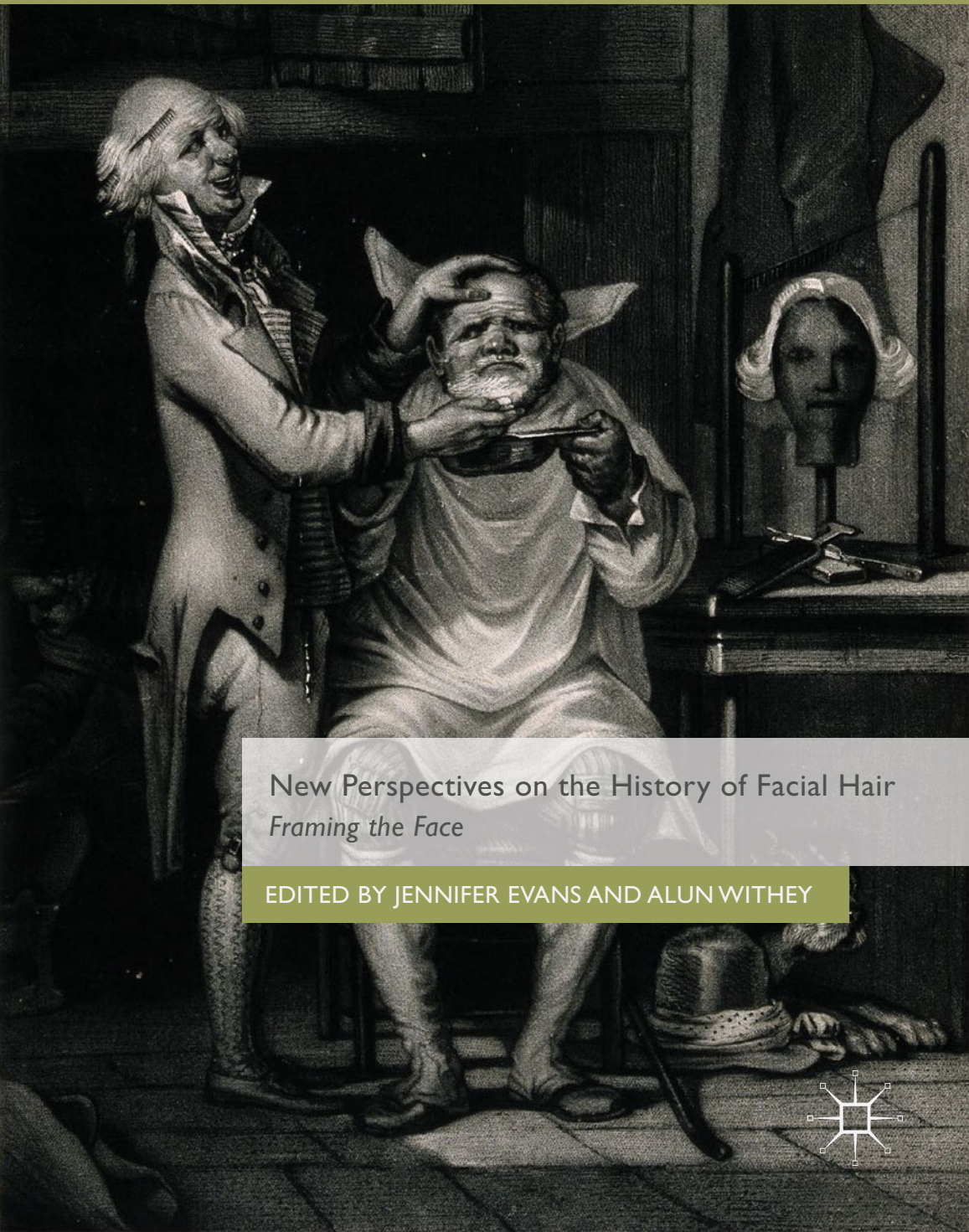


Genders and Sexualities in History



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

Framing the Face

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ISBN 978-3-319-73496-5

ISBN 978-3-319-73497-2 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73497-2>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017963536

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Cover illustration: S. W. Reynolds, A village barber shaving a man, Wellcome Library London

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer International Publishing AG part of Springer Nature
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

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

¹Anon, “Thoughts Upon Beards,” *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 34, October 1833, 670.

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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_1

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

²Work 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.

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

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

⁵*Ibid.*, 49.

⁶Mark Albert Johnston, “Playing with the Beard: Courtly and Commercial Economies in Richard Edwards’s *Damon and Pithias* and John Lyly’s *Midas*,” *Elb* 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

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

⁸Ibid.

⁹Johnston, *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.

¹⁰Johnston, *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

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

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

¹³Margaret 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.

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

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

¹⁶See 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.

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

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 334.

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

²⁰Tosh, "Masculinities," 332–33.

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

²²Walton, "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

²³Malcolm 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.

²⁴Ibid.

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

²⁶Ibid., 657.

²⁷Work 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.

²⁸Chris 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).

²⁹Rebecca 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

³⁰Herzig, *Plucked*, 44.

³¹For 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).

³²Several 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.

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

³⁴King, *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

³⁵The 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).

³⁶Emily 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

¹General 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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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_2