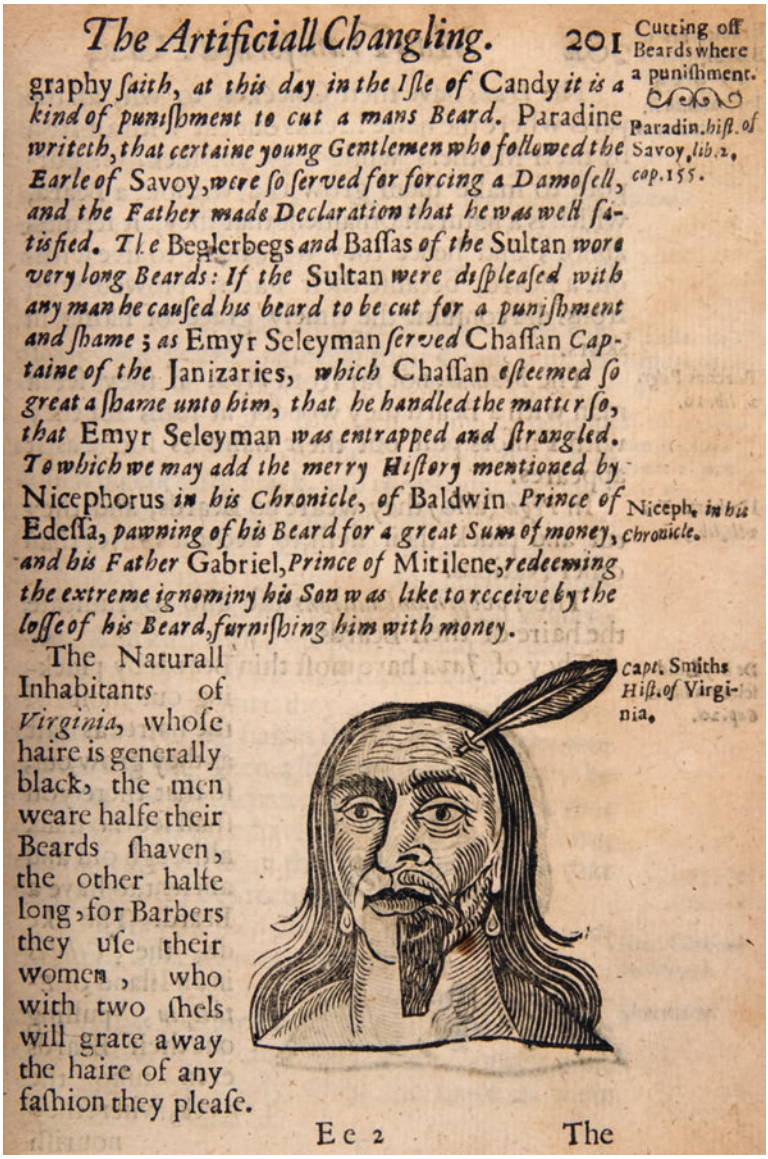
[51] Cited in Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels*, 196, 197.

[52] Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels*, 197. In fact, in the milieu of the East Indies, it is the Europeans who can seem the 'smooth fac'd strangers' (4.1.33)—the term used for the Portuguese by the Governour in John Fletcher's play *The Island Princess* (*c.*1619–21) because of their concealed economic and sexual motives. John Fletcher, "The Island Princess," *Beaumont and Fletcher Dramatic Works*, ed. F. T. Bowers, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

the colourful, beardless, naked and deformed American Indian body. In its excesses and absences, this body is perceived as blotted and impure, not just as a result of skin colour, but due to all the cosmetic and biological *unlikenesses* from the concept of order to which it is subject. The lack of an ability to verify accounts of the New World due to the very small quantity of Europeans who actually crossed the Atlantic enabled writers at home to use their imaginations potently with regard to this 'new' alien. One of the most interesting deformations of facial hair which occurs throughout the entire period is found in the 1653 edition of Bulwer's *Anthropometamorphosis*, one of the only representations to depict an inhabitant of Virginia as exhibiting beard growth (Fig. 1). Nonetheless, he is depicted as having chosen to shave exactly half of this beard off. In this way, the image of the disfigured American Indian male testifies to his masculine insufficiency through his perverse disavowal of the governing role.

It is notable that the woodcut of the semi-bearded Virginian is accompanied by text in which Bulwer claims 'for Barbers they use their women'. While the blackness of Native American hair and brownness of skin in conjunction with colourful incisions and additions to their bodies articulates the impurity of the social group, the explicit role of hair treatment in this discursive regime further expresses the disorder of gender in their society. Not only are the men without the sign of virile masculinity, Bulwer shows that this is 'cut' away by women occupying a role that is traditionally held by men in English society. And while this sign of patriarchal prerogative is removed, the hair of the head is grown long as a further symptom of effeminacy because, for Bulwer, the long hair of women is an essential and naturalised sexual ornament, equivalent to the beard in the male: 'The hair in a more speciall manner was given Woman for a covering. In all kinds of Creatures, and in every Sexe Nature hath placed some note of difference … where she hath granted … as an Ornament and beauty, the increase of long Haire, even down unto the Feet … in recompence of their smoothnesse and want of a Beard.'[53] And yet, in the same way that the deformities and mutations of the 'other' get projected back into Englishness elsewhere in Bulwer's text, only a few pages later he links a 'superfluous crop of haire' in men to the barbarism of both the Irish *and* American Indians, and questions why English

[53] Bulwer, *Anthropometamorphosis*, 1653, 57–58.



The Artificiall Changling. 201

Cutting off Beards where a punishment.

graphy *saith, at this day in the Isle of* Candy *it is a kind of punishment to cut a mans Beard.* Paradine *writeth, that certaine young Gentlemen who followed the Earle of* Savoy, *were so served for forcing a Damosell, and the Father made Declaration that he was well satisfied. The* Beglerbegs *and* Bassas *of the* Sultan *wore very long Beards: If the* Sultan *were displeased with any man he caused his beard to be cut for a punishment and shame; as* Emyr Seleyman *served* Chassan *Captaine of the* Janizaries, *which* Chassan *esteemed so great a shame unto him, that he handled the matter so, that* Emyr Seleyman *was entrapped and strangled. To which we may add the merry History mentioned by* Nicephorus *in his Chronicle, of* Baldwin *Prince of* Edessa, *pawning of his Beard for a great Sum of money, and his Father* Gabriel, *Prince of* Mitilene, *redeeming the extreme ignominy his Son was like to receive by the losse of his Beard, furnishing him with money.*

Paradin. *hist. of* Savoy, *lib. 2. cap. 155.*

Niceph. *in his Chronicle.*

The Naturall Inhabitants of *Virginia*, whose haire is generally black, the men weare halfe their Beards shaven, the other halfe long, for Barbers they use their women, who with two shels will grate away the haire of any fashion they please.

Capt. Smiths *Hist. of* Virginia.

Ee 2 The

Fig. 1 John Bulwer, *Anthropometamorphosis* (London, 1653), p. 201 (Courtesy of History of Science Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries)

gallants 'either mingle or change the custome, or the sequestring variance of virile Nature with Feminine, that one Sex cannot be known and distinguished from another'.[54]

Bulwer is not the only early modern writer concerned with the perceived gender confusion precipitated by Native American appearance. The renowned anti-theatricalist William Prynne similarly attacks the 'Ridiculous, Effeminate and Heathenish fashion, use and custom, of the Idolatrous, Rude, Lascivious, and Effeminate Infidels and Pagans' in *The Unlovelinesse of Love-lockes*.[55] The lovelock—a hair style in which one side of the hair is grown longer than the other—recurs in English descriptions of Virginia, such as that provided by Amadas and Barlow who claim that the sexes are differentiated only by the fact that 'women wear their hair long on both sides, and the men but on one'.[56] However, as in Bulwer, the deformity of the lovelock is doubled back by Prynne onto the 'vainglorious' men of Britain who affect New World fashions and therefore derive 'their generation, birth and pedigree from the Heathenish, & Idolatrous Virginians, who tooke their patterne from the Devill Ockeus … with a long blacke Locke on the left side of his head'.[57] And while such fashions demonstrated the contamination of English masculinity at home, the disfigurations of English form attendant on 'going native' had the effect of further estranging the English body abroad.

Anthropometamorphosis and *The Unlovelinesse of Love-lockes* both demonstrate the problem of a protean variety of form which expresses the civil, sexual and religious disorder of the Americas and Indies. As Hawkins writes, the appearance of 'every man according to his own fancy' results in a social chaos in which class, gender, status and nationhood are indistinguishable from one another.[58] Whatever its origins,

[54] Bulwer, *Anthropometamorphosis*, 1653, 60.

[55] William Prynne, *The Unlovelinesse of Love-lockes* (London, 1628), 5.

[56] Hakluyt, *Hakluyt's Voyages*, 448.

[57] Prynne, *The Unlovelinesse of Love-lockes*, 4. The actual prevalence of the lovelock among the English is unclear, although a late sixteenth-century miniature of the Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's patron, depicts his hair as longer on the left than the right.

[58] Hakluyt, *Hakluyt's Voyages*, 389. Indeed it is interesting that Master Velvet-Breeches's barber, as cited by Pelling, attributes the lovelock to French fashion, asking his foppish customer, 'will you bee Frenchefied with a love locke downe to your shoulders?'. Margaret Pelling '"The Head and Front of My Offending": Beards, Portraiture, and Self-Presentation in Early Modern England'.

when Bulwer and Prynne transpose the bizarre customs of 'others', such as the wearing of lovelocks, onto English bodies they provide a two-fold criticism of both foreign and English societies. At the same point in history as English nationalism sought to define its own limits—and at a moment when what that might mean was further complicated by the Union of the Crowns and attempts to suppress Ireland—travel texts from both the east and the west revealed its corruption from within. In tension with the startling certainty about the dimensions of the male body which sometimes features in early modern travel texts—enabling Ralph Fitch, for instance, to penetrate figuratively the women of Ormuz whose ears 'be worn so wide that a man may thrust three of his fingers into them'—are these perceived transformations and degenerations of the English body both at home and abroad.[59]

The juxtaposition of an ideology of masculine beardedness and the travel literature of the Renaissance illuminates the faultlines of both. That malleable facial hair becomes the radically unstable site upon which masculine identity is is registered in early modern England parallels the fracturing of national identity evident in the travel texts of the era. The role of the presence or absence of facial hair in accounts of foreign travel becomes crucial because of its ability to express the fantasy of a bodily form that reflects the body politic, a male head denoted by a beard. At the same time, the artifice of grooming as prerequisite for a socially acceptable exterior and the inevitable degeneration of an idealised appearance during travel to foreign lands results in an inability to decipher Englishman from foreigner merely on the appearance of civility. The categorical instability of facial hair in general means that, Pelling argues, 'early modern England does not sort itself neatly into smooth insiders, and hairy outsiders. We may be forced to conclude that there is no single fixed meaning … to be attached to any state of the hair', and this instability is emphasised in travel texts which seek to fix cultural formations.[60] Early modern writing on foreignness thus frequently twisted back on itself to reflect upon the condition of Englishness itself. Whether describing encounters in the New or Old World, the emergent discourse of English nationalism failed to locate successfully an 'other' opposed to the body of the emergent national group;

[59] Hakluyt, *The Unlovelinesse of Love-lockes*, 155.

[60] Pelling, "The Very Head and Front of My Offending", in this volume.

rather the limits of this body were repeatedly represented as under attack from what it sought to cast out. It is for this reason that in travel texts that represented foreign masculinity, the polyvalent beard—because of its own shape-shifting and ambivalent symbolic properties—becomes an imaginative crux for England's profound nationalistic anxiety.

Beardless Young Men? Facial Hair and the Construction of Masculinity in Nineteenth-Century Spanish Self-Portraits

M. Victoria Alonso Cabezas

In nineteenth-century fashion, beards and moustaches were nearly as essential to a masculine appearance as frockcoats, suits or hats; in other words, facial hair was the must-wear attire in performative displays of masculinity. In her discussion of the relationship between the representation of the artist and performativity, art historian Amelia Jones pushed this analysis a step further by arguing that facial hair was one of the many accessories that Western artists would use in this period to self-construct the social and gendered implications of artistic identity.[1] Accordingly, facial hair was not merely a sign of sexual maturity nor a simple marker in hierarchies based on age, but a statement of the artist's ideas about *his* profession and

[1]A. Jones, "Clothes Make the Man: The Male Artist as a Performative Function," *The Oxford Art Journal* 18, no. 2 (1995): 19.

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his commitment to social issues. Nevertheless, facial hair remained the most immediate visual reminder of gender and was accordingly loaded with sociocultural meanings associated with masculine identity.[2]

With the performative quality of gender as a starting point, Masculinities Studies have contributed to deeper research about the changing and always plural connotations of male identity. However, few of the studies focusing on the history of art or visual culture have dug deep enough into the gendered construction of adolescence. Some exceptions lie in Germaine Greer's seminal study of the ephebe, or Mechtild Fend's research on the androgyne.[3] The transition from childhood to adulthood—usually erased from histories built by and for adult men—has recently been rescued as a subject for analysis by social historians. Their goal has been to show how masculinity was historically learnt, constructed and mimed in adolescence so as to be assimilated as a performative—and so unconsciously repeated—gender role in adult men.[4]

As works such as Rousseau's *Émile* implied—and psychoanalytic theory later posited—the strict codes of masculinity are passed down from men to boys. Moreover, besides this behavioural education, boys look to adult men to learn fully what it means to *be a man* and in turn, how one performs this vague idea.[5] Considering sexual differentiation as the peak of adolescence

[2] As Jean-Marie Le Gall states—following Christian Bromberger's anthropologic study of hair—hair and facial hair are not just a visual key for differentiating the sexes, but have their own meanings about the society and culture to which they relate and express the relationship between the individual, social order and aesthetic impositions. J. M. Le Gall, *Un idéal masculin? Barbes et moustaches XV^e-XVIII^e siècles* (Paris: Payot, 2011); C. Bromberger, *Trichologiques: une anthropologie des cheveux et des poils* (Paris: Bayard, 2010).

[3] G. Greer, *The Boy* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003); M. L. Fend, *L'androgyne dans l'art et la théorie de l'art en France (1750–1830)* (Paris: Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, 2011).

[4] J. Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (London: Yale University Press, 1999); A. M. Sohn, *Sois un homme! La construction de la masculinité au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2009).

[5] E. Badinter, *XY. On Masculine Identity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); M. Burin and I. Meler, *Varones. Género y subjetividad masculina* (Barcelona: Paidós, 2000); I. Jablonka, "L'enfance ou le «voyage vers la virilité»," in *Histoire de la virilité. 2. Le triomphe de la virilité: le XIX^e siècle*, ed. A. Corbin (Paris: Seuil, 1990); G. Espigado Tocino, "Cómo hacerse un hombre. La pedagogía decimonónica al servicio de la construcción de la identidad sexual," in *La identidad masculina en los siglos XVIII y XIX. VIII Encuentro de la Ilustración al Romanticismo (1750–1850)*, ed. A. Ramos Santana (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1995), 129–50.

(codified as eminently androcentric), Rousseau explained how men's development from children into adults was a process marked by physical and psychological changes, such as the development of physiognomy, the growth and darkening of fuzz over the cheeks and changes in the voice. But most interesting of all is how Rousseau represents adolescence as an intermediate age, transitional and in fact very short, and a time of personal crisis. These are the cultural connotations of normative male-centred youth that would last through to the end of the nineteenth century.[6]

Adolescence, then, was one of the most ambiguous periods of a man's life, and during the nineteenth century there is a close bond between this unsettled self-consciousness and adolescents' gender identity with the visual attributes of facial hair. As historian Anne-Marie Sohn has pointed out, the nineteenth-century performance of the adolescent *as a grown man* implied the adoption of fashion codes or behavioural habits normally reserved for adult men, such as the care and display of beards or moustaches.[7] The growth of facial hair, though, remained a biological process that caused both fascination and anxiety in young men who found themselves beardless in a Western society that now praised beards as the attribute of a new code of virility.

In Spain, the popular image of beardless or clean-shaven men found in Goya's *majos* and late eighteenth-century Enlightenment aristocracy gave way to elegant displays of sideburns in the early 1800s. The change did not go unnoticed, as a formerly shaven society found itself facing the 'hairy' problems of the new masculine toilette and the wish for freedom in the wearing of facial hair. The result was the emergence of a new cosmetics market focused on the supply of hair growth products instead of shaving soaps, together with a tendency to mock the excessive care that facial hair seemed to require.[8] This eccentricity became a public issue,

[6] J. J. Rousseau, *Emilio, o de la educación* (Madrid: Alianza, 1990); Fend, *L'androgyne dans l'art*, 137.

[7] Sohn, *Sois un homme!*, 17.

[8] The controversy of the *toilette* as a threat to masculinity and national identity has here parallels with the French fashion introduced by the Bourbons in the eighteenth-century Spanish court; effeminacy, then, is also tainted with political connotations in the case of the early nineteenth-century *afrancesados*, and acquires new meanings in the context of the army and guerrilla fighters during the war against the Napoleonic invasion between 1808 and 1814. A. Molina, "De caballeros de pelo en pecho a señoritos de ciento en boca," in *Miradas disidentes: géneros y sexos en la historia del arte*, ed. A. Dallal (México DF, UNAM-Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 2007), 257.

as attributes such as full beards or moustaches, formerly restricted to military masculinity, were appropriated by civilians and, what was even worse, caused trouble within the army because of the fashionable beards shown in soldiers' faces. Indeed, what was considered an intolerable sign of effeminacy at the turn of the century would have more serious consequences from 1808 onwards, as facial hair, associated with liberty, became a very visible political symbol of a divided people. For example, anarchic displays of beards and moustaches in the Spanish army troubled the conservative government re-established by Ferdinand VII in 1814, which imposed new, strict laws on the use of facial hair among soldiers.[9] These restrictions, as Alice White's chapter explores in her analysis of the military moustache in the British Army, were not just an issue of male grooming but of national interest as the image of the soldier was also the image of the national strength and men bounding towards the enemy; the appropriation by civilians of the military moustache too seems to have been commonplace in Western culture, as it also meant an appropriation of the manly connotations of courage and aggressiveness.

Thus, young men came to see how sideburns were the perfect accessory for civil, elegant men, though the topic of the Spanish man spread by foreign travellers would nevertheless help create the antagonistic, Romantic image of wild, bushy sideburns. The latter were linked to *some* icons of tradition and violence,[10] and thus to a concrete idea of Spanish masculinity, whether in the figure of the bandit, guerrilla fighter or bullfighter. What followed was the triumph of moustaches and chin beards (or goatees) in the early 1830s, a development profoundly linked with Romanticism. Whether a whim of fashion or not, it is slightly suspicious that facial hair was increasingly imbued with political connotations during the Regency and the reign of Elisabeth II. Indeed, it is as if the reaffirmation of manly power through visual appearance came to parallel the power awarded to (male) politicians by the Constitution of 1837.[11]

[9] *El Procurador general de la nación y del rey*, 25 March 1815, 669–70.

[10] C. Reyero, "Guerrilleros, bandoleros y facciosos: el imaginario romántico de la lucha marginal," in *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, 20 (2008), 9–20.

[11] The Pragmatic Sanction of 1830 left young princess Elisabeth, aged three at the moment of her father's death, heir of the Spanish throne. Her mother, Regent Maria Christina of the Two Sicilies, defended her rights with the support of the Liberal Party against the pretentions of Infante Don Carlos, triggering a civil war known as the First Carlist War (1833–1840). The Constitution of 1837 recognised the power of monarchy, which for the first time in centuries rested upon a woman's shoulders, and stated how her future husband would have no part in the rule of Spain.

In any event, goatees and chin strips became the way to express—or fake—liberal patriotism, as an article in an 1837 newspaper stated:

> It is fashionable to show a moustache and a chin beard, this last one the bigger the better; it has to be seen from distance and characterise the person; with these whiskers one might be taken as a patriot even though he is not, or ask for placements and succeed with them. It is not a matter of merits nor patriotism, but of whiskers.[12]

This attack against the opportunists 'who believe that patriotism is about growing a moustache or a chin beard' was widely disseminated in the press, a testament to how political discomfort could be channelled through facial hair. The solution to this faked patriotism was simple, for opportunists' chin strips could also 'be shaved with a razor'[13]; the parallel between shaving and beheading political troublemakers comes through in these lines.[14] Moreover, the pairing of moustache and chin beard was also an answer to the open war waged by the army against civilians wearing moustaches without sideburns or goatees. At the peak of the Carlist Wars, the issue of moustaches was never a joke: between 1832 and 1844, they were occasionally banned for all citizens but active soldiers[15] in cities like Madrid, León, Murcia, Seville or Malaga, with offenders subject to arrest, fine or prison.[16] This controversy caused

[12] El Hablador, "Modas políticas," *El Guardia Nacional*, 10 May 1837, 1. In order to make the reading easier, all extracts from Spanish periodicals have been translated. The term "whiskers" here could seem problematic, as it could be exclusively referring to the chin beards mentioned above; the Spanish term used by the author (*esos pelitos* and *pelos*) leads us to think that he refers to facial hair in a more general, and maybe even pejorative, way.

[13] "Una cosillina," *Fray Gerundio*, 2 December 1837, 93.

[14] About the relationship between beards and power in history and literature, see Le Gall (2011) and M. A. Johnston, "Playing with the Beard: Courtly and Commercial Economies in Richard Edwards's *Damon and Pitithias* and John Lyly's Midas," *ELH* 72, no. 1 (2005): 79–103.

[15] For more information about moustaches in the army as a way to build masculine identity in nineteenth-century France see Sohn, *Sois un homme!*, 28–31; G. Mihaly, *L'émergence du modèle militaro-viril. Répresentations masculines en France au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2004).

[16] Soldiers were obliged to wear a moustache and uniform, and any civilian wearing a moustache faced a fine of 400 ducats or six months in prison. "Orden de la plaza del 30 de julio de 1832," *Diario de avisos de Madrid*, 31 July 1832, 893.

uneasiness among citizens, who considered it a deprivation of manly rights and pointed out the political implications of these bans, as an anonymous writer stated in 1834:

> This is what I would love to know: what do moustaches have in common with opinions? What have they done to deserve honour from these statesmen, to frighten at the sight of the young face they adorn? I do not know, I cannot find a reason and surely there must be one, as moustaches fall under despotism and grow and multiply under liberty; the latter supports and stands up for them while the other prosecutes them and has taken as a principle of justice to rule over citizens' beards.[17]

Despite small rebellions against this eccentric rule, public discontent about it did not reach the courts until 1845. The Queen ordered its abolition, stating that military law could not be imposed on civilians.[18] This measure was the dawn of a new freedom (and for some critics a complete anarchy) in the use and abuse of facial hair.[19] The new standard in fashion, setting its eyes on the sophisticated French codes as a claim for cosmopolitan, bourgeois appearances, precipitated a new fascination towards full beards by both men and women from 1850 onwards, though chin strips did not lose their monopoly over men's faces until the Revolution of 1868 and the brief reign of the bearded Amadeus I.

All these changes in facial hair fashion, together with the new connotations they implied, had a powerful impact on young men, who, besides wishing to be considered as adults, longed for their moustaches and beards to grow so as to be included in the complex world of masculine power.[20] Among the many attractive elements of the adult world, some were close to the idea of a ritual initiation into manhood,[21] like the

[17] *Eco del comercio*, 30 July 1834, 1–2.

[18] *Boletín oficial de la provincia de Cáceres*, 8 March 1845, 115.

[19] The writer behind the initials B. M. stated in *El genio de la Libertad*: "We are not supportive of naked faces, as we like the attributes of virility, but we would like it that in this anarchy in contemporary faces a fashion of wearing the beard should be adopted, accordingly to our dress codes … that is to say, the full beard," B. M. "Variedades de la barba," *El genio de la libertad*, 23 October 1848, 3.

[20] About the two-sexes model and physical appearances see T. W. Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990).

[21] D. D. Gilmore, *Hacerse hombre: concepciones culturales de la masculinidad* (Barcelona: Paidós, 1994), 111.

masculine atmosphere at the barber shop[22] or the contact with women expected at soirées. Besides, the influence of a militarised society and the role of facial hair in politics may have determined the behaviour and wishes of Spanish adolescents throughout the nineteenth century. In their unconscious attempts at imitation, young men tried to get involved in politics. However, their youth and inexperience revealed their anxiety and adults accordingly perceived them as ridiculous, referring to them as *muchachos sin un pelo de barba*—literally, lads without a whisker in their beards. This pejorative allusion, appearing throughout Western culture, can be understood as a device used by adult men to impose their authority on younger men: the lack of masculine attributes, once pointed out, served as grounds to discredit young men based on their age.[23]

It is no coincidence that the new freedoms associated with the 1845 facial hair fashion emerged at the same moment as the image of the frivolous adolescent who was completely obsessed with facial hair. However, that does not mean that the wish for facial hair was not strong in young men of the previous decades. Insofar as visual representations of young men are concerned, the neoclassical image of androgynous teenagers in history or mythological painting, albeit highly sexualised, presumably exiled facial hair and its subsequent anxieties from the artistic discourse. Moreover, adolescent portraits and self-portraits are too rare to make any hypothesising possible (Margaret Pelling's chapter in this volume similarly highlights the rarity of adolescent portraits in early modern England). The former are rare because they immortalised an excessively ephemeral moment in a man's life; the latter because they required premature artistic skills. But in the intimate and sincere atmosphere of private portraiture, and especially in the hearts of artists' families, the gap between boyhood and early manhood was more directly portrayed.

[22] Ruled by men assisted by younger men, most barber shops were considered places of masculine intimacy. We have only one record of a barber shop in Madrid which, according to the press, would have included some women in its staff. This press report, published in 1851, was riddled with sexist statements, which focused on the pleasure of having a shave by these "pretty barbers," or accused them of being the new Delilahs who dared shave their own husbands and fathers. "Barbería notable," *La España*, 22 June 1851, 4; *El Heraldo*, 25 June 1851, 3; *El Observador*, 21 June 1851, 3; "Barberos con faldas," *La Nación*, 22 June 1851, 4; "Conspiración contra los bigotes," *El Mundo Nuevo*, 24 June 1851, 2–3.

[23] Anne-Marie Sohn chronicles similarities in the nineteenth-century French press in the same terms: Sohn, *Sois un homme!*, 290–91.

Two portraits of a young, moustache-wearing Federico de Madrazo endure as rare testaments to the role facial hair played in this transitional age.

Young Artists and the Visual Quest for Masculinity

In 1833, probably before he left for a short trip to Paris, Federico de Madrazo's father painted his portrait (currently kept at the Hispanic Society of America). He was then eighteen years old and, based on the way his father saw him, it appears his teenage face had begun to show faint traces of facial hair. In this unfinished portrait, José de Madrazo highlights the flesh tones with thicker brush strokes, letting the shadows emerge from the canvas's brownish priming. A closer look at the angle of the light reveals that the shadow on his upper lip doesn't match with the shading; instead, it suggests pubescent fuzz, which contrasts with the smoothness of the skin. Federico is portrayed by his father as a self-confident young man with a serious expression and clever eyes.

Surprisingly, there are few differences between this image and the one Federico de Madrazo himself included in his painting *The Great Captain After the Battle of Cerignola*,[24] exhibited at the Madrilian Academy Exhibition in 1835. So few, in fact, that in his study on the work, José Luis Díez hesitates as to whether it should be considered an original self-portrait by Federico de Madrazo or a copy of the portrait painted by his father.[25] In spite of his youth, Federico de Madrazo was a renowned portraitist, and *The Great Captain* is eloquent proof of this ability, as Madrazo used it to depict some of his contemporaries, including José de Espronceda or Ventura de la Vega, among others. However, the painting's similarities and differences with the Hispanic Society portrait raise a number of questions about it being just a copy. Some details, such as his eyes—fixed on the viewer and, we assume, on the mirror—and a more distinguishable shadow on his upper lip, allow us to differentiate the young man in *The Great Captain* from the 1833 portrait; details, in summary, that reveal a young Madrazo facing the doubts and anxieties

[24] Federico de Madrazo y Kuntz, *The Great Captain After the Battle of Cerignola*, 1835; oil on canvas (134 × 187.5 cm); Museo Nacional del Prado [P07806].

[25] J. L. Díez and J. Barón, *El siglo XIX en el Prado*, catálogo de exposición, Museo Nacional del Prado (31 October 2007–20 April 2008) (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2007).

of self-representation. This self-portrait—which one might think would go unnoticed due to its location on the right end of the complex composition—articulates how Madrazo wanted to be seen when it is analysed as an element of the total composition. As José Luis Díez has pointed out,[26] the painting is influenced by Velázquez's *The Surrender of Breda*, including small details such as the verticality of the spears, the use of the horse to guide the composition and the inclusion of a self-portrait in the very same place where Velázquez painted his. Was this a homage to the baroque master or an act of unprecedented vanity?

One reason that might have compelled the young Madrazo to dare identifying with the great master of the Spanish Baroque could have been his own anxiety to prove his value as a painter despite his age. The young Madrazo had achieved significant honours, such as his appointment as academician of San Fernando at the age of sixteen, or as court painter at seventeen—precisely when he was beginning his sketches for *The Great Captain*. It seems no coincidence either that Federico de Madrazo displayed a work with so many similarities to his favourite painting in the (estimated) year of *The Lances* bicentennial. However, there are also noteworthy differences between the characters in both paintings, especially as far as their ages and physical appearances are concerned. These differences might indicate how Madrazo appropriated Velázquez's language to give it new meanings, linking facial hair with a young man's troubles.

A quick glance at *The Surrender of Breda* shows a composition dominated by mature and bearded men, presumably veteran men-at-arms, while the few young men appearing in the work are concentrated in the defeated, Flemish army. Velázquez himself appears as a gallant adult man, his dark moustache and goatee linking him directly with the Spanish army. In *The Great Captain*, Madrazo plays with the age of the characters: there is only one old man in the Spanish group on the left side and we could only consider as adult men the Great Captain himself, the Duke of Nemours and the two men who hold him, their dark, bushy, facial hair denoting maturity. On the other side, he includes two beardless characters, whose smooth skin, childish features and courtly clothing identify them as pages. In this curious mix of men of different ages, at least four young men with growing moustaches are represented: it is in this group

[26] Díez and Barón, *El siglo XIX en el Prado*.

that Madrazo includes his self-portrait with a subtle but unmistakable blond moustache. Leaving behind the faked, bushier moustache used by other artists to mask their adolescent features, Madrazo respected the truth of his appearance.[27] Proud of his age and his skill, though unwilling to depict himself among a group of older men, as this would have underlined his youth, he decided to include his self-portrait between warriors of different ages, thereby distancing himself from the earlier beardless, boyish and thus inexperienced image of his adolescent self.

Despite the fact that few young artists' self-portraits have been preserved, they are quite different from Madrazo's image in *The Great Captain*; usually occluded, a hint of facial hair appears, painted as a five o'clock shadow, as in Francisco Lacoma's 1805 self-portrait or in Antonio María Esquivel's self-portrait at the age of eighteen.[28] In the first painting, the sitter's youth is accentuated by the combination of a beardless appearance and the inclusion of his uncle's portrait in the composition—a device to legitimate the painter's artistic identity. In contrast, Esquivel's self-portrait could be an example of adolescent self-contemplation, as he is shown wearing a serious expression which darkens his traits. While Lacoma's portrait seems to exude self-confidence, it would be more appropriate to state that the confidence is performed as a means of concealing the artist's anxiety. Esquivel's image, on the other hand, captures the look of someone who, confronted by his own image, is trying to understand something that lies beyond his reach. Both self-portraits predate Madrazo's *Great Captain*. Nevertheless, they show how young artists' attempts to avoid the representation of developing facial hair did not allow them to disguise completely their troubles. As Sarah Monks states in reference to Daniel Stringer's self-portrait,[29] they were on the brink of something uncertain, whether artistic identity or adulthood itself.

[27] In his study of the group portraits of Delaroche's and Gleyre's students, Hauptman points out the possibility that some artists turned to this visual trick to conceal their young appearance. Hauptman, "Delaroche's and Gleyre's Teaching Ateliers and Their Group Portraits," *Studies in the History of Art* 18 (1985): 97.

[28] Antonio María Esquivel, *Self-portrait* (*c.*1824); oil on canvas (62.5 × 48 cm); Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya [040910-000].

[29] S. Monks, "Life Study: Living with the Royal Academy, 1768–1848," in *Living with the Royal Academy: Artistic Ideals and Experiences in England, 1768–1848*, ed. S. Monks, J. Barrel, and M. Hallett (England: Ashgate, 2013), 4.

Considering how Federico de Madrazo revealed his anxieties in *The Great Captain*, one might surmise it was out of a desire for social recognition that he and his friend Carlos Luis de Ribera sent their portraits to the public exhibition at the Royal Academy in 1839. Both painters' careers had followed a similar trajectory of early merits and success in the Academy. By 1838, when they decided to paint their portraits, both were settled in Paris thanks to a grant from the Madrilian institution. There is no doubt they were aware of their fame and it is accordingly plausible that they wanted to share their effigies with the artistic community, side by side with their history paintings, as a means of underscoring their vital importance to the renewal of Spanish painting. But these two portraits could also have been intended as statements that the young painters were no longer boys, but young men on the brink of adulthood and at the height of their careers.

We can trace the painting process through Federico de Madrazo's letters to his father, in which he informs him of his intention to send his portrait to the exhibition. He also specifies that he and his friend wish for their families to keep the paintings after the exhibition. The paintings sent by Madrazo (*Godfroy of Bouillon*, *King of Jerusalem*) and Ribera (*Don Rodrigo Calderón on His Way to the Gallows*) are assertions of Romantic history painting against the extended *costumbrismo*,[30] and the display of both portraits was also a means of informing the public who the main characters of this new, cosmopolitan style were. Even though the Academy exhibitions, as Esperanza Navarrete states,[31] were the setting where mostly non-academic artists and amateurs sent their paintings, they were also the stages for academicians' vanities. Thus, despite the fact that the Academy building had its own, underused, Room of Portraits, it would be in these exhibitions that Academicians' portraits,

[30] *Costumbrismo*, linked with Romanticism, is the pictorial interpretation—and idealisation—of Spanish customs and traditions, and especially developed between Andalusian painters in spite of the bad criticism received from history painters such as José de Madrazo: "I'll be glad to know you have received it and specially your judgement about it. I am also glad that Carlos is sending his [painting], because of many reasons and, above all, because it is necessary to form a compact body to counteract those poorly named Murillos and troupes of Villaamiles, who will exhibit paintings by the dozen, as they are extremely blatherer and boastful," F. Madrazo, *Epistolario*, vol. I (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1994), 240.

[31] E. Navarrete, *La Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando y la pintura en la primera mitad del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1999), 298.

usually due to a friend's hand, would hang as testimony to their recent success. Madrazo and Ribera seemed to join this custom.

In both self-portraits, the painters gave themselves appearances quite unlike any memory their academic colleagues would have had of them; depicting themselves as young, elegant men, they left out all signs of adolescence or insecurity. Carlos Luis de Ribera's half-length portrait of his friend Federico (Hispanic Society) shows him posing with his right hand on his hip and his left arm resting on the mantelpiece; his slightly leaned head has an inquisitive expression, his bushy moustache crowning his appearance as a proud bourgeois gentleman. In Madrazo's portrait of Carlos Luis,[32] the sitter shares this fashionable appearance: dressed in a black suit and frockcoat, he leans his left arm on the back of his seat in an affected pose. His youth still visible in the roundness of his face is concealed by his long hair, bushy moustache and goatee. As Carlos Reyero puts it, the image they want to share with the Madrilian public and their academic colleagues is that of respectable, high-society young men. With their palettes and paint brushes absent, nothing refers to their artistic profession except for their expressions, which seem to be intended to reflect the singularity of their genius.[33] Moreover, the addition of male attributes in both portraits, such as the fashionable clothing, poses and display of facial hair, links these effigies with the ideas of 'elite masculinity' and an 'aristocrat of culture' that Amelia Jones identifies as hallmarks of the artist of the bourgeois class.[34]

Stereotyping Adolescence: Facial Hair at the Turn of 1850

The progressive importance of childhood in Romanticism, together with the development of the educational system and of a new sociability, meant that adolescence had acquired a new prominence by the turn of 1850. However, while society seemed to show a greater awareness of an intermediate age between childhood and youth, little attention was paid

[32] F. Madrazo, *The Painter Carlos Luis Ribera*, 1839; oil on canvas (92 × 73 cm); Museo Nacional del Prado [P07799].

[33] C. Reyero, "Ideología e imagen del artista español del siglo XIX entre París y Roma," in *El arte español entre Roma y París (siglos XVIII y XIX)*, ed. L. Sazatornil Ruiz and F. Jiméno (Madrid: Colección de la Casa Velázquez, 2014), 132.

[34] Jones, "Clothes Make the Man," 20.

to the anxieties hidden in the subtle growth of facial hair. Facial hair was in fact codified through a satirical stereotype originating in the collective imagination: *el pollo*. Halfway between childhood and manhood, the figure named *el pollo*, especially exploited in literature, brought together the values of adolescence in a Spanish culture that had just undergone many changes in the perception of masculinity. On the one hand, it was attributed to a transformation in domestic life, where fathers shifted from their roles as figures of authority to figures that were indulgent or simply unconcerned about family.[35] On the other hand, social life was now a new field where lads learned how to behave as men, namely by performing what they saw in male-exclusive societies such as clubs.[36] However, these 'young men's' attitudes set the stereotype of a new adolescent who lacked malice, a caricature of immature masculinity assuming a code of appearances but not the deeper implications of virility itself.[37] The adoption of a moustache seemed to be the best way to exteriorise the wish to enter adult life, even if the moustache was nothing but the faintest shadow of fuzz above the upper lip.

The Spanish press of the nineteenth century is filled with stories that express the cultural roots of adolescents' anxieties towards facial hair. In 1851, *El Clamor Público* published the account of an incident at a barber shop where a young man, 'beardless and smooth-faced as a new-born baby', wanted to have his beard shaven, to the astonishment of the barber.[38] Other stories made fun of young men's abuse of hair-growth cosmetics, such as bear-butter ointment, León ointment, Perkins ointment or tonic water.[39] These products fooled middle-class boys by promising

[35] N. Aresti, *Masculinidades en tela de juicio: hombres y género en el primer tercio del siglo XX* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2010).

[36] Among these behaviours we may cite the very fact of social gatherings and political debates, but also sports like fencing and, much later, wrestling, or habits such as smoking, drinking and gambling. R. Navarrete, "Tipos españoles. El pollo," *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, 11 March 1855, 74–75.

[37] Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 111.

[38] "Afeitar en desierto," *El Clamor Público*, 27 August 1851, 3.

[39] While writing about tricogenia, the anonymous author of an interesting article in the magazine *Guía del Peluquero y del Barbero* cited some of the most frequent, and sometimes dangerous substances historically used as hair growth stimulators: "Bear butter, fox, mole or beaver fat; ram, lizard and ostrich blood; snake powder, … the ashes from wasps, beetles or old leather, have been privileged with the quality of regrowing hair" ("De la calvicie, causas que la producen y modo de evitarla en algunos casos," *Guía del peluquero y barbero*, 1 November 1873, 2). The reputation of some of these ointments comes from unscientific

an early development of facial hair, as this extract from *La Ilustración* shows:

> Looking at an advertisement saying 'ointment to regrow hair in a bald man's head or in a dead man's skull … which is to say to grow grass in a rock', the *pollo* runs to Reigon's to buy the miraculous oil that will have awarded him a moustache the next morning. It is no joke that on his way home he rejoices in seeing himself in a mirror twisting his moustache … That night he sleeps through hairy dreams, and he does it covering with his hand the place reserved for his moustache, just in case his beard might run away in the process. But after having uselessly scrubbed his face with every single ointment, after having toughened his epidermis with a daily shave, after all his bearded illusions have painfully left his mind, he is finally convinced that *quod natura non dat, Salamanca non prestat.*[40]

This search for a premature development of the beard or the moustache was obviously linked with the growth of fuzz. This bodily change, a remarkable event for the young man who understood it as an important step into manhood, was, nevertheless, a slight act of vanity. Indeed, because it was neither strong, nor dark, nor full, it was a sign of an unaccomplished virility; in other words, a visual reminder of the transitional stage in men's life, when adolescents could no longer be considered little boys nor fully grown men either.

The imperceptible moustache was, nonetheless, reclaimed by part of masculine society when an article, written by 'some Catalonian ladies', referred to adolescents' fuzz as 'a vanity typical of new-born chicks'.[41] The article was considered an offence as it trivialised the topic of beards and moustaches. As a reply, the writer of *La España* made clear that making fun of young men's troubles should be limited to men. He argued

parallels, as an article, taken from the *London Magazine*, divulged in Spain in 1827: "As bears have very long hairs, some presumed that their fat would make their hair grow … No fat or butter, whatever its origin, … would be able to thicken the hair unless it could re-establish, inside the skin, the organs where its roots grow … As for beaver oil, its use is usually recommended for other part of the human body" ("Del uso y efectos de los cosméticos," *Mercurio de España*, August 1827, 126–32).

[40] F. García Lomas, "Lo que es un pollo en nuestros días," *La Ilustración*, 19 April 1851, 127–28.

[41] Quoted in "Modas y barbas," *La España*, 25 April 1854, 4.

that the shadow of a recently grown moustache was part of the process of masculinity-building and that young men, however uncomfortable about their fuzz, might wear it not just out of a wish for masculine identification, but also out of military duties.[42] Even so, the comical scene of the first moustache became one of the most significant portrayals of masculine adolescence. Young men were imagined stuck to their mirrors, watching the tedious change on their face with incredible enthusiasm, as if a very slow miracle might be occurring there.

That is how in 1874 the illustrator Pellicer depicts the adolescent, amongst other social characters, all of them wondering what the new year might bring them. The young man, smartly dressed, scrutinises his face in a small hand mirror and exclaims, in absolute happiness: 'I will grow a moustache this year!'[43] Two years later, an article in the same magazine is dedicated to the amazing experience of the first moustache:

> From the day a lad feels the wish for a moustache and suspects its apparition, he will barely leave the mirror, his watchtower; he will turn it to look for the vain shadow that does not show up … One day his upper lip begins to be darkened by some kind of peach-blond, white velvet-like fuzz … From that day on, he declares himself *moustachioed* and his joy finds no limits. His happiness is endless because a fuzz is showing up; that's to say, *is going to show up*, but he thinks the word *fuzz* too humble and prefers to call it a moustache … He is so convinced that it is a moustache that he begins to pinch with his nails the ends of those whiskers, to rub his skin with his fingers, to damage, in the end, his own lip, victim of his wish. … A few days later he realises that the existence of a beard can be proved in two ways: by letting it grow, or shaving it, and he decrees the first *fall of the ministry*.[44] … Two months later, the barber will be the one who will do his shaving. And a year later, his fuzz … O Fortune, is a moustache![45]

[42] "Modas y barbas," 4. Alice White's chapter in this volume shows how young British soldiers felt anxious also about their moustaches being too weak compared with their older fellows' bushier, military moustaches.

[43] *El Mundo Cómico*, 4 January 1874, n.p.

[44] The political allusion used here cannot be ignored, as in the metaphor the young man is meant to incarnate the role of a soldier, a dictator or a capricious statesman whose will is imposed on a political organ to abolish its power. Referring in this case to the young man's own body, the act of shaving as the "fall of the ministry" involves a new state of self-consciousness, but we must assume that its decree is still rooted on an immature wish or in compensatory masculinity.

[45] M. Matoses, "El primer bigote," *El Mundo Cómico*, 5 March 1876, 2–7.

Despite the widespread, satirical abuse of this stereotypical image of the adolescent just beginning to grow facial hair, the first moustache and allusions to fuzz on young men's cheeks were also used with a more constructive connotation. While the portrait of the goateed bourgeois adult and successful artist hung in public exhibitions side by side with other high-society portraits, few were the visual differences between all these sitters once the attributes of artistic profession were set aside. It is striking that, even though boys and young men frequented the Academies, their presence in the history of the institution is very narrowly limited. Students in the Royal Academy, and from 1846 onwards in the School of Fine Arts, were supposed to be submissive to the aesthetic rules imposed by the institution, but also to its hierarchical structure. Their paintings were considered irrelevant, full of mistakes and lacking the personal style that only a full artist could introduce. Nonetheless, this pejorative distinction of the young man as an inexperienced disciple was negotiated with extreme tact when the institution had to address its own students.

In a speech given to the Academy of Fine Arts of Cadiz, in a public session in 1851, Alfonso de Castro honoured the memory of two deceased artists, Ana Urrutia and José Utrera, the latter of whom had died early in his youth. But in genius, youth and artistic skill, Castro's use of language betrays a masculine perspective: "there is no age nor sex for skill … with skill, the paintings of an artist who is barely seeing on his face the flower of what later has to become a bushy beard can reach respectable fame and make their author immortal among men".[46] The metaphor employed could not have gone unseen, as he was mainly addressing the Academy students, in a way that made it easy for his young public to identify with the words spoken. The 'bushy beard' constitutes the indicator of the adult artist's masculinity and mastery in arts, but Castro acknowledges that the adolescent artist's artistic autonomy is a matter of skill and not just age. Obviously, he was focusing on the example of the young José Utrera, who despite his youth and his provincial origins had succeeded in the Academy of San Fernando's exhibition of 1847, and whose portrait had just been hung in the Assembly Room of the Cadiz Academy. The canvas showed a very elegant young man, palette and paintbrushes in hand, defiantly looking to the front.

[46] "Doña Ana Urrutia de Urmeneta," *Seminario Pintoresco Español*, 25 January 1852, 29.

As Alfonso de Castro's speech stated, a subtle fuzz could be seen crowning his upper lip, contrasting with his beardless cheeks and thus underlining his youth. Could the speaker have been referring to the new protagonism of young artists and their beardless images in visual culture?

The reviews published about the Academy of San Fernando's exhibition of 1848 cast some light on one of the portraits submitted by Federico de Madrazo, which is special because of its family bonds and meanings within the Academy. The sitter was his little brother, Luis de Madrazo, a renowned young artist who had been awarded with the Spanish equivalent of the Prix de Rome that very year. But the appearance of the twenty-three-year-old painter is shocking because of the air of childish innocence in his features: his smooth skin seems spotless and there is no sign of facial hair, not even a faint five o'clock shadow. Whether it is a truthful portrait of his youthful traits (in which the resemblance with his father José is admirable), or a purposefully infantilising depiction of a young yet highly self-confident man, his image does not fit into the iconography of the young artist as a *little* adult man.

On the contrary, in the beginning of the 1860s, the academic painter Luis Ferrant portrayed his nephew and disciple Alejandro Ferrant as an adolescent in a melancholic attitude. The sitter, aged fifteen, arguably incarnated the introspective nature of early youth, the round, soft lines of his face coexisting with a very evident shadow on his upper lip and thus showing a clear transitional change. A painting catalogued as a self-portrait of Mariano Fortuny is dated to the same year.[47] Known in adult age for his long, curly hair and for his characteristic moustache, the painter is shown with the same traits in his youth. It seems no coincidence that, while the figure of the adolescent was suffering changes in Spanish culture and adult artists were assuming the bohemian, unkempt beard favoured by their French colleagues, this young portrait of Fortuny proudly shows what could be interpreted as a 'first moustache', as Matoses, writer of *El Mundo Cómico*, described it. Indeed, the moustache is no longer reminiscent of a subtle five o'clock shadow, nor of soft fuzz; the facial hair that attracts the viewer's attention in this portrait, still soft and auburn coloured, is that of a transitional age now properly defined as such.

[47]M. Fortuny, *Self-portrait* (*c.*1858); oil on canvas, 0.62 × 0.50 m; Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya [008173-000].

Conclusion

Although the representation of the young artist is rare, the analysis of the history of facial hair in popular culture, magazines and opinions published in nineteenth-century newspapers helps to recreate the expectations and anxieties of adolescent and young men in Spain. These sources complement the visual representation offered by self-portraiture and young artists' portraits, demonstrating that there is a deep cultural change in the meaning of adolescence during the century which is evidenced by the progressive inclusion of fuzz and facial hair.

In the early 1830s its representation was still that of a subtle shadow whose scarce visibility meant some discomfort with a transitional and blurred age between childhood and adulthood, and thus from immaturity to maturity, as happens in Federico de Madrazo's example. But the cultural shift in the 1850s legitimated adolescence as a new period in men's lives, which was clearly consolidated in the 1870s.

The social and cultural construction of adolescence was perceived by adult men as a setting of hilarious attitudes, and they did not doubt to make fun of them in order to ensure their privilege over boys. Nonetheless, young men who experienced this change felt a new self-consciousness that, even though entailing high anxieties, marked the learning and enacting of masculine attitudes to enter the social market of masculinity and its hierarchies, claiming facial hair as a visible display of virility. It also allowed a new form of representation where developing facial hair had its own meaning: neither boy nor adult, the young man and young artist, like Utrera or Fortuny, could now feel confident showing on their faces an attribute of their masculinity in the making.

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Making Facial Hair Modern: Shaving and Hirsuteness in Post-war Britain

Mark Anderson

On the morning of Friday 17 October 1958, readers turning to page 7 of the *Daily Mail* were greeted by a large advertisement for Remington's Super 60 electric shaver. The Super 60, claimed Remington, offered the 'World's Fastest Shave', the 'Modern, larger shaving head' leaving a man's face 'clean and smooth'. The accompanying image portrayed a scene of intimacy between a young couple, with a woman running her fingers along the freshly shaved cheek of her male companion.[1] In language and imagery, the advert was typical of its genre and era, not only describing the shaver as the product of scientific and technological progress, but also presenting the clean-shaven look as central to a modern, desirable masculinity.

Some seventeen years later, another advert for Remington appeared in the same newspaper. On this occasion it occupied the whole of page 12, and declared the benefits of the Radial electric shaver, described as 'the new shaving system'. Once again, an emphasis was placed on the 'very

[1] "Remington Super 60," *Daily Mail*, 17 October 1958, 7.

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fast, very close, very smooth, very comfortable shaving' offered by the Radial. Alongside this assurance, however, sat a very different message: 'For too long shavers have only been concerned with removing facial hair … Remington believes a shaver must also be capable of styling facial hair.' The text sat below four large portrait shots of men in their twenties and thirties, all dressed in shirt collars: one clean-shaven, one the owner of an impressively bushy moustache, one wearing a pair of chunky sideburns, and one with a neatly trimmed full beard. As the advert's tagline made clear, facial hair now formed an important part of the modern male aesthetic: 'Today, it's not only what you take off that counts, but what you leave on' (Fig. 1).[2]

This chapter explores the ways in which the cultural meanings of facial hair were reconfigured amidst a post-war project of reconstruction, not only of Britain's built environment, but also of its citizens. As Becky Conekin, Frank Mort and Chris Waters have written, during the years following 1945 'there were clear and identifiable languages of modernisation (accompanied by adjacent terms such as "the new" and "the future") occurring across British society … an extensive series of debates about the possibility and the consequences of modernising Britain appeared to be taking place'. These were decades 'during which the modern became increasingly conscious of itself', as men and women became increasingly self-reflexive, both in relation to modernity but also to the management of the self.[3]

During much of the twentieth century, however, the beard was perceived as decidedly unmodern. For Christopher Oldstone-Moore, the decline of facial hair in the years preceding the First World War was emblematic of 'the renovation of manliness to the specifications of urban and corporate society', as men sought 'to display the virtues of a new century: youthfulness, energy, cleanliness, and reliability'.[4] Dene October writes that in the early twentieth century facial hair, now seen by many as a 'dusty ornament' of a deeply unfashionable Victorianism, was swept away by a modernity that 'was the central trope in promoting the cult of

[2] "Remington Radial," *Daily Mail*, 16 June 1975, 12.

[3] Becky Conekin, Frank Mort, and Chris Waters, "Introduction," in *Moments of Modernity: Reconstructing Britain 1945–1964*, ed. Becky Conekin, Frank Mort, and Chris Waters (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1999), 9–11.

[4] Christopher Oldstone-Moore, *Of Beards and Men: The Revealing History of Facial Hair* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 217.

Fig. 1 Remington Advert, 1975. Reproduced with permission of the British Library. Copyright Spectrum Brands/British Library

the new in all areas of life: moral, hygienic and aesthetic'. Facial hair was, essentially, 'antithetical to the machine-age aesthetic'.[5] Explanations of its return in the 1960s and 1970s have tended to focus on the prominence of beards, moustaches and sideburns within the counterculture, and a subsequent co-option and dissemination of this image.[6] Rather than revisit this ground, this chapter seeks to trace an alternative path to explain how facial hair was 'made modern' during the late 1960s and 1970s. While acknowledging the significance of the cultural association between beards and rebellion, the focus here is on the ways in which shaving and facial hair were understood as a point of negotiation between the sexes, and as a potential bridge between readings of the past and visions of the future.

Post-war Shaving: Technology and Gender

In the decades immediately following the Second World War, discussions of shaving and shaving products were often conducted in a language of science and expertise, invoking a technological modernity and promising constant innovation and continual progress. As Dene October notes, this emphasis could be articulated through promotional strategies that employed futuristic imagery, such as the Gillette 'Rocket Set' razor which, through its name and its advertising, invoked 'the new space age'.[7] More often, however, this association with modernity was achieved by drawing attention towards the physical nature of shaving technology. Electric dry shavers were described by advertisers and trade journalists in terminology that echoed wider narratives of what Adrian Forty terms 'electrical millenarianism', the suggestion that the diffusion of electrical appliances promised to transform society, relieving much of the toil and inconvenience of everyday life.[8] Advertisements for Remington, then,

[5] Dene October, "The Big Shave: Modernity and Fashions in Men's Facial Hair," in *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion*, ed. Geraldine Biddle-Perry and Sarah Cheang (Oxford: Berg, 2008), 68.

[6] October, "The Big Shave," 73–77; Oldstone-Moore, *Of Beards and Men*, 235–51; Allan Peterkin, *One Thousand Beards: A Cultural History of Facial Hair* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2002), 181–85.

[7] October, "The Big Shave," 73.

[8] While Forty places the roots of electrical millenarianism in the interwar years, he notes that efforts to represent electricity as "the most up-to-date form of energy" continued after the First World War. Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society Since 1750* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1992), 190–91, 199.

described the electric shaver as removing 'the drudgery from shaving', offering a cleaner, more comfortable, more efficient and altogether more *modern* method of removing facial hair.[9] Fictional testimonials were employed in an effort to convert sceptics, with one former doubter extolling the benefits of electric shaving with all of the zeal of a convert:

> My goodness! What have I been doing all this time messing about with soap and brush and blades and shouting for hot water, when I could have been having the fastest, easiest and most satisfying shave, leaving my face smooth, clean and refreshed![10]

Described in a language of efficiency, automation and modernisation, the electric shaver appeared to complement the visions offered by politicians of a 'New Britain' forged in the 'white heat' of a 'scientific revolution'.[11] Indeed, Harold Wilson himself was said to be the proud owner of a cordless electric shaver, a fact reported by the *Hairdressers' Journal* as a 'Shaver Selling Point'.[12] Both dry shavers and razor blades were positioned as the products of state of the art British manufacturing. In 1958 the *Manchester Guardian* published a promotional feature, commissioned by the British Iron and Steel Federation, reporting from Sheffield on the 'white-coated laboratory men and the sweating experts at the furnace', busy producing new types of steel.[13] Their experimentation, wrote the journalist J. Stubbs Walker, might not only lead to 'more powerful rockets' and 'faster aeroplanes', but also had the potential to 'alter the shaving habits of the world by enabling more bristles to be cut with every blade!'.[14] The *Hairdressers' Journal*, meanwhile, reported

[9] "Remington Takes the Drudgery from shaving," *Manchester Guardian*, 1 December 1949, 3.

[10] "… and I Thought It Was Only a Gadget," *Observer*, 26 March 1950, 5.

[11] Harold Wilson, *Labour's Plan for Science* (1963), accessed 25 February 2017, http://nottspolitics.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/Labours-Plan-for-science.pdf.

[12] "Shaving Selling Points," *Hairdressers' Journal*, Magazine Section, 17 September 1965, 43.

[13] This reflects a similar trend in the eighteenth century. See, Alun Withey, "Shaving and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36, no. 2 (June 2013): 225–43; Alun Withey, *Technology, Self-fashioning and Politeness in Eighteenth-Century Britain: Refined Bodies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

[14] J. Stubbs Walker, "These Men May Be Changing Your Life," *Manchester Guardian*, 6 March 1958, 3.

from American-owned Remington's Thornlibank factory in Glasgow in 1965 reminding readers that British workers possessed 'the delicate skills of the watchmaker's craft' that were necessary 'to maintain the highest standards throughout each of 880 different operations involved in producing the [Lektronic II] shaver'.[15]

Advertising strategies that portrayed shaving in terms of technological and scientific progress existed alongside broader narratives that identified the modern British male as clean-shaven. Commenting on beards in 1940, the *Manchester Guardian* observed that 'modern life makes them more or less irrelevant'. Acknowledging that facial hair had once signified maturity and masculine virility, the paper drew a contrast between past and present:

> Modern manhood is not signified that way. In an age of clean speed, of unencumbered athleticism, and of facing unmuffled the open air, the clear, sharp, up-thrust chin and the strong, determined jaw stand as surely for manly vigour as ever those parts when covered stood for the sage austerity or the prophetic dominance of the male of the species.[16]

A year earlier, the social research organisation Mass-Observation, surveying British shaving habits, had highlighted similar understandings of facial hair as incompatible with modern living. One contributor, a 22-year-old clerk, described a beard as 'the nearest thing that civilisation lets [a man] get to his cave-man forefathers. It's a tribute to our system that he's only too anxious to get rid of the growth'. Another male, aged 19, drew a contrast between an image of an old-fashioned rural existence and the fast pace of modern urban living, suggesting that while a beard might be acceptable for someone who resided 'out in the country', it would be 'out of place in the town'.[17] Mass-Observation also noted, however, that many men appeared to 'resent the bother involved in shaving' and that there existed 'a fairly widespread hankering for a

[15] "Meeting the Demand for Cordless Shaving," *Hairdressers' Journal*, Magazine Section, 17 September 1965, 41.

[16] "No Beard on Chin," *Manchester Guardian*, 23 October 1940, 3.

[17] The suggestion that a hirsute appearance, seen as "natural", was more appropriate for rural than urban living far pre-dates the twentieth century. See, for example, Margaret Pelling's chapter in this volume, "'The Very Head and Front of My Offending': Beards, Portraiture, and Self-presentation in Early Modern England".

return to beards'. Yet even those sympathetic to such calls felt that, in the modern age, beards were 'outre [*sic*] and impossible', with one young man, a 21-year-old assistant manager, admitting he had grown a moustache but had stopped short of a full beard for fear that he would 'look so conspicuous'. Summarising, the Mass-Observation reporter commented on 'a common perplexity' of the British male who found 'shaving a painful business', and who was 'not strongly opposed to the idea' of growing a beard, yet was 'unwilling to be the one to start the fashion'.[18]

Mass-Observation's survey suggested that, at least in part, the clean-shaven look was maintained through a wariness of provoking the disapproval of others. Indeed, several of the male respondents expressed their own dislike at seeing an unshaven face. Great emphasis, however, was placed on the role that potential female criticism played in upholding a smooth-faced aesthetic, with one man claiming that:

> Men, however much they might deny it are sensitive, and the average man, unless he's a Bernard Shaw, Ronald Colman, or a Hitler, cannot hope to get away with any facial decorations. His female friends would soon see to that, for if women have smooth skins, they also have tongues which can be pretty rough.

Fellow contributors appeared to agree. A factory worker, aged 25, who professed to shaving as infrequently as possible, admitted he made sure to use his safety razor before 'contemplating any intimacy with any female friend', an act of 'necessity not desire'. Another 25-year-old reported that his 'female friends one and all denounce unshaven or badly shaven faces', while a market gardener, aged 20, wrote that 'all the girls I know simply hate to see an unshaven face. They always describe the offending male as "horrid" or "beastly"'. The same pressures appeared

[18]Mass-Observation Archive Online, *File Report A21: Report by Mass-Observation on Personal Appearance: Part 1—Hands, Face and Hair, July 1939* (1939), accessed 23 August 2016, http://www.massobservation.amdigital.co.uk.ezproxy.nottingham.ac.uk/contents/filereport.aspx?documentid=239440, 27, 34–9, 47. For a wider discussion of Mass-Observation's survey of attitudes to male appearance, see Paul R. Deslandes, "Selling, Consuming and Becoming the Beautiful Man in Britain: The 1930s and 1940s," in *Consuming Behaviours: Identity, Politics and Pleasure in Twentieth-Century Britain*, ed. Erika Rappaport, Sandra Trudgen Dawson, and Mark J. Crowley (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2015), 53–70.

to exist within the older generation, with a 49-year-old farmer confessing that he would give up shaving altogether if not for 'the attitude of the wife'.[19]

Of course, these opinions did not exist in a cultural vacuum. Christopher Oldstone-Moore has highlighted media reports of female opposition to the beard during the first half of the twentieth century, and manufacturers of shaving products were quick to reinforce this message.[20] 'That's the sort of face I like next to mine' ran a 1947 advert for Colgate Brushless shaving cream, accompanied by an illustration of a young woman embracing a clean-shaven suitor.[21] Another Colgate advert, entitled 'You Old Smoothie', showed a young man receiving a kiss on the cheek from a female admirer and included the message that 'Attractive men are always … shaved the Colgate brushless way'.[22] If the Victorian beard had stood for the 'prophetic dominance of the male of the species', then the clean-shaven face not only represented the impact of an increasingly independent and assertive femininity, but also the growing cultural influence of what the historian Marcus Collins terms 'mutuality'—an equality of difference within a marriage based on partnership, companionship and reciprocity of affection and desire.[23] 'Mutuality', writes Collins, 'helped to define what was "modern" about twentieth-century Britain', providing an ideal to contrast against a cultural image of a cold, distant Victorian marriage between stern patriarch and submissive wife.[24]

The extent to which the vision of the companionate courtship and marriage was realised within post-war communities is certainly debatable; however, as a cultural ideal, mutuality ran throughout reconstruction discourse and policy in the years following 1945.[25] In portraying

[19] "File Report 21A," 34–39, 47.

[20] Oldstone-Moore, *Of Beards and Men*, 219–21.

[21] "Colgate," *The Times*, 3 July 1947, 6.

[22] "Colgate Brushless Shave Cream," *Daily Mail*, 25 July 1947, 3.

[23] "No Beard on Chin," 3.

[24] Marcus Collins, *Modern Love: An Intimate History of Men and Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (London: Atlantic, 2004), 5.

[25] Janet Finch and Penny Summerfield, "Social Reconstruction and the Emergence of Companionate Marriage, 1945–59," in *The Sociology of the Family: A Reader*, ed. Graham Allan (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 12–34. See also, Claire Langhamer, "Love and Courtship in Mid-Twentieth Century England," *The Historical Journal* 50, no. 1 (2007): 173–96.

the clean-shaven aesthetic as a response to female criticism, both Mass-Observation respondents and advertisers were articulating a 'modern' masculinity, which sought feminine approval and considered a partner's comfort and desires. Such pressures, however, ran both ways, and advertisers were quick to suggest that a good wife or girlfriend should understand her man's preferences when it came to shaving. In the run-up to Christmas, manufacturers made great efforts to persuade women that a new razor or shaver was the perfect gift, which could guarantee festive cheer for all. 'Happy the man who wakes up to the gift of a lifetime this Christmas morning – and every morning after', ran one Remington advert, printed in 1957; 'Happy the woman who chooses such an outstandingly welcome present'.[26] An advert for Gillette, meanwhile, featured the image of a schoolboy, helpfully advising mothers everywhere: 'Mummy, I know what Daddy wants for Christmas! … One of those new Gillette razors.'[27] Such campaigns appear to have had some effect—in 1965 the *Hairdressers' Journal* reported that 75% of all dry shaver sales were made in the three months preceding Christmas, and estimated that 85% of annual purchases of electric razors were made by women.[28]

Facial Hair and Tradition: New Elizabethans

Historians of facial hair have suggested that, the raffish Hollywood moustache aside, the predominant mid-century perception of the beard was as a marker of eccentricity or old age.[29] Certainly, these were widely held interpretations, yet during the 1950s and early 1960s facial hair was also seen as suitable, even desirable, for a select group of British archetypes prominent on the national stage. Perhaps best identified as 'New Elizabethans', these men held occupations where new technologies or social and cultural values mixed with long-held notions of national prestige, as tradition intersected with modernity. They also stood as aspirational figures, rugged individualists who were also a central part of the national community, bringing honour and distinction to Britain on the

[26] "Remington," *Daily Mail*, 28 November 1957, 7.

[27] "Gillette for Christmas," *Daily Mail*, 29 November 1957, 11.

[28] "Shaver Selling Points," 43.

[29] Oldstone-Moore, *Of Beards and Men*, 221; Richard Corson, *Fashions in Hair: The First Five Thousand Years*, 9th ed. (London: Peter Owen, 2001), 578–80.

world stage.[30] Against a cultural backdrop of looming decline, these military men, explorers and mountaineers adopted the heroic bearded pose of their nineteenth-century forebears who had played such a crucial role in popularising the Victorian beard a hundred years earlier.[31]

The facial hair of these New Elizabethans was embraced by conservative newspapers such as the *Daily Mail*, as a welcome symbol of continuity as Britain sought to shore up her international standing in the age of the superpowers. Facial hair in the military was viewed especially positively; in December 1951, the *Mail* ran a front page leader column headed 'A Toast to "Our Chaps"', greeting the return of the frigate HMS *Black Swan* from action in Korea. Under a photograph showing the face of a heavily bearded sailor, the newspaper's praise was effusive: 'Look at this picture. What a man! What a type! The perfect Jack Tar … Home is the sailor, home from the sea – with a grin on his face, a beard on his chin, and a ring in his ear.' This timeless, bearded figure, however, was the pride of a modern Royal Navy which, 'in seamanship and efficiency', *Mail* readers were reassured, was 'still supreme on the oceans'.[32] New rules and regulations which restricted the rights of servicemen to wear facial hair were not always welcomed. When, in October 1964, an RAF corporal was instructed to reduce the size of his handlebar moustache his wife sent a letter of protest to Denis Healey, the Minister for Defence. The MoD's insistence that oversized facial hair was 'not practical for today's airmen … [as] oxygen masks must fit close to the face' did not seem to carry the same emotional potency as newspaper stories which described a ban on 'Battle of Britain' moustaches. Here a cultural memory of the nation's 'finest hour' was perceived as being threatened by an overly officious modernity: 'I can't help feeling the R.A.F. wouldn't have treated men like that in the days of the Battle of Britain', the corporal's wife complained to the *Mail*.[33]

[30]While most-often associated with—primarily Tory—ideas of national renewal around the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953, Robert Hewison traces the concept of a 'New Elizabethan Age' back to wartime, and the threat of seaborne invasion during 1940–41. Robert Hewison, *Culture and Consensus: England, Art and Politics Since 1940*, rev. ed. (London: Methuen, 1997), 66–67.

[31]Christopher Oldstone-Moore, "The Beard Movement in Victorian Britain," *Victorian Studies* 48, no. 1 (Autumn 2005): 11–20.

[32]"A Toast to 'Our Chaps'," *Daily Mail*, 21 December 1951, 1.

[33]"Cut down those whiskers!," *Daily Mail*, 19 October 1964, 11; "R.A.F. 'Handlebars' Not Practical," *The Times*, 20 October 1964, 6.

Other bearded role models included explorers who brought glory to the Commonwealth, such as the Englishman who led the first overland crossing of Antarctica, Sir Vivian 'Bunny' Fuchs, and the conqueror of Everest, New Zealander Sir Edmund Hillary.[34] The decision of the Duke of Edinburgh—a former naval officer, widely held as a force of modernising vigour within the royal household—to grow a beard during a tour of Gambia in 1957 also met with an enthusiastic response from the *Daily Mail*, who declared that 'he wears it so well, it would be a shame to take it off'.[35] It is likely that the masculine independence symbolised by such figures struck a chord with some men working in less glamorous occupations—respondents to Mass-Observation's 1939 survey recounted their fantasies of growing beards, which they married to an imagined escape from their everyday existence. One contributor wrote that he would like to grow a beard if he didn't have to work in a factory and was instead a man of 'independent means'. An economics student expressed the wish 'to go on a sea voyage and grow a beard to see what it's like', while an 18-year-old, studying medicine, laid out his plan to grow a beard while 'at Camp'. A return to normality, however, seemed to mean a return to the razor, the medical student writing that 'I should remove it on getting back home, because I expect it would be taken as a joke, and a joke can go too far'.[36] The same social restrictions appeared to apply to some of the New Elizabethans, such as Fuchs and Hillary, who were applauded for wearing a beard while at the frontier, but who still opted to present themselves as clean-shaven once back in Britain.[37] The newspapers also contained reminders that permission to grow facial hair could be restricted by class and occupation; a few months after Prince Philip had worn his beard on a tour of the colonies, it was reported that a police constable 'attached to the force protecting Buckingham Palace' had been suspended after refusing to shave off his beard, as his commanding officer considered he no longer met the required standards of 'clean and tidy appearance'.[38] The acceptability of facial hair, then, was

[34] Noel Barber, "Barber with a Beard," *Daily Mail*, 27 January 1958, 7; Noel Barber, "It's Still Shy Sir Bunny," *Daily Mail*, 13 May 1958, 4.

[35] T. F. Thompson, "Cheers for That Beard," *Daily Mail*, 30 January 1957, 1.

[36] "File Report 21A," 38, 47.

[37] Barber, "It's Still Shy Sir Bunny," 4.

[38] "Policeman's Beard," *The Times*, 5 June 1957, 10.

dependent on wider understandings concerning geography, age, class and profession.

While a bearded male could be a figure of aspiration during the 1950s and early 1960s, the 'man in the street' was still expected to be clean-shaven. Young working and middle-class men who grew facial hair were often perceived, by themselves as well as observers, as striking a deliberately non-conformist stance against post-war society.[39] Described by the *Hairdressers' Journal* as a 'devotee of the unwashed look … directly opposed to ALL ideas on grooming for men', the beat or 'beatnik' was popularly identified as a bearded figure during the mid-to-late 1950s and early 1960s.[40] Living by a 'creed of existentialism and individual expression' and spending his time writing poetry, listening to jazz or folk music, travelling and often sleeping in the outdoors, the beat was a character with which modern masculinity—with its values of hygiene, professionalism and domesticity—could be easily contrasted.[41] 'Beards are for Beatniks', proclaimed Boots' in-house *Sales and Selling* magazine in 1962, reminding employees to promote heavily shaving products and toiletries to their customers ahead of the holiday season.[42] However, as the 1960s progressed countercultural styles began to spread beyond individual subcultures, disseminated by television, advertising and the pop stars positioned as the figureheads of a broader emerging youth culture.[43] In October 1966 the *Daily Mail* ran a front page leader column lamenting George Harrison's decision to grow a moustache, describing it as 'old-fashioned' and a 'sad error' which, if left unchecked, could threaten the Beatles' loveable mop-top image: 'Where is it going to end? PAUL with a goatee? JOHN with handlebars? A tonsured RINGO?'[44]

[39] Oldstone-Moore, *Of Beards and Men*, 235.

[40] "Getting with it in 1964," *Hairdressers' Journal*, Magazine Section, 21 February 1964, 2.

[41] Bill Osgerby, *Youth in Britain Since 1945* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 83.

[42] Nottingham, Boots Company Archive (BCA), *Sales and Selling* 42 (June 1962): 34–35.

[43] For a detailed discussion of the mainstream appeal of countercultural facial hair, see October, 73–77.

[44] "Shadow on a Smile," *Daily Mail*, 29 October 1966, 1. Harrison was, in fact, the second of the Fab Four to appear in public sporting facial hair—a bearded Ringo Starr had been photographed while holidaying with his wife, Maureen, and John and Cynthia Lennon in January 1966. Starr had also regularly worn a beard in his pre-Beatle role as the drummer of fellow Liverpool group Rory Storm and the Hurricanes.

The appearance of facial hair on the upper lips and chins of famous young men was a cause for alarm for some newspapers, not only as an act of suspicious non-conformity, but also as an apparent rejection of a youthful, modern aesthetic.

A Victorian Revival?

This perception of facial hair as 'old-fashioned' when applied to youth was, in many ways, an understandable response. As Oldstone-Moore notes, during the first half of the twentieth century the popularity of the clean-shaven look was widely understood to rest in its connotations of youthful vitality and energy, and instances where facial hair was praised or expected, such as those mentioned above, were understood to uphold established traditions.[45] Furthermore, the facial hair fashions of the 1960s and 1970s were not innovations, but were instead revivals of earlier styles, predominantly of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1967 the *Hairdressers' Journal* wrote of an emerging 'Regency look', which required the 'hair dressed well forward, full at the nape, sideburns long'.[46] Most commonly, however, the reappearance of facial hair upon the faces of young British men was understood as marking a return to the styles of the Victorian or Edwardian age. One of the first *Journal* articles to mention a potential revival of facial hair, printed in March 1967, predicted a new wave of styles 'derived … from Victorian and Edwardian models', including 'long sideburns, side whiskers, trim short moustaches and beards'.[47]

There is little doubt that for many beats and hippies, facial hair could be worn as a symbol of rebellion, a symbolic gesture and an act of countercultural homage to nineteenth-century liberal Romanticism and 'other' Victorians such as William Morris, who had railed against industrialisation and urbanisation. Yet the popularity of facial hair in the late 1960s and early 1970s extended far beyond the avant-garde at the forefront of the counterculture; it might well be asked whether the return of hirsuteness also represented a wider rejection of post-war modernity and a longing for a return to an imagined Victorian age, a time of

[45] Oldstone-Moore, *Of Beards and Men*, 221.

[46] "Regency Look," *Hairdressers' Journal*, 8 September 1967, 37.

[47] "This Week," *Hairdressers' Journal*, 17 March 1967, 1; "For Kipper Ties and Satin Shirts," *Hairdressers' Journal*, 17 March 1967, 61.

supposed social stability and settled gender roles. Certainly, after a period of bob-haired androgyny within youth fashion during the mid-1960s, some welcomed the return of beards, moustaches and sideburns as offering a clear distinction between the sexes and a reassuring statement of primal masculinity. As hairdresser Leonard Ludwin told the *Daily Mail* in October 1968, 'hair on the face – like hair on the chest – is a sign of masculinity. Women can't grow it there. Say what you like about women and men looking more alike – but you won't see a woman in sideburns'.[48] Not that facial hair was always understood as masculine; the Queen's racehorse trainer, Captain Cecil Boyd-Rochfort, told journalist Charles Greville in 1967, 'there's too much of this long hair and beards these days. I like a man to look like a man, not a bloody woman'. Boyd-Rochfort was gently ridiculed by the article's headline, 'All These Birds Wearing Beards Are to Blame', yet this apparent non sequitur suggested a reading of any form of ostentatious hirsuteness—perceived as betraying a lack of self-control, discipline and professionalism—as inherently unmasculine.[49]

Indeed, rather than symbolising a longing for the values of a bygone age, the facial hair revival of the late 1960s and early 1970s was more commonly understood by contemporary observers to represent a further shift towards a new modish male fashionability. The 'avant-garde Edwardian and Victorian trends' featured by the *Hairdressers' Journal* in March 1967 were the work of West End fashion stylist Leonard Pountney, described as 'that messiah of men's styling', and presented at the London College of Fashion.[50] Through an association with fashionable youth, facial hair styles that were apparent throwbacks to those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were presented as progressive and modern. The *Journal*'s editorial column was quick to describe critics of the 'Victorian styles' as 'reactionary opponents', no better than 'Old Chalkie', the archetypal old-fashioned headmaster 'who wouldn't let boys attend his school until he'd measured their sideburns to see if they were "decently" short'.[51]

[48] Pearson Phillips, "We All Want a Little Bit on the Sides," *Daily Mail*, 30 October 1968, 8.

[49] Charles Greville, "All These Birds Wearing Beards Are to Blame," *Daily Mail*, 20 December 1967, 4.

[50] "For Kipper Ties and Satin Shirts," 61.

[51] "Whose side are you on?," *Hairdressers' Journal*, 8 December 1967, 2.

This contrast, between the *Mail*'s concerns about George Harrison's 'old-fashioned' moustache and the *Hairdressers' Journal*'s enthusiasm for 'avant-garde Edwardian and Victorian trends', reflects the contradictory understandings of the nation's Victorian heritage that existed in British society and culture during the immediate post-war decades. As Frank Mort has noted, during these years 'Victorianism' remained far from fixed as a category, the nineteenth century and its legacy existing as 'an active presence in the development of the new'; in the midst of all the rhetoric of reconstruction and renewal, suggests Mort, the decaying inner city remained, within the public imagination, a Victorian environment.[52] Certainly, 'Victorianism' could be employed as a shorthand for everything that post-war reconstruction and the welfare state aimed to reform or erase: the urban chaos unleashed by nineteenth-century capitalism, and the disease, dirt, disorder and despair that were perceived as its social by-products.[53] The emergence of a neo-Victorian aesthetic in the late 1960s and early 1970s has been interpreted as reflecting the failure of this reforming project. The historian John Gardiner, for instance, has suggested that the broad cultural appeal of Victorian styling betrayed 'an uneasy nostalgia for the days of relative certainty', and signalled that 'by the mid-1960s many had grown weary of the austerity of modernism'.[54] As others have suggested, however, this mid-century Victorian revival held an altogether more ambiguous relationship with modernity. Of course, nostalgia played its part in an era of comprehensive redevelopment, legal and social reform, and as the nineteenth century began to fade from living memory. Yet, culturally, the Victorians had remained prominent throughout the immediate post-war years, often positioned in ways that were sought to *complement* rather than obstruct Britain's continuing journey into the modern age.[55] Combining the new with the 'historic' offered an interpretation of modernism which could function alongside understandings of the British national character that

[52] Frank Mort, *Capital Affairs: London and the Making of the Permissive Society* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 124–25.

[53] Richard Hornsey, *The Spiv and the Architect: Unruly Life in Postwar London* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 4–5, 39–44.

[54] John Gardiner, *The Victorians: An Age in Retrospect* (London and New York: Hambledon and London, 2002), 82–4.

[55] Rob Chapman, *Psychedelia and Other Colours* (London: Faber & Faber, 2015), 468–69.

emphasised moderation, gradual reform and tradition, qualities that were often cited to make a contrast with 'the Continent'.

The writer Rob Chapman argues that this 'hybrid' approach, which he identifies in a late 1960s psychedelia which 'applied cutting-edge technology to songs about penny-farthings and puppet shows', characterised much of British post-war modernism.[56] While facial hair could be identified as part of a revival of a Victorian aesthetic, it did not necessarily follow that this represented a rejection of post-war progress. The *Hairdressers' Journal*, for example, emerged as a keen proponent of the 'frills and sideburns' of fashionable Victorianism during the late 1960s and early 1970s, regularly reporting from new male or unisex salons offering the sophistication of Victorian decor alongside ultra-modern facilities such as central heating and hi-tech sound systems.[57] One such article, which illustrated the 'scene' at 'Shapes' unisex salon in Bournemouth (said to be both 'Victorian – and trendy'), included a photograph of a male stylist, loudly dressed, extravagantly coiffured and heavily bearded, carefully attending to a female client.[58] The facial hair of the early 1970s may have formed a key part of a revival of a Victorian aesthetic, but it could represent a very different masculine identity to that of the stern nineteenth-century patriarch.

Bearded Masculinity in the Peacock Age

The male hairdresser of the 1950s and early 1960s had usually been depicted as clean-shaven and short-haired, wearing either a smart frock coat, which gave the correct impression of technical expertise or, at the fashionable end of the market, a modish dark suit. The early 1970s stylist, hirsute and clad in brightly coloured clothes, marked a dramatic departure from an image that had been defined by its sobriety and clean-cut aesthetic. Such a transformation was noted by observers from outside of the craft. In 1969 the *Daily Mail* reported from a fashionable West End salon, where the stylist wore 'a groovy "uniform" of long curly hair and sideburns, King's Road suit and shirt, Big Jim tie, gilt-buckled

[56] Chapman, *Psychedelia and Other Colours*, 474–75, 484–85.

[57] "Fashion Scene," *Hairdressers' Journal*, 16 February 1968, 42; "Men's Side," *Hairdressers' Journal*, 16 May 1969, 58; "Mini Revolution," *Hairdressers' Journal*, 1 August 1969, 15.

[58] "Angles on Shapes," *Hairdressers' Journal*, 18 August 1972, 18–19.

patent shoes and imitation Cartier watch'.[59] In a famous episode of the early 1970s BBC sitcom *Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads?*, the upwardly mobile Bob Ferris drags his reluctant friend, Terry Collier, to a stylish new salon. Inside, the suspicious Terry finds men who are flamboyantly dressed, being shampooed and pampered while talking about football, a popular topic of conversation in any 'traditional' working-class barber's.[60] These years, then, saw the emergence of a new masculine type, inside and outside of the salon, who looked strikingly different to the male ideal of just a few years before. Short hair was out. Clothes were no longer limited to dark, dull shades. And the fashionable, respectable man was no longer expected to be clean-shaven.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s the revival of facial hair was widely understood by the trade and popular press to form part of this wider shift of masculine appearance. Described by the fashion historian Jo B. Paoletti as 'too widespread to be a fad but falling short of … [a] … paradigm shift', this 'peacock age' was perceived as symbolising a shift in the balance of power—social, sexual, economic—between the genders.[61] The writer Wendy Cooper suggested in 1971 that the new fashions were a consequence of women's 'improved status and financial independence', brought about through increased access to education and employment.[62] 'New feminine freedoms', suggested the *Hairdressers' Journal* in November 1969, had made young women 'much more frank, aggressive … and choosey'.[63] A century earlier, the Victorian beard had been interpreted as a male response to supposed 'female emancipation' and the perceived control that women had begun to exercise upon the domestic sphere.[64] However, the facial hair of the late 1960s and early 1970s was understood less as a statement of patriarchal authority, and more as an appeal for female attention, a secondary sexual characteristic that was necessary in an increasingly competitive dating market.

[59] Pamela Fox, "How the Hairdresser Sees Us," *Daily Mail*, 21 October 1969, 17.

[60] Dick Clement and Ian La Frenais, "No Hiding Place," *Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads?*, BBC2, 20 February 1973.

[61] Jo. B. Paoletti, *Sex and Unisex: Fashion, Feminism, and the Sexual Revolution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015), 61.

[62] Wendy Cooper, *Hair: Sex, Society and Symbolism* (New York: Stein and Day, 1971), 104.

[63] "Boy Meets Girl," *Hairdressers' Journal*, 7 November 1969, 2.

[64] Oldstone-Moore, *Of Beards and Men*, 189–91.

Publications such as the *Hairdressers' Journal*, as well as writers such as Cooper, emphasised that this new male hirsuteness was merely a perfectly logical and natural response by the male sex to the reproductive challenge posed by changing demographics.[65] As the *Journal* informed its readers in May 1970, for the first time since the end of the First World War, there existed an 'absolute surplus of men in Britain'.[66] British men, it was argued, found themselves in the position of having 'to compete for mates. So, naturally, they become the display sex'.[67] Increased male hairiness, then, was all part of man reclaiming his role 'as the natural display animal of the human species … he is getting back to this by growing longer hair, sideburns, moustaches and beards'.[68]

While discussions of peacock fashionability occasionally provided glimpses of alternative understandings of gender ('the all-male man and the all-female woman are very rare birds. There's a bit of both in most', suggested a *Journal* editorial in November 1969), male hirsuteness was more often framed as solidly masculine, with heavy emphasis placed on its alleged sexual appeal to women. 'The fact is', wrote the *Journal* in March 1969, keen to counter critics who equated hairiness with supposed moral or sexual degeneration, 'men naturally have a lot of head and face hair. It is naturally attractive to women'.[69] In presenting manly hairiness and flamboyant fashion as 'natural', conservative dress and the clean-shaven, short-haired aesthetic was in turn portrayed as an 'unnatural' state, an unfortunate consequence of the wars of the first half of the twentieth century and the military conscription experienced by generations of British males. 'Short hair for men is not natural. Nature intended men to have hairy heads and faces' claimed the *Hairdressers' Journal* in May 1970, adding that it was only 'military hygiene necessity' that had prompted the rise of the short-back-and-sides, a 'tradition' which, critics were reminded, was 'only two generations old'.[70]

Understood as an expression of individuality and a return to a primal, animal nature, as well as an apparent rejection of both organised society and an aesthetic connoting hygiene and clean living, the rise of facial hair

[65] Cooper, *Hair: Sex, Society and Symbolism*, 105.

[66] "Why the Men's Boom Will Go on for Years," *Hairdressers' Journal*, 1 May 1970, 39.

[67] "Last Word on Long Hair," *Hairdressers' Journal*, 14 March 1969, 4.

[68] "Why the Men's Boom Will Go on for Years," 39.

[69] "Last Word on Long Hair," 4.

[70] "Why the Men's Boom Will Go on for Years," 39; "Last Word on Long Hair," 4.

and the peacock male could easily be read as a rejection of the values of post-war reconstruction, and a repudiation of mid-century modernism. Further examination, however, reveals clear continuities with the ideology that surrounded shaving in the immediately preceding decades. Narratives of female approval that had been employed during earlier years to promote the clean-shaven look were now being reworked to explain the rise of male hirsuteness. One of the motivations for growing facial hair, it was claimed, was to 'appease women'; while it was suggested that the beard could act as a strong statement of masculine individuality, its desirability was also articulated in terms that reconciled facial hair with the post-war companionate ideal.[71] A beard, it was said, was kinder on the female face 'than the tough bristles of a supposedly clean-shaven face' as well as making a man appear more dependable.[72] In 1978 the *Daily Mail*'s 'Femail' page spoke to an unnamed 'social researcher' who claimed that women 'regard bearded men as enthusiastic, sincere, generous, extrovert and masculine'. The article continued: 'Most of the women Femail spoke to agreed: whiskers *do* make a man look more masculine and reliable.'[73] By the 1970s, then, a bearded man could be perceived as manly and desirable, but also as caring, considerate and trustworthy—all qualities previously identified with a hairless face. Here a change of aesthetic, from clean-shaven to hirsute, threatened to disguise the fact that the desirable masculine character remained largely consistent.

Conclusion

The reconciliation of facial hair and modernity in Britain was far from an overnight process. In 1930, J. C. Flügel's *The Psychology of Clothes* had argued that attempts to conceal the 'characteristic signs of maleness' such as 'greater hairiness' were all part of 'a very considerable intolerance of the male body', explained in part as 'a repression of phallicism … an abhorrence that has spread to some extent to the

[71] Christine Dunn, "Girls Like Men with Beards, but Beards Grow Better Without Girls," *Daily Mail*, 16 April 1974, 11.

[72] Dunn, "Girls Like Men with Beards," 11; "Chins up for a Comeback on Trichological Fashion," *The Guardian*, 16 April 1974, 8.

[73] Yvonne Thomas and Renate Kohler, "When Your Man Turns Hairy What Does It *Really* Mean?," *Daily Mail*, 19 January 1978, 13.

whole male body'.[74] For Flügel, along with his fellow members of the inter-war Men's Dress Reform Party (MDRP), norms of appearance that left men feeling drab and uncomfortable were likely to produce 'deep-lying psychological difficulties and inefficiencies'.[75] The MDRP did not survive beyond the Second World War, but the ideas that fed the movement persisted throughout the 1950s.[76] Charles Berg—like Flügel, a Freudian psychologist—argued in 1951 that shaving and hair cutting was symbolic of castration and the repression of sexual urges, while Pearl Binder's 1958 lament for the low style standards of British men, *The Peacock's Tail*, suggested that conservatism in appearance contributed to male psychological dysfunction, encouraging hostility towards women who were permitted to display the 'fine feathers' that men were forced to hide.[77] In a chapter entitled 'Virile Man', Binder traced the British history of the beard, suggesting that facial hair had previously 'flourished boldly in periods of intense national pride', during the reigns of Elizabeth I and Victoria.[78]

Throughout the predominantly clean-shaven decades of the mid-twentieth century, then, counter-narratives extolling the merits of facial hair had existed within British popular and intellectual culture. Clearly, many men resented the pain and inconvenience that shaving could involve, and while beards remained socially unacceptable for the majority, the existence of high profile cultural types—explorers, sailors, fighter pilots, royals—meant that facial hair could stand as a symbol of aspiration, not only as a marker of old age or questionable morals. The rise of neo-Victorian fashions in the late 1960s, alongside a loosening of social and cultural conventions during that decade, meant that by the early 1970s men far beyond the counterculture could be seen sporting beards, moustaches and sideburns. Rather than symbolising a rejection of post-war modernity, the revival of facial hair instead revealed its complexities.

[74] John Carl Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (Edinburgh: Hogarth Press, 1930), 117–18, 208–9.

[75] Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes*, 117–18, 208–9.

[76] Joanna Bourke, "The Great Male Renunciation: Men's Dress Reform in Inter-war Britain," *Journal of Design History* 9, no. 1 (1996): 23–33.

[77] Charles Berg, *The Unconscious Significance of Hair* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1951), 76–77; Pearl Binder, *The Peacock's Tail* (London: George G. Harrap & Co., 1958), 18.

[78] Binder, *The Peacock's Tail*, 175–84.

Far from signalling a return of the nineteenth-century patriarch, the 1970s beard could be understood to represent more enlightened gender relations—an ideal of 'mutuality' previously associated with clean-shaving. The discourse that surrounded facial hair in the early 1970s understood—and justified—the new styles as going some way to fulfilling the aims of the inter-war dress reformers, standing as a rejection of the repression and conservatism seen to have contributed to psychological disorders blighting twentieth-century existence. Rather than a repudiation of modernism, in signifying a less repressed, more companionate masculinity, the facial hair of the late 1960s and early 1970s could be understood by contemporaries as another step towards the fulfilment of its promise.

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A Tiny Cloak of Privilege: Facial Hair and Story Telling

Helen Casey

The use of make-up and hair in theatre, television and film supports narrative through a performer's visual transformation and aids performers and audiences alike to inhabit the landscape of a story. This can be as subtle as a particular shade of lipstick, or as dramatic as rendering the actor unrecognisable with heavy prosthetics. Dramatic performance is a mirror of life, reinforcing or challenging life experiences and social connections. There must be some cultural recognition with the audience to generate empathy and engagement. Visual characterisation can transcend language and make immediate clear statements about a character's place in the world of the story. Costume is more widely understood in this role in performance, but body modifications hold a particular human potency.

Hair, in all its forms, is a most extraordinary substance for this purpose, as it is a liminal material. A body part grown so prolifically that, in some cases, it can be sold as a crop, is also a material that can exist independently of the body, and is strong enough to be made into objects that can be passed from one generation to the next. It is a sculptural material

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capable of being turned into an expressive visual display or ritually removed to demonstrate our place in society and the world. An understanding of the acceptable norms of hair and facial hair in a particular culture can immediately mark an individual as being a part of, or outside, any society.

Since human beings are hard-wired to seek out faces, the head and face hold particular potency as spaces to make these demonstrations, a new-born child begins to react positively to face-like shapes within a few hours, and can recognise its mother's face within a few days. We are so attuned to recognising faces that we often have the experience of pareidolia, or seeing faces in inanimate objects. Our innate attraction towards faces, coupled with the playfulness and transformative qualities that hair as a material allows, offers performers a powerful tool of communication. Sociologist Mike Featherstone writes of the presentation of the body as being a conduit for expression;

> Within consumer culture the inner and outer body become conjoined, the subjugation of the body through body maintenance routines is presented within consumer culture as a precondition for the achievement of an acceptable appearance and the release of the body's expressive capacity.[1]

As a hair and make-up practitioner in this field, I am interested in how facial hair has become the masculine outlet for aesthetic expression, and how this has been utilised by performers to tell their stories. I have heard men, when considering a radical change in the styling of their own facial hair, worry if they would be able to 'pull off' a certain type or shape. The aesthetics of all hairstyling, including facial hair, is so culturally coded that they feel each style comes with its own designated performance and character traits.

The use of physiognomy, or the assessment of an individual's inner character based on his or her outward appearance, was a theory frequently referred to by Aristotle in the fourth century BC and the earliest known treatise to survive, the *Physiognomonica*, is attributed to his school.

[1] Mike Featherstone, "The Body in Consumer Culture," in *The Body: Social Process and Cultural Theory*, ed. Mike Featherstone, Mike Hepworth, and Bryan S. Turner (London: Sage, 1991), 170–96 at 171.

In this book, the features of the face including facial hair and their corresponding characteristics are covered in detail.[2] Physiognomy as a pseudo-medical practice lingered on until the late nineteenth century but its underlying theories of the correlation of appearance and character have been perpetuated in culture through use by artists and writers as a narrative shorthand, perhaps most notably in Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Grey*.[3] Facial hair has been utilised as a narrative tool since the earliest dramatic performances in the ancient world. Beards were an integral part of some masks used in Greek theatre from 700 BC.[4] With men playing roles of both gender in Greek and Roman theatre, clear visual gender signifiers would have been important signals for large audiences. As is visible in contemporary sculpture, beard wearing carried cultural symbolism of age, masculinity and wisdom (the gods Zeus and Poseidon were frequently represented with full beards), so these traits could also be expressed by a bearded mask. The mask makers were also creative in their use of facial hair in animating character. The mask of a Dionysus-like character depicted in a second-century Roman mosaic (now in the Capitoline museum) has an extremely stylised carved beard, used to exaggerate and frame a wide mouth grin, almost becoming a sculptural representation of the emitting voice. Another mosaic in the Vatican collection from Hadrian's Villa similarly depicts a caricatured face but with a full, carefully curled white beard. Although no evidence survives, the detailed curls and flowing forms depicted in representations of theatrical masks suggest mask makers also utilised human or animal hair to create hairstyles and beards. The idea of making a wearable false beard was understandable enough for Aristophanes to include it as a comedic device when he wrote *Assembly Women* or *Ecclesiazusae* in 391 BC. In this play the Women of Athens disguise themselves as men to infiltrate the governing assembly and assume control:

[2] Aristotle, *Physiognomonica*, trans. W. D. Ross and J. A. Smith, *The Works of Aristotle* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913).

[3] Sharon Pearl, *About Faces: Physiognomy in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2010), esp. 2–4.

[4] Mary Anne Mitchell, "The Development of the Mask as a Critical Tool for an Examination of Character and Performer Action" (PhD Diss., Texas Tech University, 1986).

> PRAXAGORA
> Well, we should get in there, in Parliament, quietly and quietly plonk our whore's bums on our seats nice and early. Make no noticeable fuss at all.
> *Pause*
> What on earth is keeping them? Haven't they sown together the false beards that I've told them to get?
> Maybe they've found it difficult to run off with their husband's clothes.
> *She suddenly sees something in the distance (stage left)*
> I wonder what that light is. It's coming this way. I better hide somewhere in case it's a man.[5]

Alongside masculinity and maturity, facial hair can also be commonly thought of as untrustworthy, disguising the true face of the wearer. Wearing false facial hair been associated with disguise and transformation for thousands of years (as in the *Assembly Women*) whether that be for comedic or nefarious exploits. False beards and moustaches are so readily associated in our culture with disguise that the word 'beard' is often used as a euphemism in LGBT culture for a person being seen with a companion of the opposite sex in an attempt to conceal his or her true sexual orientation. The vague undertones of criminality suggested in the disguise of a false beard also reflect the previous illegality of homosexuality. The beard as a disguise is still used today by criminals (with mixed effectiveness). On 2 June 2016 in a Sun Trust bank in Montgomery, Maryland, USA, CCTV footage clearly shows a perpetrator's fake beard falling off whilst passing the bank teller a demand note. Also, in December 2016, the sheriff of Pasco County Florida posted on Twitter an image of a man or woman who robbed a gas station with a beard drawn on with permanent marker. In our modern age of surveillance and instant image recording, perhaps the criminal community will fully embrace the efficacy of the false beard as a valuable partner in crime.

From criminals we turn to crime fighters. In the Sherlock Holmes adventures by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, the eponymous detective often uses fake beards and moustaches as part of his elaborate and effective disguises. In a period of strict class-based aesthetics, transformations of appearance were needed to deflect suspicion. In the books, as Holmes's notable successes lead to him becoming increasingly well known to the

[5] Aristophanes, *Assembly Women*, trans. George Theodoridis, 2009, accessed 11 October 2017, http://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Greek/WomenInParliament.htm.

criminal underclass, he needs to investigate anonymously or as he calls it 'going on the war path'. In *The Sign of Four*, Holmes disguises himself as an old sailor to track down a missing vessel. He sneaks back to Baker Street to trick Dr. Watson and Detective Jones and test his disguise. Here Dr. Watson describes the disguised Holmes as he pays a call on 221b Baker St:

> He was an aged man, clad in seafaring garb, with an old pea-jacket buttoned up to his throat. His back was bowed, his knees were shaky, and his breathing was painfully asthmatic … He had a colored scarf around his chin and I could see little of his face save a pair of keen dark eyes and long grey side whiskers. Altogether he gave me the impression of a respectable master mariner who had fallen into years and poverty.

And Holmes upon revealing himself to Watson and Detective Jones declared:

> 'Here is the old man,' said he, holding out a heap of white hair. 'Here he is – wig, whiskers, eyebrows, and all. I thought my disguise was pretty good, but I hardly expected that it would stand that test!'[6]

One wonders if as well as allowing him to traverse the city incognito, these transformations also enabled the notoriously socially inept and reclusive Holmes to associate more comfortably with 'normal' people.

Disguise and transformation beyond the stage and screen isn't solely the preserve of fictional detectives and real-life criminals. Facial hair is the fancy dress costume that fits in your pocket, and even the most simple of plastic moustaches found in a Christmas cracker can be enough to invent a new character at the dinner table. Some styles are so culturally recognisable that fancy dress suppliers sell moustaches and beards named after particular stereotypes or fictional characters (The Cavalier/Spiv/Rockabilly/Porn Star/Fu Manchu/Jazz Musician/Gandalf/Victorian Villain/Philosopher/Viking/Hipster/Arctic Explorer/Hermit/Jack Sparrow/WW2 Pilot). Some outlets are still selling fancy dress facial hair under the labelling of racial stereotypes, but this is increasingly becoming obsolete. The world of fancy dress is seemingly quicker to take on board a new outfit than a revised set of culturally appropriate language.

[6]Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Sign of Four* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), 132.

As the above example of Aristophanes' *Assembly Women* suggests, extraordinary things can be achieved when women use false facial hair to transform themselves into the guise of men, opening up a world of social and cultural freedoms that they would otherwise never be able to enjoy. Writer and feminist icon Virginia Woolfe experienced this herself in 1910 when she donned a beard with other members of the Bloomsbury Group in the execution of the 'Dreadnought' hoax.[7] This elaborate practical joke involved six friends, disguised as Abyssinian princes (with dark make-up and beards supplied by the great celebrity wig-maker Willy Clarkson) duping the officers of HMS *Dreadnought* into giving them an official tour of the vessel, complete with African flags flying and band-led salutes. Although Woolfe and the others were in constant fear of their beards falling off, even Woolfe's cousin, one of the Naval officers aboard, did not see through the disguise. Elegant and audacious in its execution, this episode led to a tightening of regulations around official visits, and no doubt an increase in the sale of false beards. Willy Clarkson himself writing in an article in *The Strand* magazine in the same year entitled 'The Art of the Disguise' claimed:

> In the case of men, the beard is undoubtedly the greatest aid to disguise. But great care has to be taken, for if too striking an appearance were given to the subject the whole purpose of the scheme would be defeated. In our art the whole secret of success lies in not attempting too much.[8]

As a fellow professional I would wholeheartedly agree with Mr. Clarkson's sentiments here; however, in dressing up Virginia Woolfe as an Abyssinian prince, I believe he bent his own rules somewhat.

Wearing facial hair to pretend to be a man is a concept that is still being played with. In London the Zeppelin Cabaret Club is an ostensibly Gentlemen-only club, where women are only permitted if they disguise themselves as men, the most important feature of this disguise being a false moustache. Drag kings (female performers who dress and perform in masculine drag) have been present since the music hall era, hiding in

[7] Adrian Stephen, *The "Dreadnought" Hoax* (London: Hogarth Press, 1936).

[8] Willy Clarkson, "The Art of the Disguise," *The Strand* Illustrated, vol. 39, May 1910, 608–12 at 608, accessed 11 October 2017, https://archive.org/stream/TheStrandMagazineAnIllustratedMonthly/TheStrandMagazine1910aVol.XxxixJan-jun#page/n625/mode/1up.

plain sight for most of the twentieth century in the principle boy roles of pantomime, but now seeing a popular resurgence in cabaret entertainment. They often subvert the idea of masculine transformation by making no attempt to 'pass' as a man, often using heavy make-up to contour the face and drawing on facial hair or sticking on small tufts of fake hair. Oliver Assets is a drag king who regularly performs on the London club scene. She uses the 'Oliver' persona to perform a variety of different characters, but retains the shape of his facial hair, so she is always 'Oliver' playing someone else. She uses a combination of face paint and glued on hair to create Oliver's look and often gets 'in face' on the train en route to performances. As she is tall, she feels she is often mistaken for a 'cis' man rather than a woman in drag by disinterested London commuters:

> I definitely feel like I get treated more like a human being than when I'm out of drag. People stand out of my way more, apologize without saying 'darling' on the end, and don't shout 'dyke' at me on the street.[9]

Comedian Zoe Coombs Marr performs as her on-stage alter ego, Dave. She was motivated to begin performing as a man after experiencing how audiences react differently to male stand up comedians, giving them more respect and leeway to settle into their acts. She cuts up her own hair to use as Dave's beard and glues clumps to her face. The haphazard materials and application mean that bits of Dave's beard regularly fall of on stage or end up in her mouth. She likes this as it's a reminder that he's not real and both Zoe and Dave are performing at the same time. Interestingly she feels the cumulative effect of costume and performance mean the audience do 'believe' in Dave, and he gets the responses that a male comedian would get. She says, 'So when I'm Dave I get to slip on that cloak of privilege, it's hard to describe, but you can feel it'.[10]

An interesting recent development in playing with gender aesthetics has been the rise of bearded drag queens, most notably the 2014 Eurovision song contest winner, Conchita Wurst, whose ultra-feminine glamour hair, make-up and costume aesthetic matched with a full but carefully shaded and trimmed beard, baffled and delighted mainstream audiences and symbolised for many the increasing confidence with which gender identity could be discussed in broader society.

[9] Interview with Oliver Assets, February 2017.

[10] Interview with Zoe Coombs Marr, November 2015.

The playful disrespectability of the false moustache has also led to it being a 'go to' for graffiti artists the world over, whether it's Marcel Duchamp poking fun at the traditional art world and playing with ideas of gender reversal by pencilling a tache and goatee on the Mona Lisa in his 1919 transformation artwork L.H.O.O.Q, or Daffy Duck going on a joyous moustache drawing rampage in the 1945 cartoon 'Daffy Doodles'. It's a quick and easy way to transform the image of a face using a visual everyone understands. This was taken to an extreme by the graffiti artist Patrick Waldo or, as he was better known to New Yorkers, 'Moustache Man'. His distinctive tag, writing 'Moustache' with curlicues at the M and E was seen on the top lips of close to 10,000 faces on subway posters in a fifteen-month run until his arrest in 2011. Waldo cited his motivations in an interview he gave to subwayartblog.com in 2011 prior to his arrest:

> At its simplest level, it's a quick joke meant to give commuters something to smile about while they're waiting for the subway, coming off from a long day at work, or getting stabbed on the D train. And that's certainly how it started. But for me it's evolved into part of this broader movement of subverting advertisements. Especially in New York, where we're bombarded with ads everywhere we go, it feels more and more like we're part of a one-sided conversation. So many ads are so laughably stupid that a cartoonish moustache just seems to fit. On another level, it's a return to hand-written form in a technology driven age where we type so much that some of us have actually forgotten how to write cursive. Also it's about war or something.[11]

The graffiti moustache is an elegant weapon of non-confrontational militant activism, as it can be executed in an instant and is equal parts silliness and disrespect. The transient, immediate nature of these art interventions now stand as a more permanent commentary with the ubiquity of camera phones and posting on social media.

One of the most well-known fictional beards represents a character about as far away from militant activism as you can get. Santa Claus has been depicted with a beard in various incarnations across centuries and continents, but his rosy-cheeked, red-suited image was galvanised in the

[11] Jowy Romano, "The Man Behind the Moustache," accessed 11 October 2017, http://subwayartblog.com/2011/05/05/the-man-behind-the-moustache/.

public imagination by Coca-Cola advertisements painted by Haddon Sundblom in the early 1930s. A visit to Santa Claus has become a large part of the pre-Christmas tradition in the UK and America. When I was 4 my dad played Santa Claus at a children's party and I, completely taken in by his disguise, sat on his knee and told him how good I'd been all year (although this Santa knew better). A full and lustrous white beard is an integral part of the costume for any self-respecting Santa Claus. In 2003s feature film *Bad Santa*, the lead character, Willie, demonstrates his lack of Santa professionalism by wearing his beard slung under his chin, and the deepest moment of despair for Louis Winthorpe III in the 1983 film *Trading Places* is illustrated by him eating a stolen salmon through a dirty Santa beard. Some professional Santa Clauses grow a real beard (if they can) but this would require a year-round commitment and, of course, the follicular capacity. But for those who use a false beard, much preparation is necessary to stand up to the rigours of the festive season. Professional Santa Claus Chris Nicholas told me about his preparations. His custom-made beard, moustache and eyebrows are stuck on with a specialist adhesive. It takes him about twenty minutes of his two-hour preparation process to perfect his facial hair and wig, and he adds individual hairs to create a highly detailed and real finished look. He clearly considers this process integral to his transformation:

> It goes without saying that the most important visual characteristic of Santa Claus is the facial hair. It's worth pointing out that any Santa's beard, whether it be real or not, is always questioned by sceptical children (usually older ones). Most older children can tell a fancy dress style false beard a mile away.
>
> When I see Santa Claus staring back at me in the mirror at the end of the whole transformation, I feel a responsibility to uphold and portray everything the character symbolises and represents to so many people. [It] inspires a reaction in people's eyes of amazement and often even emotion. I have had so many incredible experiences as Santa and have been humbled by the realisation of just how loved he is.
>
> I was booked for an appearance at a private party in London. At one point in the evening, a fifteen-year-old teenager and his friends (which is of course often a Santa's worst nightmare) came up to me and asked, 'Is that a real beard?' I said, 'Yes.' He asked if he could inspect it by touching it and pulling on it. Knowing that the beard is virtually impossible to

> move without the remover, I agreed to let him do so gently and so he came very close to stare at it, touched and gently pulled on it. After about thirty seconds, he gasped in genuine surprise saying 'Oh my God, it is a real beard!' Staying in character, I laughed and said 'Don't worry, I won't put you on the naughty list just for that!' Shortly after, I overheard him in another room with his friends saying how embarrassed he felt that he had pulled that poor old man's beard. I laughed to myself thinking 'mission accomplished!'[12]

Fantastical facial hair has occasionally taken on cultural meaning beyond the boundaries of the narrative it originated from. In *Our American Cousin*, the 1858 British play by Tom Taylor, the outrageously large and comical side whiskers sported by the character of Lord Dundreary, played by Edward Askew Southern, lead to this particular style of facial hair being named after the character in popular culture at the time. In the twentieth century there were three characters in particular whose false moustaches became such an integral part of their aesthetic that they have taken on a life independent of their wearers and can stand alone to represent the character without the face behind it: Charlie Chaplin's Little Tramp, Groucho Marx (in various characters) and Hercule Poirot as played by David Suchet. I wanted to investigate how these performers made the creative choices that led to such iconic looks. Charlie Chaplin unfortunately has to share his moustache with another famous face of the twentieth century, but as the comedian Richard Herring put it in his 2009 show about the toothbrush moustache, 'It was Chaplin's first, then Hitler ruined it.'[13]

Chaplin first adopted the character of the Tramp complete with his famous moustache when he was working for Keystone Studios on *Kid Auto At the Races in Venice* and *Mabel's Strange Predicament* in 1914. He was asked by studio head Mack Sennett to put on comedy make-up for a minor role. The Keystone stable of characters had included many sporting outrageous moustaches and beards, but Chaplin had no idea what he would wear. However, as he headed to the wardrobe department, he began to formulate a plan. In his autobiography, Chaplin says:

[12] Interview with Chris Nicholas, January 2017.

[13] Richard Herring, *Hitler Moustache* released on DVD 2010, PIAS comedy.

> I wanted everything to be a contradiction: the pants baggy, the coat tight, the hat small and the shoes large. I was undecided whether to look old or young, but remembering Sennett had expected me to be a much older man, I added a small moustache, which, I reasoned, would add age without hiding my expression. I had no idea of the character. But the moment I was dressed, the clothes and the make-up made me feel the person he was. I began to know him, and by the time I walked on to the stage he was fully born.[14]

These choices may have been pure comedy instinct on Chaplin's part but I think they could be suggestive of deeper motivations that would persist throughout his future career. The hobo or tramp clown look of a painted on, sooty, stubble beard was established by Lew Bloom who performed as a tramp clown in American Vaudeville from 1888[15] and is thought to have been an inspiration for Chaplin's Tramp. By not choosing to adopt the traditional look of the tramp clown, Chaplin immediately made his Little Tramp a much more complex character. Chaplin's toothbrush moustache was a neat and low maintenance style of choice for the working man in a new industrialised age. The tramp may be down on his luck, but he still keeps his moustache in order. Chaplin's son Sydney reflects that Chaplin saw tramps trying to dress with dignity as a child growing up in poverty in Kennington.[16] Chaplin was a champion of the working class in many of his films and was suspected of communism by J. Edgar Hoover's FBI.[17] Giving the tramp attributes in appearance of an ordinary man gives him pathos and humanity that elevates the character and allows a comedy portrayal to be poignant as well as funny. Chaplin explained the character to Sennett after his success saying,

> You know this fellow is many-sided, a tramp, a gentleman, a poet, a dreamer, a lonely fellow, always hopeful of romance and adventure. He would have you believe he is a scientist, a musician, a duke, and a polo player. However, he is not above picking up cigarette-butts or robbing a baby of its candy.[18]

[14] Charles Chaplin, *My Autobiography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1964), 145.

[15] Lew Bloom's obituary, *Reading Eagle*, 13 December 1929.

[16] Sydney Chaplin, *Charlie Chaplin*: A Tramp's Life, A & E Television, 1998.

[17] *Charlie Chaplin: A Tramp's Life*, A & E Television, 1998.

[18] Chaplin, *My Autobiography*, 146.

So successful was Chaplin's image-making on that day at Keystone Studios that many people would now not recognise an image of him without his famous moustache.

Groucho or Julius Henry Marx developed and refined his quick fire, madcap, physical comedy on the Broadway stage with his brothers in the 1920s before their Hollywood success in the 1930s. His facial hair is so iconic, you can buy it for yourself. He established his trademark painted on moustache and eyebrows while still on Broadway. The genius of this look is that its theatrical absurdity is never mentioned in any film. Only in *Duck Soup* do we see Chico and Harpo Marx impersonating Groucho by drawing on grease paint moustaches. Groucho's use of grease paint is a clear suggestion of his music hall roots and clowning make-up in general, such as Emmett Kelly's Weary Willie hobo clown. Transplanted to the silver screen it takes on another dimension of anarchic danger. His film characters are often charlatans and womanisers masquerading as respectable figures, so the falsity of his facial hair only reinforces his dubious personas. Groucho downplays the creation of his image as, much like Chaplin, a spontaneous moment of creative inspiration born out of necessity. According to Stefan Kanfer, one evening in 1921 Groucho rushed from the delivery ward where his son was being born over to the theatre to make the show. Having no time to stick on his usual false moustache, he quickly painted one on. The show went down well and despite complaints from the theatre manager, the painted moustache stayed.[19]

The immortalisation of the Poirot character's moustache became present in popular culture in a very different way to the previous two examples. It is interesting that Poirot was always the first mentioned in conversations I've had about this subject, possibly because David Suchet's portrayal of the character ran on UK television between 1988 and 2013. Also, Poirot's moustache is so emblematic of the character's personality and interaction with the world. Groucho and the Tramp are interesting because their facial hair is in some way incongruous with the rest of their persona. Poirot's moustache is described by Captain Hastings, the Watson to Poirot's Holmes, like this in *The Mysterious Affair at Styles*:

[19]Stefan Kanfer, *Groucho: The Life and Times of Julius Henry Marx* (New York: Knopf, 2000).

> An extraordinary-looking little man. He was hardly more than five feet four inches, but carried himself with great dignity. His head was exactly the shape of an egg, and he always perched it a little on one side. His moustache was very stiff and military. The neatness of his attire was almost incredible; I believe a speck of dust would have caused him more pain than a bullet wound.[20]

Agatha Christie very clearly places the outer and inner lives of her character in unison from the beginning. Although there have been other incarnations of Poirot, David Suchet has made the character internationally recognised and has become the quintessential embodiment of Christie's original. Suchet was meticulous about preparation in all aspects but said during an interview 'the key to it for me is the moustache, once that moustache goes on that lip I think it's true to say you'll be speaking to Hercule Poirot'.[21]

After many prototypes were tried, he settled on a neat little black waxed number of perfect Palladian symmetry. Not only does this concisely embody the character's overwhelming desire for order and control of his world, including his own body, it fits perfectly with the high deco, mid-1930s production design of the television series, while its smooth curves and precision tips bring to mind the Chrysler Building or a fashion plate by Schiaparelli. The character's meticulousness and obsessive behaviour are evident in the extremely styled nature of the facial hair, but also in his isolation from normal human interaction and loneliness. That moustache clearly says 'no touching and certainly no kissing!'. The moustache in its very perfection shows his vulnerability and humanity. In these three examples we have a range of creative processes in the construction of character images: the last-minute inspiration from the comedy muses for Chaplin, blind panic for Groucho and meticulous planning and preparation for Suchet. Of these three, the Poirot-type moustache has most successfully become a symbol independent of the wearer, a cultural meme commonly found on stationery, mugs and printed fabric. It signifies a 'vintage' 'retro' sensibility whilst being entirely contemporary. It has a disembodied presence in popular culture shared only by the Rolling Stones tongue and lips logo.

[20] Agatha Christie, *The Mysterious Affair at Styles* (New York and London: John Lane, 1920), 34.

[21] David Suchet interview for "Being Poirot" 2013. Acorn Productions.

The process of creating false facial hair or postiche is a meticulous one. To make a false beard, a fine flesh coloured net is shaped to fit the exact contours of the performer's face, then either human hair or synthetic or yak belly hair is knotted one hair at a time into the netting to create the required shape and colour. The piece is then trimmed, curled and waxed into the desired style. This is then fixed to the face with a strong specialist adhesive. Stuart McGugan, a veteran stage and television actor, told me of his facial hair tribulations whilst working at the RSC in 1968. The full cast were required to grow their own facial hair, but when his chin wasn't up to the task, he was obliged to wear false beards and moustaches for the season. He explained:

> I had to wear false beards and moustaches, and it was a very hirsute season. Almost every show I braced myself for the application of spirit gum, which nipped like hell, to my cheeks, chin and upper lip. After the show I braced myself again for the application of surgical spirit, which also nipped like hell, to remove the spirit gum. They were putting men on the moon, for God's sake! Could no one invent an adhesive that didn't hurt? After the curtain came down on the last 'Lear', I flushed my beard and moustache down the loo in triumphant celebration. I was not to know that the RSC was going to America at the end of the Stratford season, taking two plays, one of which required me, yet again, to suffer the spirit gum and surgical spirit torture combo.[22]

The hair and make-up industry has finally caught up with the space race and is making kinder products for performer's skin, but the wearing of such pieces is still often uncomfortable and some performers prefer to grow their own facial hair for a role. I have worked with the actor Anthony Calf on several productions at the National Theatre. In 2008 he played Prime Minister Anthony Eden in Howard Brenton's *Never So Good*, complete with false moustache and eyebrow pieces. I've always known him to be meticulous in his approach to his character's appearance, often adding subtle details that only he and the other performers would notice. He told me he'd always rather grow any facial hair as it makes him understand the character better if he has to live with it, experience how it feels on the pillow, or how it makes eating and drinking more of a challenge. But if that's not possible, how important it is

[22] Interview with Stuart McGugan, January 2017.

for the audience and performer to be in accord with understanding the character through his appearance. We discussed his choice of eyebrow extensions for playing Eden. He said, 'I was playing a real character, I knew I didn't really look like him. The one thing that stuck out for me were his eyebrows … The audience probably couldn't see them but it made all the difference to me, I saw them in the mirror. It was a prime example of physical help in building a mental picture.'[23]

Actor Tony Bannister talked to me about how it is easier to wear a challenging costume than facial hair, because your body is used to being in clothes every day, and how he uses the discomfort of wearing postiche as a stimulus for the character: 'You have to wear the beard and not let the beard wear you.'[24] This proved particularly difficult in one play, as a fellow actor he had to kiss on stage had severe pognophobia (fear of beards). Performers can also be required to remove facial hair that they wear in their everyday life. Regular close shaving can be troubling for those with sensitive skin and ingrowing beard hairs, and is particularly problematic for men with Afro hair. It is the role of the hair and make-up artist to navigate all these challenges in the most effective and sensitive way.

There are many military, cultural and religious observances regarding facial hair across societies around the world, and shaving or not shaving is a performance of devotion or commitment both to the outside world and the devotee himself.

The later Romans had traditions of celebrating the first shave of an adolescent and growing their beards whilst in mourning; the utilisation of the aesthetic power of the act of shaving continues today.[25] The beard removal of men in Mosul, who had been liberated from the totalitarian rule of the so-called Islamic state and enforced beard growth, was documented in Islamic state in November 2016. Hairdressers travelled to refugee camps to assist men in demonstrating their freedom by removing the oppression from their faces: 'Hani Mahmood Amin says shaving his beard is symbolic of his freedom: "[Isis] destroyed our lives. I am

[23] Interview with Anthony Calf, September 2016.

[24] Interview with Tony Bannister, October 2016.

[25] William Smith ed., *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London: John Murray, 1875), 663.

so annoyed with this beard. [But] I feel relaxed now. Even just a beard shave feels good."'[26]

The musician Scroobius Pip cut off his trademark beard in a music video for his track 'Introdiction' in 2011 and sold it on eBay as a lighthearted publicity stunt.

In the UK this performative appeal of facial hair growth has manifested in the charity 'grow-a-thons'. At the time of writing, there are campaigns for: Movember, a prostate and testicular cancer charity; Decembeard, a bowel cancer charity; and latecomer to the charitable facial hair growth party, The Sides of March for CALM (Campaign Against Living Miserably). The enormous visibility of these actions coupled with the low level of time commitment (it's much easier to grow a moustache than to run a marathon) has led to them becoming a popular way of fundraising since 2003.

Since the latter part of the twentieth century the cultural visual indicators for facial hair have become more nuanced. The accessibility and universality of visual imagery in postmodern popular culture has given people licence to play with and manipulate social stereotypes. For example, before the 1980s a three-day beard growth would have evoked someone in dire straits, a villain on the run or a man bereft from his wife running off with the milkman. However, the unshaven look began to suggest a conscious disregard for social conformity, was rebranded as 'designer stubble' and has been a popular choice of movie stars and dotcom millionaires for the past 30 years. As the strict boundaries around our visual culture have disappeared, we have more choice over how we express ourselves and the presenting of the self-image online has made this a more valid currency (sometimes a popular aesthetic shared on social media can be converted into actual currency). There is much evidence that the playful use of facial hair can be a sexual liberator, a rebellious art form, a social commentary, or just an excuse to be downright silly. Although stereotypes in dress and appearance are becoming less culturally valid, I believe that facial hair will continue to be used in new and exciting ways of creative self-expression and narrative storytelling.

[26]Ahmed Twaij, "'I Hate this Beard. By God, I Hate It': Iraqi Men Celebrate their Freedom by Shaving," *The Guardian*, 8 November 2016.

PART II

Masculinity and the Moustache

Combing Masculine Identity in the Age of the Moustache, 1860–1900

Sharon Twickler

In March 1875, *The Saturday Evening Post*, one of the most popular American magazines, wrote: 'The comb marks the course of refinement, and travels wherever the untutored savage is brought to yield to the benign influences of civilization.'[1] This was no literary hyperbole. As in the seventeenth century, in the late nineteenth century racial tension developed inextricable links with facial hair as Social Darwinists turned to the body—and specifically to hair—for signs of greater masculinity and racial superiority.[2] Increasing societal conflict propelled social theorists

[1] "Combs," *Saturday Evening Post* (1839–1885), 13 March 1875, 8.

[2] For further discussion of race and facial hair see Eleanor Rycroft's chapter, "Hair, Beards and the Fashioning of English Manhood in Early Modern Travel Texts", in this volume.

This chapter is derived from my Master's thesis at the Bard Graduate Center which was titled 'The Things He Carried: Combing Masculine Identity in the Age of the Moustache'. I wish to express gratitude to my advisor, Ivan Gaskell, for his guidance and encouragement in exploring this unique subject.

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to address concerns that modernisation had rendered white men too tame and, thus, unfit to defend themselves against rival races. For example, the physician and public health advocate Andrew Wilson remarked in his 1886 work, *Health for the People*, that the beard 'attains its greatest development amongst the light-skinned and light-haired races'.[3] The moustache, or facial hair tamed, embodied a physical and aesthetic interface, mediating ideas of barbarism and civility.[4]

Contemporary manuals advised on the rules of etiquette—men should neither over groom, for that made them effeminate and over-civilised, nor neglect their appearance to the point of barbarism. To achieve a healthy balance, the Victorian moustachioed gentleman combed—and sometimes waxed or curled—bristly hairs into submission. While historic facial hair fashions have recently gained greater attention both in academic and popular literature, studies have yet to address facial hair through the lens of an artefact. A relic of one of history's hairiest periods, a moustache comb in the collection of the New-York Historical Society embodies the intersection of material culture and the stylistic evolution of facial hair according to changing constructs of manhood. Designed to be carried in a pocket, the moustache comb materially parallels debates in society. That is, it unfolds to reveal the complexities and racial tensions of late Victorian manhood. In this chapter I will ultimately argue that the moustache, and its associated paraphernalia, came to represent ideal manhood on an increasingly diverse American face.

The New-York Historical Society's moustache comb is composed of tortoiseshell with a silver mount adorned with a scrolling leaf border (Fig. 1).[5] It is pocket-sized, smaller than an ordinary hair comb and measures $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches long and $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch wide when closed. Upon opening, the case becomes a convenient handle, with the total length measuring $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The silver mark on the handle, 'F&B', refers to

[3] Andrew Wilson, *Health for the People* (London: Samson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1886), 269.

[4] For nineteenth-century discussions of race and facial hair see: Charles Pickering, *The Races of Man and Their Geographical Distribution* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1854); Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, and Selection in Relation to Sex (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1878); Andrew Wilson, *Health for the People* (London: Samson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1886); J. Lee Humfreville, *Twenty Years Among Our Savage Indians* (Hartford, CT: The Hartford Publishing Company, 1897).

[5] "Moustache Comb," The New-York Historical Society, Z.1775, accessed 2 February 2016, http://nyhistory.org/node/35016.

Fig. 1 Moustache Comb, Nineteenth Century, USA. Collection of Sharon Twickler (Courtesy of the author)

Foster & Bailey, a company based in Providence, Rhode Island, in business from 1878 to 1898.[6]

Beecher Ogden (1872–1963), a New York accountant and amateur photographer, donated the comb along with numerous library materials to the New-York Historical Society in 1944.[7] His photographs can be viewed in the digital archives of some New York City cultural institutions and mostly document street scenes of the Lower East Side and Coney Island.[8] But the man behind the camera remains a mystery. Is it possible

[6]Phillip L. Krumholz, *A History of Shaving and Razors* (Bartonville, IL: Ad Libs Publishing Co., 1987), 112.

[7]Letter of receipt of "the folding pocket comb", Librarian Dorothy C. Barck to Mr. Beecher Ogden, 3 January 1944, New-York Historical Society Institutional Archives, Patricia D. Klingenstein Library.

[8]These photos are accessible through the New York Public Library and The Museum of the City of New York digital collections, accessed 23 September 2017, https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/search/index?utf8=&keywords=Beecher+Ogden and http://collections.mcny.org/C.aspxVP3=SearchResult&VBID=24UAYWLNRSJUK.

he paused to comb his moustache between snapping scenes of push carts and newsstands? With the limited information known about Ogden, it is impossible to ascertain if this comb was a personal possession used upon his own moustache or an item he collected. Closer inspection of the comb reveals a few orphan hairs, confirming its usage. But what sort of moustache did these hairs form? Was this moustache one 'that actively bristles at the ends and turns neither up nor down', as recommended in Mrs. Humphry's *Etiquette for Every Day*?[9] For the time being, Mr. Ogden's moustache is lost to history, but his comb reveals quite a story on its own.

In 1890, a solid silver and tortoiseshell moustache comb like Beecher Ogden's cost $2.75, equivalent to roughly $74 today.[10] This comb was a luxury item, but not all combs were so sumptuously made. Tortoiseshell and horn were the dominant materials for comb making in the nineteenth century until the invention of celluloid, a type of plastic made to substitute for horn, ivory and tortoiseshell.[11] This transition in comb making began with the establishment of the Celluloid Brush Company in 1874.[12] In 1895, *The Youth's Companion* subscribers could purchase a silver-mounted celluloid moustache comb for 85 cents or $23.09 today.[13] In 1897, a similar deal was offered, but for $1, or $27.16 today.[14] These celluloid combs are significantly more reasonable than the more luxurious, tortoiseshell variety. Moustache combs were made in a range of materials, making them accessible to all classes and indicating that this facial hair style transcended class boundaries. Furthermore,

[9] Mrs. Humphry, *Etiquette for Every Day* (London: Grant Richards, 1904), 280.

[10] "Advertisement 3—No Title," *Christian Union (1870–1893)*, 15 May 1890, 720. Contemporary values calculated using S. Morgan Friedman's inflation calculator: www.westegg.com/inflation.

[11] Robert Friedel, *Pioneer Plastic: The Making and Selling of Celluloid* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 73.

[12] Friedel, *Pioneer Plastic*, 73.

[13] "Advertisement 23—No Title," *The Youth's Companion* (1827–1929), 31 October 1895, 533.

[14] "Advertisement 22—No Title," *The Youth's Companion* (1827–1929), 21 October 1897, 524.

the ubiquity of moustache combs made from such a diversity of materials emphasises the societal expectation of proper moustache grooming.[15]

The following excerpt from an 1899 *New York Times* article speaks to the ubiquity of moustache combs as a product of a burgeoning consumer culture bolstered by the Industrial Revolution:

> As we become more civilized we need more pockets. A man has letters to mail and others he doesn't care to leave around, pocketknife, money in bills and metal, corkscrew, pencils and a fountain pen, handkerchief, bunch of keys, timetable, bicycle road directory, card case, cigar case, watch, newspapers, probably a picture of somebody, a lot of memoranda, receipts and statements of account, matches and chewing tobacco, some special tools of his craft, if he has one, *too often a moustache comb* (my emphasis), and manicure apparatus and a box of pills, all developments and adjuncts of civilization, and he needs all the pockets he can get.[16]

This litany of objects captures many aspects of modernity: increasing pressure to consume, the standardisation of time, greater connectivity and speed of communication. These numerous objects are also symbols of identity. While consumption itself demonstrated refinement, people now had access to all sorts of goods to represent themselves.[17] The personal objects listed here may remain hidden from view, but the inclusion of a moustache comb indicates the significance of self-presentation. A moustache comb demonstrated refinement and, carried in a man's pocket, it was readily available to tame his moustache and remind himself to take care in presenting himself to the world.

[15]The manufacture and consumption of personal grooming articles has an interesting history; see: Alun Withey, *Technology, Self-Fashioning and Politeness in Eighteenth-Century Britain: Refined Bodies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). The moustache comb discussed in this chapter is a descendant of the grooming articles made for travel in the eighteenth century. Carried on one's person, they illustrate how maintaining personal appearance was an ongoing effort. As personal grooming signified refinement, these objects were a social aid. Cleanliness and refinement became more closely intertwined into the next century. The transition in comb making in this period with celluloid democratised refinement, enabling more people to participate in polite society.

[16]"World's Use of Pockets," *New York Times* (1857–1922), 28 August 1899, 7.

[17]Jennifer Goloboy, ed. *Industrial Revolution: People and Perspectives* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2008), 80. Goloboy discusses how '19th-century Americans seemed to believe that consumer goods could help represent the inner self'.

As the *New York Times* excerpt attests, most moustache combs, like Beecher Ogden's, were designed to fold into themselves, rendering them convenient to carry on one's person. In fact, moustache comb advertisements emphasise their portable nature by stating how conveniently they could fit into a gentleman's pocket. One example, found in an advertisement from 1895, indicates the portable nature of such a device through its description—'Vest-Pocket Moustache Comb'—and like Beecher Ogden's comb it also features ornamental scrollwork.[18] Another example, dated 1897, which features no image, but includes a description for a 'Sterling Mounted Moustache Comb', explains its portability: 'The celluloid Comb has a sterling silver handle. Of convenient size for the vest pocket. A useful article for gentlemen.'[19] The practical and ornamental features of moustache combs can be interpreted as a metaphor for constrained masculinity. The teeth, spiky and integral to the comb's function, are neatly concealed within the decorative handle. Even with a lack of ornamentation, the concealing feature of most moustache combs represents the restraint expected of a Victorian gentleman. Refinement hides a rugged interior, in the same way that a civilised Victorian gentleman subdued his innate masculine barbarism. The metaphor can literally be carried further through the action of concealing a moustache comb in the pocket.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, a man's interior qualities became less important than the trappings of masculinity carried on his person. Changing facial hair styles and the material culture of the day paralleled this shift in masculinity. Prior to the Industrial Revolution, American men were generally described as more secure in their masculinity through their strong sense of independence and self-reliance.[20] Their identities depended on land ownership or craft; men were secure in their roles as farmers, artisans and shopkeepers. This began to change early in the nineteenth century when men began to feel pressure to prove their masculinity.[21] By the 1830s, masculine identity became increasingly tied to economic success and, coincidentally, manhood became increasingly

[18] "Advertisement 23—No Title," *The Youth's Companion (1827–1929)*, 31 October 1895, 533.

[19] "Advertisement 22—No Title," *The Youth's Companion (1827–1929)*, 21 October 1897, 524.

[20] Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 23.

[21] Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 23.

located within the corporeal body. At this time, hair began to sprout on men's necks and chins, but the upper lip remained bare for most men until mid-century. Both contemporary and modern debates regarding the American beard and moustache movement draw attention to the influence of the hirsute Hungarian revolutionary Lajos Kossuth. In the previously mentioned 1886 *Health for the People*, public health advocate Andrew Wilson attributed the rise of the moustache to Kossuth's 1852 American tour.[22] He wrote, 'the growth of the moustache, according to the ideas of some writers, dates—in America at least—from the visit of Kossuth'.[23] Timothy Mason Roberts also acknowledges Kossuth's appeal to American men in *Distant Revolutions: 1848 and the Challenge to American Exceptionalism*. He notes that the full beard became a symbol of democracy because of its association with European revolutionaries, quoting an Indiana journalist's observation on the hirsute import: 'since Kossuth's arrival in this country… we do not recollect ever having seen so many whiskerandos in Indianapolis as during the past week'.[24] While the revolutionary associations of facial hair appealed to Americans, British men were slow to warm to beards for this very reason, a point made by Christopher Oldstone-Moore.[25] He explains that only after the wave of revolutions in 1848 were British men free to embrace the beard as a symbol of masculinity, rather than political ideology.[26]

However, the full beard cannot be attributed to the passing of revolutionary fervour alone. Mid-nineteenth-century military conflict was a significant catalyst for the moustache's popularity. As Alice White's chapter in this collection notes, British soldiers adopted the moustache after a change in military regulations at the time of the Crimean War (1853–1856).[27] For American men, the moustache gained prominence

[22] Wilson, *Health for the People*, 270.

[23] Wilson, *Health for the People*, 270.

[24] Timothy Mason Roberts, *Distant Revolutions*: 1848 and the Challenge to American Exceptionalism (University of Virginia Press, 2009), 160.

[25] Christopher Oldstone-Moore, "The Beard Movement in Victorian Britain," *Victorian Studies* 48, no. 1 (Autumn 2005): 10.

[26] Oldstone-Moore, "The Beard Movement in Victorian Britain," 10. His *Framing the Face* chapter reiterates the connection between political radicalism and the rise of the nineteenth-century beard.

[27] Oldstone-Moore, "The Beard Movement in Victorian Britain," 12.

at the time of the Civil War (1861–1865). Moustaches have a long history of military association, and national conscription during the Civil War explains the moustache's popularity at this time.[28] But how did the moustache evolve from a military symbol to popular civilian accessory? Because of national conscription, never before had so many American men engaged in war. The South adopted conscription in 1862, while the North adopted the draft in 1863.[29] These soldiers came from different professions and social classes, but through their facial hair became united as military men. The post-bellum moustache is a lingering testament to that experience, acting as a visual war story. While this does not mean that every eligible American male participated, or that all soldiers adopted the moustache, it does explain the popularity of the style and demonstrates how, as the material variation of moustache combs suggests, the moustache transcended class boundaries.

Social Darwinism and the Moustache

The rise of the moustache and changing masculine ideals became linked to pseudo-scientific commentary on race. Charles Darwin published his his *Origin of Species* in 1859, but Social Darwinism, promoted by William Graham Sumner in America, emerged later to justify socioeconomic inequality on the basis of natural selection.[30] Another Darwin publication, *The Descent of Man* (1871), might also have played a role. In this text Darwin did comment briefly on race and the evolutionary progress of man, noting that some races might feature varying advantageous

[28] Conrad Guenther, *Darwinism and the Problems of Life: A Study of Familiar Animal Life*, trans. Joseph McCabe (London: A. Owen & Co., 1906), 92. Guenther acknowledges the moustache's place in military history, reflecting on how the moustache has historically been worn by soldiers for a more aggressive appearance. Photographs of American men illustrate a notable contrast from the 1850s to the 1860s. The sudden popularity of the moustache at a time of a major war could not have been a coincidence. M. Victoria Alonso Cabezas also remarks on the civilian adoption of facial hair in the nineteenth century and its military associations in her chapter in this volume, "Beardless Young Men? Facial Hair and the Construction of Masculinity in Nineteenth-Century Spanish Self Portraits".

[29] John Whitelcay Chambers II, "Conscription," in *The Oxford Companion to American Military History* (Oxford University Press, 1999), 180.

[30] S. J. Lange, "Social Darwinism," in *The Encyclopedia of the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars: A Political, Social, and Military History, Volume 1*, ed. Spencer Tucker (Santa Barbara, CA; Denver, CO; and Oxford, UK: ABC CLIO, 2009), 604.

traits over others.[31] Social Darwinists used Darwin's evolutionary theory to suggest that different racial groups represented different evolutionary stages, proposing that whites demonstrated more civilising traits and were thus further evolved than other more animalistic races.[32] Michael Kimmel remarks on how this attitude was applied to gender to identify varying degrees of manliness among different racial groups.[33] Superfluous hair took on special significance at a time when America's characteristic face was rapidly changing. For many Americans of Western European ancestry, decades of rising immigration and industrialisation posed threats to American Anglo-Saxon manhood.[34] To Social Darwinists of the late nineteenth century, hair played a significant role in indicating greater manliness and racial superiority. Their theories on the meaning and purpose of facial hair, coupled with the grooming etiquette of the day, privileged the moustache in the hierarchy of American masculine attributes. A properly groomed moustache allowed a man to sport facial hair (demonstrating that he was manly enough to do so) and be clean shaven at the same time (demonstrating civility). Moustache combs, and related accoutrements, dictated the importance of maintaining this healthy balance.

Facial hair became a marker not only of the mature male, but also a visible reminder of man's animal ancestry. In a 1912 essay titled 'Genius and Hair-Color' Charles Kassel wrote that the,

> remnant of the coarse fur which once covered the body of the human animal – withdrawn at last, after a losing battle with time, to its invincible retreat and stronghold upon the head – this relic of beast life grew with the process of the suns into a thing of use and meaning – a mark of race, an emblem of rank, a symbol of religion.[35]

This emblem of man's animal heritage inspired frequent comparison of men to animals, as the American naturalist and essayist John Burroughs observed:

[31] Lange, "Social Darwinism," 604.

[32] Matthew R. Dudgeon, "Darwinism," in *American Masculinities: A Historical Encyclopedia, Volume 1*, ed. Bret E. Carroll (London: Sage, 2003), 123.

[33] Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 90.

[34] Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 92–93.

[35] Charles Kassel, "Genius and Hair-Color," *Popular Science* 81, no. 15 (September 1912): 284.

> It is a new sensation to come to see man as an animal—the master animal of the world, the outcome and crown of all the rest. We have so long been taught to regard ourselves as something apart and exceptional, differing not merely in degree, but in kind, from the rest of creation, in no sense a part of Nature, something whose origin and destiny are peculiar, and not those of the commonality of the animal kingdom.[36]

If facial hair represented man's animal ancestry, just how separate was man from beast? A dualistic masculine identity emerged as men wrestled with, on the one hand, their inner animal and, on the other, outward expectations of civility. Demonstrating civility meant displaying mastery over man's inner animal, which also proved racial superiority. Different hair textures marked various levels of racial progress. These evolutionary remarks concerning hair were increasingly applied to discussing racial difference as Anglo-Saxon men worried about sustaining their kind amid rising levels of immigration. Kassel cited biologist and Darwin advocate Thomas Huxley's classification of mankind to explain the hierarchy of hair according to different textures and colours: 'those people low in the scale of development are marked by black hair, usually straight, through sometimes of close spiral form', while the 'loftier races' of northern and southern Europe have hair 'usually wavy or curly'.[37] As Kassel further remarked, 'in all ages, stiff and wiry hair has been deemed a sign of dishonesty or low birth, while softly clustering curls humanity has ever been prone to associate with gentleness and innocence'.[38]

Similar comments applied to facial and body hair, or lack thereof. According to Kassel, hair texture and facial hair signified different levels of evolutionary development in connection with man's animal ancestry: 'since the crown hair of the anthropoid brute – the chimpanzee, gorilla,

[36] John Burroughs, *Journal of John Burroughs,January–October 1883*, John Burroughs Journals, Vassar College Digital Library, https://digitallibrary.vassar.edu/collections/burroughs. Also cited in E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 229.

[37] Kassel, "Genius and Hair-Color," 285.

For an introduction to Thomas Henry Huxley's scientific influence see:

Charles Blinderman and David Joyce, "The Huxley File," accessed 24 September 2017, https://mathcs.clarku.edu/huxley/. For Huxley's racial classifications see: Thomas Henry Huxley, "On the Methods and Results of Ethnology," *Critiques and Addresses* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1873), 134.

[38] Kassel, "Genius and Hair-Color," 284.

orang-utan and gibbon – is of stiff, bristling structure … and this analogy with the anthropoids applies not only to the lower human races, with whom, as with the apes, the beard is scanty – it applies as well to the highest human races, with whom fulness [*sic*] of beard is a mark of racial superiority'.[39] He also emphasised the connection between fair hair and racial superiority by noting how 'it is even more significant that among the anthropoid brutes no instance of fair head hair is known, just as no instance is known of blue or gray eyes'.

Around the same period, in 1887, Henry Theophilus Finck also applied Darwinian thought to hair in his 1887 work *Romantic Love and Personal Beauty: Their Development, Casual Relations, Historic and National Peculiarities*. He particularly addressed the moustache in terms of sexual selection and what the trend might mean for the future of mankind: 'sexual selection would not fail to seize on this "new departure" in moustaches immediately in order to emphasize the sexual differences of expression in the face, and thus increase the ardour of romantic passion'.[40] While beards had the purpose of protecting the throat, moustaches were more ornamental than functional. The moustache was therefore tied to sexual selection as both a means of gender differentiation and mate selection, as Finck observed:

> The tendency of evolution, as we have seen, has been to make the sexes more and more different in appearance; and as man chooses his mate chiefly on aesthetic grounds, he habitually gave the preference to smooth-faced women, whereas woman's choice, being largely based on dynamic grounds, fell on the bearded and moustached men, since a luxurious growth of hair is commonly a sign of physical vigour. Hence the humiliation of the young man who cannot raise a moustache.[41]

'Physical vigour' refers to a man's ability to produce offspring. Other period language in discussion of facial hair is quite telling. The phrase 'raise a moustache' might very well be a euphemism for sexual competence, as well as another equally frequently used phrase, 'manly appendage'. Thus, a man's inability to grow facial hair implied effeminacy and

[39] Kassel, "Genius and Hair-Color," 284.

[40] Henry Theophilus Finck, *Romantic Love and Personal Beauty*: Their Development, Causal Relations, Historic and National Peculiarities (London: Macmillan, 1887), 491.

[41] Finck, *Romantic Love*, 489.

impotence.[42] Mrs. Humphry, in *Etiquette for Every Day*, also suggests how a lack of moustache, or one of insubstantial growth, may imply impotence: 'a flaccid weakness of disposition is only too easily discerned in the scanty herbage that is all the most assiduous cultivation, supplemented by numerous washes and unguents, can produce on the naturally barren spaces of the upper lip'.[43] Considering the mounting fear Anglo-Saxon men felt about a rapidly diversifying America, concerns about infertility and impotence are not surprising.[44] Between 1880 and 1900, nine million immigrants came to the USA—the greatest wave of immigration in its history. America's north-eastern cities quickly diversified with a swell of new European, Chinese and Japanese faces. Post-bellum black migration also contributed to the increase in diversity. Between 1870 and 1890, 156,000 African Americans moved to northern cities, followed by another 185,000 in the 1890s.[45] This period of immigration filled American-born white men with anxiety and pressure to ensure that their own 'superior' race would continue.

As if this identity crisis were not already complex, the pressure to subdue a man's perceived innate barbarism was sometimes crippling, leading to concerns that men were becoming over-civilised.[46] The great moustachioed Theodore Roosevelt listed the over-civilised man, along with 'the timid man, the lazy man, the man who distrusts his country', as undesirable characteristics in American men.[47] For white men, being at the height of civilisation had its drawbacks, for there was a concern that they had become too tame and unfit to defend themselves against rival races, to compete in a market economy and to exert American influence

[42] Sexual euphemisms referencing facial hair were nothing new. In the Renaissance facial hair served as a phallic euphemism. See Jennifer Jordan, "'That ere with Age, his strength Is utterly decay'd': Understanding the Male Body in Early Modern Manhood," in *Bodies, Sex and Desire from the Renaissance to the Present*, ed. Kate Fisher and Sarah Toulalan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 36. Oldstone-Moore's chapter in this collection also remarks on facial hair and sexuality.

[43] Humphry, *Etiquette for Every Day*, 280.

[44] Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 85.

[45] Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 85.

[46] Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 134.

[47] Theodore Roosevelt, "Strenuous Life, 1899," *Voices of Democracy: The U.S. Oratory Project*, accessed 31 March 2012, http://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/roosevelt-strenuous-life-1899-speech-text/.

abroad.[48] Also, these social and cultural changes made masculinity increasingly difficult to prove in traditional ways as black men, immigrants and women 'invaded' the white man's domain.[49] In response, a trend emerged for these insecure white men to reclaim their lost masculinity in the rugged wilderness of the Wild West. The rationale behind this idea was that spending time in a rugged environment would allow a man to absorb a degree of its wildness.[50] However, in lieu of these masculinising retreats, a white man of Anglo-Saxon descent was able to confirm his superior masculinity by looking in the mirror.

The emergence of Social Darwinist ideology was certainly not the first time people turned to scientific discoveries to justify deeply ingrained prejudices. In fact, Social Darwinism descended from a long history of 'scientific' analysis of physical appearance. The earliest such practice, physiognomy, dates as far back as antiquity, and later experienced a resurgence in sixteenth-century Europe when scientists and philosophers became interested in aligning personality with appearance.[51] The father of modern physiognomy, sixteenth-century Italian scholar Giambattista della Porta, published a widely disseminated text, *De Humana Physiognomia*, spreading scientific character analysis throughout Europe.[52] The text featured illustrations juxtaposing human and animal heads, implying that the humans depicted possessed the characteristics of their animal counterpart. Physiognomy developed further in the eighteenth century due to the Swiss philosopher and theologian Johann Caspar Lavater, who believed that a person's profile provided the greatest insight into character.[53] As he famously quoted 'if you would know men's hearts, look in their faces'.[54]

[48] Richard Stott, *Jolly Fellows: Male Milieus in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press), 4.

[49] Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 99–100.

[50] John Pettegrew, *Brutes in Suits: Male Sensibility in America, 1890–1920* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 61.

[51] Sarah Waldorf, "Physiognomy, the Beautiful Pseudoscience," The Iris: Behind the Scenes at the Getty, 8 October 2012, http://blogs.getty.edu/iris/physiognomy-the-beautiful-pseudoscience/.

[52] Waldorf, "Physiognomy, the Beautiful Pseudoscience".

[53] Waldorf, "Physiognomy, the Beautiful Pseudoscience".

[54] Anthony Synnott, *The Body Social: Symbolism, Self and Society* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 81.

Even with the numerous scientific advancements that occurred in the nineteenth century, physiognomy persisted. As interest in studying and classifying people intensified in the nineteenth century, a sister science to physiognomy emerged: phrenology, which analysed a person's character based on the shape of their skull.[55] Naturally this study evolved to include hair in a person's character assessment. For example, an 1880 edition of *The Phrenological Review* devotes a section to interpreting how a man grooms his moustache, noting bad and positive traits depending on the slightest curl:

> As the form of the upper lip and in the regions about it, has largely to deal with the feelings, pride, self-reliance, manliness, vanity and other qualities that give self control, the moustache is more particularly connected with the expressions of those qualities or the reverse. When the moustache is ragged and, as it were, flying hither and thither, there is a lack of proper self-control. When it is straight and orderly, the reverse is the case, other things, of course, taken into account. If there is a tendency to curl at the outer ends of the moustache, there is a tendency to ambition, vanity or display. When the curl turns upward there is geniality, combined with a love of approbation; when the inclination is downward there is a more sedate turn of mind not unaccompanied with gloom. It is worthy of remark that good-natured men will, in playing with the moustache, invariably give it an upward inclination, whereas cross-grained or morose men will pull it obliquely downward.[56]

This was but one of many opinions concerning the moustache and what it represented. But all of these accounts agreed on the significance of self-control, the heart of Victorian manhood.[57] Late nineteenth-century gentlemen had to assert carefully their masculinity. The moustache, or facial hair tamed, embodied this restrained manhood. Sporting facial

[55] *Oxford English Dictionary* s.v. "Phrenology".

[56] Alfred T. Storey, ed. "The Face as Indicative of Character," in *The Phrenological Magazine*, vol. 1 (London: L. N. Fowler, 1880), 423.

[57] Several scholars discuss the importance of self-control and manhood in Victorian America: Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993); Kimmel, *Manhood in America*; Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen, *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Thomas Augst, *The Clerk's Tale: Young Men and Moral Life in Nineteenth Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

hair naturally asserted one's masculinity, while proper grooming demonstrated refinement.

How to Groom a Moustache

Using a moustache comb demonstrated such civility. Etiquette manuals and other literature instructed men on proper moustache grooming. Etiquette manuals proliferated in the nineteenth century to help people navigate social mobility.[58] While much of this conduct literature was directed at women, some of it specifically targeted men.[59] For example, Mrs. Humphry devoted a chapter to men's etiquette and dress in her 1904 general reference *Etiquette for Every Day*, but previously published a manual specifically for men in 1897 called *Manners for Men*. Other nineteenth-century men's etiquette texts include Cecil B. Hartley's 1874 *The Gentleman's Book of Etiquette and Manual of Politeness* and Walter Germain's 1896 *The Complete Bachelor: Manners for Men*. Whether men actually followed this advice is difficult to determine, but these texts nonetheless provide a sense of expectations. The following advice in a barbering manual summarises the most recommended manner of grooming:

> A moustache should always be dressed or rolled to give it a natural, easy appearance. When it is rolled on paper or curled with an iron or slate pencil it should be combed out in an easy and natural way. Artificial appearances should always be avoided.[60]

Clearly it was expected that a man should take great care in grooming his moustache, but his appearance had to seem practically effortless. A moustache comb aided in projecting this natural look and can be

[58] Joanne B. Eicher and Sandra Lee Evenson, *The Visible Self: Global Perspectives on Dress, Culture and Society* (New York: Fairchild Books, 2015), 77.

[59] Tania Lewis, *Smart Living: Lifestyle Media and Popular Expertise* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 28.

[60] E. M. Robinson, *Illustrated Book of Instruction* (Seattle, WA: The Robinson System of Barber Colleges, 1906), 61. This advice echoes a centuries-long concern about cosmetics and artificial appearances. Cosmetics were historically regarded with suspicion, especially when applied so heavily as to disguise rather than enhance. See Lynn Festa, "Cosmetic Differences: The Changing Faces of England and France," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 34 (2005): 25–54.

interpreted as a representative for these expectations. Folded into itself and concealed in a man's pocket, only he knows how much care went into his public persona.

Cecil B. Hartley's *The Gentlemen's Book of Etiquette and Manual of Politeness*, cautioned men to tread carefully along the line of ideal moustache grooming, warning against the effeminacy of over-grooming and the indecency of neglect: 'It is not in either extreme that the man of real elegance and refinement will be shown, but in the happy medium which allows taste and judgment to preside over the wardrobe and toilet-table, while it prevents too great an attention to either, and never allows personal appearance to become the leading object of life.'[61] Hartley continued to say that the moustache 'should never be curled, nor pulled out to an absurd length … [It] should be neat and not too large, and [avoid] such fopperies as cutting the points thereof, or twisting them up to the fineness of needles'.[62] These suggestions emphasise the importance of effortless grooming. Occasional trimming and, of course, combing sufficed in demonstrating mastery of one's innate, unruly manliness. Curling and waxing, however, was excessive and over-civilised, the opposite of manly.

Etiquette manuals also cautioned that certain manners of moustache grooming projected different identities. Mrs. Humphry in *Etiquette for Every Day* declared how a curved droop at the corners suggested artistic temperament, while an up-curled moustache was characteristic of the dandy. She considered the ideal moustache as one 'that actively bristles at the ends and turns neither up nor down'. This sort of moustache was tame, submitting to the wants of the wearer, and therefore exhibited masculine control.[63]

In addition to moustache combs, other facial hair accoutrements existed to encourage standards of civility. In fact, there were a number of patents registered in the nineteenth century related to the taming of facial hair. These patents spanned the 1860s to the 1890s, when the moustache peaked in popularity and became the dominant facial hair style. An 1863 issue of *Country Gentleman* magazine noted 'the newly

[61] Cecil B. Hartley, *The Gentlemen's Book of Etiquette and Manual of Politeness; Being A Complete Guide for a Gentleman's Conduct in All His Relations Toward Society* (Boston: J. S. Locke & Company, 1874), 116.

[62] Hartley, *The Gentlemen's Book of Etiquette*, 128.

[63] Humphry, *Etiquette for Every Day*, 280.

Fig. 2 Moustache Cup, Nineteenth Century, USA. Collection of Sharon Twickler (Courtesy of the author)

invented moustache cup, for the especial use of the advocates of flowing beards'.[64] The moustache cup appeared as an ordinary coffee cup, but with an attachment 'designed to keep the hirsute adornment of the user from mingling with its contents'.[65] The materials and decoration of moustache cups varied from tin and silver to porcelain and earthenware.[66] Some cups were femininely decorated with flowers and expressions like 'Think of Me' (Figs. 2 and 3), while others featured animals, hunting scenes and landscapes.[67] Men often received them as gifts from their wives, daughters and sisters.[68] Gifting such a patently domestic

[64] *Oxford English Dictionary* s.v. "moustache cup".

[65] "The Moustache Cup," *Puck* (1877–1918), 4 December 1895, 12.

[66] "Treasure of the Month: Nineteenth Century Mustache Cups," *Rosenberg Library Museum*, May 2010, accessed 10 February 2017, www.rosenberg-library-museum.org/displays/treasure/2010/05-cup/cups.htm.

[67] "Treasure of the Month: Nineteenth Century Mustache Cups".

[68] "Treasure of the Month: Nineteenth Century Mustache Cups".

Fig. 3 Top View of Moustache Cup, Nineteenth Century, USA. Collection of Sharon Twickler (Courtesy of the author)

object illustrates how material culture domesticated a man's innate barbarism. These objects may have been invented to prevent embarrassment, but they also commanded refinement.

Mrs. Humphry noted in *Manners for Men* that, 'it requires some expertness and practice for a man with a moustache to take soup in a perfectly inoffensive manner. The accomplishment is worth some trouble'.[69] Dining with a moustache posed many challenges and a soup-drenched moustache was clearly unacceptable. Some men might learn how to gracefully eat soup, while others could rely on material guidance through a moustache spoon. Similar to the moustache cup, the moustache spoon appeared as an ordinary spoon with a bridge over the centre to prevent one's moustache from becoming embarrassingly drenched in soup.[70] There were also different types of moustache guards, worn on the face to make dining with whiskers less cumbersome. These

[69] Mrs. C. E. Humphry, *Manners for Men* (London: James Bowden, 1897), 68.

[70] "Moustache Spoon," *Scientific American*, 17 December 1864, 385.

inventors may have had the best intentions, but many of these devices seem uncomfortable and unlikely to make dining any easier. They nonetheless illustrate the nineteenth-century man's willingness to forgo comfort for the sake of civility. In 1883, John A. Moore patented a moustache holder composed of a comb and spring frame 'whereby the moustache will be held raised, so that it cannot come in contact with the food being passed into the mouth'.[71] Mr. Moore must have been inspired to improve upon Eli Randolph's similarly designed 1872 patent for a moustache guard worn clipped to the nose.[72] Later, in 1890, Reuben Hollinshead patented an improved moustache guard composed of a strip of metal held under a gentleman's moustache with elastic cord.[73] Cumbersome as these contraptions seem, if necessity is the mother of invention, then many men sought a solution to the hirsute dining dilemma. A soup or tea-drenched moustache was just as unacceptable as an unruly one. These objects not only prevented embarrassment, but reminded users of societal expectations of refinement. They solidified the connection between cleanliness and refinement, an outcome of civilisation's increased hygienic standards.[74] These civilising objects trained men to conform to society's cleanliness standards and domesticated their innate barbarism.

The late nineteenth-century American man straddled two identities: animal and man, barbaric and civilised. This identity crisis was a reaction to a rapidly modernising nation transformed by decades of industrialisation and immigration. White men of Anglo-Saxon descent felt anxious about asserting their masculinity according to a new definition of manhood. Masculinity was increasingly located within the body. Acceptance of Darwin's theory of evolution inspired comparisons between men and animals, concluding that facial hair represented man's animal ancestry.

[71] John Moore. 1883. "Moustache Holder." US Patent 278,999, filed 2 November 1882, and issued 5 June 1883.

[72] Eli Randolph. 1872. "Moustache Holder." US Patent 123,839, filed 23 December 1871, and issued 20 February 1872.

[73] Reuben Hollinshead. 1890. "Moustache Guard." US Patent 435,748, filed 9 April 1890, and issued 2 September 1890.

[74] Higher hygienic standards became necessary with urban development and industrialisation. Cleanliness not only prevented disease but also was a marker of class. See Suellen Hoy, *Chasing Dirt: The American Pursuit of Cleanliness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Managing one's facial hair became a matter of mediating between modern standards of civility and man's inner animal. Etiquette manuals offered guidance, but certain objects, like moustache combs, guards, cups and spoons, provided further instruction and confirmed expectations. Facial hair may have been a visible sign of a man's innate barbarism, but the civilised man, the man with a pocket comb, kept his primitive nature at bay. As a civilising implement for the body carried on the body, Beecher Ogden's moustache comb tells the story of how cultural and social changes manifested through the hirsute adornment of the ideal aggressive, yet civilised, man.

Whiskers at War: Moustaches, Masculinity and the Military in Twentieth-Century Britain

Alice White

Introduction

'The moustache has always been considered a part of the soldier's equipment, and the majority of soldiers cultivate certain types': so said the Military Correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian* in 1913.[1] In fact, moustaches had only been army kit since 1854, and then ceased to be mandatory after a change to the King's Regulations in October 1916. As the *Guardian* article indicates though, the military moustache had become well established in the popular imagination, and was commonly cultivated by British soldiers even after the regulation forbidding shaving of the upper lip was withdrawn.

In this chapter I examine the meanings of the moustache in relation to the twentieth-century British soldier, and analyse what it reveals about

[1] A Military Correspondent, "The Military Moustache: Will It Be Made Optional?" *The Manchester Guardian*, 11 July 1913, 14.

A. White (✉)
Wellcome Collection, London, UK

J. Evans and A. Withey (eds.), *New Perspectives on the History of Facial Hair*, Genders and Sexualities in History,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73497-2_9

contemporary views on masculinity. Historians and sociologists have observed the difficulties of 'attempting to uncover the layers of meaning associated with a [male] grooming ritual' because it is 'so trivial, so unconsidered, so "natural" as to preclude even a diary entry let alone a monograph'.[2] War provides an opportunity to examine male grooming and the moustache because, for many men, there was a change in their routine as they were shipped out or made to grow moustaches in order to conform to army regulations or trends. Moustaches were one way in which the uniformed men in the British Army could represent their identities to the world, and therefore provide a unique insight into wartime masculinity.

Moving beyond the King's Regulations or photographs of military leaders, and instead using letters, articles and trench journals as sources to explore the military moustache in this chapter, makes it possible to study masculinity as a subjective experience rather than a social ideal.[3] Historians such as Joanna Bourke have worked to recover embodied experiences of masculinity and war, exploring how 'bodies lived, were imagined and died'.[4] This chapter builds upon such scholarship by exploring the nuances of a particular facet of embodied wartime masculinity. As a common soldier's accoutrement, the moustache was far more than a straightforward symbol of a man's warrior capabilities; it represented many different aspects of wartime masculinity. In wartime, moustaches were a focus of comradeship and male bonding, and discussing them provided soldiers with an outlet for concerns about their own powerlessness in the face of great and mysterious forces of mechanised warfare.

[2] G. Bruce Retallack, "Razors, Shaving and Gender Construction: An Inquiry into the Material Culture of Shaving," *Material Culture Review/Revue de La Culture Matérielle* 49, no. 1 (1999): 5.

[3] For a discussion of wartime masculinity dealing primarily with social ideals, see Michael Roper, "Between Manliness and Masculinity: The "War Generation" and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914–1950," *The Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005): 343–62 at 345.

[4] Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 11. See also Joanne Begiato, "Between Poise and Power: Embodied Manliness in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century British Culture," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 26 (2016): 125–47.

Modern Men and Military Moustaches

Just what was a twentieth-century 'military moustache'? The moustache was primarily associated with the Army because British Navy personnel were required to wear a 'full set' (both beard and moustache) or nothing at all, whilst soldiers had to shave their chins and could only grow moustaches. Moustaches had not always been closely associated with the British Army. Until 1854, British soldiers were actually not permitted to grow facial hair except in a few exceptional circumstances.[5] However, with the advent of the Crimean War, growing moustaches and beards was framed as a practical step, because achieving a clean shave was difficult when out on manoeuvres and particularly hard in the winter. Facial hair was therefore an indicator of being an active combatant who had bravely served.[6] From 1854, the British soldier was not only permitted but *required* to grow a moustache under the King's Regulations, which stated that 'the hair of the head will be kept short. The chin and underlip will be shaved, but not the upper lip. Whiskers, if worn, will be of moderate length'.[7] Susan Walton has traced these changing attitudes to facial hair during the Victorian era, and argues that facial hair went from 'squalid impropriety to manly respectability' and was even embraced by civilians as a reflection of the nation's 'manly' martial stance towards Russia.[8] The moustache symbolised the unleashing of violence that was not acceptable outside of the context of conflict, but was actually desirable in war; the military and the moustache were a good fit.

[5]The Hussars, Household Cavalry and soldiers serving in India might wear moustaches for various reasons linked with appearing 'militaristic' and 'virile'. See Scott Hughes Myerly, "Advertising the Army: Political Aesthetics and British Army Fashion, 1815–1855," in *Splendidly Victorian: Essays in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British History in Honour of Walter L. Arnstein*, ed. Michael H. Shirley and Todd E. A. Larson (Aldershot: Routledge, 2016), 59, 67; Piers Brendon, *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire* (London: Random House, 2010), 124; Joost Hølscher, *Death's Head: The History of the Military Scull & Crossbones Badge* (The Netherlands: Editions Chamerelle, 2013), 17.

[6]Susan Walton, "From Squalid Impropriety to Manly Respectability: The Revival of Beards, Moustaches and Martial Values in the 1850s in England," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 30, no. 3 (2008): 229–45 at 233; "Volunteers and Their Beards," *Lancaster Gazetter*, 24 October 1874, 2, British Library Newspapers.

[7] *The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army* (HM Stationery Office), paragraphs 1695–96.

[8]Walton, "From Squalid Impropriety to Manly Respectability," 229–45.

The moustache trend was relatively short-lived; by the 1900s the Victorian facial hair boom had died down and civilian men were increasingly clean-shaven.[9] G. Retallack argues that 'the ritual of the daily shave is a uniquely twentieth-century phenomenon' and Dwight E. Robinson suggests that this phenomenon was less due to the 'innovation of the safety razor' and more due to the fact that the young of the twentieth century avoided the fashions of the preceding era as 'old hat'.[10] To shave was to rebel against the older generation, and thus opponents of the military moustache cast shaving as 'modern' and the Victorian fascination with facial hair as a historical anomaly.[11] As one moustache-hating soldier bemoaned in 1915, 'we know that the Duke of Wellington did not wear a moustache', and as another stated, the military moustache was 'not, as history shows, an ancient institution … it was a barbarism in the ancient world [and it was] not until after the Crimea that the modern world came to tolerate it in polite society'.[12]

Although many men were outspokenly opposed to the military moustache and its 'barbarism', this is not to say that moustaches were unpopular. In a way, it was precisely the point that the moustache had an uneasy relationship with polite society. Like the Victorian beard, the twentieth-century moustache had a particular association with the military. There is evidence of a rise in moustaches linked with the mass mobilisation of British men during the two world wars. Dwight E. Robinson examined the facial hair of men depicted in issues of the *Illustrated London News* from 1842 to 1972.[13] While he concluded that

[9]For more on facial hair trends through time, and the 1850–1900 trend in particular, see Christopher Oldstone-Moore's chapter in this volume, and "The Beard Movement in Victorian Britain," *Victorian Studies* 48, no. 1 (2005): 7–34.

[10]Retallack, "Razors, Shaving and Gender Construction," 5; Dwight E. Robinson, "Fashions in Shaving and Trimming of the Beard: The Men of the Illustrated London News, 1842–1972," *American Journal of Sociology* 81, no. 5 (1976): 1138–39.

[11]Mark Anderson also explores the ways in which shaving was constructed as a modern phenomenon after the Second World War in his chapter in this collection.

[12]J.I.H., "The Cult of the Non-essential: Why Must the Soldier Wear a Moustache?" *The First Sportsman's Gazette*, 15 January 1915, 67, Trench Journals and Unit Magazines of the First World War; "Army Moustache: To Be Optional Under a New Order," *Bristol and Exeter Journal and Western Advertiser*, 11 October 1916, 1.

[13]It should be noted that the subject matter of the *Illustrated London News* was predominantly aimed at the aristocracy and affluent classes, so though it covers a large number of images from a broad period, Robinson's analysis is not representative of British society more broadly. Robinson, "Fashions in Shaving and Trimming of the Beard," 1133–41.

trends in facial hair had 'a large measure of independence from outside historical events', his data depict a significant increase in moustache-wearing during the First World War, followed by a significant drop during the 1920s. A slight increase then appears in the mid-1930s, before another drop-off occurred in 1947. Therefore, though the same cannot be said of beards or sideburns, there is a strong suggestion of a military moustache trend, particularly during the First World War. In fact, after the King's Regulations were amended so that moustaches were no longer compulsory, they appeared just as frequently in the *Illustrated London News*.[14] Regimental photographs and trench journals also indicate that men continued to cultivate their facial hair, though the moustaches of the twentieth century appear smaller than those of the previous century. The continuation of cartoons and articles well into the Second World War likewise reveal an interest in cultivating a moustache as part of fostering an Army identity.

In addition to an association of moustaches generally with the Army, there was also an assumption during both world wars that levels of leadership were associated with different varieties of moustache.[15] One *Punch* cartoon of 1918 suggested that a private who dared to grow a better moustache than his sergeant 'ought to win the V.C.', implying that it was a transgression of an unspoken natural order to have a fuller moustache than one's superiors.[16] Similarly, in 1939 *The Daily Mirror* reported that 'Sergeant-majors and Guards officers seem to be allowed some licence, but Tommy Atkins must wait until he's retired with a pension before he can cultivate some facial camouflage worthy of "Old Bill"'.[17] A remarkable moustache was the exclusive preserve of the upper echelons of the Army, which fits with Christopher Oldstone-Moore's argument that during the twentieth century moustaches became linked with a 'swashbuckling' and individual type rather than a more sociable team worker.[18] Men in the lower ranks would have been much more

[14] Robinson, "Fashions in Shaving and Trimming of the Beard," 1135.

[15] Margo DeMello, *Encyclopedia of Body Adornment* (Westport: ABC-CLIO, 2007), 110.

[16] H. M. Bateman, "Deeds That Ought to Win the V.C.," *Punch*, 10 April 1918, 229, Punch Historical Archive.

[17] "Whiskers and the War Office," *The Daily Mirror*, 28 November 1939, 23.

[18] Oldstone-Moore, "The Beard Movement in Victorian Britain"; Christopher Oldstone-Moore, "Mustaches and Masculine Codes in Early Twentieth-Century America," *Journal of Social History* 45, no. 1 (2011): 47–60 at 47.

part of a group than their superiors, and only their superiors had the authority and latitude to cultivate a more substantial moustache.[19] The idea of more voluminous facial hair being associated with increasing levels of leadership fits the pattern of the independent man as moustache wearer.[20] The idea that the moustache was apart from genteel society and that it represented (and was represented upon) the upper echelons of British Army leadership might thus appear to indicate that the moustache was a symbol of hegemonic masculinity; an idealised form of warrior man who led others.[21] Yet the various ways that military moustaches were depicted in the twentieth century presents a more complex picture of this embodied symbol of masculinity.

The idea that hairiness correlated with leadership was mocked during both world wars. Of course, the most famous moustache of each war belonged to the leader of the enemy: Kaiser Wilhelm II in the First World War, and Adolf Hitler in the Second World War. The Kaiser was known for his 'extraordinary moustache', which curled dramatically upwards in a 'U' shape. When the famous moustache turned white, British newspapers implied that he was losing his grip.[22] Hitler was also mocked in newspaper cartoons that depicted how 'the moustache of Hitler, Could hardly be littler' and implied that he possessed some sort of inferiority complex that had driven him mad and made him want to fight the world.[23]

It was not only the leaders of foreign armies who were known for their facial hair though. In a 1915 issue of *Punch*, a cartoon providing 'A Civilian Guide to the Army' showed a clean-shaven second lieutenant, a lieutenant with two tiny patches upon his lip, then men with increasing

[19] Desmond Morris, *The Naked Man: A Study of the Male Body* (London: Random House, 2012), 135.

[20] Oldstone-Moore, "Mustaches and Masculine Codes in Early Twentieth-Century America".

[21] John Tosh, "Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender," in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 49.

[22] "Moustache Fashions: "English" Mode to Disappear from German Army," *Evening Dispatch*, 14 February 1914, 6; "Much Aged: The German Emperor Under the Weight of the Great War of Which He Was the Direct Cause," *The Illustrated London News*, 12 June 1915, 756–57, The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842–2003.

[23] "More Clerihews," *Punch*, 4 January 1939, 9, Punch Historical Archive.

rank becoming increasingly hirsute up to a general with an enormous twirling 'tache'.[24] In 1940, a very similar cartoon was depicted in the *Evening News*. Here officers on a military training course observed a blackboard with pictures of progressing ranks with increasingly substantial moustaches, culminating in 'The Complete or Colonel' which featured massive twirls reminiscent of the general's moustache from 1915.[25] The elaborate and extravagant moustaches depicted upon the more senior faces suggest whimsy rather than bellicosity and undermine the authority of the wearer rather than reinforcing it. The style of moustache became more unrealistic the further the wearer was perceived to be from the reality of modern warfare, implying that the higher echelons of army leadership had the luxury of time and safety in which to fuss over their appearance.

Common soldiers who wore particularly remarkable moustaches were also mocked. In the First World War trench journals created by soldiers, there is recurring derision of men who spent all their time stroking their top lip and looking in the mirror.[26] They were depicted as sensitive and self-absorbed: as Corporal R. Thompson stated, the growing of a moustache could be a 'delicate matter' and make it 'very difficult to keep on the right side of one's chums'.[27] This view continued into the Second World War, when Army psychiatrist George Peberdy conducted an unofficial study of the facial hair of officer candidates.[28] He associated weakness of character with the 'line moustache', whose fussily cultivated

[24] Lewis Baumer, "A Civilian Guide to the Army," *Punch*, 2 June 1915, 435, Punch Historical Archive.

[25] Joseph Lee, "Smiling Through Officers' Training Courses / "It's a Military Moustache Course for Junior Officers"," *Evening News*, 22 January 1940, British Cartoon Archive.

[26] For instance, see: F. H. Agnew, "Never Mind," *The Ration: The Magazine of the Reading War Hospitals*, 1 January 1917, 227, Trench Journals and Unit Magazines of the First World War; J.M.H., "The Letters of Monty: On Moustaches and Things," *The Stand Easy: Being the Journal of the 2/7th Manchester Regiment*, 1 October 1916, 50, Trench Journals and Unit Magazine of the First World War; "The Editor," *The Journal of the King's Lancashire Military Convalescent Hospital*, 5 July 1918, 3, Trench Journals and Unit Magazine of the First World War.

[27] R. Thompson, "Bhurt Pore Notes: A Quoi Bon?" *The Kookaburra, Training Battalion Edition*, 8 November 1916, 4, Trench Journals and Unit Magazines of the First World War.

[28] G. R. Peberdy, "Moustaches," *The British Journal of Psychiatry* 107, no. 446 (1961): 40–47.

shape he saw as indicative of a man prone to neurosis, contrasting the 'strong' personalities of those with plainer 'trimmed' moustaches who made good officers. No longer was there a straightforward correlation between being hirsute and being soldierly. The trimmed moustache was associated with the capable, independent officer in the modern, streamlined, mechanised army but the sensitivity and vanity of those who wore fussy or large moustaches was the opposite of the rugged, soldierly ideal of the Victorian era and subverted Victorian representations of martial masculinity.

Cartoon figures who recurred in national newspapers also undermined a simplistic association of moustaches with a brave soldierly ideal. Old Bill (First World War) and Colonel Blimp (Second World War) were identifiable by their distinctive, large walrus moustaches. Bill and Blimp were both slightly curmudgeonly characters; their moustaches marked them as independent from others in a slightly grumpy way (Bill) or in the sense that they were reactionary and refused to go along with modern social trends (Blimp). Both characters were older, portly and neither was particularly fierce; their facial hair helped to mark them out as relics from a previous era who were somewhat bewildered by the modern age and by modern warfare. Though these cartoons and stories have an affectionate tone, the moustache wearers depicted are not aspirational figures. In an era of mass mechanised warfare rather than dashing cavalry charges, solitary or independent masculinity was not necessarily admirable and nor were finicky or spectacular moustaches. Instead of the large moustaches of the Victorian era, the twentieth-century military moustache most commonly adopted was tidily trimmed, short and represented manly sociability.

Matching Moustaches and Masculine Groups

From the First World War, most military moustaches were grown to foster camaraderie and worn as badges of membership of a military group: military moustaches reveal a need to fit in rather than stand out. Two weeks after the 1916 change in regulations that permitted men to shave, 'The Clubman' section of *The Sketch* advised readers that 'a subaltern on first joining his corps will be told by the Adjutant whether it is the regimental custom to wear a moustache or whether he should be clean-shaved'.[29]

[29] "The Clubman," *The Sketch*, 18 October 1916, The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842–2003.

Even though individuals technically had a choice as to whether to grow a moustache or not from this point in time, there was a strong sense that men were expected to fall in with their regiment. If a moustache could define a man as being a soldier, it could also identify outsiders: one trench journal contributor joked that if a man's moustache would not grow the man should 'leave the Army and join the Navy'.[30] The Navy had never required moustaches from its men thus this 'advice' hints that a moustache was a key component of Army identity. The different facial hair trends and regulations for each of the forces was a way of defining to which military tribe a man belonged.

The group identity generated by moustaches held true on the home front too. *The Chronicle* speculated in 1941 that the moustache was increasingly visible at home in Britain because 'members of the Home Guard feel that they will present a more soldierly appearance if they wear one'.[31] The Home Guard 'were not seen as proper soldiers' and their growing moustaches are indicative of a desire to pass as servicemen for the enhanced prestige this conferred.[32] Using opposite methods for a similar purpose, a group of men in reserved occupations in Warwick forcibly shaved off the moustaches of Army officers in 1942. The letters to the local newspaper about their actions described them as 'avoiding the Army … sheltering behind their protected occupations … hiding behind a plough'.[33] The clear implication was that the group were not manly enough to join up themselves, and were attempting to reduce others to their level because they felt outside of the higher status group.

Specific styles could even indicate a man's social position within the Army. An article in the *Evening Express* noted that 'in one crack regiment' men had been warned against the 'Charlie Chaplin' style, and told that

> the practice of shaving off the ends of the moustache is disliked, and that it must cease. As the regiment in question is regarded as the arbiter of 'good form' for the Junior Service, it is by no means unlikely that

[30] M.L., "Moustaches: How to Grow and Train Them," *The Outpost*, 1 February 1915, Trench Journals and Unit Magazines of the First World War.

[31] "The Moustache Coming Back," *The Chronicle*, 14 June 1941, 2.

[32] Penny Summerfield, "Culture and Composure: Creating Narratives of the Gendered Self in Oral History Interviews," *Cultural and Social History* 1, no. 1 (2004): 65–93 at 72.

[33] "Warwick's Young Cads," *Warwick & Warwickshire Advertiser & Leamington Gazette*, 6 February 1942, 4.

> its lead will result in ousting the 'Charlie Chaplin' moustache from the Army.[34]

The 'Chaplin' moustache indicated membership of a popular Army subgroup. Army authorities limited the prestige of this subgroup by regulating their distinctive moustache.

The Intractability of Hair: Nature and the King's Regulations

The moustache represented sociable masculinity, and the process of growing a moustache was in many ways as important as the moustache itself, representing growing into one's military identity. As one man related in 1943,

> There's something about the Army that makes a man grow a moustache. He starts off by jeering at the blobs on people's faces. Then, subtly, the jeering becomes jealousy. That's how it began with me.[35]

The process of teasing and then joining in was a common theme in moustache narratives found in journals and magazines, suggestive of a masculine rite-of-passage.[36] The process of growing a moustache, like Army drill, was something that many recruits shared, particularly during the early years of the First World War when it was compulsory. Moustache-growing and matching styles were a way of fostering camaraderie and symbolising sociable masculinity. In this sense women were not the intended audience for the gender performance exhibited in the form of the moustache. Cartoons and stories highlighted that the military moustache actually put off women rather than attracting them. For instance, *Punch* depicted horrified aunts recoiling from moustaches, and the author of one trench journal piece joked in a fictitious letter to his sweetheart that 'I know you like me best clean-shaven, but my moustache must rank as one of your sacrifices for

[34] "Officers' Moustaches: Ousting the "Charlie Chaplin" Style," *Evening Express*, 10 May 1916, 4.

[35] M.C.C., "Poor Old Pop!" *The Sunday Post*, 14 November 1943, 5.

[36] For instance, see B.E.F., "The Military Moustache," *The A.P.C.*, 1 December 1915, Trench Journals and Unit Magazines of the First World War.

the country'.[37] Similarly, a 1946 cartoon in *Punch* showed a woman at the breakfast table asking her husband, 'Have you any further need for your moustache, dear, now that you've been demobbed?'[38] The moustache that was rejected or misunderstood by women represented a deeper connection than a mere superficial resemblance and shared regiment. As John Tosh has suggested, the 'shared danger of death and the mutual dependence of soldiers in moments of peril explain why fraternal comradeship … has been such a pronounced feature of most armies'.[39]

Despite the moustache being inherently military, and removed from the home front in many ways, it also enabled men to retain non-military identities at the same time. Many of the First World War moustache stories shared the analogy of the moustache as a plant.[40] They described men sharing recipes for 'fertilisers for both extensive and intensive cultivation, weed killers, "Plantoids" rhubarb forcers' with the hope of 'cultivating a beautiful thick shrubbery of moustache'.[41] Some regiments even held moustache competitions, comparable with village fairs where vegetables might be submitted for a prize. In this sense, the moustache was a 'productive' domestic project, far from war and death in concept and yet inextricably linked with military service. Jessica Meyer has argued that men retained strong ties with their civilian and domestic identities when they went

[37] "Near-Sighted," *Punch*, 18 October 1916, 284, Punch Historical Archive; "Letter: Horace to Hypatia," *The Growler: The Organ of the 16th Service Bat. Northumberland Fusiliers, Alnwick*, 1 April 1915, 6, Trench Journals and Unit Magazines of the First World War.

[38] "Have You Any Further Need for Your Moustache, Dear, Now That You've Been Demobbed?" *Punch*, 12 June 1946, 504, Punch Historical Archive.

[39] John Tosh, "Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender," 55.

[40] Men even wrote comical poems, such as "Ode to a Budding Moustache," parodying romanticised nature poetry. Shun, 'Ode to a Budding Moustache," *The Growler: The Organ of the 16th Service Bat. Northumberland Fusiliers, Alnwick*, 1 April 1915, 5, Trench Journals and Unit Magazines of the First World War.

[41] G.U.B., "In Accordance with the "K.R."," *Loose Leaves: The Journal of the Army Pay Corps, Woking & Aldershot*, 1 September 1916, 14, Trench Journals and Unit Magazines of the First World War; B.E.F., 6. For some, their promising crop sadly "sickened, drooped and died," see A. F. Smith, "The Ballad of My Departed Moustache," *Wadsworth Gas Attack and Rio Grande Rattler*, 26 January 1918, 10, Trench Journals and Unit Magazine of the First World War.

to war.[42] Whilst the moustache was an indicator of membership of a military 'club' (and to some a barbarism), many men cultivated their faces with as much care as they might have cultivated their vegetable plot at home. These soldiers continually sought to reconcile and integrate combative and domestic impulses through the action of cultivating a moustache.[43] The mundane masculinity of the moustache gardener therefore suggests an earlier origin for what Sonya O. Rose has described as 'temperate masculinity', which valued and identified with 'home, "the little man", and ordinariness'.[44]

A moustache was something that men could tend and control in a time when their physical space was uncontrollable. It allowed them to exercise agency and take control of their identity through their appearance. Psychiatrist W. H. R. Rivers believed that a man's 'most rational response to anxiety is some kind of manipulative activity, through which he acquires a sense of himself "as an autonomous actor in a world of instrumentalities"'.[45] The growing of a moustache can be seen as the action of anxious men attempting to seize control. However, with moustaches, as with gardening, men were at the mercy of nature. And soldiers growing moustaches were at the mercy of not only nature, but Army authorities, who seemed equally opaque in their reasoning. As one frustrated First World War soldier explained:

> if there's anything more impossible to effect than teaching a gouty hippopotamus to dance the tango, it is to make a moustache grow when it doesn't want to, for moustaches, like sergeants, will never listen to reason and cannot understand spontaneity of action.[46]

[42] Jessica Meyer, *Men of War: Masculinity and the First World War in Britain* (London: Springer, 2016).

[43] Martin Francis, "The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity," *The Historical Journal* 45, no. 3 (2002): 637–52 at 643.

[44] Sonya O. Rose, "Temperate Heroes: Masculinity in Second World War Britain," in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 177–95 at 178.

[45] W. H. R. Rivers, as quoted in Elaine Showalter, "Rivers and Sassoon: The Inscription of Male Gender Anxieties," in *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, ed. Margaret R. Higonnet (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 61–69 at 62.

[46] G.U.B., "In Accordance with the K.R." Loose Leaves: The Journal of the Army Pay Corps, Woking and Aldershot; 1 Sept 1916; 1, 1; Trench Journals and Unit Magazines of the First World War p. 14.

Various lotions, potions and contraptions to facilitate moustache growth were featured in mock advertisements in trench magazines, highlighting and joking about the impossibility of remedying intractable hairs. The repeated references to nature, and men's efforts to coax nature into providing for them, indicate a vulnerable side to wartime masculinity: being 'singled out' by a power beyond the individual's control might apply in regard to facial hair, sergeant majors or bullets. Fate, like sergeants and facial follicles, might deal an unpredictable and undesirable blow to any man at any moment.

Some soldiers seemed particularly vulnerable to both their follicles and warfare more generally. Enlistment correlated strongly with age, with younger men more apparently keen to enlist.[47] Many recruits were very young, especially in the early years of the First World War (when moustaches were still compulsory); one in ten of those who joined the Army before 1916 were underage.[48] Like the desire to grow a moustache, the lure of joining the Army in order to prove one's masculinity seemed particularly powerful to those who had most to prove: adolescents. A Graham Hoggarth cartoon in *Punch* portrayed a recruit '(much perturbed)' consulting his sergeant with concerns that he might have to grow a moustache.[49] The recruit looks terribly young beside his bewhiskered sergeant, and addresses him as a schoolboy might address a teacher: 'If you please, Sergeant, the other fellows say I've got to grow a moustache.'[50] Similarly, the *Daily Mail* related a story of how 'one young private blushingly' related his argument for not growing a moustache, which was that it was 'a bit anaemic'. The description of the man as young, blushing and unable to grow a proper moustache is strongly suggestive of a mere boy. The editor of one trench journal

[47] Ian Beckett, Timothy Bowman, and Mark Connelly, *The British Army and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 103.

[48] Tim Lynch, *They Did Not Grow Old: Teenage Conscripts on the Western Front 1918* (Stroud: The History Press, 2013). The average age of British soldiers was actually around 26, but there were periods and locations where this was far lower. Another period with a group of much younger soldiers occurred during 1918; see Jonathan Boff, *Winning and Losing on the Western Front: The British Third Army and the Defeat of Germany in 1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 54.

[49] Graham Hoggarth, "Recruit (Much perturbed). "If You Please, Sergeant, the Other Fellows Say I've Got to Grow a Moustache"," *Punch*, 24 May 1916, 340, Punch Historical Archive, 1841–1992.

[50] Hoggarth, "Recruit (Much perturbed)".

observed that the 'young dude twisting the few hairs of his moustache and "hee-hawing" it before some dignified figure of the fair sex' was 'food for the comic spirit'.[51] But this same awkward youth with his just-breaking voice and few hairs was volunteering to die for his country. If the idea of these characters sprouting a full walrus moustache is hard to imagine, so is the idea of them wielding a bayonet and plunging into an enemy trench. Tosh suggests that:

> The vigour and courage prized by men were not only a basis for claiming gender privilege, but a potentially mortal burden, in many instances cutting off life before the privileges of manhood had been acquired.[52]

The pitiful moustaches of the very young soldiers were a reminder that masculinity came at a price. If the original connotations of the military moustache, as Walton suggested, indicated bellicosity and ferocity, then the straggling or absent moustaches of some recruits indicated their vulnerability.

In practice, the 'regulation' aspect of the King's Regulations on moustaches was awkward for the Army, not least because of the numerous young men struggling to grow their first moustache. Hoggarth's sergeant responded to the young recruit: 'Oh there's no compulsion about growing a moustache, my lad; but you mustn't shave your upper lip.' Though this was a cartoon, the sergeant's words are an accurate reflection of how the Army dealt with the moustache question. It was the 'duty' of the commanding officer to ensure that men had not 'secretly shaved'.[53] The idea that it would be possible to shave secretly in the close quarters of the Army was questionable, and the idea of a commanding officer closely scrutinising a face to ascertain 'that a moustache is an impossibility' was also ridiculous, and thus ridiculed.

Even when the King's Regulations were amended so that moustaches became optional, men that had moustaches were expected to keep them to a uniform standard and 'moderate length'. Just before the Second World War, the matter of the military moustache returned to widespread

[51] "The Editor", The Return: The Journal of the King's Lancashire Military Convalescent Hospital; 5 July 1918; 5, 121; Trench Journals and Unit Magazines of the First World War p. 3.

[52] Tosh, "Hegemonic Masculinity".

[53] "The Army Moustache", *Daily Mail* (London, England), 8 July 1913; p. 5.

public attention. In 1936 Coldstream Guardsman Arthur Leslie Bursell was court-martialled as the result of a dispute over his moustache. Laughter rang around the House of Commons as Sir Victor Warrender (Financial Secretary to the War Office) explained that:

> the soldier in question was not tried by Court-martial for refusing to shave off his moustache, but for the quite separate offence of disobeying the command to fall in … a soldier is at liberty to shave his upper lip or to grow a moustache, but it is obviously within the discretion of the Commanding Officer to order the removal of a moustache which presents an unsoldierly appearance. (Loud laughter.) The guardsman in question was on more than one occasion ordered either to remove his moustache or to grow it in a proper manner. (Laughter.)[54]

To Army leadership, the moustache remained a symbol of propriety, and those who were unable to maintain expected standards lost their moustaches and simultaneously a part of their autonomy; a lack of moustache continued to be potentially infantilising into the mid-twentieth century. Replies rapidly followed Warrender's explanation, demanding to know more:

Captain Plugge:	Is a man before enlisting told about these complicated Regulations regarding the wearing of a moustache?
Mr. T. Williams:	Will the hon. Baronet illustrate to the House exactly what a soldierly moustache is? (Laughter.)
Mr. Lawson:	Was the famous 'Old Bill's' moustache in accordance with the regulations? (Renewed laughter.)

Like soldiers and the newspapers, Members of Parliament found the Army regulations on facial hair ridiculous. Although the King's Regulations were intended to secure conformity and uniformity, the impossibility of policing moustache rules hinted at the impossibility of obtaining uniformity during an era of mass warfare, in moustaches or in the men who wore them. Men may have sought to cultivate moustaches

[54] Sir Victor Warrender, "Army Regulations (Moustaches)," 5 March 1936, *House of Commons (Hansard)*, Series 5, vol. 309, col. 1573–1574; "A Guardsman's Moustache," *The Times*, 5 March 1936, 16, The Times Digital Archive.

to fit in, but many different types of man had entered the twentieth-century Army's forces and intermingled with the traditional military type who could be relied upon to have the 'appropriate', standardised moustache.

Conclusion

Moustaches may have been 'considered a part of the soldier's equipment', but during the first half of the twentieth century, moustaches were not a standardised symbol of a single type of military masculinity.[55] Whether they were fantastical twirls marking out an elite yet out-of-touch colonel, or tidy matching 'Chaplins' showing membership of a popular and fashionable group, moustaches revealed many varieties of masculinity during wartime.

Army authorities sought to define and control military masculinity, and also took it for granted that everyone knew what this was. This can be seen in the King's Regulations, which first demanded a moustache and then later conceded that, when worn, a moustache should adhere to an unspoken military definition of acceptability. The difficulties of enforcing rules about moustaches, and the way that popular styles were policed shows how idiosyncrasies and other cultures of masculinity seeped into the Army during the era of mass mobilisation.

Despite, and perhaps because of, the variety of men who became soldiers in the twentieth century, many still elected to cultivate a moustache and to match its style to their comrades in arms, even after the choice to shave became possible in 1916. Popular styles of twentieth-century military moustache were grown to match others and to indicate group membership. Commiserating over poor growth or competing in regimental moustache competitions were uniquely manly ways of bonding and sharing experiences with other men in the Army's homosocial setting. Even the style, which was smaller and more controlled, could be seen as an indication that a man was a team-player. Unlike the Victorian era, when big and distinctive facial hair had been beautiful and bellicose, during the twentieth century such a moustache was more likely to suggest someone who was somehow an outsider.

[55] "The Military Moustache: Will It Be Made Optional?"

The more controlled moustaches of the twentieth century are also suggestive of anxieties particular to men experiencing the mechanised and large-scale warfare of the era. The work required to control a moustache echoed men's efforts to retain a manly control and links with nature when everything else in his life at war might make him feel like a small cog in an enormous war machine. Gardening metaphors indicate how the moustache could represent an attempt to try and direct nature, and suggest that a hankering for the ordinary and mundane existed during the First World War as well as the Second World War. Anxieties about nature not providing the abundant crop of hairs that a man hoped for imply anxieties about other ways in which nature could fail a man at war, where bullets and bombs were as unpredictable as British weather and at least as capable of causing desolation. The presence of adolescents at war, highlighted by their difficulty in growing a moustache, undermined the concept of a manly and ferocious British Army and speaks to deeper anxieties about traditionally masculine qualities at a national level; was Britain 'man enough' to win a war?

This examination of the two world wars in contrast to the Victorian era helps to draw out aspects of common experience for men involved in fighting total war. Uniformed (and in some cases conscripted) men were able to express themselves through their moustaches, which provided a way to resist the total authority of the Army, to bond with their brothers at arms and to vent feelings of powerlessness. This may go some way to explaining why men continued to grow military moustaches even after civilian fashions and the King's Regulations had changed. Like any other piece of military equipment, the military moustache provided men with something useful: an outlet for the various forms of their masculinity.

PART III

Feminine Facial Hair and Feminine Responses to Facial Hair

‘We’ll Imagine, Madam, You Have a Beard’: Beards and Early Female Playwrights

Morwenna Carr

The commercial stage for which early female playwrights wrote was one that remembered the earlier all-male performances and the boy actors of the pre-1642 era in both its performance of and reimagining of earlier plays, and in its new writing. It is, therefore, perhaps not entirely surprising to find female playwrights looking with interest at the male body, and at those material and peripheral items which make masculinity. Male facial hair and false beards have a significant role in Elizabeth Polwhele’s *The Frolicks, or, The Lawyer Cheated* (1671), Aphra Behn’s *The Feigned Courtesans* (1679) and Mary Pix’s *The Beau Defeated* (1700), three comedies with witty lovers and decisive female leads. In using the false beard, its codes and its dramatic conventions, Polwhele, Behn and Pix subvert a

This title is from James Shirley, *The Bird in a Cage*, ed. Julie Sanders, in *Three Seventeenth-Century Plays on Women and Performance*, ed. Hero Chalmers, Julie Sanders, and Sophie Tomlinson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 177–266.

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signifier which is consistently but, as the works in this volume demonstrate, not unproblematically or simplistically associated with masculinity and the male sexed body. For these seventeenth-century female playwrights, beards are one of the means by which they can inscribe their mark onto a body of dramatic literature hitherto dominated by the writing of men.

Polwhele, Behn and Pix use the beard—and the spaces associated with it—to signal their participation in the business of a patriarchal commercial stage in England. In the three plays considered here, female authors appropriate a signifier of masculinity to flex their female authorial and dramatic muscles. In doing so, they write female skill and authorship onto a male body of dramatic work through male facial hair. Firstly, Polwhele's use of the beard establishes her as part of a writing lineage, allowing her to show awareness of the beards, and in particular the false beards, which went before. By placing a beard in the hands of the female heroine, however, Polwhele uses the masculine body to enable female autonomy. Eight years later, Behn's representation of male facial hair queers the patriarchal gaze of the audience by turning it away from the sexualised female body and onto a male body. Finally, in contrast, Pix's *The Beau Defeated* features a female character using male facial hair to reconstruct her own identity. This ultimately fails, but not before Pix has erased the male body and masculinity from the beard. The use of facial hair in these texts does not explode the male-dominated canon or even strongly challenge its existence or validity; it does, however, subtly and persistently reshape that canon and its parameters to expose existing spaces and create new ones for non-male authors.

Work on the seventeenth-century beard focuses on the relationship between beards and masculinity. Mark Albert Johnston reads the beard on the early modern stage as an important marker of the social and economic shifts of the theatre, arguing that:

> the beard is fetishized as a seminal signifier of masculinity that supports not only notions of patriarchy as a natural phenomenon but also patriarchy's economic strategies … the beard's construction as a fetishized, prosthetic, performative signifier of masculinity is always economically informed.[1]

[1] Mark Albert Johnston, "Playing with the Beard: Courtly and Commercial Economies in Richard Edwards' "Damon and Pithias" and John Lyly's "Midas"," *English Literary History* 72, no. 1 (2005): 79–103 at 97.

Will Fisher includes beards in his work on the smaller material details of gender formation, suggesting that beards should be read alongside objects like codpieces and handkerchiefs as having a significant role to play in 'forming masculine and feminine identities'.[2] For Fisher, the presence of the prosthetic beard in the theatre affirms that 'masculinity had to be constantly (re)produced, and by extension, that facial hair had to be constantly "put on" or "taken off" by the "right" people … both masculinity and the beard itself had to be constantly made (to) matter'.[3] Rather than reading the body as a whole unit, Fisher argues that early modern masculinity is 'somewhat prosthetic'.[4] It is compiled out of a range of material objects that includes beards, and which signal the gender of an individual to a watching society. He also notes that reading the beard as inherently unstable on the stage results in a sex-gender system organised around a 'tripartite set of distinctions between men, women and boys, as opposed to the modern binary arrangement'.[5]

Building on Fisher's criticism, Eleanor Rycroft's work on adult masculinity and the beard reveals an anxiety about the possibility of items carrying meaning being transferred from one individual to another, thereby distorting the transmission of knowledge through unstable signifiers. The beard, she argues, has a tendency to 'slip through, evade, and imitate the categories it supposedly represents'. As a 'disturbing stage property', the beard is a significant part of the theatre's exploration of 'misrepresentation and misrecognition, the chimera of social identity itself'.[6] This criticism stresses that the beard is to be understood as a prosthetic primarily in relation to the creation of masculinity. Beards, however, were utilised by female dramatists in the late 1600s in the reshaping of a dramatic authority to incorporate female authors. As this chapter will demonstrate, authors such as Elizabeth Polwhele, Aphra Behn and Mary Pix utilised the beard and its properties to establish their skill and stagecraft in a

[2] Will Fisher, *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 3.

[3] Fisher, *Materializing*, 128.

[4] Will Fisher, "The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (2001): 155–87 at 184.

[5] Fisher, "Renaissance Beard," p. 188, f.n. 19.

[6] Eleanor Rycroft, "Facial Hair and the Performance of Early Modern Masculinity on the Early Modern English Stage," in *Locating the Queen's Men: 1583–1603*, ed. Helen Ostovich, H. S. Syme, and A. Griffin (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 217–28 at 218.

male-dominated sphere, thereby solidifying their presence in a field dominated by men and marked by sexual exploitation of female bodies.[7]

In Elizabeth Polwhele's *The Frolicks*, the beard appears on stage at a moment in which a male character turns from a dissolute wit to an economically and sexually mature man. Crucially, however, the beard is introduced onto a male body by a *female* character and is subsequently used in a plot in which she directs her male counterpart in a pivotal moment of his development into manhood. As a result, the beard within a female-authored text functions as the signifier through which a female character triggers the rewriting of male identity. The play, which bears the markers of a text written for performance (although there is no extant evidence to demonstrate definitively that it was performed) is Polwhele's second and last surviving play,[8] and reveals an author familiar with both authorial conventions and with the stagecraft of professional performance. *The Frolicks*' primary plot line features a witty gallant, Rightwit, a character type typical of the drama of this period, who is in serious debt to a city lawyer named Swift. Swift's wealthy, independent and equally witty daughter Clarabell reluctantly falls in love with Rightwit, ultimately resolving his debts and marrying him. The road to marriage for Restoration witty couples is never smooth, however, and Clarabell must rescue both her lover and her cousin Philario from the debtors' gaol armed only with a simpering impersonation

[7] The sexual exploitation of female bodies and sexualities has been the subject of a significant body of work: Kirsten Pullen explores the connection between the early professional actresses and prostitution in the cultural imagination in Kirsten Pullen, *Actresses and Whores: On Stage and In Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 22–54; the interlinking of actresses and sexuality is more comprehensively explored in Jean Marsden, *Fatal Desire: Women, Sexuality, and the English Stage, 1660–1720* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2006); Katherine Quiney's contributors argue that the actresses challenged gender conventions, in *Broken Boundaries: Women & Feminism in Restoration Drama*, ed. Katherine Quinsey (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996).

[8] Polwhele has three plays attributed to her: *Elysium*, now lost; *The Faithful Virgins*, performed at the Lincoln's Inn Fields around 1670, but hearkening back to the 1620/30s in style; and *The Frolicks*, dated 1671 on the manuscript. In *The Frolicks*' dedication (addressed to Prince Rupert), Polwhele describes herself as 'an unfortunate young woman' afflicted with poetry, 'and young, no scholar'. 'Dedication', Cornell University Library, Rare and Manuscript Collection, MS Bd. Rare P P77.

of a religious Sister, and 'false beards to disguise [Philario and Rightwit's] true rogueries' (4.410).[9]

The convention of the beard as a disguise appears repeatedly in *The Frolicks* in textual reference and in onstage practice. It is first visible when Philario suggests that Rightwit uses a beard as a disguise to avoid his creditor, Swift:

PHILARIO: My uncle I see my uncle. Clap on this beard. He bends his course this way.
RIGHTWIT: 'Tis he? I'll meet the rascal with my own face.
PHIL: Thou art not mad? (4.218–221)

Philario represents the false beard as a quick and easy disguise, conveniently available to gallants wishing to avoid the repercussions of a profligate lifestyle and its resultant debt. This use of the beard as a disguise is consistent with earlier Stuart drama: John Marston uses a 'hermit's gown and beard' (3.5.28) in *The Malcontent* (1604)[10]; John Fletcher's *Night Walker* (1611) sees a character enter disguised with a 'gown, beard and Constable's staff' (l.357)[11]; in *The Atheist's Tragedy* (1611) Cyril Tourneur disguises a character with 'a sheet, a hair and a beard' (4.3.55).[12] The beard-as-disguise trope is also made visible in the beard's removal during the action, as in Thomas Killigrew's *Claracilla* (1639)[13]; it is a recurrent device used by Richard Brome in *The Novella* (1632), *Damoiselle* (1638), *The Court Beggar* (1640) and *The Love-Sick Court* (1640).[14] Whether Swift occupies the stage with Philario and Rightwit or is offstage at this moment with his threatening closeness anticipatory rather than actualised, Philario's imagined use of the false beard

[9] Elizabeth Polwhele, *The Frolicks, Or, The Lawyer Cheated*, ed. Judith Milhous and Robert Hume (London: Cornell University Press, 1977). This edition used throughout.

[10] Marston, John, *The Malcontent*, ed. George K. Hunter (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

[11] Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *The Night Walker, The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[12] Cyril Tourneur, *The Atheist's Tragedy* (London, 1611).

[13] Thomas Killgrew, *The Prisoners and Claracilla. Two Tragie-Comedies* (London, 1641).

[14] Richard Brome, *Richard Brome Online*, ed. Richard Cove and Eleanor Lowe, accessed 9 July 2014, http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/brome.

functions within an established tradition of the beard as a disguise which can be applied and removed even whilst characters are on the stage and visible to an audience.

Polwhele's familiarity with the theatrical application of false beards is further visible later in the play, when Clarabell uses beards in her orchestration of Philario and Rightwit's escape from gaol:

RIGHTWIT: 'S death, I'll down and beat out the rogue's brains with his bunch of keys. That's a safe and sure way—

CLARABELL: To be hang'd. Does your neck itch for a rope? I have a safer way, by far, than that. As my humour is comical, so shall my exploits be. If I free you not without a tragedy, condemn me.

RIGHTWIT: Dear rogue thou cam'st to free us, then.

CLARABELL: But how? Can you tell? No brains, betwixt you both. Here, clap on these false beards to disguise your true rogueries. I will go to work with the Turnkey; and when I give the watchword, come down. I'll whisper it to you. Mark, be ready for your business. I'll bring you off clearly, except you spoil yourselves by the way for fear.

(*Exeunt severally*)

Enter CLARABELL *with the* TURNKEY *below*; RIGHTWIT *and* PHILARIO *as unseen, above.* (4.401–13)

In displaying the working of the false beard to the audience at this point Polwhele extends earlier, pre-1642, meta-theatrical moments in which false beards are visible as removable props, as in John Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* (1600).[15] Displaying a method of attachment more in keeping with the demands of Polwhele's narrative speed, an Elizabethan

[15] John Marston, *Antonio's Revenge*, ed. W. Gair (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999). The play gives some interesting textual cues about the application of the false beard: a young actor enters hurriedly 'with a beard half-off, half-on' amidst protestations that 'the tiring-master hath not glued on my beard fast enough' (2.1.20). Glue would give the prop some stability, preventing it being accidentally pulled off in performance, but it seems problematic for adult companies—covering any pre-existing beard of an adult male-sexed actor in glue to attach a prosthetic beard must have meant a painful removal.

play by Ulpian Fulwell, *Like Will to Like* (1568), specifies that a false beard be attached in such a way that 'the strings of the beard may not be seen'.[16] The use of ties to secure a beard to an actor's head allows for easy removal and application by the actor, particularly advantageous in plays where the beard must be put on quickly (whether the actor is visible to the audience or not) or the audience must see the prop being used to create a disguise. The use of tie-on beards is further visible in Stuart plays such as Jonson's *Epicoene* (1609), when Dauphine reveals the temporarily disguised Cutbeard and Otter by '*pull[ing] off their beards and disguises*' (5.4.190),[17] and the false beards in *The Island Princess* and *The Love-Sick Court* are specifically recorded as being '*pulled*' off.[18] Clarabell's easily applied beards are therefore part of a tradition of transferrable disguises purposefully visible to the watching audience.

Polwhele's relationship to earlier playwrights is further imagined in her awareness of the parodic frequency of beard plots in earlier theatrical works. In Anthony Munday and Henry Chettle's *The Book of Sir Thomas More*, the play-within-a-play sees a player confessing that the delay in the performance is due to 'one of my fellowes … but … [running] to Oagles, for a long beard for a young witt … heele be here presently'.[19] Quince also humorously comments on the thinness of the false beards used by actors when he warns Bottom that 'some of your French crowns have no hair at all, and then you will play bare-faced' (1.2.91) in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.[20] Reading Philario's assumption that either he or Rightwit will have a false beard to hand whilst roaming the streets of London, and the ease with which Clarabell finds two false beards alongside these earlier meta-theatrical hairy moments, shows Polwhele's engagement with this earlier theatrical writing. Additionally, the flippant assumption of beard availability enters the playwright and audience into a shared remembrance

[16] Ulpian Fulwell, *An Enterlude Entitled Like Wil to Like* (London, 1568), Dv4.

[17] Ben Jonson, *Epicene, or, The Silent Woman*, ed. Richard Dutton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008).

[18] John Fletcher, *The Island Princess*, ed. Clare McManus (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2012); Richard Brome, *The Love-Sick Court*, ed. Eleanor Lowe, *Richard Brome Online*.

[19] Anthony Munday, *Sir Thomas More: By Anthony Munday and Others*, ed. Henry Chettle (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

[20] William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Harold Brooks, *The Arden Shakespeare Complete Works*, ed. Richard Proudfoot, Ann Thompson, and David Scott Kastan (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2011).

of the failings of the false beards on the pre-1642 stage, connecting Polwhele and her audience with Mundy and Chettle and their audiences, and with Shakespeare and his audiences. Polwhele's use of the false beard constructs a comical moment that recognises the convenience and limitation of the beard as a theatrical device working to connect the Restoration audience to earlier Stuart and Jacobean dramatic tradition. A shared 'memory' is therefore recreated through the false beard, reinforcing the relationship between playwright, audience and actors.

False beards in *The Frolicks* are also used as a catalyst for Rightwit's transformation from a profligate, leaky gallant into a sexually and economically mature adult male. Although he is an economically solvent gentleman, Rightwit haemorrhages both money—'of a hundred pound [he has] not one penny left in ten days' space' (1.26–7)—and semen, with much of that money going on 'wine and women' and on maintaining the many illegitimate children resulting from his liaisons (1.30–3). Rather than addressing his inabilities and failures, he looks to his sister Leonora to rescue him and suggests that 'by thy noble trading' of marriage to an heir or wealthy lord she could 'redeem my almost lost estate' (1.14–15). Rightwit's economic security and provision is further compromised through the mortgaging of his estate to the wealthy Swallow. Therefore, whilst he is fertile, his sexual masculinity is compromised by the proliferation of bastards whom the women he impregnates force him to support. A rather bewildering piece of stage play presents them as literal burdens. Rightwit enters pursued by several women who seize him and pull him off-stage (4.125); he reappears with 'two children bound upon his back' (4.135), lamenting that he must 'pay for smock service … 'Twould never grieve me, if I were sure the burden I carry were my own. But who knows rightly who's the father of a whore's child?' (4.135–8). The children are burdens on him, born outside wedlock with its apparent assurance of patriarchal reproduction, and Rightwit cannot be assured that he bears his own burdens—just as he tricks and dupes others, so too may he be tricked by the women he has engaged in sexual activities with. Up until his escape from prison in a false beard, Rightwit fails to realise either idealised models of sexual or economic manhood.[21]

[21] For work on masculinity on the seventeenth-century stage, see, for example, Bruce R. Smith, *Shakespeare and Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), who argues that masculinity is performed on Shakespeare's stage often against other identities such as femininity.

After the prison break, however, Rightwit's fortunes are changed. He begins by beguiling Swallow into unknowingly giving away his daughter, therefore legitimising an undesirable wedding between an impoverished nobleman and a wealthy heiress (5.14–33). In doing so, he restores his fortune. He further establishes himself as creditable and reputable by revealing his connections to Lord Courtall—who claims, rather generously, that Rightwit is 'a gentleman [who] wants nothing to rank him with the best' (5.279)—and Sir Gregory Meanwell, who describes the gallant to his new father-in-law as 'of a private family' with inherited wealth and superior social connections (5.283–5). Containing his procreative abilities within marriage also sanctions Rightwit's sexual identity, with the bastard children now being evidence of Rightwit's ability to beget children; his marriage to Clarabell legitimises that procreative ability within a monogamous relationship, and therefore contains it within a state and church-sanctioned legitimate patriarchal family line. The conferment of a false beard in *The Frolicks* is a crucial developmental moment as a result of which Rightwit is enabled to realise conventional and socially recognisable seventeenth-century models of masculinity, thus propelling him into economic and sexual manhood.

Clarabell's use of the false beard to free Rightwit means that it is she who enables his transformation into sexual and economic adult masculinity. The prop symbolising Rightwit's remaking into maturity is given to him by a female character, and, therefore, his transformation into adult masculinity is enabled by a female body. In giving Rightwit the false beard, Clarabell alludes to the prop's potential for transformation: the beard will, she says, 'disguise your true rogueries' (4.409–10), and she is clear about her own role in their escape, vowing 'I'll bring you off clearly, except you spoil yourselves by the way for fear' (4.12–13). As well as the narrative role in the movement of beards across the stage, Clarabell has a significant dramatic function with the false beard, transforming it from an object to a theatrical prop. The actual (rather than the earlier imagined) false beard is transformed from object to prop by a female character and therefore by its handling by a female body.[22] It is Clarabell who gives Rightwit and Philario the beards with a 'here – clap

[22] Andrew Sofer argues that it is the interaction of an object on the stage with an actor which makes it a prop, so Clarabell's handling of the false beard would turn it from material object to dramatically important prop. Andrew Sofer, *The Stage Life of Props* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 12.

on these false beards' (4.409). The actress's interaction with the prop and its use by the female dramatist creates a distinctly female dramatic power on the seventeenth-century stage through which the male body can be reframed and reshaped.

The use of facial hair to modify the masculine body and the structures constructing masculinity is again visible in Aphra Behn's *The Feigned Courtesans*. Like *The Frolicks*, the comedic play features more dazzling and desirable couples engaged in witty courtship and more bumbling dupes, one of whom the audience meets whilst he is having his beard and hair dressed by a pimp-turned-barber. Sir Signal Buffoon's tutor and spiritual advisor, the lustful Mr. Tickletext, is discovered at the opening of the first scene in which he appears '*a-trimming, his hair under a cap, [and] a cloth before him*' (1.2.1). His barber is Petro the pimp, who is masquerading as the barber Barberacho, and who has just finished trimming Tickletext's beard and '*wiping his face*' (1.2.1):

PETRO: Ah *che bella! bella!* I swear by these sparkling eyes, and these soft plump dimpled cheeks, there's not a signora in all Rome, could she behold 'em, were able to stand their temptations; and for la Silvianetta, my life on't, she's your own.

TICKLETEXT: *Teze teze*, speak softly! But, honest Barberacho, do I, do I indeed look plump, and young, and fresh and—ha?

PETRO: Aye sir, as the rosy morn, young as time in his infancy, and plump as the pale-faced moon.

TICKLETEXT: Hehe; why this travelling must needs improve a man. (*Aside*) Why, how admirably spoken your very barbers are here!—But, Barberacho, did the young gentlewoman say she liked me? Did she, rogue? Did she? (1.2.1–12)

This moment echoes the earlier convention of the mistress and servant relationship visible in, amongst others, Shakespeare's *Othello* between Desdemona and Emilia, and in *Twelfth Night* between Olivia and Maria, both of which were popular and frequent offerings to Restoration audiences. The enclosed, confidential aspect of Tickletext and Barberacho/Petro is presaged in John Webster's 1613 *The Duchess of Malfi*, as Cariola promises the Duchess to 'conceal this secret [the Duchess's marriage to

her servant, Antonio] from the world / As warily as those that trade in poison / Keep poison from their children' (1.1.343–45) and later vowing that 'I will die with [the Duchess]' (4.2.189).[23]

The representation of male grooming spaces in *The Feigned Courtesans* works to challenge models of heterosexual manhood that define themselves against feminine and female bodies. Tickletext's grooming is enacted in terms evoking femininity and feminine behaviours; his eyes and cheeks are praised and he is compared with a 'rosy morn', to which he responds with an eager, flirtatious quest for further confirmation of his sexual attractiveness. Tickletext's appeal for flattery and his need for reassurance of his physical attractiveness as both characters focus on a heterosexual object of desire—a young, unnamed gentlewoman—draws upon and reshapes earlier models of female mistress and servant homosocial friendship. Bracketed by beautifying activities focused on clothing and hair, this moment in *The Feigned Courtesans* echoes Emilia and Desdemona's brief, tragic admiration of Lodovico in *Othello*:

DESDEMONA: No, unpin me here.
This Lodovico is a proper man.
EMILIA: A very handsome man.
DESDEMONA:. He speaks well.
EMILIA: I know a lady in Venice would have walked barefoot to Palestine for a touch of his nether lip. (4.3.33–35)[24]

Like *Othello*, *The Feigned Courtesans* frames these moments of homosociability in the rituals of bodily preparation and adjustment: Emilia undresses Desdemona whilst Barberacho/Petro combs and trims Tickletext's hair. The focus of Tickletext and Barberacho/Petro's heterosexual desire, however, opens up a space for queer desire on the

[23]John Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi*, ed. Michael Neill (New York: Norton, 2015). Cariola does die alongside her mistress, but not without trying desperately to escape—a contrast both to the Duchess's death and to Emilia's murder following Desdemona's. The mistress/servant relationship in Webster's *The White Devil* (1612) between Vittoria Corombona and Zanche, her Moorish servant, is rather different to the examples above: Vittoria and Zanche encourage and enable each other to sexual licentiousness, are imprisoned in a corrective nunnery together, and eventually die alongside one another.

[24]William Shakespeare, *Othello*, ed. Ayanna Thompson and E. A. J. Honigmann (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2016).

stage when, fantasising about a gentlewoman's response to the beautified Tickletext, Barberacho/Petro '[*adopts an amorous expression*]. Then she'll kiss it out in a moment: such a lip, so red, so round, and so plump, so soft, and so —' (1.2.69–71). The stage directions, which instruct the barber to make an '*amorous expression*' at this point, heighten the undercurrent of homoerotic tension by declining to clarify whether the amorous expression is provoked by the barber imaging the gentlewoman's lips, or Tickletext's lips, or the barber's voyeuristic anticipation of watching the gentlewoman and Tickletext kissing. The description of the lip slides between being that of Tickletext's, extending the ridiculing flattery which Barberacho/Petro has been engaging in, and that of the gentlewoman with whom he is cozening Tickletext. The elision between the objects of sexual desire in this blazoning speech—the female body, the male body, the erotic interplay between male and female body, and the erotic viewing of that interplay—directs the audience to view the bodies of Tickletext and the unseen woman as objects of queer desire.

This moment also queers the masculine body. It draws attention to the participation of masculine bodies in a process of beautification normatively represented as feminine. Although early modern recipe books focus predominantly on the female body and the performance of femininity, the perennially popular *Plat's Delightes for Ladies* does include a recipe which promises to 'colour the head or beard into a Chesnut [*sic*] colour in halfe an hour' using quicklime and sulphur:

> Take one part of lead calcined with sulphur, and one part of quicklime, temper them somewhat thin with water, lay it upon the haire, chasing it well in, and let it dry one quarter of an houre, or thereabout, then wash the same off with faire water divers times; and lastly, with soape and water and it will be a very natural haire colour. The longer it lieth upon the haire the browner it growth. This coloureth not the flesh at all, and yet it lasteth very long in the hayre.[25]

[25] Hugh Plat, *Plat's Delightes for Ladies to Adorn Their Persons, Tables, Closets and Distilleries: With Beauties, Banquets, Perfumes and Waters,* (London, 1600), H^{11}v. The collection was reprinted twenty times (1602, 1603, 1605, 1608, 1609, 1611, 1615, 1617, 1624, 1628, 1630, 1632, 1635, 1636, 1640, 1644, 1647, 1651, 1654 and 1656) with no substantial changes. It continued to be referenced after printing ceased, with Hannah Woolley echoing the title in her 1675 publication *The Accomplisht Ladys Delight in Preserving, Physick and Cookery* (London, 1675).

Neither the ingredients nor the method differ in any substantial way from Plat's guidance for the dyeing of female hair (although women are permitted more variety in colour). The recipe remained consistent between the collection's first print in 1600 and its last in 1656, and the collection continued to be referenced by other writers throughout the 1700s. In addition to colouring the beard, male facial hair could be waxed, greased, perfumed and powdered, and Plat's manual suggests that male-sexed bodies participated in cosmetic improvements beyond the beard. Several of the washes, fucuses (cosmetic paints) and tinctures in the collection are not specifically gendered and instead refer to 'the patient' or 'you' rather than the 'gentlewoman' or 'her' which appears in other recipes. Echoing these beautifying recipe collections, the moment between Tickletext and Barberacho/Petro shows a process of masculine beautification and recreational management of facial hair.

Unlike in the recipes gendered as male or gender-neutral in *Plat's Delightes for Ladies*, male beautification is represented in *The Feigned Courtesans* as wholly feminine. The exchange between Barberacho/Petro and Tickletext constructs the male-sexed body of the tutor in terms associated with feminine beauty. Barberacho/Petro praises his customer's 'sparkling eyes … soft plump dimpled cheeks … plump, young and fresh' face, his 'natural frizz' (1.2.32), his 'eye! So sparkling, with an amorous twire' (1.2.68). Whilst Barberacho/Petro's descriptions are designed to ridicule the bombastic minister, they evoke the language of sexual desire present in the blazoning of the sexually or aesthetically pleasing body. The spaces that masculinised bodies inhabit, and the routines of beautification and care around the body that are engaged in by men in the performance of masculinity, are explicitly connected in *The Feigned Courtesans* to feminine spaces, relationships and rituals.

The representation of male facial hair in Behn's play exposes and feminises masculine spaces and bodily ritual. Rather than the voyeuristic perusal of feminine spaces through the portrayal of the mistress/servant relationship in earlier plays which masculinises those feminine spaces, *The Feigned Courtesans* presents audiences with feminised masculine spaces. Hair in this play penetrates masculinity, exposing its femininity and queering it. The ridiculing of Tickletext is an inversion of the satirical mockery of earlier male authors, such as Ben Jonson, who represent female cosmetic use as unnatural, absurd and often dangerous even while lauding the specific models of beauty and femininity that it

recreates.[26] Just as cosmetic use and the representation of it is utilised by male playwrights to access female spaces, so too is the beard used in *The Feigned Courtesans*. It is a gateway for the female playwright to access male spaces and the means by which their plays reshape those spaces to show the feminine and female already present in them.

Female dramatists also use male hair, in all its forms, as a signifier in the recreation of female characters, particularly those with whom they are in proximity. In Mary Pix's *The Beau Defeated*, male hair signifies a female character's unsuccessful and ridiculous attempts to make herself 'a woman of quality' (1.1.38) rather than being contented with merely being a woman of considerable economic means through the economic and social freedom of widowhood.[27] A satirical comedy, the play centres on Mrs. Rich's farcical and Lady Landsworth's worthy attempts to remarry. Its representation of London's social divergence between the impoverished nobility and the wealthy city inhabitants is striking because of the prominence of the female voices—as well as Mrs. Rich and Lady Landsworth, additional plots focus on the deceptive and fraudulent gamblers Lady La Basset and Mrs. Trickwell, and the inebriated Mrs. Fidget. *The Beau Defeated* responds to increasingly powerful anti-theatrical calls for the reform of language and behaviour in the theatre.[28] In the play this is enacted, as Gill Bush-Bailey argues, by 'the "honourable" characters [welcoming] the now chastened [Mrs Rich] into their company' after she has been exposed and condemned as a social upstart.[29] In doing

[26] Annette Drew-Bear, for example, argues for the importance of Jonson's representation of cosmetic use in relation to femininity: Annette Drew-Bear, "Face-Painting Scenes in Ben Jonson's Plays," *Studies in Philology* 77, no. 4 (1980): 388–401. In contrast Tanya Pollard considers a broader use of cosmetics in relation to medicines and patriarchal control of a specialist female body of knowledge: Tanya Pollard, *Drugs and Theatre in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[27] Pix had four comedies performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields from 1687 to 1703, with Anne Bracegirdle and Elizabeth Barry as the female leads.

[28] Judith Milhous states that this period is 'the darkest … for the English theatre since the Commonwealth'. Judith Milhous, *Thomas Betterton and the Management of Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1695–1708* (Southern Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979), 113. Following Queen Anne's succession in 1702 anti-theatrical sentiment found support in the judiciary and in the monarchy, and contributed to enormous pressure on the Players' and the Patent Company, with a number of prominent actors and actresses being incited for profane and immoral language.

[29] Gilli Bush-Bailey, *Treading the Bawds: Actresses and Playwrights on the Late-Stuart Stage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 183.

so, new social relationships between the city and the nobility are presented as advantageous to both groups, and thus Pix negotiated the hostile social environment in which the late-Stuart stage operated.[30]

Mrs. Rich's social pretensions are first made visible by her ostentatious 'gilt coach', imported pedigree horses, footmen 'covered with lace' and, most damningly, her 'coachman with cocking whiskers like a Swiss Guard' (1.1.149). The description of her equipage is the audience's introduction to the 'widow of an honest banker' (1.1.10) determined to elevate her social status to courtly levels:

Enter Mrs. *Rich* with *Betty* her Maid.

BETTY: What's the matter Madam? What has happen'd to you? What has any body done to you?

Mrs. RICH: An Affront … Ah! I die: An affront! … I faint: I cannot speak. A Chair quickly.

BETTY: [Giving a Chair] An affront! to you Madam, an affront! Is it possible!

Mrs. RICH: But too true my poor *Betty*. Oh! I shall dye. To disrespect me in the open Street! What Insolence!

BETTY: How Madam! Not to show respect to such a person as you? Madam *Rich*; the Widow of an honest Banker, who got Two Hundred Thousand Pounds in the King's service? Pray, Madam, who has been thus insolent?

Mrs. RICH: A Dutchess; who had the confidence to thrust my Coach from the Wall, and make it run back above twenty yards.

BETTY: A very impertinent Dutchess. What! Madam, your person shining all o're with Jewels, your new gilt Coach, your dappl'd Flanders with long Tails, your Coachman with cocking Whiskers like a Swiss Guard, your six Footman cover'd with Lace more than any on a Lord-Mayor's day? I say, could not all this imprint some respect in the Dutchess?

[30] Bush-Bailey, *Treading the Bawds*, 183–84. Bush-Bailey argues that Pix's publishing of *The Beau Defeated* as unattributed was part of this strategy of survival, arguing that whilst male playwrights such as Congreve could 'rely, to some extent, on his place in the patriarchal hegemony as a basic line of defence' the female playwright could not and instead fell back on the 'presumed "natural" identity of the male author' inherent in anonymity, 184–85.

Mrs. RICH: Not at all. And this beggarly Dutchess at the end of an old Coach, drawn by two miserable starv'd Jades, made her tatter'd Footmen insult me.
BETTY: S'life! where was *Betty*. I'd have told her what she was.
Mrs. RICH: I spoke to her with a meen and tone proportionable to my Equipage; but she with a scornful smile, cry'd, hold thy peace, Citizen, struck me quite dumb.
BETTY: Citizen! Citizen! To a Lady in a gilt Coach lin'd with crimson Velvet, and hung round with a gold Fringe. (1.1.1–29)[31]

Betty's description of her mistress's conveyance draws the audience's attention to the materials Mrs. Rich uses to recreate herself as a noblewoman rather than as part of London's citizenry: the jewels, the gold and ornamentation of the coach, the servants, the servants' livery, and the servants' hair. The bodies of the footmen and the coachmen are inscribed with Mrs. Rich's new identity. Alongside the lace and the impressive facial hair sported by the coachman, the coachman's beard is a named signifier in a series of (ineffective) meaning-laden objects through which Mrs. Rich recreates her identity and body. The failure of these signifiers is visible even before the signifiers themselves; before Betty has even described the carriage and its accoutrements and attendants to the audience Mrs. Rich has announced that an unnamed Duchess has offered her a social slight by assuming and then enforcing precedence over the city widow.

The coach and its accessories are used as signifiers of Mrs. Rich's desired socio-economic position but are read by her contemporaries (including the astute servant Betty) as an ineffective form of disguise.[32] The male bodies attending to Mrs. Rich, and particularly the 'cocking

[31] Mary Pix *The Beau Defeated, Female Playwrights of the Restoration*, ed. Paddy Lyons and Fidelis Morgan (London: Orion Publishing Group, 1991). This edition used throughout.

[32] The relationship between women and its role in social identity is explored by Beatriz Dominguez Garcia, "Female Relationship in Mary Pix's *The Beau Defeated*," *Sederi* 8 (1997): 135–40. Patsy Fowler reads Pix as undermining social ideas of femininity, partially through those relationships: Patsy Fowler, "Rejecting the Status Quo: The Attempts of Mary Pixand Susanna Centlivre to Reform Society's Patriarchal Attitudes," *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research* 11, no. 2 (1996): 49–59. Meanwhile, Michael Auston reads the representation of women in Pix and Behn as disrupting primogeniture

whiskers' of the coachman, are imagined to be signifiers of their owner and employer's social status. Although Mrs. Rich attempts to use the bearded coachman as a signifier for her own body and its societal position, the facial hair betrays to the audience what she really is. By 1700, 'cocking' had come to mean a swaggering insolence associated with (a generally youthful and male form of) posturing.[33] Male facial hair is both used by Mrs. Rich to reconstruct socio-economic identity and by Betty to undermine it in her comic dismissal of her mistress's extravagant signifiers, as a cocky insolence at odds with the city widow's 'real' identity. Bush-Bailey's reading of the play as exploring disguise and the 'social anxieties surrounding people who *appear to be*, by their dress and manner, and who *they really are*' is borne out by the play's representation of male facial hair as a form of posturing disguise. In Mrs. Rich's hands and on the coachman's face, the beard in *The Beau Defeated* fails to signify the desired socio-economic status and manhood.

Male facial hair continues to function as a marker of failed social re-identification by eroding hierarchies between servant and mistress and between city and nobility, and, secondly, by contributing to the ostracisation and othering of Mrs. Rich. Mrs. Rich's coachman and his beard reappear in Act two, when Mrs. Rich's despairing brother-in-law attempts to expose her foibles to his sister-in-law:

MR. RICH: Among the rest, what d'ye do with that huge bulky coachman, with his curling whiskers like a Dutch mastiff's tail? 'Zbud he looks as if he belonged to the Czar of Muscovy.

BETTY: But Sir, would you have my lady turn barber, and shave her coachman?

MR. RICH: No, but she may turn him away, and take another. (2.1.376–81)

and thereby destabilising a patriarchal society: Michael Austin, "Aphra Behn, Mary Pix, and the Sexual Politics of Primogeniture," *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research* 16, no. 1 (2001): 13–23.

[33]The *Oxford English Dictionary* records that the first use of 'cocking" in this sense occurred in William Wycherley's *The Plain Dealer* (1676): www.oed.com, accessed 17 August 2017. Manly accuses Freeman of hypocrisy as evidenced by his calling of 'pert Cocking Cowards stout' (4.2.72–3) when Freeman is contemptuous of Manly's extended town dwelling. Christopher Wheatley, ed., *Drama in English from the Middle Ages to the Early Twentieth Century* (Nebraska: Catholic University of America, 2016).

This exchange between Mrs. Rich's brother-in-law and servant clearly demonstrates that the coachman's beard is not a signifier of her excellent taste, breeding and wealth, but of her absurdity. The elaborate facial hair undermines hierarchies. This exchange imagines Mrs. Rich as her employee's barber and in close physical proximity to her servant, eroding the social and physical distance between them as it does in *The Feigned Courtesans* and Tickletext and Barberacho/Petro's relationship. Mrs. Rich's attempts to reconstruct her identity through male bodies and thereby to break away from her societal place cascades further hierarchies into disarray and disrupts the relationship between mistress/master and servant. The coachman's imagined move from the Czar of Russia's employ to Mrs. Rich's also serves to expose the fragility of the social hierarchy in which nobles are irrefutably removed from citizenry. Through the coachman's beard the structures supporting moneyed households are made visible in both nobility and moneyed citizenry together. The coachman's beard points to the uneasy and complex hierarchical relationships between master and servant and between the city and the nobility with which *The Beau Defeated* is concerned.

The reference to the Czar in proximity to the coachman's beard also works to further displace Mrs. Rich from London society. The beard is mentioned three times alongside three different foreign nationalities: the coachman has 'Whiskers like a Swiss Guard' (1.1.149), 'curling whiskers like a Dutch mastiff's tail' (2.1.378) and his facial hair makes him '[look] as if he belonged to the Czar of Muscovy' (2.1.379). By locating the coachman's facial hair in non-English otherness, Mrs. Rich's identity is removed from English national identity and made foreign. The coachman's facial hair is the locus of Mrs. Rich's attempts to make herself other to what she is. As Eleanor Rycroft argues in this volume, the use of hair in the early modern period to construct national masculine identities is challenged by the transient and malleable nature of hair as a bodily material.[34] The subsequent buckling of identity as a result of using hair and its intersection with the process of othering as a means of constructing identity is also visible when Mrs. Rich's use of foreign (European) male facial hair in her reconstruction of her identity fails.

This othering of her identity through alignment with non-English identity removes Mrs. Rich from an identity rooted in London

[34]Eleanor Rycroft, "Hair, Beards and the Fashioning of English Manhood in Early Modern Travel Texts."

society—both from the merchant city identity whom she longs to depart from, and from the city's nobility whom she seeks to join. The coachman's beard signifies her removal from the citizenry, who use it to mock her and who identify her signifiers as foreign, and her failure to integrate with the nobility, who, despite the beard, still contemptuously identify her as 'Citizen' and force her—and the bearer of the beard—to submit to them. Despite her own attempts to use the beard as a signifier of her hoped for socio-economic status, the beard ultimately signifies Mrs. Rich's failures to recreate and re-identify herself; it is repeatedly read by those around her as a sign of her absurdity and dislocation from society. Facial hair in *The Beau Defeated* is a complex component of identity formation, and a failure to utilise it correctly both informs and marks Mrs. Rich's alienation.

In addition to Mrs. Rich's social alienation being embodied in male facial hair, the coachman's magnificent whiskers render the coachman himself all but invisible. Mrs. Rich's utilisation of masculine facial hair to signal her recreated mis-identity focuses on bodily prosthetics rather than on the body itself. The footmen are visible in the theatre through their lace livery; the coachman is made visible to audiences through his 'cocking whiskers'. Both Betty and Mr. Rich catalogue the clothes and hair of Mrs. Rich's retinue, rather than the bodies that this retinue comprises. The physical, apparently solid bodies of the footmen and the coachman are made invisible by a focus on malleable and transferrable prosthetics—liminal prosthetics that are part of the body and are simultaneously removable from the body. The male body in *The Beau Defeated* is reduced to a mobile prop on which additional props can be loaded. It is not the body itself that is significant in *The Beau Defeated*, but the ephemeral objects read by those around it to identify the body (and the body of the wearer's employer). The invisibility of the beard-wearing male body is reinforced by the absence of this body from the stage. Although the coachman's body physically grows and supports the 'cocking whiskers', the play's use of the coachman as an offstage verbal prop in Mrs. Rich's performance means that the body recedes and disappears. The verbal descriptions of the beard signify the coachman's male and masculine body to the audience but the coachman himself does not physically appear on the stage. He exists only in the audience's imagination through his beard, so that his body and identity are eclipsed by his facial hair. In Pix's work, the beard functions as a prop even while the (male-sexed) body that is supposed to wear it is divorced from it and

made to vanish. Male facial hair in *The Beau Defeated* has a dramatic use, but the masculinised body creating and supporting it is elided.

Pix's use of the beard as a verbal prop rather than as an onstage object and prop connects *The Beau Defeated* to an earlier play, *The Bird in a Cage* (1633) by James Shirley. In it, the play-within-a-play presents an interlude of female authorship and performance marked by its failure to meet the standards of (male) professional performance on display in the wider play. In an effort to relieve the boredom of their imprisonment, a group of imprisoned courtly ladies are cajoled and commanded into a performance of the myth of Jupiter and Danae by the self-appointed court dramatist, the lady Donella. Faced with a lack of resources, Donella is forced to have her fellow female prisoners act the male parts without false beards supporting the performance of adult male sexed bodies: 'We'll imagine, madam, you have a beard' (4.2.17) she tells an actress, rushing off to assign the play's supporting roles.[35] The play-within-a-play's staging is a hasty affair with an apparently impetuously determined narrative, a slapdash approach to casting the minor roles, no audience other than 'spectators [who] throng together … in the arras already … [a] mixed audience of silk and cruel gentlemen in the hangings' (27–32), and 'no matter for properties' (17). This sits in contrast to the skill demonstrated by Shirley throughout the main play and to the skills that the Queen Henrietta's Men's virtuosic boy actors displayed in their performance of female characters who must also perform adult male characters within the play-within-a-play.[36] Here, as in the later *The Beau Defeated*, facial hair is a verbal prop with significant dramatic function without it ever being physically present on the stage.

[35] James Shirley, *The Bird in a Cage*, ed. Julie Sanders, in *Three Seventeenth-Century Plays on Women and Performance*, ed. Hero Chalmers, Julie Sanders, and Sophie Tomlinson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 177–266.

[36] Shirley's play seems to be committed to showcasing the skill of the Company's boy actors, requiring them to perform male characters on Donella's stage even whilst being in role as female characters on the stage of the Cockpit Theatre. The virtuosity of the boy actors is emphasized in Lyn Tribble, "Marlowe's Boy Actors," *Shakespeare Bulletin* 27, no. 1 (2009): 5–17 and in Stanley Wells, "Boys Should Be Girls: Shakespeare's Female Roles and the Boy Players," *New Theatre Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (2009): 172–77. Tiffany Stern's work considers plays with these multi-layered performance skills as being part of the training of the boy actor in Tiffany Stern, *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 46–123.

The absence of the physical beard in *The Bird in the Cage* must be read in the context of the anti-theatrical focus on female performance which marked the period of its writing. Shirley, described on the play's title page as a 'Servant to Her Majesty [Queen Henrietta Maria]', dedicates *The Bird in a Cage* rather sarcastically to William Prynne, who had recently been forcibly parted from his ears after his diatribe on 'women actors, notorious whores' offended the court and their oft performing Queen.[37] The lack of false beards for the women to use in their performance, therefore, is read as part of the catalogue of less-than-professional facets of the female performance, distancing the female performers in *The Bird in a Cage*—and the real-life courtly female performers whom they imperfectly reflected—from the attacks on the cross-dressing early modern commercial stage. As the play's editor Julie Sanders notes, the lack of false beards here means that 'emphasis is laid on the fact that the women are not putting on a fully realised production', with the result that Shirley's play can be seen as representing female performance as failing to adhere to theatrical conventions or to display comparable theatrical skill to that performed by male professional companies.[38] Reading the play as preceding the female dramatists examined here, however, this moment can be seen to be more than a protective measure in Shirley's representation of female performers distantly akin to Henrietta, or as a comment on the lack of female *commercial* performance, which thereby distanced the Queen and her courtly performers from those 'women actors, notorious whores' condemned by Prynne.

[37]William Prynne, *Histrio-Mastix The Players Scourge, or, Actors Tragaedie, Divided into Two Parts* (London, 1633). The phrase 'women actors, notorious whores' appears on pages 228, 229, 230 and 258.

[38]The play's representation of female performance is far more complex than it first appears, however. Whilst neither Sophie Tomlinson nor Kim Walker focus on the beard or its absence, both argue convincingly for the importance of this moment. Tomlinson argues that Shirley's representation of female performance is knowingly in contrast to the careful, theatrically erudite and meticulously prepared courtly performances by both Anna of Denmark and Henrietta Maria: Sophie Tomlinson, "She That Plays the King: Henrietta Maria and the Threat of the Actress in Caroline Culture," in *The Politics of Tragicomedy: Shakespeare and After*, ed. Gordon McMullan and Jonathan Hope (Oxford: Taylor & Francis, 1992), 189–207. Walker also argues for Shirley's play-within-a-play being significant in the development of female performance, reading it as a troubled move to legitimise female performance and female performers as speaking subjects: Kim Walker, "New Prison: Representing the Female Actor in Shirley's *The Bird in a Cage* (1633)," *English Literary Review* 21 (1991): 385–400.

As in *The Beau Defeated*, the male body is elided by the use of the beard as a verbal prop. There are no beards, and no masculine bodies to support them, in the play-within-the-play. As in *The Beau Defeated*, the beard is used as a verbal prop. The absent facial hair still operates as a prop and a signifier, enabling and signalling to the audience to imagine the courtly actresses as bearded characters. In *The Beau Defeated*, this use of the beard as separate from the male-sexed body works to negate the latter and thereby to render it unrequired and problematic. The beard can be used by female actresses and by female playwrights without the (expected) accompanying male-sexed body. In *The Bird in a Cage*, however, the use of the beard as a verbal prop draws attention to the male body even as it absents it. With boy actors performing female characters, Donella's flippant 'We'll imagine, madam, you have a beard' (4.2.17) is a moment of intense meta-theatricality in which the boy actor is made visible through his potential or actualising facial hair. As the female character is masculinised through this imagining of the beard by her fellows and the audience, so too does the female character's 'beard' superimpose itself on the young male body of the boy actor for imaginative audiences. His is a body on which that imagined beard will likely become an actual beard. At this moment of hairy imagining, the potential and/or future facial hair of the male-sexed performer ghosts the face of the female character. Unlike within *The Beau Defeated*, imagined, verbal facial hair in *The Bird in a Cage* is tethered to an actual physical (assumed to be) male-sexed body. The verbal facial hair used by a female character in this earlier play signals the male-sexed body that supports the beard, rather than the eliding of the male body through the verbal beard in Pix's female-authored work.

The facial hair considered in this chapter—beards both attached to characters and those which are detachable—is used by Polwhele, Behn and Pix to reshape a male-dominated canon. By connecting their dramatic use of and their representations of male facial hair with those by earlier male playwrights, Polwhele, Behn and Pix's plays construct a dramatic commonality to plays by respected and already canonical male authors like Shakespeare or Shirley, thereby building a shared authorial and dramatic heritage which all of them draw upon as playwrights both male and female. Beards in earlier, male-authored texts and in the late seventeenth-century female-authored texts considered here share dramatic functions, including disguise, the exposure of gendered bodies and the construction of identity. However, Polwhele, Behn and Pix's

beards refashion these functions, and the theatrical and dramatic conventions around them. In doing so, these plays reshape a male canon already present around the English commercial stage into one in which there is a space for female authors and their plays, one in which female authors 'know' beards and can bend facial hair to fulfil their own plays' needs. In *The Frolicks*, *The Feigned Courtesans* and *The Beau Defeated*, the representation of male hair challenges and queers an ostensibly all-male canon and, in doing so, it exposes and enlarges spaces for non-male authors in a canon already beginning its calcification into maleness.

Shades of Facial Hairiness at the French Court: The Case of Marie-Joséphine of Savoy, Countess of Provence

Aurore Chéry

Marie-Joséphine of Savoy was a princess whose fame was eclipsed, for she was living at the Court of Versailles at the same time as Marie-Antoinette. She married Louis XVI's younger brother and had a somewhat quiet life at court. Only two authors wrote monographs about her. Tony-Henri-Auguste de Reiset published his essay in 1913 and, in 1993, Charles Dupêchez wrote *La Reine velue* (*The Hairy Queen*) using new documents that were unknown to Reiset. Unfortunately, the lack of footnotes limits *The Hairy Queen*'s use for historians. Despite using the sobriquet as his title, for instance, it is impossible to determine when the nickname 'hairy queen' was first used to mock the princess, to make her seem like a kind of monstrous figure with hairs everywhere, including her shoulders and chest. Indeed, Marie-Joséphine was known for her eye-catching hairiness, which elicited various reactions. It is the various meanings behind those reactions that this chapter aims to understand.

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Understanding the specific reactions to Marie-Joséphine's appearance will help to illustrate the complex perceptions of female facial, and body, hair during the Enlightenment. It will reveal that notions of female facial hair were less of an aesthetic canon than a kind of language meant to speak volumes about the woman's personality.

A Hairy Princess

On 14 May 1771, Versailles celebrated the union of Louis-Stanislas, Count of Provence and grandson of Louis XV, with Princess Marie-Joséphine of Savoy. In that moment, she became the centre of attention for the whole of the French court. Everybody commented on her looks and compared her to Marie-Antoinette, who had married Louis-Auguste, the Duke of Berry, a year earlier. Marie-Joséphine was a brunette with brown eyes and thus offered a striking contrast with the blonde or light red-haired complexion of Marie-Antoinette. This would serve their classifying according to the contemporary cliché opposing the '*brune piquante*' (spicy brunette) to the '*douce blonde*' (gentle blonde), which Jean-Jacques Rousseau, for instance, exemplified in his epistolary novel *Julie or the New Heloïse*, with the blonde Julie appearing alongside the dark-haired Claire. It appears that the Piedmontese princess was seen as a kind of paradigm for the bawdy type. In this court, exhausted with boredom, the new trendy game consisted of setting them up as rivals. Despite the comments on her appearance, Louis XV seems to have had a positive idea of Marie-Joséphine and her looks. She pleased him when he welcomed her at Fontainebleau. On 12 May 1771, he described her to Ferdinand, his grandson in Parma, claiming 'She is very well shaped, not tall, she has very beautiful eyes, an ugly nose, the mouth better than it used to be, very dark hair and eyebrows and a perfect skin for a brunette'.[1] And then on 20 May: 'Though not pretty, she is very nice-looking and were I a few years younger, upon seeing her, I would have gladly taken her for myself.'[2]

[1] Letter from Louis XV to Ferdinand, Duke of Parma, 12 May 1771, quoted in Philippe Amiguet, *Lettres de Louis XV à l'infant Ferdinand de Parme* (Paris: Grasset, 1938), 178. "Elle est très bien faite, pas grande, de très beaux yeux, un vilain nez, la bouche mieux qu'elle n'était, fort brune de cheveux et de sourcils et la peau parfaite pour une brune."

[2] Letter from Louis XV to Ferdinand, Duke of Parma, 20 May 1771, ibid. "Sans être jolie, elle est très agréable et si j'avais quelques années de moins, après l'avoir vue, je l'aurais bien prise pour moi."

The attraction of the old king towards the young princess can be partly explained by the fact she reminded him of his mother, Marie-Adélaïde of Savoy. Both of them belonged to the House of Savoy and had big brown eyes. In fact, her eyes were the feature that Louis XV most admired. But Marie-Joséphine did not seem quite so desirable to everyone and the anonymously authored *Mémoires secrets*, for instance, disagreed with the king[3]:

> This princess has a very dark complexion, her eyes are quite lovely but shadowed by very bushy eyebrows, she has a short forehead, a long snub nose, an already quite pronounced moustache and a figure that does not show anything majestic or imposing.[4]

The author's attention, and the reader's, was drawn to her facial hair. He focused on her eyebrows and her nascent moustache rather than her eyes. Being a brunette meant that her eyebrows were consequently far more visible than Marie-Antoinette's, but was this so shocking? Louis XV did not consider it a flaw and he merely mentioned the fact as an observation. Prominent eyebrows in women were not as universally reproved as in modern Western societies and there were different points of view, depending more on personal preference than on social norms. For instance, Austrian ambassador Florimond de Mercy-Argenteau, who was eager to downplay the Princess of Savoy in order to show Marie-Antoinette at her best, did not say a word about the prominent eyebrows, which he would plausibly have highlighted had it been a commonly accepted feature of ugliness. In a letter to the Empress Maria-Theresa on 22 May 1771 he described her as follows: 'Regarding the appearance of Mme la comtesse de Provence, I must add that she does

[3] The *Mémoires secrets* are one of the main sources documenting political and cultural life in France between 1762 and 1787. They were a great editorial success and one of the most popular "*nouvelles à la main*", that is to say news emanating from circles close to power and secretly published abroad. Their editorial policy mostly reflected the opinion of the Parlement of Paris, whose magistrates generally supported the Jansenist movement and were critical of the Court.

[4] *Mémoires secrets pour servir servir à l'histoire de la République des lettres* (London, 1784), 19 May 1771, 266. "Cette princesse est très brune, elle a d'assez beaux yeux, mais ombragés de sourcils très épais, un front petit, un nez long et retroussé, un duvet déjà très marqué aux moustaches, et une tournure de visage qui ne présente rien d'auguste ni d'imposant."

not look well and her deportment is not quite agreeable; she has no grace, she speaks few words and in an unpleasant way.'[5] Based on these testimonies, it is unclear whether the appreciation of female facial hair depended on individual taste or if other cultural reasons could prevail and lead to their removal. Whether or not it was perceived as attractive, hair seem to have been associated with an expression of sexual capacities.

Hairiness and Sex Appeal

Like Louis XV, the young husband did not seem to mind his wife's hairiness at all. Once again, the *Mémoires secrets* reported: 'M. the count of Provence seems delighted with his new conquest. She is not pretty, though … In any case, the prince is pleased with her, and the day after his wedding, he told the king he had been happy four times.'[6] The young prince's wife, according to the author, was gifted with an outstanding quality, she knew how to give him an orgasm, and even several in a row. Of course, her own pleasure in sexual intercourse was not questioned. During the eighteenth century numerous publications attested to the potential for women to be, or become, nymphomaniacs. In 1749, Buffon mentioned the *fureur utérine* in his *Histoire naturelle* as a mania that made women shameless about their sexual desire when they remained virgins too long after puberty.[7] In 1757, the first edition of the *Encyclopédie* described the *fureur utérine* as a 'disease, a kind of delirium' that would affect women only and drove them to use every possible means to extinguish an uncontrollable venereal appetite. The trait was supposed to be even more common in young virgins with brown hair and in good health.[8] Then, in

[5] Alfred d'Arneth, *Correspondance secrète entre Marie-Thérèse et le comte de Mercy-Argenteau*, vol. 1 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1874), 166. "Relativement au personnel de Mme la comtesse de Provence, je dois ajouter que sa figure n'est point bien et son maintien peu agréable; elle n'a nulle grâce, elle parle peu et désagréablement."

[6] *Mémoires secrets*, 19 May 1771, 266. "M. le comte de Provence paraît enchanté de sa nouvelle conquête, elle n'est pourtant pas jolie. … Quoi qu'il en soit elle plaît au prince, et le lendemain de son mariage, il annonça au roi qu'il avait été quatre fois heureux."

[7] George-Louis Leclerc de Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, *générale et particulière*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1749), 503–504.

[8] "*Fureur utérine*," in Jean Le Rond d'Alembert and Denis Diderot, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers par une société de gens de lettres*, vol. 7 (Paris, 1757), 380.

1771, M. D. T. de Bienville shed light on this mania in devoting an entire monograph to it: *La Nymphomanie ou traité de la fureur utérine*. Nymphomania was described as an illness that caused 'unbridled venereal greed'.[9] It could affect all kinds of women: young nubile girls who were kept afar from the lovers of their dreams as well as retired prostitutes; married women whose husbands were frigid as well as young widows who had had an energetic lover.[10] The author warned that men had to be cautious when dealing with women in general because the illness was 'almost always concealed under the deceiving appearance of calm'.[11] In fact, it was such a common disease because of the natural disposition of women. Their organs 'received far stronger impressions' than men's, and they consequently 'enflamed themselves far too easily'.[12] Also, because of their supposedly constant sexual arousal, women were perceived as a threat to men since they might extinguish their precious semen were they not brave enough to contain female desire and subsequent women's assaults—men were believed to lose some of their vital spirits in the semen expelled during orgasm, draining their life force. In the case of the Count of Provence, though, Louis's orgasms were welcome because the emphasis was put on the birth of an heir to the French royal family. Securing the royal line would have alleviated the concerns created by the barrenness of the Dauphin and Marie-Antoinette, who had married one year earlier, and so far failed to conceive an heir. With Marie-Antoinette, the cliché of the 'gentle blonde' had turned into a representation of a cold woman who expressed her power by refusing to give pleasure to her husband. Because of this situation, the sex appeal of the Countess of Provence was considered a positive omen for the success of their union and the future of the monarchy. The Duke of Croÿ noticed the special collusion that seemed to exude from a conversation between Louis XV and the Count of Provence at the time he was about to go to bed with his wife for the first time: 'The night [of the marriage], at the going-to-bed ceremony, the king was very bawdy. I was assured that when

[9] M. D. T. de Bienville, *La Nymphomanie ou traité de la fureur utérine* (Paris, 1771), 29.

[10] Bienville, *La Nymphomanie*, 12.

[11] Bienville, *La Nymphomanie*, 11.

[12] Bienville, *La Nymphomanie*, 31. Bienville's publication turned nymphomania into a cliché for the scientific literature about women. As such, Nicolas Chambon de Montaux dedicated a chapter to it in his *Des maladies des filles* published in 1785.

he instructed the Count of Provence, the latter responded in a quite different and far more joyful manner than M. le Dauphin.'[13] In making such comments the Duke implied that the couple's sexual appetites were well suited.

In France, suing for impotence was a common practice until the seventeenth century but began to disappear in the eighteenth century.[14] However, it obviously remained an important problem for royal families in the context of hereditary monarchies, especially after the publication of Samuel-Auguste Tissot's *L'Onanisme, dissertation sur les maladies produites par la masturbation* in 1760. This bestseller of the time envisioned impotence as one of the first consequences of onanism, before madness and death.

The couple's harmonious relationship continued, and the author of *Mémoires Secrets* could write that:

> Madame the Countess of Provence responds on her part wonderfully to the Prince's strokes and they promise each other to live together in perfect harmony. One tells few anecdotes that honour the latter very much. The day after the marriage, it was asserted that M. the count of Artois told his brother: 'M. the Count of Provence, your voice was very loud, yesterday, when you yelled your: yes!' – 'The truth is I would have loved to be heard as far as Turin', unexpectedly replied the inflamed husband.[15]

The quoted anecdotes recounted in the *Mémoires secrets* tended to sexualise everything linked with the Countess of Provence, which is probably also the case for the sibylline 'yes' uttered by the prince. Not only

[13] *Journal inédit du duc de Croÿ, 1718–1784*, vol. 2 (Paris: Flammarion, 1906), 484. "Le soir [du mariage] au coucher, le roi fut très gaillard. On assure que quand il instruisit le comte de Provence, il y répondit d'une manière très différente et plus gaie que M. le Dauphin."

[14] Pierre Darmon, *Le Tribunal de l'impuissance: virilité et défaillances conjugales dans l'Ancienne France* (Paris: Seuil, 1986); Sarah F. Matthews-Grieco (ed.), *Cuckoldery, Impotence and Adultery in Europe (15th–17th Century)* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014).

[15] *Mémoires secrets*, 19 May 1771, 266. "Madame la comtesse de Provence répond de son côté à merveille aux caresses du prince, et l'un et l'autre promettent de vivre dans la meilleure intelligence. On raconte quelques anecdotes qui font beaucoup d'honneur au dernier. Le lendemain du mariage, on dit que M. le comte d'Artois dit à son frère: 'M. le comte de Provence, vous aviez la voix bien forte hier, vous avez crié bien haut votre oui!'—'C'est que j'aurais voulu qu'il eût été entendu jusques à Turin', repartit soudain l'époux enflammé."

was it the answer he gave during the ceremony, but also it was the verbalised expression of his pleasure during the initial intercourse with his wife. Once again, he is the one who is honoured because, contrariwise to his brother, the Dauphin, his wife thought he was worth giving erotic pleasure to.

Beyond the simple opposition between the fair-haired and the brunette princesses, depictions of femaleness in the eighteenth century reveal what made Louis XV and the Count of Provence so enthusiastic about Marie-Joséphine. Anthropological work by Cornelius de Pauw, first published in 1768 and reprinted several times thereafter, *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains*, offered a general reflection on the connection between female sexuality and hairiness. Although the text was intended to describe the inhabitants of America, it drew upon ideas circulating in medical literature:

> The more the clitoris is extended in women, the more fuzz emerges, at the chin and at the upper lip; and here is the reason why all hermaphrodites, though mostly female, have beards in Europe just as well as in Asia; but in Florida they had none, for even men didn't have one. It would be difficult to discover which relation may exist between the effusion of the *oestrum veneris*, and the dormancy of the beard, since no naturalist, as far as I can tell, has ever made this observation: one has consequently been very far from explaining a fact that has never been noticed or suspected. Though, the down on the chin thickens even in older women, as the clitoris grows and stiffens with years passing; also a few matronly women make this deformity of the old age disappear thanks to the artifices of grooming.[16]

In this excerpt, Pauw referred to hermaphrodites because they were envisioned as females with an enlarged clitoris that would allow them to

[16] Cornelius de Pauw, *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1768), 90. "Plus le *clitoris* est prolongé dans les femmes, et plus il leur naît de poil follet, au menton et à la lèvre supérieure; et voilà pourquoi les *hermaphrodites*, quoiqu'essentiellement femelles, ont tous de la barbe tant en Europe qu'en Asie; mais dans la Floride ils n'en avaient point, parce que les hommes eux-mêmes en manquaient. Il serait difficile de découvrir quel rapport il peut y avoir entre l'épanchement de l'oestrum veneris, et la végétation de la barbe; puisqu'aucun naturaliste, que je sache, n'a jamais fait cette observation: on a été par conséquent, bien éloigné d'expliquer un fait dont on ne s'était ni aperçu ni douté. Cependant, le duvet du menton s'épaissit même dans les femmes âgées, à mesure que le *clitoris* croît et se raidit avec les années; aussi quelques matrones font-elles disparaître cette difformité de la vieillesse par les artifices de la toilette."

have penetrative intercourse with women. For most of the early modern period, this was thought of as an explanation for female homosexuality.[17] In addition, the author wanted to establish a relationship between the profusion of hairs and the size of the clitoris. It is interesting to compare this assertion with another from François Ange Deleurye's *Traité des accouchemens*: 'The clitoris grows with age; it inflates when marital time is approaching; it is gifted with a very delicate feeling, and its size varies both in length and thickness; the longer it is, the more women are lascivious; they may even often take advantage of it.'[18]

Deleurye was a famous obstetrician who took part in the progress of the discipline in enlightened France. He was considered an expert on female anatomy. His text, along with *La Nymphomanie*, expressed a shift in the representation of female sexuality in the 1770s where the size of the clitoris became responsible for the natural lasciviousness of women more than it determined hermaphroditism. This led to the appearance of the modern sapphist role, which meant that the conception of pure same-sex desire, apart from anatomical specificity, became more common.[19] The excerpts taken from Pauw and Deleurye illustrate how medical thought connected appearance and sexuality; a woman with visible facial hair was thought to be endowed with an imposing clitoris and associated libido. The hairier they were, the more sensual they were thought to be. Such explanations shed light on the saucy looks of Louis XV and the Count of Provence. The latter could rejoice indeed if he had married the equivalent of a new Madame du Barry who could teach him the rare pleasures her instincts led her to.

On the contrary, the *Mémoires secrets*, whose authors were close to Jansenist circles and consequently less permissive when it came to decency, regarded the sensual promise of the princely hairs as a sign of

[17] See Emma Donoghue, "Imagined More Than women: Lesbians as hermaphrodites, 1671–1766," *Women's History Review* 2, no. 2 (1993): 199–216; Valerie Traub "The Psychomorphology of the Clitoris," *GLQ, A Jounal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 2, no. 2 (1995): 81–113.

[18] François Ange Deleurye, *Traité des accouchemens* (Paris, 1770), 17. "Le clitoris s'accroît avec l'âge; il se gonfle dans les approches conjugales; il est doué d'un sentiment très délicat, et varie tant en longueur qu'en grosseur; plus il est long, plus les femmes sont lascives; souvent même elles peuvent en abuser."

[19] Randolph Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution. Volume One: Heterosexuality and the Third Gender in Enlightenment London* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 65.

future debauchery at court and disorder in the royal family, which they would have preferred to avoid. The hectic sexual life of Louis XV, his numerous commoner mistresses, who were treated as aristocrats, contributed significantly to his unpopularity both at court and in public. This situation induced an aspiration for virtue in the reign of Louis XVI, that lasted long into the Revolution.[20]

Sterility as a Condemnation of Facial Hairs

In spite of the hopes inspired by the princess's looks, the couple did not prove to be more fruitful than the Dauphin. They remained barren all their life long. Thus, Marie-Joséphine's hairiness could still be a sign of lasciviousness, but a useless, and consequently a worrying, one. Commentators therefore turned her hair into a problem. First of all, it should be noted that she did not seem to be aware of what was at stake. She had been educated in Turin, in a very Catholic and pious court. She was used to choosing simplicity over finery, and naturalness over artifice. Versailles was known to be a den of vice and the princess felt compelled to reassure her parents on the matter of Catholic practices of the French royal family. In her letter dated 9 March 1772 she explained that they respected fasting days: 'We used to say that the princesses in France never abstained from meat, there is not a word of truth in that, because here all the family abstains from meat and fasts quite strictly.'[21]

Yet if fasting days were taken as seriously as in Piedmont, there were some major differences regarding appearance. For example, women who were presented at court had to put deep rouge on their cheeks, which repelled Marie-Joséphine. Initially, she refused to wear it and Madame de Valentinois, her dame d'atours, was forced to tell her she would please her husband better if she would put on some rouge. The *Mémoires secrets* recount that she responded: 'Madame de Valentinois, put some rouge on me, a lot of it, since I will please my husband all the more.'[22]

[20] Marisa Linton, *The Politics of Virtue in Enlightenment France* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).

[21] Archives diplomatiques, La Courneuve, Correspondance diplomatique de Sardaigne, 9 March 1772. "On disait que les princesses en France ne faisaient jamais maigre, il n'en est pas un mot de vrai, car ici toute la famille fait maigre et jeûne très rigoureusement."

[22] *Mémoires secrets*, 19 May 1771, 303. "Madame de Valentinois, mettez-moi du rouge, et beaucoup, puisque j'en plairai davantage à mon mari."

The fashion for applying rouge to cheeks had originated in Italy. It had become a requirement of the *étiquette* under the reign of Louis XIV, and was meant to highlight the whiteness of the skin. It was imposed at court in spite of the religious disapproval of cosmetics. In the eighteenth century, along with a growing taste for natural beauty, concerns spread about its dangers. This led, in the 1770s, to scientists researching for a vegetable rouge that would be inoffensive.[23]

Adhering to her own ideas about the superiority of natural beauty risked driving her husband away. The down on the chin and the moustache had been accepted, but her eyebrows definitely did not meet with accepted standards and she was also careless in performing numerous little sanitary practices that were considered essential at the French court. Her hygiene practices led Louis XV to ask Madame du Barry to act. The king's mistress consequently summoned the Sardinian ambassador, Ferrero de La Marmora, for an interview. He gave an account of the interview to his sovereign using language that testifies to his discomfort. Madame du Barry reproached the princess with neglecting,

> above all absolutely the attention to finery and to her appearance, that it was not as unimportant as I could think, that it was not at all badly used or lost time for a princess whose duty and interest were to please her family and even everybody, to spend time grooming and preparing herself. That I did not ignore that the king liked to see well-dressed people to the extreme, and above all cleanliness … that the comparison that Mme la Dauphine, who is by nature more inclined to please, was equally unfavourable to her, that she was always dressed as she was to be painted and with delightful cleanliness.[24]

The ambassador made himself understood more clearly in a dispatch, dated the same day and addressed to his minister of supervision.

[23] Catherine Lanoë, *La Poudre et le fard. Une histoire des cosmétiques de Renaissance aux Lumières* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2008).

[24] Archivio di Stato di Torino, Francia, Mazzo 213, no. 30, Dispatch from la Marmora, 17 February 1772. "surtout absolument trop le soin de sa parure et de sa figure, que cela n'était pas aussi indifférent que je pourrais le penser, que ce n'était point du tout un temps mal employé ni perdu pour une princesse dont le devoir et l'intérêt étaient de plaire à sa famille et même à tout le monde, que celui qu'elle passait à sa toilette et au soin de se parer. Que je n'ignorais pas que le roi aimait infiniment à voir les personnes bien mises, et surtout la propreté… que la comparaison de Mme la Dauphine, naturellement, plus portée à plaire, lui était pareillement désavantageuse, qu'elle était toujours mise à peindre et d'une propreté ravissante."

He added that it was not only Mme du Barry but also the duke of Aiguillon and Mme de Valentinois who came to talk to him about the princess. They said that 'not only can we not get from this princess to have her hair dressed carefully, but also she will not have us using the small expedients art can use to help nature, like accommodating her forehead in removing the down that shrinks it and make that the eyebrows come too close and almost join close to her hair'.[25] This text highlights the real problem with her eyebrows, that they almost joined with her hair, which seemed to be considered intolerable. This precise detail also offended Lady Mary Coke when she met Marie-Joséphine for the first time. She reported that she was 'full as ugly as she had been represented: very dark and her hair of the side of her forehead grows so forward, that it almost joins close to her eyebrows, which are very wide'.[26]

Although loaded with sexual innuendos, hair was accepted in women as long as it was confined to spaces where it was equally accepted in men: the chin and the moustache. Because they emphasised the eyes, prominent eyebrows were also appreciated, but it was not fashionable to have eyebrows joining over the nasal bridge. To an extent overly bushy eyebrows were tolerated because it was considered a beauty ideal inherited from Antiquity. As one author put it:

> Who would think that there has been a century, and even several ones, during which one praised, as if it were a perfection in women, having both eyebrows joined together. This fact is testified by Anacreon, who celebrated this attraction in his mistress; by Theocritus, Petronius, and several other ancient authors. Ovid assures that in his time, women painted the gap between their eyebrows, so that they appeared to hold one another. It is still the custom amongst Greek and Persian women.[27]

[25] Archivio di Stato di Torino, Francia, Mazzo 213, no. 31, Dispatch from la Marmora, 17 February 1772. "que non seulement on ne peut obtenir de cette princesse qu'elle se laisse coiffer avec soin, ni qu'elle permette qu'on use des petits expédients dont l'art fait usage pour aider à la nature, comme ce serait de lui accommoder le front en enlevant les poils follets qui le rétrécissent et font que les sourcils approchent de trop près et se réunissent presque aux cheveux."

[26] Lady Mary Coke, *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke, 1772–1774* (Bath: Kingsmead Bookshop, 1970), 81.

[27] *Nouveau dictionnaire d'anecdotes ou l'art d'éviter l'ennui*, vol. 2 (Liège, 1786), 208. "Qui croirait qu'il y a eu un siècle, et même plusieurs, dans lesquels on louait, comme une perfection des femmes, d'avoir les deux sourcils joints ensemble. Ce fait est attesté par Anacréon, qui vante ses agréments dans sa maîtresse; par Théocrite, Pétrone, et plusieurs

In his book, *Orthopédie*, Nicolas Andry also described joined eyebrows as a defect that should be corrected—at least for men, since he did not refer to the case of any women. As in the previous example, he reminded his readers of the custom from Antiquity: 'Some ancient authors allude to those kind of eyebrows as an attraction, Petronius and Ovid among others; the latter notices that ladies of this time employed an artifice to obtain such eyebrows.'[28]

Contrary to some authors' assertions, it was not their joining in the middle that Marie-Joséphine was being reproached for. Her portraits show well that her eyebrows did not join above the nasal bridge. Contrary to Marie-Antoinette, who had chosen Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun as an official painter, Marie-Joséphine did not appreciate artists who flattered their model. Joseph Boze was her favourite painter and he was renowned for not hiding defects, in fact even emphasising them. Also, we may suppose she would not have accepted her eyebrows being represented other than as they were. Something else was at stake here: a large forehead was judged unsightly but a small forehead with eyebrows confused with the hair line was another issue, even worse because it brought humanity closer to monstrosity, showing the owner as neither human or animal.[29] Bestiality could indeed be considered erotic. In her fairy tales, *La Princesse couleur de rose et le prince Céladon* (1743) and *Peau d'ours* (1753), Mademoiselle de Lubert turned her heroines into a she-bear and a female monkey. Far from disgusting their prince, they were at the height of their erotic potential; animal hairs were assimilated to feminine hair.[30] Monstrosity involved hybridism and the ambivalence

autres anciens. Ovide assure que de son temps les femmes se peignaient l'entre-deux des sourcils, pour qu'ils parussent se tenir l'un l'autre. C'est encore l'usage parmi les Grecques et les Persanes."

[28]Nicolas Andry, *L'Orthopédie ou l'art de prévenir et de corriger dans les enfants les difformités du corps*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1741), 49. "Quelques auteurs anciens parlent de ces sortes de sourcils comme d'un agrément, et entre autres Pétrone et Ovide; ce dernier remarque que les dames de son temps recouraient à l'artifice pour se procurer de tels sourcils."

[29]In Vienna, in 1768, before Marie-Antoine's departure to France, the Prince of Starhemberg asked for a French hairdresser able to conceal the 'rather high forehead' of the archduchess. See Albert Vuaflart and Henri Bourin, *Les Portraits de Marie-Antoinette*. Vol 1. *L'Archiduchesse* (Paris: André Marty, 1909), 35.

[30]Maryse Dugan, "Le potentiel érotique dans les contes de Mlle de Lubert," in *Sexualité, mariage et famille au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Olga B. Cragg avec la collaboration de Rosena Davison (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1998), 61–7.

was worrying. In 1784, in order to damage Marie-Antoinette's reputation, the Count of Provence published an illustrated libel, *Description historique d'un monstre symbolique*, that presented the queen as a harpy, that is to say a monster mixing up together talons, scales and the nose of a goat or of a lion on a human face.[31] The Count of Provence returned the reproach of monstrosity that was addressed to his own wife.

There was a lack of understanding about what a princess should look like between the Courts of Turin and Versailles. The Count of Viry, successor of La Marmora, was even more confused when dealing with the case of Marie-Joséphine in a letter to his minister of supervision:

> I would also wish … in acknowledging all the justice that is due to wisdom, to prudence and to the admirable conduct of Mme de Provence, that the king and the queen, in the letters they write to this princess … slightly insinuated she should pay attention to her haircare and her teeth-cleaning. I really suffer from being in the case of talking about this to Your Excellency, but these sorts of things that are regarded as trifles elsewhere, are essential in this country.[32]

Hair removal was so essential in France that it had become a French speciality. Empress Maria-Theresa, although she promoted a virtue as strict as in Piedmont, ordered depilatory powder in France for the women of her court. She wrote to Mercy-Argenteau:

> Mme de Salmour, but who does not want to be mentioned by name, as well as some other people, would like to have a little of this powder that can be found in Paris at *baigneurs*; it is still to remove down on the face. As the *valet de chambre* who used to provide it died suddenly, they did not find the recipe or the address. I am enclosing here a little of this powder, in case you can find it. It is in the bottom of the box, with paper over it; you

[31] Annie Duprat, *Marie-Antoinette Images et visages d'une reine* (Paris: Autrement, 2013), 57–60.

[32] Archivio di Stato di Torino, Francia, Mazzo 214, no. 166, letter from Viry, 20 August 1773. "Je souhaiterais aussi … en rendant toute la justice qui est due à la sagesse, à la prudence et à la conduite admirable que tient Mme de Provence, que le roi et la reine, dans les lettres qu'ils écrivent à cette princesse … lui fissent légère insinuation sur les soins qu'elle doit donner à sa coiffure et à l'entretien de ses dents. Je souffre véritablement d'être dans le cas de parler de ceci à Votre Excellence, mais ces sortes de choses qu'on regarde comme des minuties ailleurs, sont des affaires essentielles dans ce pays-ci."

> will send, through the return of the post, a certain amount of it so that those ladies will be served, to my address.[33]

Viry's discomfort must have been even more important because La Marmora had revealed Mme du Barry was the real author of the advice on the looks of Marie-Joséphine. This could have led the royal family of Turin to think that France would give their princess the looks and attitude of a prostitute. Already, Maria-Theresa had returned a portrait of Marie-Antoinette that had been sent to Vienna, explaining there had been a mistake: 'that was not the portrait of the Queen of France but of an actress'.[34] Most French actresses were also famous odalisques and both actresses and prostitutes enjoyed parading in the streets of Paris wearing costly and showy attire, especially at the Promenade de Longchamp during the Holy Week.[35] Furthermore, there was an important gap between France and Piedmont on the matter of female hygiene that was illustrated by the use of the bidet. It was considered absolutely necessary in Versailles but was unknown in Turin. Clotilde, the younger sister of Louis XVI, had married the Prince of Piedmont, Marie-Joséphine's brother, in 1775. She was not inclined to indulge in lust but, nonetheless, she regularly used a bidet. She was forced to order one from Versailles once she was settled in Turin. Viry was in charge of it:

> Mme de Marsan having told me that Mme the Princess of Piedmont would desire much to have, in this country, a small piece of furniture for cleanliness that are used by ladies in their *garde-robe*, and having made

[33] Letter from Maria-Theresa to Mercy-Argenteau, 12 February 1774, in Alfred d'Arneth, *op. cit.* (Paris, 1874), vol. 2, 423. "Mme de Salmour, mais qui ne veut être nommée, et quelques autres souhaiteraient d'avoir de cette poudre qu'on trouve à Paris chez les baigneurs; c'est encore pour ôter les poils follets au visage. Le valet de chambre qui la faisait venir étant mort subitement, ils n'ont trouvé ni la recette ni l'adresse. Je vous joins ici un peu de cette poudre, si vous pouviez la trouver. Elle est au fond de la boîte, du papier dessus; vous enverrez par le retour du courrier une certaine quantité pour que ces dames soient servies, à mon adresse."

[34] *Mémoires secrets*, 19 August 1775, 149.

[35] Maurice Lever, *Théâtre et Lumières. Les Spectacles de Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2001); Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell, *Fashion Victims. Dress at the Court of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 116–27.

> myself responsible for sending one, I will make sure to address it to Your Excellency through the coach from Lyon.[36]

Invented in the eighteenth century, bidets were an expensive piece of furniture that were mostly present in brothels as a contraceptive device allowing the practice of a 'vaginal shower'. They were also used by French aristocrats for hygienic purposes. A woman using a bidet became a favourite motif for erotic painters such as François Boucher and Louis Léopold Boilly.[37] The sexual background was consequently pervasive when dealing with hairs and feminine hygiene, and the topic was a slippery one for diplomatic language.

A Princess Who Loves Women

The perception of Marie-Joséphine's hairiness evolved a few years after her wedding. Hair had been a sign of erotic pleasures, and had been linked with bestiality, as well as being perceived as an expression of manliness in the making. Indeed, prominent black eyebrows were mostly appreciated in men. It was a sign of male self-assurance that played the same role as a beard. Handsome eyebrows contributed to the allure of Louis XV and the artists payed close attention to this detail in their portraits of him. In the literature of the time, for instance, the character of Mademoiselle de Brion, chose a *greluchon* (the true lover of a courtesan), whose appearance corresponded to the beauty ideal of the grown man enhanced by visible dark eyebrows, as it appears in this description: 'eighteen years of age, vigorously built, vivacious eyes, well-marked dark eyebrows'.[38] An excerpt from *Le dîner du Lion d'or*, *ou aventures singulières arrivées en juillet 1783 au Sr Manzon* likewise claimed that, 'The

[36] Letter from Viry, 09 October 1775. Archivio di Stato di Torino, Francia, Mazzo 218, no. 88. "Mme de Marsan m'ayant dit que Mme la princesse de Piémont désirerait fort d'avoir dans ce pays-ci un petit meuble de propreté dont les dames font usage dans leur garde-robe, et m'ayant chargé d'en envoyer un, j'aurai soin de l'adresser à Votre Excellence par la diligence de Lyon."

[37] Julia Csergo and Roger-Henri Guerrand, *Le Confident des dames. Le bidet du XVIIIe au XXe siècle: histoire d'une intimité* (Paris: La Découverte, 2009); Nadeije Laneyre-Dagen and Georges Vigarello, *La Toilette, naissance de l'intime* (Paris: Hazan, 2015).

[38] Anonymous, *Histoire de Mademoiselle de Brion*, *dite comtesse de Launay* (1774), 21. "âgé de dix-huit ans, vigoureusement charpenté, les yeux vifs, des sourcils noirs et bien marqués"

features of my face always herald the distinguished man, the noble man: and nothing flatters me more than to be hold so: my brown complexion, my dark eyebrows, my vivacious and imposing eyes, give me so martial an air that were I thirty leagues away from here, I would dare present myself as a general officer.'[39] For women, dark eyebrows were preferred if they contrasted with a very pale skin and also, where possible, with blue eyes. In an announcement published in a newspaper of the time, a rich man was looking for a companion who would match this description: 'A young person aged between nineteen and twenty-six … with white skin, blue and well-split eyes, dark hair and eyebrows.'[40]

Though Marie-Joséphine did not like being exposed to the sun, she had a natural olive complexion that, along with her dark eyebrows, made her conform to the male stereotype rather than to the female one. Furthermore, she expressed a visible interest in a young woman named Anne de Caumont La Force, who became Countess of Balbi thanks to her wedding in 1776. As her parents worked in the houses of the Counts of Provence and Artois, she grew up in court. There, her cheerfulness brought comfort to Marie-Joséphine and distracted her from her gloominess. For that very reason, Anne was awarded a £5000 pension on the death of her father in 1773. In 1777, she was also situated as *dame pour accompagner* in Marie-Joséphine's house, so that she could keep her by her side. Then in 1780, Marie-Joséphine offered her the legacy of the place of *dame d'atours*.[41] In spite of Marie-Joséphine's devotion, Anne proved to be more interested in the count of Provence who took her as his favourite. Further to this event, Madame de Boigne reported: 'after his attachment to Mme de Balbi he scarcely ever saw her, and she consoled herself in the intimacy of her maids.'[42] Several contemporaries

[39] Anonymous, *Le Dîner du Lion d'or*, ou aventures singulières arrivées en juillet 1783 au Sr Manzon (1784), 35. "Les traits de mon visage annoncent toujours l'homme distingué, l'homme de condition: et rien ne me flatte plus que d'être tenu pour tel: mon teint rembruni, mes sourcils noirs, mes yeux vifs et imposants, me donnent un air si martial que si j'étais à trente lieues d'ici j'oserais m'annoncer pour un officier-général."

[40] *L'Observateur français à Londres*, vol. 20 (1770), 291. "une jeune personne de dix-neuf à vingt-six ans […] ayant la peau blanche, les yeux bleus et bien fendus, les cheveux et les sourcils noirs."

[41] Tony Henri Auguste de Reiset, *Anne de Caumont La Force, Comtesse de Balbi* (Paris: Emile Paul Frères, 1908), 19–20, 30, 37.

[42] Louise Eléonore Charlotte Adélaïde d'Osmond Boigne, *Récits d'une tante, mémoire de la comtesse de Boigne née d'Osmond*, vol. 1 (Paris: Emile Paul, 1921), 39. "depuis qu'il

imagined a sapphic character for the relationship that united Marie-Joséphine and Anne. The *Mémoires Secrets* had – intentionally it may seem – been ambiguous in disclosing it claimed, 'One wants today madame de Balbi to have on her mistress the same ascendancy that madame Jules [de Polignac] has on the queen.'[43]

Shortly after, the relationship between the princess and another woman, Marguerite de Gourbillon, allowed for no public doubt about its true nature. Madame de Gourbillon became Marie-Joséphine's reader on 10 April 1785. She quickly became indispensable to the princess who lavished favours and presents upon her. The omnipresence of Gourbillon, her ascendency and even her authority over Marie-Joséphine disclosed the intensity of feelings between both women. This situation added to the scandal caused by Marie-Joséphine's alcoholism. Abandoned and bored at court, she had become a heavy drinker and the royal family suspected Marguerite of perverting her mistress by providing her with alcohol. During an evening in 1789, the king and the Count of Provence surprised Marguerite in a passageway holding a pot she was trying to conceal. They asked what she was hiding and although she replied it was a herb broth for her mistress, the king finally sent her to exile.[44]

François Adolphe Mathurin de Lescure *Correspondance secrete*, attested to the rumours that circulated about the relationship between the princess and her reader. He explained,

> She was the trustworthy maid of Madame, and for a while, she had not less been noticed for her expenses than for her secret interviews with her mistress until quite late at night. Monsieur tasked Madame de la Vauguyon with dismissing her. The duchess, who knew the influence of this low-ranking favourite, pleaded Monsieur with dispensing her of such a delicate burden. The prince himself asked for the dame Gourbillon to come, who, feeling herself protected by her mistress, protested much before submitting. Monsieur dismissed her and ordered a *lettre de cachet* that

s'était attaché à Madame de Balbi, il n'allait presque plus chez Madame, et elle s'en consolait dans l'intimité de ses femmes de chambre."

[43] *Mémoires Secrets*, 20 July 1780, 200. "On veut que madame de Balbi ait aujourd'hui sur sa maîtresse le même ascendant que madame Jules [de Polignac] sur la reine."

[44] Tony Henri Auguste de Reiset, *Joséphine de Savoie, cometesse de Provence* (Paris: Emile Paul Frères, 1913), 126, 136–37.

> exiles her to Lille, with her husband. Slanderers try to interpret the titles of this young lady because of the surprising high favour she had attained.[45]

Marie-Joséphine was inconsolable after Marguerite's departure and her health was affected. She addressed numerous letters to her former reader. They have long been controversial. When writing his monograph, Reiset had to struggle for a long time before being granted the right to have a look at them. Under spurious pretexts, he denied himself the actual feelings of Marie-Joséphine for Marguerite.[46] On the contrary, Marie-Jo Bonnet claimed a lesbian context for choosing to include their relationship in her work entitled *Les relations amoureuses entre les femmes* which was intended to make lesbianism more visible in history.[47] Beyond the ordinary controversies, we have seen the sources of the time granted public suspicion about their love affair. Moreover, relationships between women were not uncommon in court. In Vienna, at the beginning of the 1760s, de Bourbon-Parme, Joseph II's first wife, had a close relationship—known through her correspondence—with her sister-in-law, the Archduchess Maria-Christina.[48] Those liaisons were generally tolerated as long as they did not cause any fuss. They were of little consequence since they did not affect the legitimacy of the descendants. Nonetheless, the context had changed by the 1780s. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, a growing disapproval of female rulers emerged. This transformed into real worries when, in 1762, Catherine II became Empress of Russia through the assassination of her husband

[45] François Adolphe Mathurin de Lescure, *Correspondance secrète inédite sur Louis XVI, Marie-Antoinette, la cour et la ville* (Paris, 1866), 1 March 1789, vol. 2, 334. "Elle était femme de chambre de confiance de Madame, et depuis quelques temps ne se faisait pas moins remarquer par ses dépenses que par ses entretiens secrets avec sa maîtresse fort avant dans la nuit. Monsieur chargea Madame de la Vauguyon de la congédier. La duchesse, connaissant l'empire de cette favorite subalterne, supplia Monsieur de la dispenser d'une commission aussi délicate. Le prince fit venir lui-même la dame Gourbillon, qui, se sentant forte de la protection de sa maîtresse, fit beaucoup de difficultés pour se soumettre. Monsieur la chassa de sa présence, et lui fit donner une lettre de cachet qui l'exile à Lille, auprès de son mari. La calomnie s'exerce à interpréter les titres de cette jeune dame au point étonnant de faveur auquel elle était parvenue."

[46] Reiset, *Joséphine de Savoie*, 121.

[47] Marie-Jo Bonnet, *Les relations amoureuses entre les femmes* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 1995).

[48] Ernest Sanger, *Isabelle de Bourbon-Parme*: *La Princesse et la mort* (Bruxelles: Racine, 2002), Elisabeth Badinter, *Isabelle de Bourbon-Parme "Je meurs d'amour pour toi". Lettres à l'archiduchesse Marie-Christine* (Paris: Tallandier, 2008).

Peter III. She was immediately considered as the murderer—as the letters of Horace Walpole, among others, show. At first, he had praised her as an enlightened princess but she suddenly became the fierce Merovingian Queen 'Brunehilde' or the 'fury of the North'.[49] Since the French publication of *L'Onanisme* by Dr Samuel-Auguste Tissot in 1760, there was a growing anxiety regarding manliness in Europe's courts. According to the doctor, masturbation could cause impotence, insanity and even death.[50] The kingdom of Denmark seemed to offer an illustration of those theories since king Christian VII had become mad, which was attributed to his frequent masturbation. In 1770, his physician, Johann Friedrich Struensee united with the queen, his lover, to make a coup and seize power for himself. This fuelled the fear of lesbianism, interpreted as an attempt by women to get rid of men. This could have helped to develop the two-sex model, instead of the previous one-sex paradigm, as theorised by Thomas Laqueur.[51] In the one-sex model, women had the same sexual anatomy as men, with the difference that their genitalia were inside the body. It was also thought that they required an orgasm in order to conceive. In the two-sex model, that became prevalent from the end of the eighteenth century, orgasm was not related to reproduction anymore and the anatomy of women appeared specific, with the clitoris contributing to sexual pleasure. As a consequence, same-sex desire could be seen as a means to enjoy sexual pleasure for itself. Moreover, rumours regarding Marie-Antoinette or the Countess of Provence's female relationships added resonance and power to masculine disquiet. By giving priority to sexuality between female fellows and in refusing themselves to their husband, women were suspected of acting with a hidden motive: forcing men to masturbate. It was perceived as a declaration of war because of Tissot's theories. The long barrenness of the couples formed by Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette as well as by the count and countess of Provence gave credence to such gossip.

In 1784, a libel entitled *Apologie de la secte anandryne ou exhortation d'une jeune tribade* raised the possibility of a feminine plot designed

[49] Anthony Cross, "Horace Walpole et Catherine la regicide," in *Catherine II et l'Europe*, ed. Anita Davindenkoff (Paris: Institut d'études Slaves, 1997), 48–52.

[50] Samuel-Auguste Tissot, *L'Onanisme, dissertation sur les maladies produites par la masturbation* (Lausanne: Imprimerie Antoine Chapuis, 1760).

[51] Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).

to eliminate men.[52] In this context, Marie-Joséphine's hairiness became far more than an issue of beauty ideals, it was the symptom of her lurking manliness concealed behind female features, and the hint that betrayed her scheme to seize power for herself. Marie-Joséphine was not exactly presented as a virago because, before the Revolution, this terminology was not in use for women at court. Instead, it was kept to refer to women who intended to play a political role in the revolutionary events. For instance, Olympe de Gouges was mentioned by Chaumette as 'this virago, this woman-man, the shameless Olympe de Gouges' and Charlotte Corday described, in an article distributed by the government, as 'a virago, more fat than fresh'.[53] In contrast to Gouges or Corday, neither Marie-Antoinette nor Marie-Joséphine openly claimed power, which would have been considered masculine and consequently inappropriate. In the royal family, women were suspected of plotting secretly, which they could do while complying with their gender role. However, the cliché of the revolutionary virago influenced medical theories, and in 1806 Dr François-Emmanuel Fodéré referred to viragos in the French medical context for the first time. He wrote, 'the excess of sexual pleasures extinguishes both male and female voices; those women called *virago*, so formidable by their temperament, are recognisable through their male voice and the beard that comes with it'.[54] In return, this may have influenced further interpretations of Marie-Joséphine's appearance, especially when quoting Théodore de Lameth's description of the princess: 'Madame, countess of Provence, sister-in-law of Louis XVI, was very ugly; though young, she had spoilt teeth, hairs, even on the chest and the shoulders, her court ceremonial dress made a show of it.'[55] It is true that the French court dress exhibited the

[52] On this topic, see my article: "Du souverain sans femme à la peur de l'onanisme, une crise de la masculinité royale dans l'Europe du XVIIIe siècle?," *Revue Circé*, no. 5, 19 June 2014, http://www.revue-circe.uvsq.fr/du-souverain-sans-femme-a-la-peur-de-lonanisme-une-crise-de-la-masculinite-royale-dans-leurope-du-xviiie-siecle/.

[53] *Feuille du Salut Public*, 17 November 1793; *Gazette Nationale de France*, 20 July 1793.

[54] François-Emmanuel Fodéré, *Essai de physiologie positive, appliquée spécialement à la médecine*, vol. 3 (Avignon: Veuve Seguin, 1806), 444. "L'abus des plaisirs de l'amour éteint la voix dans les deux sexes; ces femmes nommées *virago*, si redoutables par leur tempérament, sont reconnaissables à leur voix mâle, et à la barbe qui l'accompagne."

[55] Théodore de Lameth, *Notes et souvenirs* (Paris: Fontemoins, 1914), 57. "Madame, comtesse de Provence, belle-sœur de Louis XVI, était fort laide; elle avait, quoique jeune, les dents gâtées, de la barbe, même sur la poitrine et les épaules, l'habit de cour en faisait parade."

shoulders of the wearer and was very low-cut at the chest, but Théodore de Lameth did not meet the princess before the Revolution, that is to say at a time when her intimacy with her female confidantes was well known. Yet when he wrote his *Souvenirs*, he was already old and he had learnt about Marguerite joining Marie-Joséphine in exile, which had probably dispelled his ultimate doubts if he ever had any. Consequently, though it is often quoted to highlight the hideous hairiness of the princess, Lameth's judgement has to be taken cautiously. It may reflect the prejudice of that time towards female sexuality more than it may constitute a reliable depiction of the looks of the countess of Provence.

Conclusion

It is highly regrettable that Marie-Joséphine of Savoy does not arouse more interest amongst researchers because she deserves certainly more than to be merely reduced—as is often the case—to a judgement on the profusion of her hair. Nonetheless, this chapter shows that, far from being trivial, this topic reveals much about both the close connection between hygiene and sexuality at the French court, and the hopes, disappointments and fears kindled by a young woman's appearance. What seemed to be characteristic of her hairiness, that was unquestionably remarkable, is the fact that it aroused reactions that varied according to the context and period of her life. An expression of modesty according to the Christian beliefs of the princess, it was conversely taken as a sign of unbridled libido at the French court, before being, more traditionally, assimilated to bestiality when the barrenness of the couple persisted, and then even considered as a symptom of a troubling and castrating masculinity when the lesbianism of Marie-Joséphine was disclosed to the public.

This situation also makes clear how her hair could serve the image of the Countess of Provence as an adversary of Marie-Antoinette, and not necessarily in a derogative way. Besides, it is also true that, from the moment Marie-Antoinette gave birth to her first child, in 1778, the game was over for Marie-Joséphine and there were no voices left to take sides for her looks. The fact remains that the present study of her hairiness unconventionally highlights her political role, at least from a symbolic perspective, and consequently demonstrates the importance of studying more closely the Countess of Provence, a character who can help us improve and clarify our perception of the Court of Louis XVI.

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