RESPECTING HAIR: THE CULTURE AND REPRESENTATION OF AMERICAN WOMEN'S HAIRSTYLES, 1865–90

by

Elizabeth L. Block

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,

The City University of New York

2011

© 2011
ELIZABETH LAURA BLOCK
All Rights Reserved

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the
Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the
dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Date	Kevin D. Murphy, Chair of Examining Committee
Date	Kevin D. Murphy, Executive Officer

Katherine Manthorne

Sally Webster

David Jaffee

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

RESPECTING HAIR: THE CULTURE AND REPRESENTATION OF AMERICAN WOMEN'S HAIRSTYLES, 1865–90

by

Elizabeth L. Block

Adviser: Professor Kevin D. Murphy

Using a hybrid approach that merges art historical and material culture inquiry, this dissertation recognizes the centrality of hairstyles in figure painting, both portraiture and genre, and photography of the mid- to late nineteenth century in the United States. After establishing the pervasive reach of hair's culture and industry (Chapter One), it argues that artists exploited women's hairstyles as a way to convey commentaries on such topics as conspicuous consumption and monetary wealth (Chapter Two), social class and the development of the modern woman (Chapter Three), the New Woman (Chapter Four), publicly exposed women *à la toilette* and *en déshabillé* (Chapter Five), and overt sexuality (Chapter Six). It considers the specific ways in which artists depicted hair and how that treatment helped achieve their goals. It affirms that hair deserves serious attention with regard to its cultural significance, specifically within the American art historical context of the nineteenth century, which has not been addressed in any publication to date. The study begins in the mid- to late 1860s with the considerable rise in new advertising, products, and services related to hair after the Civil War and how these phenomena were treated by artists. It proceeds to discuss the entrenchment of the Cult of True Womanhood of the 1860s and 1870s, which had a patriarchal and conservative effect on hairstyles and their depiction in art. The emergence of the New

Woman, which brought about a radical consideration of hairstyles about 1890, provides an end point. By tracing the development of women's hairstyles, this dissertation contends that the study of hair should take its place with readings of other visual culture in paintings, such as clothing, furniture, and interior decoration that broaden our view into the motivations behind cultural changes.

The study highlights the following artists: Aaron Draper Shattuck (1832–1928); Thomas Pritchard Rossiter (1818–1871); Eastman Johnson (1824–1906); Winslow Homer (1836–1910); Alice Austen (1866–1952); Mary Cassatt (1844–1926); and John Singer Sargent (1856–1925).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I extend the utmost gratitude to my advisor, Professor Kevin D. Murphy, Executive Officer, the PhD program in art history, The Graduate Center, the City University of New York, who understood and supported this dissertation from the beginning and guided it toward completion. His enthusiasm was matched by the other members of my dissertation committee who formed a superlative academic team: Professor Sally Webster and Professor David Jaffee. My thanks go to the faculty of the Department of Art History, many of whom taught seminars that inspired paper topics incorporated here, and to my doctoral colleagues, lifelong friends, and newly found ones who offered essential advice as well as levity along the way. I acknowledge the generous support of the administration of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, as well as the Editorial department, Department of American Paintings and Sculpture, Department of American Decorative Arts, Department of Academic Programs, and the Thomas J. Watson Library. Valued assistance was provided by the knowledgeable staff of numerous institutions, especially Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, New York, and the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library, Williamstown, Massachusetts, which also supplied a contemplative space in which to work.

Infinite amounts of gratitude are owed to my husband, Seth R. Friedman, for his encouragement, patience, insight, and vision. To my parents, Dr. Michael J. Block and Judith M. Block, I extend thankfulness for instilling a passion for learning, museums, and travel, which I shared with my siblings, Jennifer Block Martin, and Dr. Eric M. Block. We all benefited from the deepest love of our dear Ruth A. Mass and Anna Block, who educated us about history’s beautiful objects.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....vi

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....viii

INTRODUCTION.....1

CHAPTERS

I. The Material Culture of Hair

1. A Woman's "Crowning Glory": The Culture of Hair in the Mid- to Late Nineteenth Century in the United States….....9

II. Metropolitan New York

2. Domesticating Hair: Hair and the Cult of True Womanhood in the Works of Aaron Draper Shattuck, Thomas Pritchard Rossiter, and Eastman Johnson……...…51

3. "Her Own Luxuriant and Flowing Locks": Hair as a Signifier of Social Class and the Modern Woman in Works by Winslow Homer.....104

4. Exposing Femininity: Untethered Hairstyles in Photographs by Alice Austen and New Woman Photographers.....143

III. Paris

5. *En Déshabillé*: Sensual Hair in Works by Mary Cassatt…….....165

6. Teasing John Singer Sargent's *Madame X*.....204

CONCLUSION.....237

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....243

ILLUSTRATIONS.....334

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure Page

1. Anthony Meucci. *Pierre Toussaint,* ca. 1825....……..……...334

2. Anthony Meucci. *Juliette Toussaint,* ca. 1825....……..……335

3. Anthony Meucci. *Euphemia Toussaint,* ca. 1825....……...…...336

4. "Barry's Tricopherous Hair Tonic," ca. 1885....…….....337

5. "Preparing for the Christmas Party," *Godey's Lady's Book,* December 1862.....338

6. Carte de visite of Aaron Draper Shattuck, probably 1860s. …….....339

7. Aaron Draper Shattuck. *The Shattuck Family, with Grandmother, Mother and Baby William,* 1865. ……..340

8. Aaron Draper Shattuck. Detail of *The Shattuck Family, with Grandmother, Mother and Baby William,* 1865……...341

9. Aaron Draper Shattuck. Detail of *The Shattuck Family, with Grandmother, Mother and Baby William,* 1865……342

10. Aaron Draper Shattuck. Detail of *The Shattuck Family, with Grandmother, Mother and Baby William,* 1865……343

11. Hairstyles of 1864–65……..344

12. "Coiffure," *Godey's Lady's Book,* April 1865…….345

13. "Crochet Shawl," *Godey's Lady's Book,* January 1865……...346

14. Thomas Pritchard Rossiter. *Self-Portrait*....…….347

15. Thomas Pritchard Rossiter. *Family Group on the Piazza at Cold Spring,* 1862……....348

16. Thomas Pritchard Rossiter. *Picnic Above the Hudson (Picnic by the Lake),* ca. 1862 ……..……349

17. Thomas Pritchard Rossiter. Watercolor sketch of lakes and mountains……...350

18. Photographs of Rossiter family in Cold Spring, ca. 1860–71……..…….351

19. Rossiter House, Cold Spring, New York…….....352

20. Porch of Rossiter House, Cold Spring, New York……...353

21. Thomas Pritchard Rossiter. *Sunrise on the Hudson*, 1846……..354

22. Thomas Pritchard Rossiter. *A Pic-Nic on the Hudson*, 1863……...355

23. Thomas Pritchard Rossiter. Sketchbook, 1854–58…….356

24. Thomas Pritchard Rossiter. Sketchbook, 1854–58…….357

25. Thomas Pritchard Rossiter. Sketchbook, 1854–58……358

26. Thomas Pritchard Rossiter. Sketchbook, 1854–58…….359

27. Thomas Pritchard Rossiter. Sketchbook, 1854–58…….360

28. Thomas Pritchard Rossiter. Sketchbook, 1854–58…….361

29. Thomas Pritchard Rossiter. Sketchbook, 1854–58…….362

30. Thomas Pritchard Rossiter. Sketchbook, 1854–58…….363

31. Thomas Pritchard Rossiter. Sketchbook, 1854–58…….364

32. Thomas Pritchard Rossiter. Sketchbook, 1854–58…….365

33. Thomas Pritchard Rossiter. Sketchbook, 1854–58…….366

34. "Home-Dress," *Godey's Lady's Book*, May 1862……...367

35. Hairstyles of 1861–63…….368

36. Eastman Johnson. *Not at Home*, ca. 1873…….....369

37. Eastman Johnson. *The Little Convalescent*, ca. 1872–80…….....370

38. Eastman Johnson. *Woman in a White Dress*, ca. 1873……371

39. Eastman Johnson. Study for *Harriet Hubbard Ayer*, 1881…….……....372

40. Eastman Johnson. *Harriet Hubbard Ayer*, 1881…….373

41. William Merritt Chase. *Portrait of Harriet Hubbard Ayer*, 1879……...374

42. William Merritt Chase. *Portrait (Portrait of a Lady; Portrait of Harriet Hubbard Ayer)*, 1880…….375

43. William Merritt Chase. *In the Studio*, ca. 1881……...376

44. Winslow Homer. *Thanksgiving Day, 1860—Two Great Classes of* Society……..377

45. Winslow Homer. Detail of *Thanksgiving Day, 1860—Two Great Classes of Society*……378

46. Winslow Homer. *Eagle Head, Manchester, Massachusetts (High Tide)*, 1870….379

47. After Winslow Homer. *On the Bluff at Long Branch, at the Bathing Hour*……...380

48. William James Linton after Winslow Homer. *A Country Store—Getting Weighed*.……...381

49. Winslow Homer. *What Is It?*, 1875…….....382

50. After Winslow Homer. *High Tide*……383

51. W. H. Morse after Winslow Homer. *Bathing at Long Branch "Oh, Ain't It Cold,"* 1871…….……...384

52. Winslow Homer. *By the Shore*, 1870s…….385

53. John Karst after Winslow Homer. *The Beach at Long Branch*, 1869…….....386

54. After Winslow Homer. *Under the Falls, Catskill Mountains*, 1872……...387

55. Photographic postcard of Winslow Homer and Lewis Wright……388

56. Charles Dana Gibson. *Gibson Girl*……..……389

57. Charles Dana Gibson. "Scribner's for June," 1896…….390

58. Alice Austen. *Coasting (Wheeling from the Pegs)*……..391

59. "Emancipated Woman," 1900……...……...392

60. Alice Austen. *Self-Portrait, Full Length with Fan*, 1892……..……..……..393

61. Oswald Müller. *Alice Austen*, June 1888…….…….394

62. Alice Austen. *Trude and I Masked, Short Skirts*, 1891…….……...……395

63. Alice Austen. *Julia Martin, Julia Bredt and Self Dressed Up as Men*, 1891……396

64. Alice Austen. *The Darned Club*, 1891……..……397

65. Alice Austen. *Self Starting for Chicago*, 1893…….……..…….……..398

66. Group portrait of Radcliffe students, 1899–1902……..…….……..399

67. Portrait of a Radcliffe student, 1899–1905…….……..400

68. Unknown photographer. “Caught in the Act!,” ca. 1900…….……401

69. Unknown photographer. Untitled, ca. 1900……402

70. Unknown photographer. *Backs of Eight Unidentified Women with Long* Hair, ca. 1880……..…….403

71. Unknown photographer. *Backs of Two Unidentified Women with Long Hair*, ca. 1875…….……..……404

72. Unidentified Woman at “Beach,” ca. 1880…….……...……..405

73. Mary Cassatt. *Denise at Her Dressing Table*, 1908–9…….…….....406

74. Mary Cassatt. *The Fitting*, 1890–91……...…..…….407

75. Mary Cassatt. *The Fitting*, 1890–91……..408

76. Mary Cassatt. *Afternoon Tea Party*, 1890–91……..…….……...409

77. Mary Cassatt. *The Bonnet*, ca. 1891……...…….....410

78. Mary Cassatt. *Girl Arranging Her Hair*, 1886……...……..411

79. Mary Cassatt. *Young Girl Fixing Her Hair*, *No. 2*, ca. 1889……..…….412

80. Mary Cassatt. *The Coiffure*, 1890–91……413

81. Mary Cassatt. *The Coiffure*, ca. 1891……...…….……414

82. Mary Cassatt. *The Coiffure*, 1890–91……..…….……415

83. Berthe Morisot. *The Bath (Girl Arranging Her Hair)*, 1885–86…..…...…….416

84. Berthe Morisot. *Young Woman Reclining*, 1889……..……417

85. Mary Cassatt. *Back View of Draped Model Arranging Her Hair*, ca. 1889……....418

86. Edgar Degas. *The Coiffure*, ca. 1896……419

87. Edgar Degas. *The Coiffure*, 1892–95……...……420

88. Edgar Degas. *Nude Woman Standing, Drying Herself*, 1891–92……...…….421

89. Edgar Degas. *Nude Woman Combing Her Hair*, 1879–83…….……422

90. John Singer Sargent. *Madame X*, 1883–84……..……423

91. John Singer Sargent. *Lady with the Rose (Charlotte Louise Burckhardt)*, 1882……...……..…424

92. John Singer Sargent. *Margaret Stuyvesant Rutherford White (Mrs. Henry White)*, 1883…….……425

93. Caricature. *La Vie Parisienne*. May 17, 1884……426

94. Caricature. *Le Charivari*, May 1, 1884……...…….427

95. Caricature. *Le Journal Amusant*, May 17, 1884……..428

96. John Singer Sargent. *Madame X (Madame Pierre Gautreau)*, 1883–84……..…..429

97. John Singer Sargent. *Madame X (Madame Pierre Gautreau)*, 1883–84……430

98. John Singer Sargent. *Madame X (Madame Pierre Gautreau)*, 1883–84……431

99. John Singer Sargent. *Madame Gautreau*, ca. 1883…….……432

100. John Singer Sargent. Study for *Madame X*, ca. 1883……433

101. Gustave Courtois. *Madame Gautreau*, 1891…….……..……434

102. John Singer Sargent. *Madame Gautreau Drinking a Toast*, ca. 1883…….……435

103. Antonio de La Gandara. *Madame Pierre Gautreau*, 1897.....436

Introduction: Respecting Hair

When teasing a listener into guessing his profession as a portrait painter, Gilbert Stuart said that he "sometimes dressed gentlemen's and ladies' hair" and "brushed the coats and hats of gentlemen." Not a barber or a valet, he explained that he made his living "by making faces."[1] Stuart's joke demonstrates his understanding that painting the hair was tantamount to dressing it, and indeed all portrait painters contend with their sitter's hair, which in many cases comprises a focal point of the canvas. Wayne Craven speaks to this point when he explains that clothing and hair are "two of the most salient features in almost every portrait."[2] Using a hybrid approach that merges art historical and material culture inquiry, this dissertation recognizes the centrality of hairstyles in figure painting, both portraiture and genre, and in photography of the mid- to late nineteenth century in the northeastern United States. After establishing the pervasive reach of hair's culture and industry (Chapter One), it argues that artists particularly exploited women's hairstyles as a way to comment on such topics as conspicuous consumption and monetary wealth (Chapter Two), social class and the development of the modern woman (Chapter Three), the New Woman (Chapter Four), publicly exposed women *à la toilette* and *en déshabillé* (Chapter Five), and overt sexuality (Chapter Six). It considers the specific ways in which artists depicted hair and how that treatment helped achieve their goals.

---

[1] William Dunlap, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, ed. Rita Weiss, 1969 ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1834), 1:189–90; quoted in Susan Rather, "Contrary Stuart," *American Art* 24, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 79.

[2] Wayne Craven, *Colonial American Portraiture: The Economic, Religious, Social, Cultural, Philosophical, Scientific, and Aesthetic Foundations* (Cambridge, England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 37; see also 29.

The study considers women's hair on the head, and does not address men's hair or body hair, two rich subjects in themselves. It necessarily refers to, but does not focus on, hairwork and hair jewelry, topics that have been well covered in recent publications, specifically those by Helen Sheumaker.[3] In fact, scholarship about hair in nineteenth-century American culture tends to focus on objects made for the purposes of memorialization. Often used as a material in acts of mourning, people preserved locks of their beloved's hair and wove them into bracelets, brooches, pendants, wreaths, or samplers. But, in addition to the occasional fashioning of accessories, hair was extraordinarily prominent in routine daily life. Dressing the hair was a repetitive, performative act that was practiced day in and day out. Often treated as secondary to costume, hairstyles are usually described in the literature without meaningful interpretation.[4] Picture books that illustrate various styles, often situated in the twentieth century and all too often with pun-laden titles, are the norm. Notable exceptions are two recent books that investigate hair's meaning in English and French culture: Galia Ofek's *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture* (2009) and Carol de Dobay Rifelj's *Coiffures: Hair in Nineteenth-Century French Literature and Culture* (2010). A general call for more attention to hair, as exemplified by these volumes, was instigated by the special edition in fall 2004 of the journal *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, which was devoted to the subject of men's and women's hair in Europe in the eighteenth century,

[3] Helen Sheumaker, *Love Entwined: The Curious History of Hairwork in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Helen Diana Sheumaker, *A Token That Love Entwines: Nineteenth-Century Human Hair Work and the American White Middle Class*, 1999; Helen Sheumaker, "'This Lock You See': Nineteenth-Century Hair Work as the Commodified Self," *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 1, no. 4 (11, 1997): 421-445.

[4] Richard Corson's comprehensive study remains an invaluable resource for descriptive and illustrative material. Richard Corson, *Fashions in Hair: the First Five Thousand Years* (New York: Hastings House, 1965).

including mourning jewelry, wigs, and body hair. An especially important contribution to the literature is the multidisciplinary *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion* (2008), edited by Geraldine Biddle-Perry and Sarah Cheang, which covers the eighteenth through twentieth centuries internationally, from the perspectives of history, anthropology, and fashion. These sources and others point out that hair is the most ephemeral part of the body yet is often the most communicative, as it may be cut, styled, molded, and dyed to convey messages pertaining to politics and religion, or conformity and rebellion, for example. Hair is also perpetually experiencing growth, regrowth, and regeneration.

In line with the aforementioned predecessors, this dissertation affirms that hair deserves serious attention with regard to its cultural significance, specifically within the American art historical context of the nineteenth century, which has not been addressed in any publication to date. By tracing the development of women's hairstyles, this dissertation contends that the study of hair should be centralized in the readings of paintings and photographs of the period. The methodology used here privileges material culture within art historical study. In this way, paintings and photographs, as well as objects pertaining to hair, such as bottles and advertisements, are used to uncover changing tastes within a specific era. Recognizing that the pervasive and influential role that hairdressing culture played is reflective of the growth of industry in the United States, the chapters are arranged chronologically to elucidate the trajectory of the artists as well as the development of hair culture. The study begins in the mid- to late 1860s with the considerable rise in new advertising, products, and services related to hair after the Civil War and how these phenomena were treated by artists. It proceeds to discuss the entrenchment of the Cult of True Womanhood of the 1860s and 1870s, which had a

patriarchal and conservative effect on hairstyles and their depiction in art. The emergence of the New Woman, which brought about a radical consideration of hairstyles in the 1880s and 90s, provides an end point. The artists selected here presented themselves as the most rich ones for study, where evidence of each artist's investment in the subject of hair was apparent or detectable. Therefore, the work of certain individuals, such as Lilly Martin Spencer, William Morris Hunt, Worthington Whittredge, and Thomas Eakins, who at first glance seemed to be eligible candidates, in the end did not demonstrate a marked interest in hair beyond illustrative or decorative purposes.

Chapter One, "A Woman's "Crowning Glory": The Culture of Hair in the Mid- to Late Nineteenth Century in the United States," provides an in-depth historical background about hair culture, demonstrating the commercial and social function, as well as the central role that minority labor and entrepreneurship played in buoying the remarkably widespread reach of the industry. A wealth of material evidence is incorporated, from advertisements for specific establishments in local newspapers, to fashion plates and hair tonic recipes in *Godey's Lady's Book* that set national trends. Through these examples, the scientific, political, and racial aspects of hair are revealed, noting that through service and customer dynamics, hair care bridged racial as well as private and public divisions. On a more profound level, salons like those of Christiana Carteaux Bannister, wife of African-American landscape painter Edward Mitchell Bannister, played significant roles in the cause of abolitionism by functioning as centers of information.

Building upon the foundation of the world of nineteenth-century hair that was established in the first chapter, Chapter Two, "Domesticating Hair: Hair and the Cult of

True Womanhood in the Works of Aaron Draper Shattuck, Thomas Pritchard Rossiter, and Eastman Johnson," turns from figural images to genre paintings by artists who actively used the portrayals of hair to convey messages about class and women's place in society. This chapter argues that Aaron Draper Shattuck, Thomas Pritchard Rossiter, and Eastman Johnson centralized the depictions of women's hairstyles as representations of conspicuous consumption. Their aim in doing so was to express pride in their wives' respectability, namely as adherents to the Cult of True Womanhood that dictated how proper Victorian women should present and conduct themselves. As with homemaking and childrearing, appropriately contained hairstyles, pinned in fussy updo's with the right amount of curls and chignons, were signifiers of wealth and virtue. The chapter begins with a study of hairstyles and practices in the 1860s and 70s, evaluating the importance of length and health of the hair. It also looks at the segment of society that performed hirstute services and the middle-class customers who paid them. It continues with in-depth discussions of paintings by Shattuck, Rossiter, and Johnson, proving their astute use of hair to convey self-serving messages about their own success.

Chapters Three, Four, and Five continue to explore the changing culture and representation of hair by examining the different ways that certain artists treated the eroticization and social symbolism of hair, both in metropolitan New York and in Paris. Chapter Three, "'Her Own Luxuriant and Flowing Locks': Hair as a Signifier of Social Class and the Modern Woman in Works by Winslow Homer" furthers the notion established in Chapter Two that artists used hair to convey meanings about status and femininity, but provides a point of contrast by analyzing an artist who was measurably less conventional than Shattuck, Rossiter, and Johnson: Winslow Homer. The chapter

examines the specific ways that Homer used disruptive depictions of women's hair as a way to address the topic of women's sexuality. Close examination of works on paper shows that the artist took more latitude in the media of drawing and printmaking than in painting, using the more experimental formats to delve into themes of women *en déshabillé*, letting their hair down. Homer situates his most daring explorations of women's hair in beach and resort scenes, liminal places where women and men could relax some of the strictures of Victorian decorum, as well as gathering centers for members of the working class who were described in the local press as "ordinary," even "ugly."

Images of women created by female artists are further explored in Chapter Four, "Exposing Femininity: Untethered Hairstyles in Photographs by Alice Austen and New Woman Photographers," in which the New Woman of the 1880s and 90s is the focus. The chapter establishes hair as an iconography of the New Woman, taking its place alongside such recognized imagery as bicycles and sporting scenes. Recognizing the prevalence of photography in the period, the chapter, in contrast to the previous ones that focused on painting and works on paper, turns to this new medium that was so enthusiastically adopted by women artists and amateurs of the period. The implications of photography's popularity with women practitioners resulted in a vast trove of images with which to study the iconography of hairstyles. Images by Alice Austen as well as by anonymous photographers present women behind and in front of the camera experiencing the freedoms gained during this period in which women's colleges were founded, voting rights were advocated, and fashion and hair reform were enacted. The loosening of societal expectations of femininity is established by and reflected in photographs of

students playfully flaunting the long locks needed to construct Victorian updo's. Austen takes the notion of play one step further in her images of women unbinding their hair but masking their faces. In such transgressive works, Austen delves into masquerade by both concealing and revealing the identity of her female sitters, which often included her friends and herself. The "boundless" women in the photographs discussed here are a far cry from the contained, coiffured "true women" who were the wives of the male artists in Chapter Two.

Chapter Five, "*En Déshabillé*: Hair in Works by Mary Cassatt," investigates how this Impressionist artist in Paris exposed the customarily private acts of women preparing their toilette and dressing themselves, of which washing and combing the hair was a main part. Cassatt's treatment of the subject differed in level of extreme from that of her male colleagues such as Edgar Degas, whose fetish for women's hair provides a counterpoint to Cassatt's intimate and sensual, rather than sexualized, scenes of daily feminine ritual. The ways in which Cassatt handled the male gaze underscore the female artist's insider's view of the world of women's hair as opposed to the male artist's voyeuristic perspective.

Chapter Six, "Teasing John Singer Sargent's *Madame X*," turns again to the medium of painting, examining Sargent's *Madame X* (1883–84), in which he depicted an American in Paris who was fully comfortable expressing her femininity. In this period of the emergence of the New Woman on both sides of the Atlantic, Sargent exploited Madame Gautreau's rejection of any cultural constraints on sexuality by dynamically representing her red hair, a characteristic that was linked with loose morality. The chapter argues that Sargent used his subject's identification as a "professional beauty" to draw upon associations with the historical courtesan, specifically with Manet's *Olympia*

(1863). By doing so, Sargent took a calculated risk, one that Parisian and American audiences alike were unprepared for, resulting in the famous *succèss de scandale* that sent him fleeing to England to paint conservatively appointed and coiffed women at the top echelon of society. Noting the relationship between makeup and hairstyling, the chapter builds upon Susan Sidlauskas's insight that Sargent was painting a woman who already painted herself on a daily basis with cosmetics.[5] *Madame X* further serves as a culmination of this dissertation's themes of hair culture and its representation by focusing on Sargent's emphasis on the physical character of paint. By purposefully leaving visible brushstrokes on the canvas, Sargent equated the act of painting with the cosmetic artifice of his subject. His approach stands apart from that of more conservative artists such as Shattuck, Rossiter, Johnson, and Homer, and exceeds the more risqué efforts of Cassatt, Degas, and Austen by brazenly presenting a portrait of an already painted and dyed woman.

The blend of material culture evidence and art historical analysis employed throughout the chapters provides a holistic view of the topic of hair and its representation. It provides insight into the mingling of personal, social, commercial, and artistic interests within hair culture and within broader American society. The intent is to elucidate how an understanding of hair furthers our perception of depictions of women by artists who were invested in the subject in the mid- to late nineteenth century.

[5] Susan Sidlauskas, "Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent's 'Madame X'," *American Art* 15, no. 3 (Autumn 2001): 9-33.

Chapter One: A Woman's "Crowning Glory": The Culture of Hair in the Mid- to Late Nineteenth Century in the United States

This chapter establishes the culture of hair in the mid- to late nineteenth century in the northeastern United States, and provides an understanding of how hair functioned socially and artistically in the period in which the artists discussed in this dissertation were working. It begins with the daily practicalities of hair culture—where and how women styled their hair, proceeds to the products and services of the hair industry, and finishes with a discussion of specific trends in hairstyling. Revealed here are the complexities of a robust segment of a growing consumer culture within the United States.

The literature on the history of hairdressing is not comprehensive, and writers tend to discuss the subject in broad chronological and geographic terms. In the absence of a thorough account of hairdressing in the United States, the present discussion incorporates facts and trends in the United States whenever possible, but also includes European trends to allow for an understanding of crosscurrents. For example, ladies' magazines such as *Godey's Lady's Book*, which had a circulation of about 150,000 in the period, repeatedly demonstrate that Paris set the fashion standards on both sides of the Atlantic, through articles and illustrations.[1]

Depending on her level of wealth, a woman either prepared and maintained her hair herself, with family members, with the help of servants, with the assistance of a traveling professional hairdresser, or at a hair salon, which began to appear more

[1] Penny Howell Jolly, "The Ideal Woman," in *Hair: Untangling a Social History*, ed. Penny Howell Jolly (Saratoga Springs, NY: Frances Young Tang Teaching Museum and Art Gallery at Skidmore College, 2004), 51.

frequently at the end of the century.[2] Periodicals and diaries indicate that female family members helped each other prepare their hair. In its September 1858 issue, *Godey's* offered "several simple arrangements that may easily be executed at home by sisters for one another." [3] Eliza Frances Andrews (1840–1931), an educator and botanist from Georgia, kept an extensive diary that was published as *The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl (1864–1865)*. She often describes in detail the arrangement of her own hair and that of others; for example, on April 5, 1865, she wrote that before leaving for a social engagement she arranged her sister Metta's hair: "I fixed Metta up beautifully, though, and she was very much admired. Her hair that she lost last fall, from typhoid fever, has grown out curly, and her head is frizzled beautifully all over, without the bother of irons and curl-papers."[4] Andrews and others also relate the importance of the length of the hair, as the longer the tresses, the more choices one had for styling them.[5] For instance, Eleanor H. Cohen (1839?–1874) boasts in her diary about her "quantity of straight, black hair of which I am rather proud," whereas Andrews had lamented Metta's short hair after recovery from typhoid fever: "She was a long way the prettiest one in the room, though her hair is too short to be done up stylishly."[6] Furthermore, Andrews is

---

[2] Victoria Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of Hair: A Cultural History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006), 337.

[3] "[Fashion Plates]," *Godey's Lady's Book*, September 1858, 259.

[4] Eliza Frances Andrews, *The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl 1864-1865*, ed. Spencer B., Jr. King (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. Accessed via North American Women's Letters and Diaries (Chicago: Alexander Street Press), http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?ASL9642, 1908), 134.

[5] See also Caroline Cox, *Good Hair Days: A History of British Hairstyling* (London: Quartet Books, 1999), 17.

[6] Andrews, *The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl 1864-1865*, 95; *Diary of Eleanor H. Cohen* (Accessed via North American Women's Letters and Diaries (Chicago: Alexander Street Press), http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?ASL9642, 1865).

decidedly unafraid of passing judgment on hairstyles, an indication of the importance of the subject to her social circle. She wrote the following about a visitor to her home:

> Her hair was arranged in three rolls over the top of the head, on each side of the part, in the style called "cats, rats, and mice," on account of the different size of the rolls, the top one being the largest. It was very stylish. I wish my hair was long enough to dress that way…[7]

Accounts also indicate that the preparation of hair, like that of food, took place in women's domestic space, much of it in the kitchen, located in the back of the home, away from public rooms and spaces where men conducted work. For instance, concoctions for soaps and pomades were issued as "receipts," recipes that were exchanged between women, similar to those for meals. Many incorporated edible ingredients, such as oil of sweet almonds, freshly gathered rosemary, olive oil, lard, and salt. Editors of ladies' magazines issued their own recipes and also printed contributions from readers, constituting a virtual community exchange conducted by postal mail.

Preparing a woman's "crowning glory" required hours of labor, and those who had the means hired others to tend to their tresses.[8] Indeed, the text accompanying fashion plates in the September 1858 issue of *Godey's*, which catered to both middle- and upper-class readers, indicates that servants and hairdressers served the latter group:

> The more elaborate plaits and puffs usually given in fashion plates are intended for those who indulge in the luxury of a maid, or professional hairdresser, as many ladies in our large cities habitually do.[9]

Servants who handled women's hair were women, often the main chambermaid in the home, who was either white (often an Irish immigrant) or black. Maids brushed their

---

[7] Andrews, *The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl 1864-1865*, 87.

[8] Lois W. Banner, *American Beauty* (New York: Knopf, 1983), 38, 210.

[9] "[Fashion Plates]," 259.

employers' long hair and helped pin it up into proper Victorian styles; in midcentury only young women were permitted to wear their hair loose.[10] The lineage of servants working on their mistresses' hair extends back to Roman times, but perhaps one of the most animated accounts of the labor involved is from the late eighteenth century when hairstyles were at their height: "Upon my word, the edifice that takes three hours to demolish, must be double the time in fabricating! would not you for once sit up till morning to see the destruction of the pyramid and distribution of the materials?"[11]

Such accounts are rare, and the history of the servant experience in the nineteenth century is limited by scant evidence. Most of the documents are written by those in charge, not the people performing the labor, and the self-identifying aspect of the censuses skews the statistics.[12] It is established, however, that a shift in the labor supply occurred about the 1830s to 50s owing to increased demand and the availability of immigrant domestic labor.[13] Prior to then, the "help" was of the same class as their mistresses—in some cases they were acquaintances of the family who were treated respectfully in the home, sitting at the family dining table, for example.[14] In mid-century,

---

[10] Robin Bryer, *The History of Hair: Fashion and Fantasy Down the Ages* (London: Philip Wilson; Wappinger Falls, NY: Distributed in the United States and Canada by Antique Collectors' Club, 2000), 92.

[11] Horace Walpole to Mason, in Horace Walpole, *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), 28:391; reprinted in Margaret K. Powell and Joseph Roach, "Big Hair," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 89.

[12] James M. Volo and Dorothy Denneen Volo, *Family Life in 19th-Century America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 351; Faye E. Dudden, *Serving Women: Household Service in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press; Scranton, PA: distributed by Harper & Row, 1983), 74; Nancy F. Cott, *Root of Bitterness; Documents of the Social History of American Women* (New York: Dutton, 1972), 322-26; Emily S. Apter, *Feminizing the Fetish: Psychoanalysis and Narrative Obsession in Turn-of-the-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 190.

[13] Dudden, *Serving Women*; Ellen M. Plante, *Women at Home in Victorian America: A Social History* (New York: Facts on File, 1997), 142.

the relationship changed, and domestic servants were in essence strangers.[15] As managers of the home, mistresses assigned jobs to their employees and even prescribed their appearance—maids were expected to wear an apron and cap, and a simple hairstyle.[16] By the 1880s servants in middle- and upper-class urban homes were generally required to wear a dark dress, white apron, and white cap.[17] Most homes employed a "maid of all work," but only the wealthy were able to support a lady's maid dedicated to assisting with grooming and hygiene.[18] It is important to keep in mind, however, that economic downturns often necessitated letting a servant go, and tending to the home, and the hair, oneself.[19] Advice books, such as *Bridal Greetings, A Marriage Gift in Which the Mutual Duties of Husband and Wife are Familiarly Illustrated and Enforced* (1854) by Reverend Daniel Wise, instructed housewives how to supervise their servants, but also how to handle the expense of keeping an employee, and how to manage in difficult times without one. Wise writes, "A servant brings greatly increased expenses, a new moral element,

---

[14] Dudden, *Serving Women*, 5; Lynn Y. Weiner, *From Working Girl to Working Mother: The Female Labor Force in the United States, 1820-1980* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1985), 15; Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 24.

[15] Dudden, *Serving Women*, 44, 47, 85.

[16] Renée Huggett, *Hair-Styles and Head Dresses* (London: Batsford Academic and Educational, 1982), 51; Dudden, *Serving Women*, 51; for illustrations of hairstyles appropriate for servants in 1842 and 1844, see Richard Corson, *Fashions in Hair: The First Five Thousand Years* (New York: Hastings House, 1965), 519; for the English context see Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists* (London: Routledge, 1993), 148-50.

[17] Elizabeth L. O'Leary, *At Beck and Call: The Representation of Domestic Servants in Nineteenth-Century American Painting* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 167-68.

[18] Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, 54; O'Leary, *At Beck and Call*, 77, 234; Rifelj writes that in France, obtaining a servant was a mark of arrival in the middle class. Carol de Dobay Rifelj, *Coiffures: Hair in Nineteenth-Century French Literature and Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2010), 168.

[19] Plante, *Women at Home in Victorian America*, 144.

new cares and new responsibilities into a family . . . The *expense* of a servant is a question worthy of some consideration from the newly married."[20]

Nancy Cott cites rare accounts from servants in which they describe their working conditions and in one case, a preference for female employers over male.[21] The documents are important, as they give a voice to those who were not considered real people, but rather working bodies.[22] As seen in mid-century paintings, mistresses often kept a distance from servants, although the personal service that many of them performed was done in the intimate space of a dressing room.[23] In the context of France, scholar Carol de Dobay Rifelj comments on the purely physical, but not emotional, contact that occurred when a servant helped her employer take down her hair at the end of the evening.[24] Witnessing the mistress *en déshabillé* was an act that could only happen in close proximity, but, in other aspects of daily life, servants were kept out of sight as much as possible.[25] Changes in domestic architecture reflect this attempt, with back staircases created to control the traffic patterns of servants.[26] Similarly, in the hairwork industry, in

---

[20] Daniel Wise, *Bridal Greetings: A Marriage Gift in Which the Mutual Duties of Husband and Wife Are Familiarly Illustrated and Enforced* (New York: Phillips, 1854), 147.

[21] Cott, *Root of Bitterness*, 322-26.

[22] Gillian Brown, *Domestic Individualism: Imagining Self in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 64; for a discussion of French literature in which servants are described as inhuman, and even as fetish objects, see Apter, *Feminizing the Fetish*, 191-209.

[23] O'Leary, *At Beck and Call*, 134.

[24] Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 171-72.

[25] For a psychoanalytic reading of the body of the maid in the bourgeois household see Apter, *Feminizing the Fetish*, 190.

[26] Dudden, *Serving Women*, 119.

which items were made out of hair, the workers were invisible—a way to focus on the commodity object, not the laborer.[27]

Throughout the mid- to late nineteenth century white immigrants and free blacks populated the domestic labor force, which overall was dominated by women.[28] Lack of education was one of the conditions that led them to such tasks, and when they arrived at their stations, the mistress of the home was responsible for teaching them how to keep house.[29] From 1840 to 1860 approximately 4.2 million immigrants came to the United States, mostly from northern Europe, and especially from Ireland; in the years after the Civil War, the number rose to 15 million, one third of whom were women.[30]

Throughout the century, free black women had few opportunities other than domestic service—the era of slavery, particularly time serving in "the big house" had provided the experience.[31] As scholar Deborah Gray White suggests, after slavery ended, "white people got their Mammies back," and there was no set ending to their tasks or the completion of the work day.[32] By 1860 there were close to a half million free blacks in

---

[27] Galia Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009), 44.

[28] Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 206; Deborah G. White, *Ar'n't I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: Norton, 1999), 189; Stephanie Coontz, *The Social Origins of Private Life: A History of American Families, 1600-1900* (London: Verso, 1988), 256.

[29] Catherine Clinton and Christine Lunardini, *The Columbia Guide to American Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 31; Plante, *Women at Home in Victorian America*, 143.

[30] Clinton and Lunardini, *The Columbia Guide to American Women in the Nineteenth Century*, 76.

[31] Catherine Clinton, *The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Eric Foner (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984), 32-33; Clinton and Lunardini, *The Columbia Guide to American Women in the Nineteenth Century*, 32, 129; Volo and Volo, *Family Life in 19th-Century America*, 354; Jeanne Boydston, *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 89; Coontz, *The Social Origins of Private Life*, 201, 314.

the United States, which was eleven percent of the total black population, and most of them lived in the northern states.[33] Other free black women, as seen in the examples of Christiana Carteaux Bannister and her contemporaries, to be discussed below, made their living in trades such as hairdressing, as well as washing and mending clothes.[34]

For those who had the means, an alternative for employing a personal maid was to hire a professional hairdresser. The history of modern professional hairdressing begins in the late seventeenth century. Artistic male hairdressers (*coiffeurs*) who worked on women's hair began in the early seventeenth century in France, the first being Monsieur Champagne, who worked in Paris from 1635 through the 1650s.[35] Such *coiffeurs* set themselves apart from the related fields of barbering and wigmaking; French professionals in the latter group proposed a guild of their own in 1665, separating themselves from barber-surgeons.[36] One of the ways they stood out was their ability to set the fashions of the day, which, prior to the advent of fashion plates, they circulated and advertised via dolls displayed in their shops.[37] Mary Trasko states that the seventeenth century was the period in which male domination in the hairdressing

---

[32] White, *Ar'n't I a Woman?*, 189; Coontz, *The Social Origins of Private Life*, 256; for more on mammy imagery, see Michael D. Harris, *Colored Pictures: Race and Visual Representation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 84-124.

[33] *America's Working Women: A Documentary History, 1600 to the Present*, rev. and updated. (New York: Norton, 1995), 50.

[34] Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, 47; on black women's labor patterns, see Coontz, *The Social Origins of Private Life*, 316.

[35] Mary Trasko, *Daring Do's: A History of Extraordinary Hair* (Paris; New York: Flammarion, 1994), 43; Wendy Cooper, *Hair: Sex, Society, Symbolism* (London: Aldus Books, 1971), 164; Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 172; Kim Smith, "From Style to Place: the Emergence of the Ladies' Hair Salon in the Twentieth Century," in *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion*, ed. Geraldine Biddle-Perry and Sarah Cheang (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2008), 55.

[36] Trasko, *Daring Do's*, 43, 46; Cooper, *Hair*, 162; Mary K. Gayne, "Illicit Wigmaking in Eighteenth-Century Paris," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 119-137.

[37] Trasko, *Daring Do's*, 44; Bryer, *The History of Hair*, 97.

profession had its start—before then, fixing women's hair was restricted to women.[38] In Europe, the fashion of big hair for women in the late eighteenth century was a boon for hairdressers, who were usually men.[39] The first hairdressing academy, that of Legros de Rumigny, a former cook, opened in the 1760s in France.[40]

Hairdressers in the United States were both male and female. One of the best known men who worked with women's hair in the early nineteenth century was Pierre Toussaint (ca. 1766–1853), a former slave from Haiti who tended to New York's society women. Known for his candor with clients, he was also a benefactor to slaves attempting to buy freedom.[41] The New-York Historical Society has in its collection miniatures of Toussaint, his wife Juliette (née Juliette Noel, ca. 1786–1851), and their adopted daughter Euphemia (1815–1829) (figs. 1–3). These jewel-like paintings, which were costly to commission, were created by the Italian Anthony Meucci (1808–1889), and attest to Toussaint's success in the hairdressing business.[42] Another well-documented figure is Mark Campbell of Chicago, a hairwork dealer from the 1860s through the late 1870s, who made a business of selling artificial hairpieces, and who also ran a hairdresser's

---

[38] Trasko, *Daring Do's*, 43.

[39] Bill Severn, *The Long and Short of It; Five Thousand Years of Fun and Fury Over Hair* (New York: McKay, 1971), 68.

[40] Cooper writes that Rumigny's academy accepted both *coiffeurs* (male hairdressers) and *coiffeuses* (female hairdressers). Wendy Cooper, *Hair: Sex, Society, Symbolism* (London: Aldus Books, 1971), 164.

[41] New-York Historical Society, *Perspectives on the Collections of the New-York Historical Society: The Henry Luce III Center for the Study of American Culture* (New York: New-York Historical Society, 2000), 22-23.

[42] New-York Historical Society, 1920.4, 1920.5, 1920.6; New-York Historical Society, *Perspectives on the Collections of the New-York Historical Society*, 22-23; New-York Historical Society, *Catalogue of American Portraits in the New York Historical Society* (New Haven: Published for the New-York Historical Society by Yale University Press, 1974), 804-5; for more on Meucci, see Carrie Rebora Barratt and Lori Zabar, *American Portrait Miniatures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 122.

shop.[43] Campbell's situation was common in his English counterparts—many hairworkers also needed to take on hairdressing work.[44] Similar to today, hairdressers like Campbell offered products so that women could touch-up a hairstyle at home; Campbell's Chevrolion is just one example.[45]

At the upper end of the economic spectrum, two of the most desirable *coiffeurs* serving the elite in New York City in the 1850s were Monsieur Martelle and William Dibbee. Martelle, of mixed European heritage, set the fashions of the day, and is described in Guy de Maupassant's short story "The Mask" as "The hairdresser . . . the great hairdresser of the Opera, who had all the actresses for customers."[46] Of nearly equal standing was Dibbee, who styled the locks of Jenny Lind, the Swedish soprano who toured the United States.[47]

In October 1864, *Godey's Lady's Book* recommended Mrs. M. L. Baker, the "most accomplished hairdresser" in Philadelphia, who employed "experienced lady artists" and had private rooms for hair dyeing.[48] The article reinforces the understanding that in 1864 hair dyeing was a practice that clients wished to keep private, and also that *Godey's*, based in Philadelphia, promoted local business owners. Altering the natural

---

[43] Helen Sheumaker, *Love Entwined: The Curious History of Hairwork in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 97-99.

[44] Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 45.

[45] Trasko, *Daring Do's*, 97.

[46] Banner, *American Beauty*, 37. Guy de Maupassant, "The Mask," in Maupassant Original Short Stories (180), Complete, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/3090/3090-h/3090-h.htm (accessed March 23, 2010).

[47] Ibid.

[48] *Godey's Lady's Book*, October 1864, 354.

color of one's hair carried a negative stigma, even in France, until the twentieth century.[49] The ideal Victorian woman possessed a long, dark mane, though some actresses of the 1870s sported blonde tresses, achieved with hydrogen peroxide.[50] The expansion of the hair industry in the 1860s is attested to by an 1864 *New York Times* classified advertisement that announced the decision at a meeting of "first-class hair-dressers" to raise prices due to "increased rates of labor and of articles of consumption": shaving would be increased to 15 cents; haircutting 35 cents; and shampooing 35 cents.[51] A trade card for Hiscox & Company of 163 William Street, New York, now at the Winterthur Library, dates between 1870 and 1899.[52] Promoting Parker's Hair Balsam (as well as Parker's Ginger Tonic, a remedy for coughs, colds, throat, and lung diseases), the card depicts a woman in her nightclothes brushing her lustrous, waist-length hair in front of her bedroom mirror, and gazing outward to her left, toward the viewer.[53] Bottles of the balsam were sold by druggists in two sizes, for fifty cents and one dollar respectively. Even entertainer and marketer extraordinaire, P. T. Barnum, advertised a hair restorer.[54]

Professional hairdressers were quick to further extend their businesses by offering hand- or commercially made products. Mr. Cameron, Dr. H. H. Sterling, Alexander C.

---

[49] Steven M. Zdatny, *Hairstyles and Fashion: A Hairdresser's History of Paris, 1910-1920* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 1999), 17.

[50] Banner, *American Beauty*, 63, 121.

[51] Classified advertisement, *New York Times*, March 1, 1864.

[52] Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Winterthur, Delaware, 91x63.3. See also the undated trade card at the Winterthur Library for Parker's Hair Balsam, 84.72.72.

[53] See http://www.hairraisingstories.com for further examples of trade cards for Parker's Hair Balsam as well as two images of bottles.

[54] Ann Anderson, *Snake Oil, Hustlers and Hambones: The American Medicine Show* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2000), 39.

Barry, Mark Campbell, and Laura D'Unger are just a few who advertised in *The Brooklyn Eagle*, the *New York Times*, *Godey's Lady's Book*, and *Harper's Weekly*. Products included Sterling's Ambrosia for the Hair (an oily extract of roots, barks, and herbs), Barry's Tricopherous for the Skin and Hair, Miller's Hair Invigorator, and Gouraud's Liquid Hair Dye. Gouraud's, at 67 Walker Street near Broadway, boasted that their dye could change red or gray hair to black or brown; a hair removal product was also available (fig. 4).[55] The entrepreneurial talents of such proprietors is further evidenced by the publication of "treatises," pamphlets that offered advice on caring for the hair while simultaneously promoting products. Alexander C. Barry, a former wigmaker who referred to himself as a "professor," published one in New York in 1852, as did Laura D'Unger in the 1860s.[56] A certain N. Belcher put out a 128-page book in 1868 for fellow tradespeople—part recipe book and part treatise, it demonstrates Belcher's business-to-business approach.[57]

---

[55] *New York Daily Times*, November 21, 1851; *New York Daily Times*, November 22, 1851; *New York Daily Times*, October 4, 1851. See http://www.hairraisingstories.com for examples of bottles by Gouraud's.

[56] Victoria Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of Hair: A Cultural History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006), 175. Another enterprising fellow who freely added the moniker "Prof." to his name on his trade card, was a certain "Prof. Fair, Hair and Scalp Specialist," of Providence, Rhode Island. The trade card is in the Joseph Downs Collection, Winterthur Library, 84x072.70. See Laura K. D'Unger, *The Ladies' Toilet Vade Mecum* (Philadelphia: Barry Percy, 1865). It was advertised in *Godey's*, March 1865, 286. For actual examples of the product bottles for Cameron, Sterling, Barry, Campbell, and Miller, see http://www.hairraisingstories.com. The New-York Historical Society has a bottle for Sterling's Ambrosia for the Hair (1937.1692). A typical advertisement for Sterling's is found in the New York Times, March 21, 1863. Sterling also ran advertisements in *Harper's Weekly* throughout 1863 and 1864. See, for example, *Harper's Weekly*, February 21, 1863; and *Harper's Weekly*, May 7, 1864. The New-York Historical Society also has a bottle for Barry's Tricopherous for the Skin and Hair, with instructions to see the "directions in the pamphlet" (1937.1693). A copy of the pamphlet, Alexander C. Barry, *A Treatise on Human Hair, and the Formation of the Skin, with Directions for Preserving Them*…(1852), is in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society.

[57] N. Belcher, *The Barbers' and Hair-Dressers' Private Recipe Book: Embracing Recipes for Hair Producers, Hair Renewers, Tonic Dressings, Hair Oils, Hair Dyes, Pomades, Toilet Soaps, Shaving Soaps, Shaving Creams, Perfumery and Colognes, Instantaneous Grease Extractor, Washes, and Lotions, Etc. Etc. With a Treatise Upon the Diseases of the Human Hair, Their Causes, Mode of Treatment, and Their Remedies* (Boston: Rockwell & Rollins, 1868), 22.

An enterprising husband and wife team was that of William J. Barker and Mary S. Barker; in December 1853, Barker's Ladies' Hairdressing Establishment was located at 439 Broadway. William J. Barker had been in the hair business since 1847 and continued until his death in 1879, at which point his wife took over.[58] Their main product was the "Hirsutis" tonic, which Mary registered for a trademark in 1881. Advertisements such as these, and in some cases their counterparts in material evidence—bottles—are seemingly endless in New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Lowell (Massachusetts), New Hampshire, and Maine, to list just a handful of locations.[59] Indeed, it would be possible to add hundreds of other names and products to the discussion of this period.

The written and material evidence testifies to the far-reaching tentacles of the hair industry. Included are trade cards and catalogues, advertisements, prescriptive literature, magazine articles, diaries, bottles, and a wide array of accessories, including artificial curls, combs, bonnets, bows, ribbons, wigs, and crimpers. *Godey's Lady's Book*, published monthly from 1830 to 1898, and edited until 1877 by Sarah Josepha Buell Hale, served as a veritable handmaiden for generations of women (fig. 5). It maintained the largest circulation of any magazine during its time—averaging hundreds of thousands of subscribers throughout the 1860s and 70s; in 1860 the readership reached 150,000.[60] With the formidable Hale at the helm, its pages were filled with editorials, fashion plates

---

[58] See http://www.hairraisingstories.com.

[59] See entries under "Hair Colorants," "Hairdressing," "Salons, Hair and Beauty," and "Tonics, Hair" in Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of Hair*. See advertisements in *The Brooklyn Eagle* and the *New York Times*. See bottles at http://www.hairraisingstories.com.

[60] Alison Piepmeier, *Out in Public: Configurations of Women's Bodies in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 174, 196; Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1988), 229.

(often hand-painted), advice, recipes, stories, correspondence, illustrations, and advertisements. Its features on fashion included costume and coiffures, along with bonnets, caps, and headdresses, and all changed by event and season. As a result of the volume of its readership and the frequency of its publication, *Godey's* had an immeasurable impact on American ladies' fashion.

Flourishing throughout the publishing boom of the middle of the century, *Godey's* set beauty standards.[61] A typical article on hairstyles ran in the July 1865 issue, offering descriptions and illustrations of a "coiffure for a young lady" and a "ball coiffure for a young lady," and directions for assembling each style were given in detail so that readers could create the look at home.[62] The March 1860 issue listed instructions for making eight different hair washes from rosemary water to almond bandoline (setting lotion). Recipes and advertisements for preservatives, tonics, pomades, pomatums, and soap were also regularly featured.[63] The recipes, or "receipts," are similar to those for food that were published in cookbooks, a reminder of the belief at the time of hair's connection to bodily health—some cookbooks included recipes for body and hair cleansers.[64] The hair

[61] See Cynthia Lee Patterson, "'A Taste for Refined Culture': Imag(in)ing the Middle Class in the Philly Pictorials in the 1840s and 50s" (PhD diss., Fairfax, VA: George Mason University, 2005).

[62] "Coiffures," *Godey's Lady's Book*, July 1865, 21.

[63] See, for example, "Contributed Receipts," *Godey's Lady's Book*, January 1857, 78; "The Best Hair Preservative," *Godey's Lady's Book*, May 1886, iv; "The Best Hair Preservative," *Godey's Lady's Book*, July 1886, 95; *Godey's Lady's Book*, October 1886, iv. Gail Durbin explains that pomade was originally made with pig's lard and apples, but then were devised of animal and vegetable fats with scented flower oils. Gail Durbin, *Wig, Hairdressing and Shaving Bygones* (Princes Risborough: Shire, 1984), 23; see also Trasko, *Daring Do's*, 38.

[64] Readers also wrote to *Godey's* to ask advice regarding the health of their hair and diseases of the head. See, for example, "A Few Words with Our Correspondents," *Godey's Lady's Book*, October 1864, 354. Although it dates to 1897, later than the period of the present study, a trade card in the form of a postcard from the Rose Jelly Company is worth mentioning here (Joseph Downs Collection, Winterthur Library, 00x001). On it, a certain Mattie J. Ingold of Greensboro, North Carolina, who pasted a photograph of herself on the card, printed a testimonial to Mr. F. C. Renner about how pleased she was with the jelly's impact on increasing the growth of her hair: "My hair is now so long that I have to wrap it around my arm

washes all use ingredients found in a typical kitchen, as the magazine catered to both women in small towns and cosmopolitan centers. The promotion of hairstyles and accessories like plaits, puffs, human hair switches, bandeaus, and crimpers was layered throughout the editorial and commercial sections of the magazine. An example of the detailed array of products is found in the "fashion editor's advertisement" in the June 1865 issue.[65] Readers could purchase the following items:

Grecian curls on a comb: $7–25
Hair waterfalls: $6–10[66]
Hair side braids: $8–20
Hair back braids: $8–30

An independent maker of such hair goods was Miss Nora C. West of Bethel, Maine. Her undated trade card, now at the Winterthur Library, explains that she would create "switches, curls, puffs, frizzes, &c." out of combings or cut hair.[67]

---

to braid or comb it, as I cannot reach to the end of it." Indeed, one imagines that the company could not lose with its product either way—if it did not stimulate growth of the hair, the customer could spread it on a slice of bread and enjoy it with a cup of tea.

[65] "Fashion editor's advertisement," *Godey's Lady's Book,* June 1865.

[66] Waterfalls were ornaments of hair wrapped around cotton intended to adorn and add volume. They are perhaps best described in "Human Hair: Wigs, Waterfalls, Rats, Mice, Curls, Fronts, &c.—How they are Made and all About Them," *New York Times*, August 3, 1866. The unnamed writer describes the following: "Manufactured goods are those articles known as 'fronts,' or any contrivances designed to cover a lady's baldness. These require a great amount of labor, each and every hair being woven through a piece of white silk…In the manufacture of waterfalls, rats, mice and other arrangements for the adornment of ladies' heads, America can do as well as France…They are made of hair 'weft' rolled around a wad of cotton. To make the 'weft,' you set two little upright sticks on a table—then, you stretch three black threads from one to the other—then you take a little lock of long hair and run it under one thread, over another, then under then over, then make a half hitch, haul it taught, and make all fast; then you take another little lock and do the over and under business same as before, and keep doing it till you get about six inches of it and that's 'weft.' Then to make the waterfall, you take a bag—any size is fashionable—fill it with hair that can't be used anywhere else, then wind your weft outside of it, tucking the ends into the bag; then you cover the whole thing with a small fish-net, and sprinkle on a few beads and spangles, and that's a waterfall."

[67] Joseph Downs Collection, Winterthur Library, 68x164.397.

Two well-preserved sets of objects bring a three-dimensional quality to the products described in *Godey's* and in the trade publications. The first is a nineteenth-century accessory set in The Costume Institute at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, described as a "curls and wig box." It contains an arrangement of puffed hair, a wig, and six "curls" that are hairpieces with ribbons on either end for fastening to the head.[68] When laid flat they appear as three-dimensional manifestations of drawings in *Godey's*.[69] In addition, a box in the New-York Historical Society contains two lady's hair combs, both in black, one with white glass beads as decoration.[70] Dating to 1860–90, the combs were patented by the India Rubber Comb Company of New York, a business that began operation in Queens in 1854 and became one of the largest producers of rubber combs, which were preferable to wooden ones owing to their strength.[71] It was necessary to own multiple combs, as certain ones were designed for working through knots, and others for distributing perfumed powder and removing dust.[72] Combs were used for personal adornment and also by tradespeople—Richard Wright Procter, author of *The Barber's Shop* (1883), explains that the establishment he worked for utilized combs made of "tortoise-shell, ivory, horn, bone, metal, in plain and fanciful devices."[73]

---

[68] For another example of false hair pieces, see Durbin, *Wig, Hairdressing and Shaving Bygones*, 9.

[69] Metropolitan Museum, 11.60.317 a-c; 11.60.318a,b; 11.60.319a-c; 11.60.320a,b

[70] New-York Historical Society, 2002.1.828.

[71] Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of Hair*, 89.

[72] Daniel Garrison Brinton and George H. Napheys, *Personal Beauty: How to Cultivate and Preserve It in Accordance with the Laws of Health* (Springfield, MA: W.J. Holland, 1870), 264.

[73] Richard Wright Procter, *The Barber's Shop*, Rev. and enlarged, with an introduction by William E. A. Axon. (Manchester, England: A. Haywood, 1883), 137.

Wigs, combs, and human hair were part of an enormous industry. In 1859–60 the United States imported between 150,000 to 200,000 pounds of hair, valued at about one million dollars; the amount tripled by 1866, with Paris as one of the main exporters to the United States.[74] In the 1875 edition of *The Art of Hair Work*, the aforementioned Chicago-based hair dealer and hairdresser Mark Campbell wrote that the sources of hair were France, Italy, Russia, Germany, Norway, and Sweden.[75] Length, texture, and color determined value, with prices ranging from $15 to $200 per pound.[76] The fake hair market supplied product to customers who suffered from loss of hair due to health problems, but it equally fed the desire for the fashionably large styles of the 1870s.[77]

Trade cards and catalogues, advertisements, and prescriptive literature reveal two illuminating dimensions to the hair industry beyond the promotional and "how to" instructions on the surfaces of the texts. First, the international reach of hair commerce is evidenced by a number of publications and products that were based overseas. For example, the *Ladies' Guide to Beauty*, described as a recently printed book in the *New York Daily Times* on September 29, 1854, and on October 2, 1854, was written by "Sir James Clark, private physician to Queen Victoria."[78] Published by Garrett and Company, the volume offered advice on improving the hair as well as recipes for pomades. Clark

---

[74] Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, 477; Severn, *The Long and Short of It*, 110; Penny Howell Jolly, *Hair: Untangling a Social History* (Saratoga Springs, NY: Frances Young Tang Teaching Museum and Art Gallery at Skidmore College, 2004), 51.

[75] Mark Campbell, *The Art of Hair Work: Hair Braiding and Jewelry of Sentiment*, ed. Jules Kliot and Kaethe Kliot (Berkeley, CA: LACIS Publications, 1989), 12; for more on Campbell, see Sheumaker, *Love Entwined*, 97-99.

[76] Mark Campbell, *Self-Instructor in the Art of Hair Work: Dressing Hair, Making Curls, Switches, Braids, and Hair Jewelry of Every Description* (New York: Campbell, 1867), 12.

[77] Banner, *American Beauty*, 208, 210.

[78] *New York Daily Times*, September 29, 1854; and *New York Daily Times*, October 2, 1854.

capitalized upon his stature in the British royal circle and also upon Queen Victoria's popularity in the United States, especially in terms of fashion. Further, Mrs. S. A. Allen of New York promoted her World Hair Restorer and zylobalsamum (a supplementary restorer and cleanser) in newspapers and magazines ranging from the *New York Times* and *The Liberator* to the *New York Evangelist*, *The Independent*, *Home Journal*, *Christian Observer*, *National Era*, *Zion's Herald*, *The Youth's Companion*, *Harper's Bazaar*, and the *Christian Union* from the mid-1850s through the early 1880s. Some of the lengthy advertisements bear the subheading: "The Only Preparations that Have a European Reputation" and are followed by testimonials from satisfied clients in Great Britain and Haiti.[79] Another example is the trade card for the Camelia Toilet Company, which indicates that it sold a hair renewer, beauty ointment, and "dentone" for teeth, from shops in Philadelphia, New York, and London.[80]

The British heritage of products and advice for hair offered authority and desirability to American consumers. As noted earlier, hair styling has a long history in European culture, especially in England and France. Recall that hairdressing became a profession in the 1600s in Europe and that the first hair salon for women, named "Champagne," was opened in Paris in 1635.[81] By 1777, the field had grown so large that

---

[79] See for example, "Advertisement," *The Liberator*, December 25, 1857, 207. See also *The Independent…Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts*, June 26, 1862, which reports that sales had been brisk in London and Liverpool, England. Doyle reproduces one of Mrs. S. A. Allen's ads, but does not give the date or source. Allen's address is 35 Barclay Street, New York. See Doyle, 185.

[80] Joseph Downs Collection, Winterthur Library, 91x108.145. See http://www.hairraisingstories.com for four other variations of the Camelia Toilet Company trade card.

[81] Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of Hair*, 162, 337.

approximately 1,200 hairdressers had joined the barbers' union in Paris.[82] Wigmaking was a separate profession. Mary Gayne relates that by the eighteenth century the demand for elaborate hairstyles was so great, and the supply of professionals so organized, that master wigmakers in France gained exclusive rights to their trade. Imposters could be prosecuted for illicitly practicing wigmaking.[83]

Hairdressing salons became more prevalent in the United States after the Civil War.[84] Lois Banner, however, cites proof from *Godey's Lady's Book* that hairdressing shops, run by men, with some employing women assistants, were in existence in New York City in the 1850s.[85] She qualifies the finding by saying that most visits were on special occasions and that the general practice was for hairdressers to call on their patrons at their homes. She also makes the point that codes of respectability raised some questionable issues with women attending hair salons owned by men, owing to the physical contact necessitated when fashioning hair. By the 1870s, however, resulting from the greater availability of services outside the home, it became more socially acceptable for women to frequent such salons. The trade magazine *American Hairdresser* began publication in 1878, and in 1888 the Hair Dealer's Association of the United States was founded. [86]

---

[82] Ibid., 163.

[83] Gayne explains that the familial and neighborly relationships between wigmakers and their customers fueled the illicit production of wigs. Gayne, "Illicit Wigmaking in Eighteenth-Century Paris," 1-19; see also M. Gayne, "The Wigmakers, the Public, and the State: Cultural and Material Production of Eighteenth-century French Hairstyles" (PhD diss., New York: Cornell University, 2007).

[84] Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of Hair*, 337.

[85] Banner, *American Beauty*, 38.

[86] Ibid., 39; 210-211, 332n20.

The hair industry expanded exponentially in the nineteenth century in Europe and the United States. Based on information from Mark Campbell, Richard Corson relates that in 1859 there were 950 hairdressers listed in London. Additionally, there were three hair merchants, seventeen hair manufacturers, and twenty-seven wigmakers.[87] The title of a sales catalogue from R. Houvenden & Sons of London provides an indication of how hair products had become a part of the mainstream in mid-nineteenth-century London: *Revised Catalogue of Perfumery, Essential Oils, Combs, Brushes, Toilet Articles, Human Hair, Walking Sticks, Cricketing Goods, etc.* Further, Mrs. H. R. Haweis offers authoritative opinions in *The Art of Dress*, published in London in 1879. Her views on slovenly styles with "'rats' tails' falling"[88] are made strictly clear, as is the following plea: "It is absolutely necessary to study yourself, before you dress your hair: your height, your build, the shape of your head and face, must be considered if you aim at being pleasant to the artistic eye."[89] Haweis's publications are indicative of international crosscurrents in conduct literature. Her earlier book, *The Art of Beauty*, had been published in 1878 in New York.

Style books from France also made their way into the hands of American readers. For example, The Metropolitan Museum of Art has in its collection *Album de Dessins En Cheveux* by P. Florentin, dating to 1856–76. Similar volumes published in the United States were pervasive. One of the most famous was by international beauty (and one-time

[87] Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, 474.

[88] Mary Eliza Joy Haweis, *The Art of Beauty and The Art of Dress* (1878. Reprint, New York: Garland Publishers, 1978), 117.

[89] Ibid., 122-23.

mistress of King Louis I of Bavaria) Lola Montez (1818–1861).[90] Born Eliza Gilbert in Ireland, the dancer changed her name for stage appearances in England, and later in New York and California. Her book, *The Arts and Secrets of Beauty*, published in New York in 1853, contains advice and recipes for creating and preserving beauty in all aspects of the body and demeanor. Several sections are devoted to the hair—how to adorn, soften, color, and "obtain a good head of hair"—indeed, about one-quarter of the book is devoted to hair.[91] She shares formulas for a pomade, colorant, and "honey water" wash, as well as her greatest all-purpose tip: brushing, which, if done frequently, could soften and beautify coarse hair.[92]

Trade cards in the Winterthur Library provide evidence that Russia, Germany, and Japan also influenced hair trends in the United States. Mr. A. J. Gallagher of Philadelphia must have been aware of the selling power of an association with Russian products, as his trade card of about 1847 boasts that he is the only preparer of Briggs Russian Cosmetic for Hair, which sold for fifty cents.[93] Further, A. Vogeler & Company, wholesale druggists of Baltimore, promoted the Kletten Wurzel gel on their card dated 1876.[94] With text entirely in German, it is possible that the hair potion was marketed to

---

[90] Ruth Bogin, "Sarah Parker Remond: Black Abolitionist from Salem," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 110, no. 22 (April 1974): 139.

[91] Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 18.

[92] Lola Montez, *The Arts and Secrets of Beauty, with Hints to Gentlemen on the Art of Fascinating* (1858. Reprint, New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1969), 71–88; John B. M. D. Lafoy, *The Complete Coiffeur; or, An Essay on the Art of Adorning Natural, and of Creating Artificial, Beauty* (New York: Stereotyped for the Proprietors, and sold by all the Principal Booksellers, 1817); Theodore Child, *Wimples and Crisping Pins: Being Studies in the Coiffure and Ornaments of Women* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1895).

[93] Joseph Downs Collection, Winterthur Library, 65x572.19.

[94] Joseph Downs Collection, Winterthur Library, 08x22.9.

Baltimoreans of German descent. The illustration depicts the requisite image of a young woman combing her long, wavy locks. In addition, an undated card from a certain Robert Springer, Jr., hairdresser at No. 179 Scheffelgasse, Dresden, made its way to the United States and is now in the collection at Winterthur.[95] Finally, J. G. Woodward & Company of Philadelphia advertised a Japanese hair tonic that could remedy loss of hair.[96] It, too, could be had for fifty cents per bottle. The prevalence of internationally produced goods is indicative of the desire for gentility and cosmopolitanism that persisted throughout the nineteenth century in America.[97]

In addition to revealing the international scope of the hair industry, trade catalogues, treatises, pamphlets, and magazine articles elucidate the scientific, and pseudo-scientific, aspect of the business, which in turn was used for marketing purposes. Hair's nature as a (dead) part of the body, its relationship to skin, and its predisposition to disease appears frequently in the texts. The authors, most often proprietors of their own businesses, offer endless recommendations for maintaining the health of the hair. Several of the writers are identified (but cannot be verified) as medical doctors.[98] One of the most intriguing figures is Sarah A. Chevalier, M. D. Her pamphlet, *Treatise on the Hair: Learn to Cultivate and Have Beautiful Hair to the Latest Period of Life*, was first published in

---

[95] Joseph Downs Collection, Winterthur Library, 65x572.35.

[96] Joseph Downs Collection, Winterthur Library, 81x346.

[97] Deborah Anne Federhen, Bradley C. Brooks, and Lynn A. Brocklebank, *Accumulation & Display: Mass Marketing Household Goods in America, 1880-1920* (Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1986), 11.

[98] Clinton and Lunardini note that the first woman entered medical school in the United States in 1853. See Clinton and Lunardini, *The Columbia Guide to American Women in the Nineteenth Century*, 36.

New York in 1868 and went into subsequent editions in 1871 and 1873.[99] She also gave lectures and relentlessly advertised her product, "Chevalier's Life for the Hair," in the *New York Times*, *The Brooklyn Eagle*, and *Harper's Weekly* throughout 1865 and into 1866.[100] "Recommended and used by the first Medical authority," it "contains nothing injurious [*sic*]; strengthens and promotes the growth of the weakest hair."[101] It "is beyond comparison with any other preparation, either in Europe or America, for restoring gray hair to its original color."[102] Chevalier leveraged her position as a female physician to better market to women. She sold the hair restorer from her office at 1123 Broadway, where she offered free consultations, and at drugstores throughout the country, as well as in London, Liverpool, and Paris.[103] The pamphlet is presented under the guise of a scientific treatise, with each section describing the composition of human hair and the various afflictions that people experience, from baldness to static electricity to weakness and graying. Unsurprisingly, each section in this marketing tool ends with a proclamation of how "Life for the Hair" can cure each of the maladies. For good measure, four-and-a-half pages of testimonials from doctors, druggists, and even a clergyman are printed at the end. Other cosmetics and patent medicines used similar marketing techniques, such as

---

[99] Sarah A. Chevalier, *Treatise on the Hair: Learn to Cultivate and Have Beautiful Hair to the Latest Period of Life* (New York: Turner & Mignard, 1868).

[100] See for example, classified advertisements, *New York Times*, March 12, 1864, and March 22, 1864. See also *Harper's Weekly*, multiple issues from May through December 1865. See http://www.hairraisingstories.com for an example of the bottle.

[101] *Harper's Weekly*, May 13, 1865, 0303a, in HarpWeek, http://app.harpweek.com (accessed January 9, 2010).

[102] *Harper's Weekly*, December 30, 1865, 0830d, in HarpWeek, http://app.harpweek.com (accessed January 9, 2010).

[103] Chevalier, *Treatise on the Hair*, 21-22.

Pears' soap, which boasted an endorsement from Reverend Henry Ward Beecher in one of its 1885 advertisements in *Harper's Weekly*.[104]

Chevalier capitalized upon hair's dual role as a part of human anatomy and its function in the presentation of one's health. Loss of hair or complete baldness could be a sign of ill health from such afflictions as typhoid fever or poor hygiene, resulting in a shameful appearance. In a letter of April 5, 1865, Victorine H. Putnam wrote about her friend Edith that she is "quite well now, but she has lost her hair, consequently much as she enjoyed her last visit with you, this summer her vanity will keep her at home. This loss is especially provoking, now that auburn hair is so much the rage."[105] Similarly, the protagonist in Kate Virginia Peyton's short story of 1876, "My Blonde Wig," bemoans her newly bald head:

> "You will have to wear a wig!" Dreadful words! I stood before the mirror, and surveyed myself. My head was as bare as a little pink-fisted baby's. I was just eighteen. This was my birthday. Nice anniversary, wasn't it? I had been very sick with a fever. This was bad; but what followed was infinitely worse. I lost all of my hair![106]

During a shopping trip on Broadway in New York, she decides to buy a blonde wig: "It was like the waving of a magician's wand . . . The princess had appeared."[107]

---

[104] For more on patent medicines see Sarah Stage, *Female Complaints: Lydia Pinkham and the Business of Women's Medicine* (New York: Norton, 1979); T. J. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 143–44, 435n13; see also Anderson, *Snake Oil, Hustlers and Hambones*; Charles A. Goodrum and Helen Dalrymple, *Advertising in America: The First 200 Years* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1990).

[105] Victorine H. Putnam, "Letter from Victorine H. Putnam, April 5, 1865," 76, in the *North American Women's Letters and Diaries*, http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?ASL9642 (accessed March 16, 2010).

[106] Kate Virginia Peyton, "My Blonde Wig," *Peterson's Magazine* 70, no. 5 (November 1876): 318.

[107] Ibid., 319.

Throughout the nineteenth century, until indoor plumbing became commonplace, women rarely washed or cut their hair.[108] Dry shampoo was not widely sold until the early 1890s; liquid shampoo followed shortly after.[109] Black women were especially prone to hair loss due to inadequate nutrition and stress; rural women who washed their hair irregularly were prone to contracting scalp diseases.[110] Many publications similar to Chevalier's offered solutions for loss of hair owing to disease, and for baldness. One of these was William Bogle's *The Anatomy and Physiology of the Hair: With Directions for Preventing Baldness, Removing Dandruff, and Preserving the Natural Beauty and Softness of the Hair* of 1846.[111] A British publication of 1853 considered both the "popular" and physiological concerns of hair, capturing between its two covers considerations for preserving the hair and also for its decoration.[112] An 1850 article in the *International Magazine of Literature, Art, and Science* discusses the chemical and physiological makeup of each hair, explaining that "Hair contains at least ten distinct substances," with sulphur being the "most prominent" and responsible for changing the

---

[108] Zdatny, *Hairstyles and Fashion,* 14, 19.

[109] Ibid., 19.

[110] Juliet E. K. Walker, *The History of Black Business in America: Capitalism, Race, Entrepreneurship* (New York: MacMillan Library Reference USA, 1998), 142; A'Lelia Perry Bundles, *On Her Own Ground: The Life and Times of Madam C.J. Walker* (New York: Scribner, 2001), 62.

[111] William Bogle, *The Anatomy and Physiology of the Hair: With Directions for Preventing Baldness, Removing Dandruff, and Preserving the Natural Beauty and Softness of the Hair* (Boston: Printed by Dutton and Wentworth, 1846); see also "The Toilet: Management of the Hair," *Godey's Lady's Book*, January 1861, vol. 62, 75.

[112] Alexander Rowland, *The Human Hair, Popularly and Physiologically Considered with Special Reference to Its Preservation, Improvement and Adornment, and the Various Modes of Its Decoration in All Countries.* (London: Piper, 1853).

color of the hair. The text proceeds to give a phrenological discussion of how hair (men's beards in particular), is linked to character.[113]

It comes as no surprise to twenty-first century readers that most of the tonics, washes, and dyes promoted by Chevalier and her contemporaries were constituted mostly of common household ingredients. Products targeted at black women, particularly those in rural locales, were usually herbal concoctions.[114] Hovey's Cocoa Glycerine "for Preserving and Dressing the Hair" was made up of natural cocoa and glycerine, which most homemakers would have had on hand for formulating soap.[115] Sherrow relates that the aforementioned Barry's Tricopherous, touted as a tonic against hair loss by Alexander C. Barry, was 97 percent alcohol; 1 1/2 percent castor oil; 1 percent tincture of cantharides, or Spanish fly (an irritant), and fragrance.[116] Hair entrepreneurs needed to attach themselves to science in order to legitimize their claims, much like in today's cosmetics market. Barry created the word "Tricopherous" to sound medicinal—the freedom to do so was open, as there were no regulations at the time;[117] some formulas were downright dangerous, containing arsenic, lead, or mercury.[118] An undated trade card at the Winterthur Library, depicting a woman at her toilet admiring her flowing, wavy

---

[113] "The Hair," *International Magazine of Literature, Art, and Science*, July 22, 1850, 103.

[114] Walker, *The History of Black Business in America*, 142.

[115] See the reproduction of the 1860 advertisement in Goodrum and Dalrymple, 126.

[116] See http://www.hairraisingstories.com; and Sherrow, 373.

[117] Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of Hair*, 373; for a reproduction of a trade card for Barry's Tricopherous Hair Tonic, ca. 1885, see Robert Jay, *The Trade Card in Nineteenth-Century America* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987), 42.

[118] Kathy Lee Peiss, *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1998), 21.

hair, documents the year in which Barry's Tricopherous was established: 1801.[119] The longevity of the company is attested to by the abundance of advertisements for the Tricopherous and Safe Hair Dye, which ran throughout the *New York Daily Times, New York Times, The Brooklyn Eagle, and Harper's Weekly* beginning in 1853.

Intriguingly, some product names are vaguely Greek- or Roman-sounding, likely in an effort to associate with the idealized beauty of the ancient world. An example is Lyon's Kathairon for the Hair, for which an undated trade card exists at the Winterthur Library.[120] In addition, Hall's Vegetable Sicilian Hair Renewer is linked with the region of Italy that played a central role in the classical world. One undated trade card for Hall's depicts representations of women from Japan, Holland, America, Persia, and Spain, claiming that "The Ladies of All Nations Use Hall's Vegetable Sicilian Hair Renewer."[121] Finally, a letter from about the 1830s refers to a hair dye with a label that also seems to refer to antiquity. The author's flip tone indicates that generic monikers were the norm for such products: "She purchased, at a very high price, a bottle of 'Imperial Hair Restorer'—I think it was called, or some such sounding name—warranted to give the hair a beautiful glossy appearance."[122] This particular trend in naming was

---

[119] Joseph Downs Collection, Winterthur Library, 87x184. See http://www.hairraisingstories.com for further examples of trade cards for Barry's products and images of bottles.

[120] Joseph Downs Collection, Winterthur Library, 83x36. The product was available from about 1850. See http://www.hairraisingstories.com for more examples of trade cards and bottles for Lyon's Kathairon.

[121] Joseph Downs Collection, Winterthur Library, 83x35. Another trade card for Hall's Vegetable Sicilian Hair Renewer, ca. 1880–90, is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (The Jefferson R. Burdick Collection, Gift of Jefferson R. Burdick, Burdick Album 32, p. 15). Also in the Metropolitan is a trade card for Buckingham's Dye for the Whiskers, ca. 1880–90 (The Jefferson R. Burdick Collection, Gift of Jefferson R. Burdick 33, p. 3), produced by the same company as Hall's.

[122] Quoted, but not fully documented, in Elisabeth McClellan, *History of American Costume, 1607-1870* (New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1969), 410.

still in fashion about 1890 when Mrs. R. W. Allen of Detroit included her "Imperial Hair Regenerator" in the *New Price List and Illustrated Catalogue of Mrs. R. W. Allen, Importer and Wholesale Dealer in Human Hair; Manufactured Hair Goods, and Fine Toilet Articles.*[123]

Hair culture spanned across different racial circles as well as between private and public domains. Services and products provided by black practitioners were fashioned and sold to both Caucasians and African Americans.[124] Casting a wide net to multiracial customers was a shrewd business plan. The success of so many of the business owners is remarkable in this period. Why was racial mixing permissible in the hair salon? It is suggested here that the fluidity between private and public in the world of hair provided a bridge between the Caucasian and African-American spheres.

As was the usual practice for professional black female hairdressers, and as will be mentioned below in the case of Christiana Carteaux Bannister, salons were often connected to the owner's home—the terms "salon" and "parlor" stem from cognate rooms in domestic spaces.[125] An 1887 trade card for Palmer House Barber Shop in the Palmer House Hotel in Chicago provides a vibrantly colored illustration of the interior of

---

[123] Mrs. R. W. Allen, *New Price List and Illustrated Catalogue of Mrs. R.W. Allen: Importer and Wholesale Dealer in Human Hair Manufactured Hair Goods, and Fine Toilet Articles* (Detroit: The Company, 1890), 10; Ann M. Nicgorski has studied the importance of hair in the ancient world through an examination of the Herakles-knot hairstyle in figures of Apollo and Aphrodite in sculpture, pottery, and jewelry from the Early Classical through late Hellenistic and Roman periods. This particular type of square knot was believed to have apotropaic power and persisted in fashion and jewelry for centuries. Ann M. Nicgorski, "The Iconography of the Herakles Knot and the Herakles-Knot Hairstyle of Apollo and Aphrodite" (PhD diss., Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1995).

[124] Juliet Walker notes that nineteenth-century black hairdressers' and wigmakers' customers were white men and women. See Juliet E. K. Walker, ed., *Encyclopedia of African American Business History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 601.

[125] Walker makes the point about salons being connected to the home. See Walker, *The History of Black Business in America*, 143.

a shop of the period, albeit one that served male patrons.[126] The ornate establishment is populated entirely by men—the clients arrive in top hats and coats, holding their walking sticks and then recline in one of the numerous barber chairs to receive their shave or haircut.[127] As printed on the back of the oversize trade card, eight hundred silver dollars were inlaid in the gleaming marble floor of the shop, highlighted by the electric lights that span the ornamented ceiling.

The present discussion argues in favor of mutually beneficial relationships between blacks and whites as a result of the intimacy that is fundamental in hair services. Hair is both personal and public—it is a part of the body, but one that is openly on display, and these dual aspects are reflected in the hair industry. Professional hairstylists washed and styled clients' heads either in the privacy of the home or the public space of the salon. A link may be drawn to the domestic duties of certain slaves earlier in the century. As previously noted, lighter-skinned slaves were often selected to perform household tasks, including grooming and dressing their masters and mistresses. In contrast to the mid- to late nineteenth-century world of hair, however, those duties took place in the plantation mansion, not in public spaces. The chores were performed by slaves who were indentured into servitude. There was no traditional commerce—no exchange of money—for services rendered.

One of the most telling firsthand accounts by an employed, mixed-race hairdresser, is the 1859 autobiography by Eliza Potter (b. New York, ca. 1820), *A Hairdresser's Experience in High Life.* Working for wealthy white women in Cincinnati,

---

[126] Joseph Downs Collection, Winterthur Library, 74x238.

[127] The chairs resemble those sold by The Clifford Barber Supplies Company of Boston. See the trade card in the Joseph Downs Collection, Winterthur Library, 07x115.1.

Ohio, and Louisiana throughout the 1850s, Potter documented her amusement at the lifestyles and doings of her clients. She wrote, somewhat disingenuously, "I hope the few incidents mentioned by me in these pages will injure no one. I merely write them out for the amusement of those who may wish to indulge themselves in a little gossip which has no evil intention in the world."[128] Her descriptive anecdotes about preparing her "ladies" for fancy balls and events are especially valuable in that they disclose the intimacy shared between customer and employee. Speaking of a married client, she recalled, "One day, while the children and nurse were out walking, I was in her bedroom combing her hair, when there came a knock at the door, she said, come in, and, to my surprise, a gentleman walked in and took a seat."[129] Proud of her work, she is honest about the range in personal treatment she received—from valued friend to mere hired hand who could be scolded for arriving at a job a few minutes late. Interestingly, while in Louisiana, Potter traveled between plantations training slaves in her craft. Her account shows how black men and women learned hairstyling and how it came to be so closely identified with black proprietors in the North and South. After the end of slavery, trained slaves moved to cities like Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, where they could continue to practice their trade because it had been accepted that they could dress white peoples' hair. As a result, black people working on the hair of white people was not unusual.

[128] Eliza Potter, *A Hairdresser's Experience in High Life* (Cincinnati: Privately printed, 1859), 69; see also Xiomara Santamarina, *Belabored Professions: Narratives of African American Working Womanhood* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

[129] Potter, *A Hairdresser's Experience in High Life*, 162.

Hairdressing and barbering were two of the few acceptable skilled jobs for free African Americans that allowed entry into the middle classes.[130] P. Gabrielle Foreman notes that "blacks dominated barbering into the 1850s," and Juliet Walker agrees with Booker T. Washington's assertion that blacks monopolized the hair trade until the turn of the century.[131] In 1850, 9.5% of the taxpayers in the black community in Boston were barbers and hairdressers.[132] However, it is important to keep these statistics in perspective and note that before the Civil War, black business owners accounted for just over one percent of the free black population.[133]

One of the most fascinating figures is Christiana Carteaux Bannister (ca. 1819, Rhode Island–1902, Rhode Island), wife of the landscape artist Edward Mitchell Bannister (ca. 1826/27 St. Andrews, New Brunswick, Canada–1901 Providence, Rhode Island). She was of African-American and Narragansett Indian heritage, and was known

---

[130] Donald M. Jacobs, ed., *Courage and Conscience: Black & White Abolitionists in Boston* (Bloomington, IN: Published for the Boston Athenaeum by Indiana University Press, 1993), 157; Juanita Holland, "To be Free, Gifted, and Black: African American Artist Edward Mitchell Bannister," *International Review of African American Art* 12, no. 1 (1995): 6; Gwendolyn DuBois Shaw, *Portraits of a People: Picturing African Americans in the Nineteenth Century* (Andover, MA: Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy; Seattle: In association with University of Washington Press, 2006), 82; see also *Black Entrepreneurs of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Boston and Nantucket: The Federal Reserve Bank of Boston and the Museum of African American History), 6; Walker, *Encyclopedia of African American Business History*, 22, 282.

[131] P. Gabrielle Foreman, "Recovered Autobiographies and the Marketplace: Our Nig's Generic Genealogies and Harriet Wilson's Entrepreneurial Enterprise," in *Harriet Wilson's New England: Race, Writing, and Region*, ed. JerriAnne Boggis, Eve Allegra Raimon, and Barbara A. White (Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press; Hanover: Published by University Press of New England, 2007), 133; Walker, *Encyclopedia of African American Business History*, 282.

[132] The Federal Reserve Bank of Boston and The Museum of African American History, *Black Entrepeneurs of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Boston: The Federal Reserve Bank of Boston; Nantucket, MA: The Museum of African American History, 2009), 6.

[133] Potter, *A Hairdresser's Experience in High Life*, xlix.

as "Madame Carteaux, Women's Hairdresser and Wigmaker."[134] Successful at her craft, Carteaux Bannister owned several salons in Boston and then Providence, and expanded her industry to sell her own products, which she advertised regularly in *The Liberator* from the mid-1850s to mid-1860s. She provided financial and moral support for her husband's artistic goals, and Bannister recognized Christiana's pivotal role in his professional development:

> I would have made out very poorly had it not been for her…and my greatest successes have come through her, either through her criticisms of my pictures, or the advice she would give me in the matter of placing them in public. She has always had a host of friends, and it's no wonder, for she's such a grand woman.[135]

In 1863, former slave and antislavery orator and author William Wells Brown wrote the following about Bannister's transition from hairdresser to painter:

> Mr. Bannister took up the business of a hair-dresser, merely as a means of getting bread, but determined to leave it as soon as an opening presented itself with an artist. The canvas, the paint, the easel, and the pallet were brought in, and the hair-dressing saloon was turned into a studio. Mr. Bannister possesses genius, which is now showing itself in his studio in Boston; for he has long since thrown aside the

---

[134] The birth year of 1819 is used in *Black Entrepreneurs of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, 9. Betty Gubert writes that Carteaux was born in 1822 in North Kingston, Rhode Island. See *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*, s.v. "Bannister, Edward Mitchell," http://www.oxfordaasc.com/article/opr/t0002/e0360 (accessed October 2, 2009). The census of 1860 includes the following information: "born about 1830"; lives at 6 Suffolk; mulatto; married to Edwin Bannister." The census of 1870 says she was born about 1830 in Rhode Island, and interestingly lists her as white. The census of 1880 says she was born about 1828 and that she was a ladies' hair doctress, and a "mulatto." It reports that her father was born in Connecticut, and her mother in Rhode Island. The census of 1900 says she was born in April 1826 in Rhode Island and that she was black. See Ancestry Library, http://www.ancestrylibrary.com (accessed March 16, 2010). Examples of advertisements in *The Liberator* that use this title for Carteaux include January 21, 1861, April 11, 1862, October 24, 1862, January 16, 1863, February 6, 1863, March 6, 1863, March 13, 1863, April 3, 1863, May 15, 1863, to name just a selection.

[135] Curiously, Carteaux Bannister is not included in Sherrow's encyclopedia, although the volume contains discussions about other African- American women entrepreneurs in the late nineteenth century, such as Rebecca Elliott and Madam Gold S. M. Young. Harriet Wilson and Mrs. S. A. Allen of New York are also omitted.Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of Hair*, 17, 364; see Naurice Frank Woods, "Insuperable Obstacles: The Impact of Racism on the Creative and Personal Development of Four Nineteenth-Century African-American Artists" (PhD diss., Cincinnati, OH: Union Institute Graduate School, 1993), 144, 150 and "Artist Bannister," New York Sunday Sun, November 8, 1893 (unmarked clipping, Edward Mitchell Bannister Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution).

> scissors and the comb, and transfers the face to the canvas, instead of taking the hair from the head. His portraits are correct representations of the originals, and he is daily gaining admirers of his talent and taste. He has painted several pictures from his own designs, which exhibit his genius.[136]

In an article entitled "Business Enterprise of Colored People in Boston," dated January 27, 1854, Carteaux Bannister was commended for her skills and products: "Madame CARTEAUX, 106 Washington Street, has elicited encomiums from the ladies of Boston, for her preparations for improving the hair and complexion, as also her skill in applying the same."[137] The piece is signed with the initials "W. C. N.," which are most likely the initials for William Cooper Nell (1816–1874), an African-American employment agent, author, and printer who wrote the books *Services of Colored Americans, in the Wars of 1776 and 1812* (1851) and *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution* (1855). Nell's promotion of Carteaux Bannister is one of the many public declarations of support by Boston's eminent African Americans for one another. Further commendation came from librarian George W. Forbes, a contemporary of Bannister's who, in "E. M. Bannister with Sketch of Earlier Artists," wrote that Carteaux Bannister conducted "a prosperous business at 365 Washington Street where with her ne plus ultra-fair vigor she was patronized by the most fashionable of the city, and where the members of the Histrionic Club itself went to rehearse their parts."[138] Along with Bannister himself, Forbes was one of the earliest writers to recognize Carteaux Bannister's integral patronage of the artist:

---

[136] William Wells Brown, *The Black Man, His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements* (New York: Thomas Hamilton, 1863), 216.

[137] W. C. N. [William Cooper Nell?], "Business Enterprise of Colored People in Boston," *The Liberator*, January 27, 1854.

[138] Forbes, "E. M. Bannister with Sketch of Earlier Artists," 8.

> But Madam Bannister had worth apart from her establishment, and art of hair-dressing; for she probably more than any other woman in the race had a right to a share in the credit of her husband's achievements. It was through her skilful [*sic*] management in business that he obtained the leisure and time necessary for laying his foundation in painting.[139]

In order to maintain salons in Boston and Providence simultaneously, she must have traveled frequently between both cities. A sign of her independence, she likely would have often made the trip without her husband, as they owned a single residence in Boston. Furthermore, the Bannisters were avid abolitionists and Carteaux Bannister served during the Civil War in the Colored Women's Auxiliary and participated in numerous fundraising events. Her abolition activities may have been further practiced via her salons, as they were social places of abolitionist activities and "centers of information for the Underground Railroad."[140]

Other important African-American hair professionals in the Boston area included John Telemachus Hilton (1801–1864), John James Smith,[141] John Putnam (1817–1895), and the Remond family.[142] Smith's barbershop at the corner of Howard and Bulfinch Streets in Boston was a meeting place for antislavery talks.[143] The Remonds—Sarah Parker Remond, Charles Lenox Remond, and his sisters, Cecilia Remond Babcock (d. 1912), Maritcha Remond (1816–1895), and Caroline Remond Putnam (1826–1908),

---

[139] Forbes, "E. M. Bannister with Sketch of Earlier Artists," 8.

[140] Jane Lancaster, "I Would Have Made Out Very Poorly Had it Not Been for Her," *Rhode Island History* 59, no. 4 (2001): 107; Jane Lancaster, "At Long Last, A Tribute to Bannister," *Providence Journal*, 2002.

[141] Jacobs, *Courage and Conscience*, 159.

[142] The Federal Reserve Bank of Boston and The Museum of African American History, *Black Entrepeneurs of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, 13, 17-18.

[143] Jacobs, *Courage and Conscience*, 159.

owned a large wig factory in Salem, Massachusetts, named "Ladies Hair Work Salon," which served a clientele of white women.[144] They also marketed Mrs. Putnam's Medicated Hair Tonic to combat hair loss for black women.[145] The family was well-known for their leadership in antislavery causes.[146] Christiana Carteaux Bannister's brother Charles Babcock was married to Cecelia Remond, thus relating Carteaux Bannister to the Remonds through marriage.[147] Jane Lancaster attributes to this connection the means by which Carteaux Bannister learned the trade of hairdressing.[148] The Babcock-Remond joint involvement in the hair industry is further documented by the 1851 Salem Directory advertisement page, which indicates that the "hair manufactory" of Miss M. J. Remond and Christina Carteaux Babcock at 18 Washington Street was located next door to James Babcock's shaving and hair dressing room at 16 Washington Street.[149]

---

[144] Ayana D. Byrd and Lori Tharps, *Hair Story: Untangling the Roots of Black Hair in America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001), 75-76; JerriAnne Boggis, Eve Allegra Raimon, and Barbara A. White, eds., *Harriet Wilson's New England: Race, Writing, and Region* (Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press and Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2007), 131; Walker, *The History of Black Business in America*, 142.

[145] Byrd and Tharps, *Hair Story*, 75-76; Walker, *Encyclopedia of African American Business History*, 602; Dorothy Sterling, ed., *We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984), 96.

146

For example, see "Untitled," *The Liberator*, June 10, 1859, 91, which indicates Caroline Remond Putnam's pledge of ten dollars to the New England Anti-Slavery Convention in May 1859. Dorothy Sterling discusses Sarah Parker Remond in detail. See Sterling, *We Are Your Sisters*, 175-80; Bogin, "Sarah Parker Remond: Black Abolitionist from Salem," 120-50; for a complete discussion of Sarah Parker Remond's career as an abolitionist, see Bert James Loewenberg and Ruth Bogin, eds., *Black Women in Nineteenth-Century American Life: Their Words, Their Thoughts, Their Feelings* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), 222-33.

[147] Lancaster, "At Long Last, A Tribute to Bannister."

[148] Ibid.

[149] Foreman, "Recovered Autobiographies and the Marketplace: *Our Nig's* Generic Genealogies and Harriet Wilson's Entrepreneurial Enterprise," 131; Ruth Bogin also notes that Caroline Remond Putnam was listed in the Salem Directory as a partner with "Mrs. C. Babcock" as "hairwork manufacturer." Bogin, "Sarah Parker Remond: Black Abolitionist from Salem," 148. The Remond Family papers are located at the Phillips Library at the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, MSS 271. According to the

Nationwide, other barbers of color included William H. Johnson of Philadelphia and Albany, Abraham Hanson of Maine, and Hiram Rhodes Revels of North Carolina—the latter was apprenticed as a barber before entering a seminary.[150] This biographical note is informative, as it documents that the craft of barbering required apprenticeships in that state, and that it was often a starting trade before embarking on a career of another nature, as was also the case with Edward Mitchell Bannister. Lois Banner relates that in the mid-nineteenth century apprenticeships to hairdressers could last two years, and that many would-be professionals dropped out before the end of their training period.[151]

Another fascinating figure in the history of the haircare business on the east coast is Harriet E. Wilson (1825–1900). Author of the 1859 book, *Our Nig: Or, Sketches from the Life of a Free Black*, Wilson began her career in 1856–60 as an entrepreneur of hair products, which she relentlessly advertised in an assortment of New England newspapers.[152] Wilson's main product, manufactured in Manchester, New Hampshire,

---

finding aid, the papers contain no mention of Carteaux Bannister or Bannister. Irene Axelrod, e-mail message to author, February 8, 2010. Irene Axelrod is the Head Research Librarian, Phillips Library.

[150] See William Henry Johnson, *Autobiography of Dr. William Henry Johnson, Respectfully Dedicated to His Adopted Home, the Capital City of the Empire State.* (New York, Haskell House, 1970); and Shaw, *Portraits of a People: Picturing African Americans in the Nineteenth Century*, 136.

[151] Banner, *American Beauty*, 37.

[152] Henry Louis Gates, Jr. refers to Harriet Wilson as the first black person to publish a novel in the United States. See Gates in Harriet E. Wilson, *Our Nig: Or, Sketches from the Life of a Free Black, in a Two-Story White House, North: Showing That Slavery's Shadows Fall Even There*, 2nd ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), xvii; Foreman, "Recovered Autobiographies and the Marketplace: Our Nig's Generic Genealogies and Harriet Wilson's Entrepreneurial Enterprise," 128, 130, 137; P. Gabrielle Foreman and Katherine Flynn, "Mrs. H.E. Wilson, Mogul?," *The Boston Globe*, February 15, 2009, http://www.boston.com/bostonglobe/ideas/articles/2009/02/15/mrs_he_wilson_mogul/ (accessed May 12, 2010); The Federal Reserve Bank of Boston and The Museum of African American History, *Black Entrepeneurs of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, 19; Santamarina, *Belabored Professions*.

was called "Mrs. H. E. Wilson's Hair Dressing."[153] Wilson writes in *Our Nig* (in the third person narrative voice) that after becoming free from slavery, "Providence favored her with a friend who, pitying her cheerless lot, kindly provided her with a valuable recipe, from which she might herself manufacture a useful article for her maintenance. . . . And thus, to the present time, may you see her busily employed in preparing her merchandise; then sallying forth to encounter many frowns, but some kind friends and purchasers."[154] Wilson refers here to the door-to-door peddling that she practiced in order to sell her hair products. She thus has been referred to as a predecessor of African-American haircare entrepreneur and first black female millionaire Madame C. J. Walker (1867–1919) of Indianapolis and New York.[155]

Most of these practitioners, including Carteaux Bannister and Wilson, served a white clientele, which likely aided civic causes like abolition and efforts for black education.[156] As noted earlier, salons were social environments, and rare venues of amicable mixed-race relations. While working on the heads of their potentially influential clients, hair professionals also had their ears. As lively centers of activity, hair salons

[153] See http://www.hairraisingstories.com for an example of a bottle. See also The Federal Reserve Bank of Boston and The Museum of African American History, *Black Entrepeneurs of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, 6.

[154] Wilson, *Our Nig*, 72.

[155] Foreman, "Recovered Autobiographies and the Marketplace: Our Nig's Generic Genealogies and Harriet Wilson's Entrepreneurial Enterprise," 128-30; Wilson later became a spiritual trance reader in Boston. On Walker, see Bundles, *On Her Own Ground*.

[156] A fascinating exception is Madame L. C. Parrish, whom author A'Lelia Bundles refers to as a business owner in Boston about 1889 who provided wigs and hair weaves for black women. See Bundles, *On Her Own Ground*, 69; further, Kathy Peiss mentions African-American Mary Williams of Ohio who fixed hair for white and black clients. See Peiss, *Hope in a Jar*, 63.

were fluid places in several senses—hair was washed and dyed, potions were mixed, and ideas exchanged.[157]

The specific hairstyles that women fashioned in their homes and at salons were varied, and will be mentioned briefly here to provide context for the representations by artists in the forthcoming chapters. The vast number of styles is best understood against what came before—the elaborate men's and women's hair culture of the eighteenth century, for the elite only, which has been well documented.[158] General trends and practices by decade offer a general appreciation of which perceptions of femininity were valued at the time.[159] "Big hair" for women began in the 1760s with styles that required significant amounts of false hair, often placed over a "cushion," leading to unprecedented heights in the 1770s and then a preference for width in the 1780s, which necessitated wads of padding.[160] These trends for women were influenced by the large styles that were fashionable for men in Europe, embodied by the Macaroni, or overdressed young man

---

[157] Don Herzog traces the history of the hairdresser's shop as "an exemplary site of political discussion" to late eighteenth-century England. See Don Herzog, "The Trouble with Hairdressers," *Representations*, no. 53 (Winter 1996): 33.

[158] Huggett, *Hair-Styles and Head Dresses*, 32-42; Severn, *The Long and Short of It*, 64-76; Amelia Rauser, "Sex and Sensibility: Hair in the Macaroni Caricatures of the 1770s," in *Hair: Untangling a Social History*, ed. Penny Howell Jolly (Saratoga Springs, NY: Frances Young Tang Teaching Museum and Art Gallery at Skidmore College, 2004), 29-37; Powell and Roach, "Big Hair"; Amelia Rauser, "Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 101-117; Cooper, *Hair*, 95, 106; Louisa Cross, "Fashionable Hair In The Eighteenth Century: Theatricality and Display," in *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion*, ed. Geraldine Biddle-Perry and Sarah Cheang (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2008), 15-26.

[159] Royce Mahawatte, "Hair and Fashioned Femininity in Two Nineteenth-Century Novels," in *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion*, ed. Geraldine Biddle-Perry and Sarah Cheang (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2008), 193-204.

[160] Trasko, *Daring Do's*, 54; Durbin, *Wig, Hairdressing and Shaving Bygones*, 4; see prints of the period reproduced in Jolly, *Hair*, plates 16-22; Severn, *The Long and Short of It*, 68-71; Karin Calvert, "The Function of Fashion in Eighteenth-Century America," in *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Cary Carson and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: Published for the United States Capitol Historical Society by the University Press of Virginia, 1994), 265; Angela Rosenthal, "Raising Hair," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 9-11; Apter, *Feminizing the Fetish*, 72-74; Powell and Roach, "Big Hair," 92.

who wore his hair high on the head with the aid of a powdered wig, false hair, padding, and sometimes a small hat.[161] Numerous prints, mostly satirical caricatures by the likes of printmakers Matthew and Mary Darly of London, from the 1770s when the Macaroni flourished, document through exaggeration, the preferred styles.[162] The enormity of the Macaroni's persona was further complicated by his ambiguous sexuality, which was seen as unmanly.[163] Women adopted the large hairstyles and taste for wigs from the 1750s through 1770s, but the trend ended in the 1790s after the French Revolution with the advent of shorter "republican" styles associated with the antique; these were intended to eschew conspicuous consumption.[164]

As in France and England, from where influences were drawn, hairstyles in the United States changed constantly throughout the nineteenth century.[165] Comprehensive studies of styles by year and decade, such as those by Richard Corson, Mary Trasko, Marian I. Doyle, Joyce Asser, Jean Keyes, Robin Bryer, James Stevens-Cox, Carol de

---

[161] Rauser states that the wig, a sign of men's authority, "ruled men's fashion only from about 1660 to 1800. Rauser, "Sex and Sensibility: Hair in the Macaroni Caricatures of the 1770s," 29-30; Severn, *The Long and Short of It*, 65; Grant David McCracken, *Big Hair: A Journey into the Transformation of Self* (Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, 1996), 130.

[162] Rauser, "Sex and Sensibility: Hair in the Macaroni Caricatures of the 1770s," 32-37; Severn, *The Long and Short of It*, 63-65; Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, 362-75; Powell and Roach, "Big Hair," 91-95; David Alexander, "The Darlys' Satires of Hair Fashions," *Print Quarterly* 17, no. 2 (June 2000): 173-75; Cross, "Fashionable Hair In The Eighteenth Century: Theatricality and Display," 18.

[163] Rauser, "Sex and Sensibility: Hair in the Macaroni Caricatures of the 1770s," 34-35.

[164] McCracken, *Big Hair*, 131; Trasko, *Daring Do's*, 75; Jolly, "The Ideal Woman," 49; Huggett, *Hair-Styles and Head Dresses*, 36,41; Cynthia Amneus, Julie Aronson, and Marjorie E. Wieseman, "The Art of Ornamental Hairwork," in *Perfect Likeness: European and American Portrait Miniatures from the Cincinnati Art Museum* (New Haven: Yale University Press; Cincinnati, Ohio: Cincinnati Art Museum, 2006), 65; Cross, "Fashionable Hair In The Eighteenth Century: Theatricality and Display," 22.

[165] Severn reproduces a page from a Boston magazine of 1870 demonstrating nine popular hairstyles in England, presumably aiming toward the American market. Interestingly, the hair color of all the heads varies, with at least five appearing to represent blondes. Severn, *The Long and Short of It*, 113; Trasko discusses the ways in which Americans adopted French styles by looking at fashion plates, magazines, and via personal communications. Trasko, *Daring Do's*, 82.

Dobay Rifelj, and Caroline Cox and Lee Widdows are thorough and useful.[166] In the present discussion an overview of styles will suffice, whereas specific styles will be covered in individual discussions of paintings at a later point.

Powdered wigs went out of fashion by the end of the eighteenth century.[167] Early in the nineteenth century, spurred by Queen Victoria's (1819–1901) hairstyle at her coronation on June 28, 1838, women parted their hair in the center, with the bandeaux (side hair) smoothed over the temples and ears toward the back of the head.[168] From the 1830s to mid-century the chignon (a length of hair that could be knotted) at the back or top of the head, often with braiding, was paramount.[169] Importantly, these simpler styles were achievable at home without the aid of a hairdresser. In general, ornamentation was much more subdued than in the eighteenth century, now with combs, flowers, beads, lace, or netting, rather than the complicated constructions representing tableaux such as small

---

[166] Corson, *Fashions in Hair*; Richard Corson, *Fashions in Hair: The First Five Thousand Years,* Ninth impression with suppl. (London: Peter Owen, 2001); Trasko, *Daring Do's*; Marian I. Doyle, *An Illustrated History of Hairstyles 1830-1930* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishers, 2003); Joyce Asser, *Historic Hairdressing* (London: Pitman, 1966); Jean Keyes, *A History of Women's Hairstyles, 1500-1965* (London: Methuen, 1967); Bryer, *The History of Hair*; James Stevens-Cox, *An Illustrated Dictionary of Hairdressing & Wigmaking* (London: Batsford Academic and Educational, 1984); Rifelj, *Coiffures*; Carol de Dobay Rifelj, "The Language of Hair in the Nineteenth-Century Novel," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 32, no. 1 (Fall /Winter 2004 2003): 83-103; Caroline Cox and Lee Widdows, *Hair & Fashion* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 2005).

[167] Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of Hair*, 384-88.

[168] Huggett, *Hair-Styles and Head Dresses*, 43; Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of Hair*, 384-88; Banner, *American Beauty*, 36; Asser, *Historic Hairdressing*, 96-98; Rifelj, "The Language of Hair in the Nineteenth-Century Novel," n.p.; Rifelj provides a thorough explanation of French styles from the post-revolutionary Titus cut to the chignons of the 1870s. Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 34-60; the Victorian era is considered the years of Victoria's reign, 1837-1901, but most scholars agree that the era continued in the United States until the beginning of World War I in 1914. Plante, *Women at Home in Victorian America*, x-xi.

[169] Trasko, *Daring Do's*, 90-91, 98; Keyes, *A History of Women's Hairstyles, 1500-1965*, 35-40; Banner, *American Beauty*, 36; Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of Hair*, 384-88; Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 161; Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, 472; Rifelj, "The Language of Hair in the Nineteenth-Century Novel," n.p.; Valerie Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism: Ideals of Feminine Beauty from the Victorian Era to the Jazz Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 52.

gardens or entire nautical battles.[170] In the 1860s rolls and curls became more prevalent.[171] A renewed frivolity and taste for "big hair" occurred throughout the 1870s, in which women pursued more intricate styles, a choice that paralleled the complex formfitting bodices with bustled skirts that they wore at that time.[172] As a result, hair was placed high on the head, with curls or braids floating down the shoulders.[173] In the 1880s styles relaxed again; with false hair out of fashion, natural tresses were swept off the face into loose chignons.[174] In tandem with dress and hairstyles were hats, which ranged greatly in design and placement on the head throughout the century and were fashioned according to the formation of the hairdo.[175] Such a relationship between headgear and hairstyles indicates a parallel power relationship between milliners and hairdressers. The former had more freedom with their creations when hairstyles were more subdued. In turn, hairdressers could purposefully keep hatmakers out of business if they chose to popularize an elaborate hairdo with embellishments such as feathers and flowers that the wearer would not want covered by a hat.[176]

---

[170] McCracken refers to the eighteenth-century creations as "little theaters." McCracken, *Big Hair*, 130; for illustrations of nineteenth-century styles, see Asser, *Historic Hairdressing*, 98-100.

[171] Huggett, *Hair-Styles and Head Dresses*, 46; Asser, *Historic Hairdressing*, 97; Keyes, *A History of Women's Hairstyles, 1500-1965*, 45-46; Joan Nunn, *Fashion in Costume: 1200-1980* (London: Herbert, 1984), 159.

[172] Banner, *American Beauty*, 208; Asser, *Historic Hairdressing*, 100-101; Nunn, *Fashion in Costume*, 153; Rifelj, "The Language of Hair in the Nineteenth-Century Novel," n.p.; Rifelj, *Coiffures*; Plante, *Women at Home in Victorian America*, 129; Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism*, 64, 119.

[173] Nunn, *Fashion in Costume*, 159.

[174] Keyes, *A History of Women's Hairstyles, 1500-1965*, 49-50; Nunn, *Fashion in Costume*, 159; Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 210.

[175] For an overview of hat and bonnet styles, see Nunn, *Fashion in Costume*, 159-60; Rifelj, "The Language of Hair in the Nineteenth-Century Novel," n.p.

[176] Cooper, *Hair*, 92.

This chapter has established the powerful reach and impact of hair culture in the mid- to late nineteenth century in the United States, elucidating the practicalities of daily hair maintenance and fashioning, the products and services that fueled the industry, including a focused examination of ethnic aspects, and has given a brief overview of specific styles. The aim is to provide a foundation of how hair culture functioned in the period in which Shattuck, Rossiter, Johnson, Homer, Austen, Cassatt, and Sargent were working so that their representations may be more richly understood.

Chapter Two: Domesticating Hair: Hair and the Cult of True Womanhood in the Works of Aaron Draper Shattuck, Thomas Pritchard Rossiter, and Eastman Johnson

Chapter One established the context of the culture of hair in the mid- to late nineteenth century, revealing the pervasive influence of hairdressing and its industry, providing a foundation by which to understand how artists approached hair in their work. Chapter Two analyzes the specific ways in which three artists used hairstyles to convey conservative attitudes in their images of women. The chapter contends that in the depiction of members of their families, Aaron Draper Shattuck, Thomas Pritchard Rossiter, and Eastman Johnson represent their wives as "true women," part of the Cult of True Womanhood that was at its peak in the 1860s and 70s, which will be explained in depth later in this chapter. These male artists show their wives as respectable, nonsensual women who kept morally and decoratively refined homes. Fashionably neat, constrained hairstyles were central to the representations, as proper hairstyles were signs of conspicuous consumption, or the success of their husbands.

True to the idealization of domesticity during the period, the proper appearance of women was associated with their homes, both the interior decoration and cultivated exterior.[1] In the paintings discussed in depth here, the artists paid close attention to hair and clothing in their images of female family members. In *The Shattuck Family, with Grandmother, Mother, and Baby William* (1865), Shattuck captures the fussy ringlets and ribboned chignons of Victorian-era hair culture that paralleled the prescriptions for

[1] Beverly Gordon, "Woman's Domestic Body: The Conceptual Conflation of Women and Interiors in the Industrial Age," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 281.

proper health, homemaking, and the masking of sexuality. Rossiter does the same in *Picnic Above the Hudson* (ca. 1862) and *Family Group on the Piazza at Cold Spring* (1862), both set outdoors near the artist's home in Cold Spring, New York. Johnson follows suit in the domestic paintings *Not at Home* (ca. 1873), *The Little Convalescent* (ca. 1872–80), and *Harriet Hubbard Ayer* (1881).

Throughout the multitude of hairstyles that were pervasive during the middle of the nineteenth century, several social constants remained. The ideal hair of respectable middle-class women was long (in order to be pinned up or back), neat, refined, and properly tended, but not sexually suggestive.[2] The basic tenet, then, was that women's hair should be disciplined and display order.[3] This prescription was rooted in the so-called Cult of True Womanhood of the mid- to late nineteenth century. This code of behavior, labeled by twentieth-century scholars, dictated that women were the moral center of the newly cherished domestic family. Barbara Welter originated the phrase in her seminal article "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820–1860," published in 1966, and elaborated upon it in her book *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* in 1976.[4] Subsequent scholars such as Stephanie Coontz and Carolyn De Swarte Gifford who have adopted Welter's phrase in their studies throughout the

---

[2] Richard Corson, *Fashions in Hair: The First Five Thousand Years* (New York: Hastings House, 1965), 472; Robin Bryer, *The History of Hair: Fashion and Fantasy Down the Ages* (London: Philip Wilson; Wappinger Falls, NY: Distributed in the United States and Canada by Antique Collectors' Club, 2000), 84; Victoria Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of Hair: A Cultural History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006), 384-88; Ellen M. Plante, *Women at Home in Victorian America: A Social History* (New York: Facts on File, 1997), 134; Anthony Synnott, "Shame and Glory: A Sociology of Hair," *The British Journal of Sociology* 38, no. 3 (September 1987): 384.

[3] Galia Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009), 34-35.

[4] Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1966): 151-74; Barbara Welter, *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976).

fields of social history, labor history, and feminism are careful to point out that the Cult of True Womanhood applied mostly to middle-class white women.[5] Welter's words best explain the conception of womanhood in the mid-nineteenth century, which she arrived at after reading prescriptive literature of the period: "The attributes of True Womanhood, by which a woman judged herself and was judged by her husband, her neighbors and society could be divided into four cardinal virtues—piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity."[6]

Women's work and social roles, then, were separate from those of men.[7] The responsibilities of the woman of the house included keeping the home, guiding the religious and moral direction of husbands and children, as well as participating in social niceties, such as receiving visitors in the parlor and paying social calls to family and friends.[8] Submission characterized many of the duties; failure to comply resulted in

---

[5] Stephanie Coontz, *The Social Origins of Private Life: A History of American Families, 1600-1900* (London: Verso, 1988); Carolyn De Swarte Gifford, ed., *The American Ideal of the "True Woman" as Reflected in Advice Books to Young Women* (New York: Garland Publishers, 1987), 1-13; James M. Volo and Dorothy Denneen Volo, *Family Life in 19th-Century America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 351; Elizabeth L. O'Leary, *At Beck and Call: The Representation of Domestic Servants in Nineteenth-Century American Painting* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 142; art historian Lee M. Edwards points out that the cult of domesticity began in the United States about the time of Queen Victoria's ascension in England. Lee M. Edwards, *Domestic Bliss: Family Life in American Painting, 1840-1910* (Yonkers, NY: Hudson River Museum, 1986), 8.

[6] Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," 152.

[7] Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 189; Coontz, *The Social Origins of Private Life*, 34.

[8] Volo and Volo, *Family Life in 19th-Century America*, 194, 216-17, 220, 226; Plante, *Women at Home in Victorian America*, 38, 45, 103; Catherine Clinton, *The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Eric Foner (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984), 41; Coontz, *The Social Origins of Private Life*, 162, 175; Gifford, *The American Ideal of the "True Woman" as Reflected in Advice Books to Young Women*, 1-13; Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 50-51, 53, 71; Carl N. Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 82; S. J. Kleinberg, *Women in the United States, 1830-1945* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999), 38; Valerie Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism: Ideals of Feminine Beauty from the Victorian Era to the Jazz*

classification as a "fallen woman."[9] To aid women in their pursuit of refinement, numerous etiquette and advice books were published in the United States and England.[10] One of the best known examples is *The American Frugal Housewife: Dedicated to Those Who Are Not Ashamed of Economy*; the first of many editions was published in 1838.[11] Contained in the advice were suggestions of how to care for the home when economic situations did not allow for servants.[12] Another is *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt-Book: Designed as a Supplement to Her Treatise on Domestic Economy* (1850) by the prolific Catharine Esther Beecher (1800–1878), a seminal figure in women's domestic literature, the furthering of women's education, and aboliton.[13] Two other representative volumes, both by Reverend Daniel Wise are the aforementioned *Bridal Greetings, A Marriage Gift in Which the Mutual Duties of Husband and Wife are Familiarly Illustrated and Enforced* (1854) and *The Young Lady's Counsellor, or Outlines and Illustrations of the Sphere, Duties, and Dangers of Young Women* (1855).[14] The small manuals, printed and bound to

---

Age (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 104; Marilyn Ferris Motz and Pat Browne, eds., *Making the American Home: Middle-Class Women & Domestic Material Culture* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988), 1-9; Edwards, *Domestic Bliss*, 22.

[9] Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," 154, 158.

[10] Plante, *Women at Home in Victorian America*, 4; Catherine Clinton and Christine Lunardini, *The Columbia Guide to American Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 37, 95; Clinton, *The Other Civil War*, 18, 46.

[11] Lydia Maria Francis Child, *The American Frugal Housewife: Dedicated to Those Who are Not Ashamed of Economy* (S.S. & W. Wood, 1841).

[12] Coontz, *The Social Origins of Private Life*, 212.

[13] Catharine Esther Beecher, *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt-Book: Designed as a Supplement to Her Treatise on Domestic Economy*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850); the best source on Beecher is Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: a Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).

[14] Daniel Wise, *The Young Lady's Counsellor, or, Outlines and Illustrations of the Sphere, the Duties, and the Dangers of Young Women: Designed to Be a Guide to True Happiness in This Life and to Glory in the Life Which Is to Come* (New York: Carlton & Phillips, 1855).

fit in the hand, were packed with numerous chapters filled with advice. An example from *Bridal Greetings* is Chapter Ten, titled "Of Domestic Servants," which expounded upon how to handle servants, and how to run the home without one.[15] A section of *The Young Lady's Counsellor* is devoted to "self-culture," and the "laws of your physical organization, upon whose observance so much of the true pleasure of life depends."[16]

The majority of women's time was meant to be spent in the home, caring for its inhabitants and objects, and decorating it with flowers and handmade creations like needlepoint, fancywork, and hairwork mementos.[17] The act of tastefully decorating the home was considered "civilizing," and most of the decorative efforts were performed in, and aimed at the parlor, the main room on the first floor that was associated with women.[18] The secondary literature on hairwork is well established, led by Helen Sheumaker. According to her, hairwork, a form of commercial and sentimental fancywork that flourished from the 1850s until the 1880s, functioned as a mode of self-expression for women, and the parlor served as a locale for female expression through

---

[15] Daniel Wise, *Bridal Greetings: A Marriage Gift in Which the Mutual Duties of Husband and Wife Are Familiarly Illustrated and Enforced* (New York: Phillips, 1854), 146-60.

[16] Wise, *The Young Lady's Counsellor, or, Outlines and Illustrations of the Sphere, the Duties, and the Dangers of Young Women*, 186.

[17] Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," 165; Plante, *Women at Home in Victorian America*, xi; Coontz, *The Social Origins of Private Life*, 213; Gifford, *The American Ideal of the "True Woman" as Reflected in Advice Books to Young Women*, 1-13; Kleinberg, *Women in the United States, 1830-1945*, 69; "The Home-Feeling," *Hours at Home; A Popular Monthly of Instruction and Recreation* 1, no. 5 (September 1865): 409; "Home and Woman," *Hours at Home; A Popular Monthly of Instruction and Recreation* 7, no. 1 (October 1868): 64.

[18] Plante, *Women at Home in Victorian America*, 36, 51, 58, 65; Lori Merish, "Sentimental Consumption: Harriet Beecher Stowe and the Aesthetics of Middle-Class Ownership," *American Literary History* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 4, 14; for a specific discussion of the parlor, see Katherine C. Grier, *Culture & Comfort: Parlor Making and Middle-Class Identity, 1850-1930* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997); see "The Sacrificial Parlor," *Scribner's Monthly* 9, no. 6 (April 1875): 762.

such material goods.[19] Hairwork, including hair jewelry, was supported by Queen Victoria—displayed at the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London were portraits in hair of Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, and their children.[20] Importantly, hairwork on exhibit was for looking, not for sale, a point that highlights the sentimental, rather than economic value of the art form.[21] The reverses of portrait miniatures were often personalized with hairwork or hair clippings of the sitter. As mentioned earlier, this embellishment provided opportunities for hairdressers looking for jobs during eras in which simpler hairstyles reduced the demand for their services.[22]

Women's appearance, including dress and hairstyles, also conformed to social expectations. Writing generally about the nineteenth century, Wendy Cooper states, "Ladies' hair was as constrained as their lives."[23] Ellen M. Plante's study of the social lives of Victorian women in England concludes that the ideal mid-Victorian woman "was as adorned, ornately dressed and accessorized as the finest high-style parlor rooms"; hair maintenance was a part of this adornment practice.[24] One item in particular highlights the

---

[19] Mary Trasko, *Daring Do's: A History of Extraordinary Hair* (Paris; New York: Flammarion, 1994), 94; Helen Sheumaker, *Love Entwined: The Curious History of Hairwork in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 108; see also Elisabeth G. Gitter, "The Power of Women's Hair in the Victorian Imagination," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 99, no. 5 (October 1984): 942-43; Cynthia Amneus, Julie Aronson, and Marjorie E. Wieseman, "The Art of Ornamental Hairwork," in *Perfect Likeness: European and American Portrait Miniatures from the Cincinnati Art Museum* (New Haven: Yale University Press; Cincinnati, Ohio: Cincinnati Art Museum, 2006), 72; Christiane Holm, "Sentimental Cuts: Eighteenth-Century Mourning Jewelry with Hair," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 166-67; Plante, *Women at Home in Victorian America*, 166-67.

[20] Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, 472; Gitter, "The Power of Women's Hair in the Victorian Imagination," 942; Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 43.

[21] Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 44.

[22] Amneus, Aronson, and Wieseman, "The Art of Ornamental Hairwork," 65.

[23] Wendy Cooper, *Hair: Sex, Society, Symbolism* (London: Aldus Books, 1971), 106.

[24] Plante, *Women at Home in Victorian America*, 129.

connection between women's hair and furniture—antimacassars were coverings that protected chair backs from macassar oil that was used to smooth their hair.[25] Galia Ofek examines representations of hair in Victorian literature and culture, and points out that the preservation of the body politic relied upon control over women's behavior and their bodies.[26] In her study of hair in nineteenth-century French literature and culture, Rifelj finds, "Bourgeois or upper-class women whose hair is attached, coiffed, molded, mounted on wires, and augmented with hairpieces have been…'pacified.'"[27] It is clear that women's bodies and environments were equated with each other, and the body politic prescribed ordering for both.

As with certain garments and headgear such as the corset and bonnet, hairstyles were fussy and constrained for most of the century, with many styles requiring significant amounts of false hair, usually for chignons, a necessity that worked in favor of the hairdressing business.[28] Rifelj notes that France provided most of the hair and fake hairpieces to England and the United States. In 1856, France exported 11,954 chignons to England and enough hair to make 7,000 chignons more.[29] Ofek states that sales of fake hair increased by 400 percent from 1855 to 1868.[30] As Mary Trasko keenly observes,

---

[25] Gail Durbin, *Wig, Hairdressing and Shaving Bygones* (Princes Risborough: Shire, 1984), 24.

[26] Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 7.

[27] Carol de Dobay Rifelj, *Coiffures: Hair in Nineteenth-Century French Literature and Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2010), 117-18.

[28] Severn, *The Long and Short of It; Five Thousand Years of Fun and Fury Over Hair*, 110; Banner, *American Beauty*, 209; Trasko, *Daring Do's*, 91; Corson, *Fashions in Hair: the First Five Thousand Years*, 477; Coontz, *The Social Origins of Private Life*, 281; also, Rifelj points out that in France, when styles were more simple there was less need for *coiffeurs*, so maids performed the styling; maids, however, were not trained to cut hair. Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 173, 210.

[29] Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 211.

stiff corsets and similar undergarments like "cagelike" crinolines that needed fastening, required the wearer to depend on a second set of hands to affix the fabric to the body.[31] She also regards the bonnet, which was most prevalent from the 1840s through 60s, as a submissive style of headcovering, similar to a veil.[32] With the advent of tightfitting bodices in French fashion in the 1830s, hairstyles began to conform to the shape of the face.[33] Achieving the styles of the day was a restrictive and time-consuming task that began when girls transitioned into womanhood, pinning up their hair when they turned fifteen or sixteen years of age.[34] During the day, women avoided movements that could loosen the hairdo; before bed, women's hair needed braiding, pinning, wrapping, curling with papers (*papillottes*) or all three in order to achieve desirable waves.[35] Rose Weitz notes that with regard to the demand on time, from the 1850s onward, there were ill-fated "periodic calls from feminists for simpler hairstyles."[36] The efforts were part of dress reform movements that aimed to free women from some of the restrictive garments enforced on them, which were increasingly regarded as unhygienic.[37] Perhaps the best known attempt at changing clothing conventions is the bloomer trouser, bifurcated pants

---

[30] Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 37-38.

[31] Trasko, *Daring Do's*, 91; Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism*, 161-91.

[32] Trasko, *Daring Do's*, 91, 98.

[33] Ibid., 90-91.

[34] Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of Hair*, 386; Banner, *American Beauty*, 209.

[35] Rose Weitz, *Rapunzel's Daughters: What Women's Hair Tells Us About Women's Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2004), 3-29; Banner, *American Beauty*, 37, 209.

[36] Weitz, *Rapunzel's Daughters*, 11.

[37] Joan Nunn, *Fashion in Costume: 1200-1980* (London: Herbert, 1984), 137; for a discussion of beliefs at the time regarding personal cleanliness, see Plante, *Women at Home in Victorian America*, 180; on dress reform, see Jeanette C. Lauer and Robert H. Lauer, "The Battle of the Sexes...," *Journal of Popular Culture* 13, no. 4 (June 1980): 581-89.

that eschewed petticoats, created by Amelia Bloomer in 1849, a design that was decidedly not appropriate for a "true woman," and was met with opposition by many men.[38]

Hairstyles in America functioned within the larger precepts of what was considered womanly beauty, an ideal that Banner terms the "Steel-Engraving Lady," based on the models shown in engravings in ladies magazines such as *Godey's* and representations in prints by Currier and Ives, as well as in beauty manuals and novels.[39] The ideal woman of mid-century possessed an oval or heart-shaped face, was thin to the point of being frail and prone to illness, had a small mouth, waist, feet, and hands, sloped shoulders, and a pale complexion with pinkish cheeks.[40] Certain hairstyles helped create the illusion of the desired shape—ringlets could give the impression of an oval face, for example.[41]

Loose and flowing hair signified seduction, sensuality, amorality, and prostitution; to counter such associations, respectable women kept their hair dressed (like their bodies), as opposed to *en cheveux*, throughout the day and evening, inside the home and outdoors.[42] Unkempt hair was associated with volatility and the femme fatale in literature

---

[38] Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," 157; Clinton and Lunardini, *The Columbia Guide to American Women in the Nineteenth Century*, 103, 153; Clinton, *The Other Civil War*, 149; Lauer and Lauer, "The Battle of the Sexes...," 581-83; Claudia Brush Kidwell and Valerie Steele, eds., *Men and Women: Dressing the Part* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 151.

[39] Banner, *American Beauty*, 45-65.

[40] Banner, *American Beauty*, 44; Trasko, *Daring Do's*, 49; Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, 473; Plante, *Women at Home in Victorian America*, 133; Stuart Ewen and Elizabeth Ewen, *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982), 101; Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism*, 114, 118.

[41] Trasko, *Daring Do's*, 91.

and painting, and in French novels could represent sex itself.[43] Its mythological connections extend to the Medusa myth, with its interpretation of danger, castration, and the mouth and hair as signifiers of female genitals, spearheaded by Sigmund Freud's essay "Medusa's Hair" (1922), which has been followed by several scholars in various academic fields, such as the psychoanalyst Charles Berg and the anthropologist Gananath Obeyesekere.[44] Elisabeth Gitter writes about the Medusa myth in nineteenth-century literature, pointing out that the figure's serpentine hair recurs as either "deadly, thrilling, or pathetic," but always powerful.[45] The English Pre-Raphaelite artists adopted the Medusa myth as a main theme in their work, as did a number of artists in the United States, such as Elihu Vedder.[46] In the late nineteenth and twentieth century, Art Nouveau artists mutated the image of Medusa's hair into decorative abstraction.[47]

As with unkemptness, hair color in the nineteenth century carried many associations, and changed often, depending on the call of fashion. The fickle nature of

---

[42] Carol de Dobay Rifelj, "The Language of Hair in the Nineteenth-Century Novel," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 32, no. 1 (Fall /Winter 2004 2003): n.p.; Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 63, 68; Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 14; Virginia M. Allen, *The Femme Fatale: Erotic Icon* (Troy, NY: Whitston, 1983), 131.

[43] Joanna Pitman, *On Blondes* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2003), 138; Penny Howell Jolly, *Hair: Untangling a Social History* (Saratoga Springs, NY: Frances Young Tang Teaching Museum and Art Gallery at Skidmore College, 2004), 60; Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 79, 83-84, 117-18, 168.

[44] Jolly, *Hair*, 60; Ingrid Banks, *Hair Matters: Beauty, Power, and Black Women's Consciousness* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 5; Gananath Obeyesekere, *Medusa's Hair: An Essay on Personal Symbols and Religious Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Charles Berg, *The Unconscious Significance of Hair* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1951); Margaret K. Powell and Joseph Roach, "Big Hair," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 82; Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 14; Emily S. Apter, *Feminizing the Fetish: Psychoanalysis and Narrative Obsession in Turn-of-the-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 80.

[45] Gitter, "The Power of Women's Hair in the Victorian Imagination," 951-52.

[46] See, for example, Elihu Vedder, *Medusa*, graphite and ink on paper, sheet: 4 1/4 x 3 5/16 in. (10.8 x 8.4 cm). The Brooklyn Museum, 1991.57.

[47] Gitter, "The Power of Women's Hair in the Victorian Imagination," 953; Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 70.

color preferences makes the task of the historian difficult, and the existing literature lacks consensus.[48] Therefore, the most fruitful approach is to point out the shifting tastes. Rifelj makes the shrewd observation that there were contradictions regarding hair color in the nineteenth century depending on the perspective of who was providing the opinion. She notes that scientists, physicians, and other writers differed in their observations and stereotypes regarding hue.[49]

Blonde was frequently desirable, the Western predilection for it originating in ancient Rome and peaking in the image of the Hollywood blonde bombshell of the 1930s.[50] Weitz's twentieth-century study found that "to be most feminine and hence most attractive, women's hair should be long, curly or wavy, and preferably blonde."[51] Cooper offers a compelling explanation as to why blonde has maintained its identity as the ideal hair color. She relates the fair hue to concepts of power and purity, tracing its color and sheen to valuable gold; in addition, she notes that the shade is least associated with pubic

---

[48] Banner attempts to streamline the trends of hair color in the nineteenth century. She writes, "One of the striking features of the Victorian model of beauty, despite her delicacy, was her dark hair. In all the fashion plates of the period the women have dark, not blonde, hair, a clear indication to nineteenth-century culture of an underlying sensuality." She believes there is a shift in the second half of the nineteenth century toward favoring blonde hair. Banner, *American Beauty*, 63.

[49] Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 120.

[50] McCracken states that blonde hair occurs naturally in only one in twenty adult women. Grant David McCracken, *Big Hair: A Journey into the Transformation of Self* (Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, 1996), 64; Caroline Cox and Lee Widdows, *Hair & Fashion* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 2005), 35-36, 38; Jolly points out the rarity of natural blondness by stating that in the twenty-first century, no more than seventeen percent of women are born with blonde hair. Jolly, *Hair*, 75, 154; Cooper notes that blonde was popular in ancient Rome, where specialist slaves prepared women's hair, and that the color has remained the ideal color in Europe. Cooper, *Hair*, 75, 154; L'Oréal brought commercial dyes came to the market in 1909. Trasko, *Daring Do's*, 117; Christian Bromberger, "Hair: From the West to the Middle East through the Mediterranean," *Journal of American Folklore* 121 (Fall 2008): n.p.; Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes* (New York: Random House, 1981), 241.

[51] Rose Weitz, "Women and Their Hair: Seeking Power through Resistance and Accommodation," *Gender and Society* 15, no. 5 (October 2001): 672.

hair. [52] Rifelj traces the association of blonde with beauty to the Middle Ages, suggesting that its value is connected to its rarity—only fifteen to seventeen percent of people in the nineteenth century were naturally blonde.[53] In Renaissance paintings, blonde was the choice for the Virgin Mary, as well as the youthful women in sixteenth-century Venetian paintings (Titian portrayed both blondes and redheads), carrying associations of purity, but in the seventeenth century, dark hair was favored over blonde.[54] In the nineteenth century, blonde was associated with fairy-tale innocence and wifely virtuousness, but it could also be linked with money, sex, danger, and prostitutes (Mary Magdalene was one of the iconic references), and was popular for those affiliations.[55] English Pre-Raphaelite painter Dante G. Rossetti depicts femmes fatales, capable of strangling their lovers with their serpentine tresses, as either blonde or dark-haired.[56] *Lady Lilith* (ca. 1864–73, Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington), which Gitter associates with the "mythology of women's magically powerful golden hair" is an apt example, as the subject is shown with reddish blonde hair.[57] Lilith, with the aid of her hair, is dangerous, the opposite of the

---

[52] Cooper, *Hair*, 76; See also Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 61.

[53] Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 136.

[54] Jolly, *Hair*, 48-49; Cooper, *Hair*, 75.

[55] Pitman, *On Blondes*, 138; Jolly, *Hair*, 60; Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 18, 92; Gitter, "The Power of Women's Hair in the Victorian Imagination," 943; Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 66.

[56] Pitman, *On Blondes*, 143; Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 63.

[57] Gitter, "The Power of Women's Hair in the Victorian Imagination," 936-37, 943, 948, 950; for more on Rossetti's work and his fascination with depicting hair, as well as other Pre-Raphaelite paintings with women's hair as a central focus, see Allen, *The Femme Fatale*, 936-37, 943, 948, 950; Virginia M. Allen, "'One Strangling Golden Hair': Dante Gabriel Rossetti's Lady Lilith," *The Art Bulletin* 66, no. 2 (June 1984): 285-294; Patrick Bade, *Femme Fatale: Images of Evil and Fascinating Women* (New York: Mayflower Books, 1979); Susan P. Casteras, *English Pre-Raphaelitism and Its Reception in America in the Nineteenth Century* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London; Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1990), 133-47; Stephanie Grilli, "Pre-Raphaelitism and Phrenology," in *Pre-Raphaelite Papers*, ed. Leslie Parris (London: Tate Gallery, 1984), 44-60; Ofek, *Representations of*

middle-class virtuous woman.[58] Gitter and Ofek detail the numerous descriptions of hair in Victorian fiction, pointing out the common trope of its magical qualities, and also where it serves as a sign of domestication, especially in novels written by men.[59] In antebellum novels in the United States, hair played a central role as well; interestingly, belles, not heroines, were described as blonde.[60] In the nineteenth century, dark hair was considered attractive when complemented by pale skin, and was associated with virtue.[61] Finally, Penny Howell Jolly observes that natural hair color, usually brown, "became fashionable throughout much of the century in western culture."[62]

Beginning in ancient Greece and Rome, red hair, the most uncommon color, was maligned as having negative, sometimes evil connotations.[63] Associated with passion and wildness, it was also linked to Queen Elizabeth I (ruled 1558–1603) who was known for her defiant nature.[64] In Holland, women dyed their red hair into blonde or brown, so as

---

Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture, 78-80; Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (New York: Viking Press, 1978), 73; Cooper, *Hair*, 203; Susan P. Casteras, *The Substance or the Shadow: Images of Victorian Womanhood* (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 1982).

[58] Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 78; Bromberger, "Hair: From the West to the Middle East through the Mediterranean," n.p.

[59] Gitter, "The Power of Women's Hair in the Victorian Imagination," 941, 953; Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 103-46.

[60] Banner, *American Beauty*, 93; with regard to nineteenth-century French literature, Rifelj states that there are too many exceptions to make generalizations about color, but that authors distinguished characters by their light or dark hair. Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 154.

[61] Cox and Widdows, *Hair & Fashion*, 41; Renée Huggett, *Hair-Styles and Head Dresses* (London: Batsford Academic and Educational, 1982), 43; Pitman, *On Blondes*, 138, 148; Corson notes that from 1820 to 1830 and in the 1860s dark hair (dark brown or black) was fashionable. Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, 467, 478.

[62] Jolly, *Hair*, 50.

[63] Howell states that red hair occurs in only 2 to 5 percent of humans. Jolly, *Hair*, 8, 56, 60; Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 122; Bromberger, "Hair: From the West to the Middle East through the Mediterranean," n.p.

[64] McCracken, *Big Hair*, 101; Cox and Widdows state that Queen Elizabeth I was a natural blonde, but that she was shown with fake red-gold hair in portraits. Cox and Widdows, *Hair & Fashion*; Roach explains

not to be associated with the vulgarity and implicit sensuality of red.[65] In colonial America, red hair was used as an indicating trait during witch hunts. Red was also linked to the Jewish mythological figure Lilith, a long-haired harlot and vampire in the Bible who was associated with sexual desire, but as noted, not all pictorial representations of Lilith, such as those by Rossetti, show red hair.[66] Red hair, however, experienced periods of popularity—Trasko states that the auburn locks of Rossetti's model Elizabeth Siddall created a fashion during her time.[67] Ofek tracks the taste for red hair in England, finding that in the 1840s it was derided, but in the 1860s it was fashionable in both romance novels and everyday life.[68] Hair color carried economic importance as well. The trade in false hair was regionally based, with blonde originating in Scandinavia and Germany, and dark hues coming from Spain, France, and Italy; when red hair was needed it hailed from Scotland.[69]

As discussed earlier, in the nineteenth century women in the United States were associated with the Cult of True Womanhood. The "cult" was predicated on what twentieth-century economist Thorstein Veblen termed "surrogate consumption," by which wives display the wealth and status of their husbands, as most women's money

---

that red hair ran in the Tudor monarchy line. Marion Roach, *The Roots of Desire: The Myth, Meaning, and Sexual Power of Red Hair* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2005), 32; Weitz, "Women and Their Hair," 674; Lurie, *The Language of Clothes*, 241.

[65] Maria Jedding-Gesterling, ed., *Hairstyles: A Cultural History of Fashions in Hair from Antiquity up to the Present Day* (Hamburg: Hans Schwarzkopf, 1988), 195.

[66] Roach, *The Roots of Desire*, 22-25; 59; 176; Cooper, *Hair*, 75.

[67] Trasko, *Daring Do's*, 103; two other models of Rossetti's had red hair: Fanny Cornforth, who became his mistress, and Alexa Wilding. Roach, *The Roots of Desire*, 177.

[68] Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 210.

[69] Jedding-Gesterling, *Hairstyles*, 190; Sheumaker, *Love Entwined*, 153; Rifelj reviewed professional journals in France and found that in a sample period from 1874-75, blonde was the most expensive type of false hair. Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 130.

was under their husband's control.[70] The state of one's hair could signify the status of the family, as well as the amount of leisure time afforded to the lady of the house.[71] In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, women's hair, like clothing, presented an opportunity for conspicuous consumption, and the hair industry played a large role in its promotion.[72] Bigger styles formed with long hair and costly false hairpieces were more conspicuous, as they displayed excessive waste—a hairstyle is unusable, purely for decoration. Accordingly, Powell and Roach refer to large eighteenth-century styles as a "profitless expenditure" and "performance of waste."[73] In France, women's hairpieces were derided by men, partially because men paid for such "useless purchases."[74] Ofek extends the point, saying that by the 1870s in England, with women as the main consumers of the family, femininity itself was regarded as a mode of consumption, as opposed to masculinity, which was associated with production.[75] The situation was the same in the United States, where the products of the industrial revolution lightened the woman's role for manufacturing household items. Instead of making a bar of soap in her kitchen, for example, she could buy one, or several, in a store; the same was true for

---

[70] McCracken, *Big Hair*, 130; Powell and Roach, "Big Hair," 83.

[71] Alf Hiltebeitel and Barbara D. Miller, eds., *Hair: Its Power and Meaning in Asian Cultures* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 285; Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 2.

[72] Huggett, *Hair-Styles and Head Dresses*, 44-45; McCracken, *Big Hair*, 154; Banner, *American Beauty*, 54; Royce Mahawatte, "Hair and Fashioned Femininity in Two Nineteenth-Century Novels," in *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion*, ed. Geraldine Biddle-Perry and Sarah Cheang (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2008), 195; Ewen and Ewen, *Channels of Desire*, 106; Lauer and Lauer, "The Battle of the Sexes...," 585.

[73] Powell and Roach, "Big Hair," 84, 95-96.

[74] Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 213.

[75] Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 36; Motz and Browne, *Making the American Home*, 27-43.

ready-made clothing during the second half of the century.[76] The position as maker changed to manager, by which a woman became the family's chief purchaser of goods.[77]

In contrast to piling hairpieces and ornaments upon the head, cutting the hair short signified revolutionary statements by women taking control over their bodies and appearance, or in desperate acts to earn money.[78] The latter has been eternalized in the scene in Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* of 1868 in which Jo March cuts and sells her hair to help support her family during wartime:

> In a barber's window I saw tails of hair with the prices marked; and one black tail, not so thick as mine, was forty dollars. It came over me all of a sudden that I had one thing to make money out of, and without stopping to think, I walked in, asked if they bought hair, and what they would give for mine. [79]

The trope of a young woman cutting her hair under duress recurs in American and European fiction of the period.[80] Rifelj's study explores the sentimental and commercial value of cut hair in French literature, concluding that its emotional value could represent

---

[76] Volo and Volo, *Family Life in 19th-Century America*, 79, 227; Ann Smart Martin, "Makers, Buyers, and Users: Consumerism as a Material Culture Framework," *Winterthur Portfolio* 28, no. 2 (Summer-Autumn 1993): 141-157; Plante, *Women at Home in Victorian America*, 159; Clinton and Lunardini, *The Columbia Guide to American Women in the Nineteenth Century*, 36; Clinton, *The Other Civil War*, 18; Jeanne Boydston, *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 101; Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, 25; Ewen and Ewen, *Channels of Desire*, 38.

[77] Volo and Volo, *Family Life in 19th-Century America*, 226; Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*, 200; Martin, "Makers, Buyers, and Users," 142; Plante, *Women at Home in Victorian America*, 142; Clinton and Lunardini, *The Columbia Guide to American Women in the Nineteenth Century*, 142; Ewen and Ewen, *Channels of Desire*, 36.

[78] McCracken, *Big Hair*, 167; Sheumaker, *Love Entwined*, 151-56; Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 88; Mahawatte, "Hair and Fashioned Femininity in Two Nineteenth-Century Novels."

[79] For a larger discussion of the selling of hair for money, see Sheumaker, *Love Entwined*, 151-56; Gitter, "The Power of Women's Hair in the Victorian Imagination," 946; See Louisa May Alcott, *Little Women*, rev. ed. (New York: Puffin, 1868), 205-16.

[80] Mahawatte, "Hair and Fashioned Femininity in Two Nineteenth-Century Novels."

a range of themes, including sexual impropriety, sacrifice, purification, an act of violence, or a token of love.[81]

American women's diaries provide firsthand accounts of shorning the hair for money. Judith White Brockenbrough McGuire (1813–1897), a diarist who was the daughter of Virginia Supreme Court Justice William Brockenbrough (1778–1838) and Judith Robinson White (1784–1854), wrote the following in *The Diary of a Southern Refugee During the War, by a Lady of Virginia* (New York, 1867):

> Ladies are offering their jewelry, their plate, any thing which can be converted into money, for the country. I have heard some of them declare, that, if necessary, they will cut off their long suits of hair, and send them to Paris to be sold for bread for the soldiers.[82]

In the following discussion it will become evident how male painters conceived of and used hair in their paintings of female figures, often their wives, to depict women's adherence to prevailing Victorian values, as well as to display their own conspicuous consumption. Aaron Draper Shattuck (1832–1928), a successful painter and businessman provides an appropriate opening example of a male artist flaunting the women in his life as models of femininity and domesticity, especially evident in their properly constrictive hairstyles of the 1860s.

Shattuck is known primarily as a landscapist who focused on the environs of the White Mountains (fig. 6).[83] Born on March 9, 1832 in Francestown, New Hampshire, to

---

[81] Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 200-209.

[82] Judith White Brockenbrough McGuire, *Diary of Judith White Brockenbrough McGuire* (Accessed via North American Women's Letters and Diaries (Chicago: Alexander Street Press), http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?ASL9642, 1867), 341.

[83] Tuckerman, a fellow resident of the Tenth Street Studio Building, praised the "veracity of Shattuck's rendering" especially in the foregrounds of his landscapes. Henry T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists:*

Jesse Shattuck, a stonemason, and Harriet Williams Shattuck, he studied with portraitist Alexander Ransom of Boston from 1851 until about 1854.[84] In 1855 he exhibited for the first time at the National Academy of Design, becoming an associate member in 1858, and a full member in 1861.[85] Friends in the New York art circle included Samuel F. B. Morse, P. T. Barnum, Samuel Colman, Jr. and John Frederick Kensett.[86] From 1859 to 1896 he worked from his studio in the Tenth Street Studio Building, located between Fifth and Sixth Avenues, a famous locale for Hudson River School artists and adherents to the Barbizon and Pre-Raphaelite modes of painting.[87] In 1860 he married Colman's sister Marian, whom he had met a year earlier in New York, and the couple had six

---

American Artist Life Comprising Biographical and Critical Sketches of American Artists: Preceded by an Historical Account of the Rise & Progress of Art in America (1867. Reprint, New York: James F. Carr, 1967), 560-61; Elizabeth Mankin Kornhauser, *American Paintings Before 1945 in the Wadsworth Atheneum* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), vol. 2, 653; on Shattuck's paintings of the White Mountains, see John Walker Myers, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, 1832-1928, Painter of Landscapes and Student of Nature's Charms" (PhD diss., Newark, DE: University of Delaware, 1982), 74-86; "Fine Arts," *The Independent* 33, no. 1703 (July 21, 1881): 9.

[84] Teresa A. Carbone, *American Paintings in the Brooklyn Museum: Artists Born by 1876* (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 2006), 939; Myers, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, 1832-1928, Painter of Landscapes and Student of Nature's Charms," 3-4, 23; Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists*, 561; W. T. Chase and Jeremy R. Hutt, "Aaron Draper Shattuck's Patent Stretcher Key," *Studies in Conservation* 17, no. 1 (February 1972): 14; Kornhauser, *American Paintings Before 1945 in the Wadsworth Atheneum*, 654; Charles B. Ferguson, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, White Mountain School Painter," *American Art Review* 3, no. 3 (June 1976): 70; John K. Howat, *American Paradise: The World of the Hudson River School* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), 306; "Fine Arts," 9.

[85] Carbone, *American Paintings in the Brooklyn Museum*, 940; Tuckerman incorrectly states that Shattuck exhibited for the first time at the National Academy of Design in 1856 and became an Academician in 1861. See Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists*; Howat, *American Paradise*, 306.

[86] Carbone, *American Paintings in the Brooklyn Museum*, 940; Chase and Hutt, "Aaron Draper Shattuck's Patent Stretcher Key," 15; Eunice Agar, "Aaron Draper Shattuck," *Art & Antiques* 7, no. 5 (October 1982): 51; Myers says Shattuck became an associate member of the National Academy of Design in 1859. Myers, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, 1832-1928, Painter of Landscapes and Student of Nature's Charms," 29-30.

[87] Annette Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building: A Roster, 1857-1895," *American Art Journal* 14, no. 2 (Spring 1982): 64; Carbone, *American Paintings in the Brooklyn Museum*, 940; For Shattuck's friendship with Kensett, see Myers, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, 1832-1928, Painter of Landscapes and Student of Nature's Charms," 5, 67-73; Barbara Dayer Gallati, "The Shattuck Family: Aaron Draper Shattuck's Experiment in Narrative Content," *American Art Journal* 20, no. 3 (1988): 37; Chase and Hutt, "Aaron Draper Shattuck's Patent Stretcher Key," 16; Kornhauser, *American Paintings Before 1945 in the Wadsworth Atheneum*, 654; T. B. Aldrich, "Among the Studios," *Our Young Folks. An Illustrated Magazine for Boys and Girls* 1, no. 9 (September 1865): 594.

children together.[88] The *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* commented on the marriage and its positive impact on Shattuck's work:

> Shattuck has two artistic paradises at his command this year, viz.: a new wife and the White Mountains. Under the influence of the honeymoon, he probably will give us some very suggestive moonlight views. His wife is a sister of one of his artist friends—a lady of taste, beauty, and intelligence.[89]

And:

> Shattuck, to vary the routine of the usual summer pastime and study, took to himself a wife (Miss Coleman [*sic*], sister of the artist) last summer, and has been, in consequence, stuffing his portfolio with unusually *happy* things.[90]

The Shattucks' first child, William, shown as a baby in the painting, was born on September 19, 1864 in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, where the couple owned a summer home.[91] Six years later the family moved to their new farm of twenty-eight acres in Granby, Connecticut.[92]

Shattuck's monetary success is made clear both from the prices his canvases commanded, which are recorded in the *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* and by the artist

---

[88] Myers, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, 1832-1928, Painter of Landscapes and Student of Nature's Charms," 102; Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists*, 560; Chase and Hutt, "Aaron Draper Shattuck's Patent Stretcher Key," 15; Kornhauser, *American Paintings Before 1945 in the Wadsworth Atheneum*, 654; Agar, "Aaron Draper Shattuck," 49; New Britain Museum of American Art and Charles B. Ferguson, *Aaron Draper Shattuck, N.A., 1832-1928; a Retrospective Exhibition* (New Britain, CT: New Britain Museum of American Art, 1970), n.p.

[89] "Art Gossip," *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* 4, no. 3 (September 1860): 126.

[90] "Art Gossip," *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* 4, no. 4 (December 1860): 182.

[91] Carbone, *American Paintings in the Brooklyn Museum*, 941; Myers, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, 1832-1928, Painter of Landscapes and Student of Nature's Charms," 98.

[92] Myers, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, 1832-1928, Painter of Landscapes and Student of Nature's Charms," 102, 146; Chase and Hutt, "Aaron Draper Shattuck's Patent Stretcher Key," 15; Howat, *American Paradise*, 306.

himself. For example, an article in the *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* of March 1860 notes the following:

> William Hart, Coleman [*sic*], Shattuck…and artists of their class, average about three hundred dollars for their medium sized work. Good pieces of theirs may be had for sixty dollars, though, the canvass [*sic*] must be small at such a price.[93]

Furthermore, Shattuck kept an eye on the proceeds of his work at a group auction in 1864 at H. H. Leeds and Company, annotating the catalogue with the purchaser's name and amount paid. He netted $2,300 for the sale of twenty-five paintings.[94]

Success in Shattuck's painting career was matched by that of the invention of a patented cast-iron stretcher key for artist's canvases in 1883 (patent no. 272,162), which brought a significant monetary reward.[95] The key, produced in five sizes, took a shieldlike form, had two slots for screws, and fit at the corner of the canvas's stretcher rails, to drive them apart.[96] In the absence of sales records, the production numbers provide a clear sense of the popularity of the key (Eastman Johnson, Albert Bierstadt, and Frederic Church, among others were fans): from 1884 to 1917, there were 3,189,000 keys manufactured by the Malleable Iron Works in New Britain, Connecticut.[97] The foreign

---

[93] "The Dollars and Cents of Art," *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* 4, no. 1 (March 1860): 30.

[94] Myers, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, 1832-1928, Painter of Landscapes and Student of Nature's Charms," 104-5.

[95] Carbone, *American Paintings in the Brooklyn Museum*, 940; Chase and Hutt, "Aaron Draper Shattuck's Patent Stretcher Key," 16; Agar, "Aaron Draper Shattuck," 49; Ferguson, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, White Mountain School Painter," 79.

[96] Chase and Hutt, "Aaron Draper Shattuck's Patent Stretcher Key," 17.

[97] Chase and Hutt, "Aaron Draper Shattuck's Patent Stretcher Key," 17; Ferguson, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, White Mountain School Painter," 79; Myers, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, 1832-1928, Painter of Landscapes and Student of Nature's Charms," 153.

patents in England, France, and Germany in 1885 further testify to the item's success.[98] F. W. Devoe and C. F. Raynolds Company of New York was the wholesaler for the keys, with whom Shattuck was closely involved, especially with advertising campaigns, from his headquarters in Granby.[99] Owing to the onset of pneumonia and measles that affected his eyes, Shattuck had given up painting about 1888 and turned his interests toward the stretcher key business and such activities as crafting violins, breeding animals, and working in his garden.[100] Proving his business skills, in 1886, Shattuck wrote the following to J. F. Drummond, a partner at Devoe, stating his desire to lower the cost of the keys in order to increase sales:

> My main object in reducing prices was to create a popular demand and thereby increase sales to such an extent as to aggregate a profit as large or larger than that which is now returned . . . If it is to be done, however, I think that it is better to make the consumer push the jobber rather than to make the jobber push the consumer.[101]

Shattuck was eighty-seven years old in 1917 when Devoe ceased production of the stretcher key caused by stalled production as a result of the wartime decline in the labor

---

[98] Chase and Hutt, "Aaron Draper Shattuck's Patent Stretcher Key," 20.

[99] Chase and Hutt, "Aaron Draper Shattuck's Patent Stretcher Key," 20-21; Myers, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, 1832-1928, Painter of Landscapes and Student of Nature's Charms," 153.

[100] Linda S. Ferber and William H. Gerdts, *The New Path: Ruskin and the American Pre-Raphaelites* (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1985), 275; Chase and Hutt, "Aaron Draper Shattuck's Patent Stretcher Key," 15; Kornhauser, *American Paintings Before 1945 in the Wadsworth Atheneum*, 654; Carbone, *American Paintings in the Brooklyn Museum*, 940; Agar, "Aaron Draper Shattuck," 49; Ferguson, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, White Mountain School Painter," 80; Myers, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, 1832-1928, Painter of Landscapes and Student of Nature's Charms," 149, 153-55; Howat, *American Paradise*, 306.

[101] Shattuck to J. F. Drummond, 1886. Reprinted in Chase and Hutt, "Aaron Draper Shattuck's Patent Stretcher Key," 21.

force. The Devoe company wrote to Shattuck on February 9, 1917: "The labor conditions are such that it is impossible to make prompt deliveries."[102]

In 1865 during the height of his painting career, and eighteen years before his success with the stretcher key, Shattuck painted *The Shattuck Family, with Grandmother, Mother, and Baby William* (figs. 7–10). A rare example of an interior genre scene by the artist, it depicts the artist's mother, Harriet Williams Shattuck; wife, Marian Colman Shattuck; and baby son, William Shattuck, most likely in the parlor of their summer home in Great Barrington.[103] The work is intriguing in that it offers an intimate domestic scene directly from the life of the artist—the Shattucks' family parlor documents the middle-class lifestyle of this successful painter.[104] The furnishings and décor, including a fitted carpet, a small side table loaded with books (a rosary with cross dangles across the top stack), chair, goldfish bowl, sewing basket, and lacey curtains indicate a Christian home of unpretentious middle-class comfort. Two framed engravings hanging on the walls have been identified as a print of *Virgin and Child* (1844), by Achille-Louis Martinet (French, 1806–1877), after Paul Delaroche (1797–1856); and a mezzotint of *A Huguenot, on St. Bartholomew's Day, Refusing to Shield Himself from Danger by Wearing the Roman Catholic Badge (The Huguenot Lover)*, 1851–52, by T. O. Barlow after Sir John Everett Millais's (1829–1896) painting of 1852.[105] Unsigned, *The Shattuck*

---

[102] Ibid., 27.

[103] Ferber and Gerdts, *The New Path*, 276; Carbone, *American Paintings in the Brooklyn Museum*, 941; William was named after Aaron's brother. Myers, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, 1832-1928, Painter of Landscapes and Student of Nature's Charms," 40; Edwards, *Domestic Bliss*, 33.

[104] Carbone states that the objects and furnishings may be assumed as belonging to Shattuck. See Carbone, *American Paintings in the Brooklyn Museum*, 939, 942n9.

Family is dated based on the age of Shattuck's baby son, and the sitters and objects have been identified by descendants of the Shattuck family, who possessed the painting until it was donated to the Brooklyn Museum in 1980.[106]

Sharing an intimate moment, mother and grandmother entertain baby William with a small goldfish bowl. Seated in a circle beneath the engraving of the Virgin and Child, the women are presented as upstanding Christians who keep a clean, well-appointed home, and tend to their familial duties. John Walker Myers points out that Marian's wedding ring on her left hand is highlighted. Further, the painting has been read by Teresa A. Carbone as a type of Holy Family, as the women circle around and protect the young boy who wears a christening gown, and the fishbowl may represent the baptism. [107] The engravings of the works by Delaroche and Millais support the religious reading of the painting, and also show Shattuck's alignment with English Pre-Raphaelitism.[108] The "American Exhibition of British Art" traveled to major cities in the northeast in 1857–58 and introduced English Pre-Raphaelite painting to American

---

[105] Casteras, *English Pre-Raphaelitism and Its Reception in America in the Nineteenth Century*, 80; Gallati, "The Shattuck Family," 38; The Martinet engraving shown in the painting is also in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum. Carbone, *American Paintings in the Brooklyn Museum*, 942; Thomas Pritchard Rossiter was also inspired by Delaroche. Ilene Fort suggests that the background of Rossiter's *The Merchants of America* (oil on canvas, 1857-65, New-York Historical Society), may have been taken from Delaroche's "Hemicycle" (1838-41) of the Palais des Beaux-Arts, Paris. Ilene Susan Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter" (master's thesis, New York: Queens College, 1975), 99.

[106] Gallati, "The Shattuck Family," 37; Carbone, *American Paintings in the Brooklyn Museum*, 941-42.

[107] Carbone, *American Paintings in the Brooklyn Museum*, 942; Gallati explains that although the Shattucks were Protestant, the presence of the Roman Catholic rosary may be explained as a connection to Shattuck's friend, writer Fitz-James O'Brien (1828-1862); see Gallati, "The Shattuck Family," 38, 41, 45-46; Ferber and Gerdts, *The New Path*, 276; Myers, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, 1832-1928, Painter of Landscapes and Student of Nature's Charms," 41.

[108] Carbone, *American Paintings in the Brooklyn Museum*, 942; Gallati, "The Shattuck Family," 41; Ferber and Gerdts, *The New Path*, 28; on the influence of Pre-Raphaelitism on Shattuck, see Myers, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, 1832-1928, Painter of Landscapes and Student of Nature's Charms," 61-64.

artgoers.[109] Included in the show were works by Ford Maddox-Brown and William Holman-Hunt, among others.[110] Barbara Gallati notes that the Millais painting was an "icon of the Pre-Raphaelite style for the American audience."[111] Painted in 1852, Millais's *The Huguenot Lover*, showing a scene in sixteenth-century France of a Catholic woman and Protestant man united briefly during wartime, but conflicted over religious affiliation, was reproduced in many engravings in the United States.[112] Set in a romantic forest, the painting was admired by art critic John Ruskin (1819–1900), author of *Modern Painters* (1843; the first edition published in the United States was in 1847) and promoter of Pre-Raphaelitism in the United States, for its motto of "truth to nature" and the depiction of symbolic foliage—ivy signified fidelity, for example.[113] Contemporary viewers read the theme of the painting as the "conflict between love and national or religious duty," and the larger association of the subject in the United States was with the end of the Civil War in 1865, the date of Shattuck's work. [114] Similarly, *Virgin and Child* by Delaroche was interpreted as domestic stability during wartime.[115] Indeed, in addition to the label of "second-generation Hudson River School painter," Shattuck is referred to by some scholars, including Linda Ferber and William Gerdts, and Susan P. Casteras, as

---

[109] Ferber and Gerdts, *The New Path*, 109-33.

[110] Myers, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, 1832-1928, Painter of Landscapes and Student of Nature's Charms," 63.

[111] Gallati, "The Shattuck Family," 44.

[112] Ferber and Gerdts, *The New Path*, 25.

[113] Myers, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, 1832-1928, Painter of Landscapes and Student of Nature's Charms," 59-63; Casteras, *English Pre-Raphaelitism and Its Reception in America in the Nineteenth Century*, 79.

[114] Casteras, *English Pre-Raphaelitism and Its Reception in America in the Nineteenth Century*, 86; Roger B. Stein, "A Flower's Saving Grace: The American Pre-Raphaelites," *ARTnews* 84 (April 1985): 89.

[115] Casteras, *English Pre-Raphaelitism and Its Reception in America in the Nineteenth Century*, 86.

an American Pre-Raphaelite.[116] Despite not officially joining the group, he is known to have been strongly influenced by Ruskin, and was a subscriber to *The Crayon*, the mouthpiece of Pre-Raphaelitism in America.[117] In the United States, adherents of Pre-Raphaelitism, including William Trost Richards, Thomas Charles Farrer, John William Hill, Shattuck, and others associated with the group The Society for the Advancement of Truth in Art, which began in 1863 and lasted about two years.[118] Briefly stated, like the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood in England, the reformist aim of the group was to record truth, both in nature and emotion.[119]

Although his predeliction for Pre-Raphaelitism was short-lived and he generally opted for landscape over figural works, like other American artists who identified with the movement, Shattuck shows in *The Shattuck Family* that in line with his English contemporaries, he understood the power of women's hair to convey beauty and femininity.[120] Implicit in the Shattuck family's devotion to religion is its dedication to

---

[116] Gallati, "The Shattuck Family," 43; Ferber and Gerdts, *The New Path*, 16; Casteras, *English Pre-Raphaelitism and Its Reception in America in the Nineteenth Century*, 41, 167, 174; Agar, "Aaron Draper Shattuck," 49; Ferguson, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, White Mountain School Painter," 72.

[117] Ferguson, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, White Mountain School Painter," 74; Myers, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, 1832-1928, Painter of Landscapes and Student of Nature's Charms," 61.

[118] Stein, "A Flower's Saving Grace: The American Pre-Raphaelites," 86; Shattuck was not an official member of the group. Ferber and Gerdts, *The New Path*, 11; Myers, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, 1832-1928, Painter of Landscapes and Student of Nature's Charms," 59-60.

[119] Stein, "A Flower's Saving Grace: The American Pre-Raphaelites," 89; Ferber and Gerdts, *The New Path*, 11; Kornhauser, *American Paintings Before 1945 in the Wadsworth Atheneum*, 655.

[120] Casteras, *English Pre-Raphaelitism and Its Reception in America in the Nineteenth Century*, 174, 183, 190; the figural work of American-born, British-based artist James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903) provides a particularly rich area for further investigation regarding its connection to the Pre-Raphaelite predilection for depicting women's flowing hair and the iconography of the "fallen woman." For example, the painting *Symphony in White, No. 1: The White Girl* (1862; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., YMSM 38) portrays Whistler's lover Joanna Hiffernan with her long, red "wild" hair flowing as freely as her white, "uncrinolined" gown. See Margaret F. MacDonald, Susan Grace Galassi, and Aileen Ribeiro, *Whistler, Women, & Fashion* (New York: Frick Collection in association with Yale University Press, 2003), 79-91;

domestic order and sanctuary, which, as demonstrated, was of the utmost importance during the Civil War.[121] In addition to the engravings and furnishings, the neatness of the hair and dress of the women conveys the tenets of virtuous domesticity.

The painting also demonstrates Shattuck's proficiency in the depiction of figures, specifically intricate hairstyles. Both women are shown in profile, a device that displays their heads in three-quarter back view—in contrast, traditional portraits and daguerreotypes commonly portray figures from the front, sitting still for the painter or photographer. Shown in the comfort of the home, their hairstyles are free and unobscured by a bonnet or hat. Harriet's carefully placed curls are clearly shown, with three loose locks hanging longer than the rest (see fig. 8). These may have been formed from her own dark brown hair or with false Grecian curls available for purchase by mail order from women's magazines. Marian's light brown hair is parted in the middle and pulled back into a low chignon at the bottom of the neck and secured with a pink ribbon (see fig. 9). Indeed, both women's hair was set in the fashion of spring and summer 1865, with some variation. Harriet's and Marian's styles generally correlate to those of 1864–65 (see fig. 11). Marian's coiffure is also comparable to those illustrated in *Godey's Lady's Book*, with April 1865 providing an apt example (fig. 12). Marian's more youthful appearance is evidenced by the ribbon that ties the chignon, as well as by her stylish crochet shawl, similar to that featured in *Godey's* in January 1865 (fig. 13).[122]

Hilary Taylor, *James McNeill Whistler* (New York: Putnam, 1978), 27-52; Richard Dorment and Margaret F. MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler* (New York: Abrams, 1995), 76-78.

[121] Gallati, "The Shattuck Family," 44; Ferber and Gerdts, *The New Path*, 276.

[122] "Illustration," *Godey's Lady's Book*, January 1865, 21.

Borrowing a phrase from scholar Angela Rosenthal, what is the "communicative and cultural power" of hair in this painting?[123] The women's hairstyles are significant in that they convey more than just popular styles. Harriet and Marian wear proper hairstyles on a quiet day in their own parlor, with no visitors and no immediate audience other than the baby and Shattuck in the role of husband, father, and painter. These women exhibit both "style and substance."[124] As genteel and virtuous Christian women, the Shattucks tended to the family's hygiene, a symbol of healthfulness, and godliness. As Richard Bushman explains, since the eighteenth century cleanliness, good posture, and proper gestures were associated with gentility because they reflected discipline and regulation of the body.[125] The quality, care, style, and fit of one's clothing were recognized as indicators of class.

Harriet and Marian Shattuck's hairstyles in the final year of the Civil War, as portrayed by Shattuck, contribute to the identity of the family's comfortable means, health, and optimism in the future—William was the firstborn of the Shattuck children. Although shown in their summer Berkshires home, the Shattucks were based in New York City, where they lived most of the year. With their sufficient funds provided by the man of the house, the Shattuck women could have had a maid wash and style their hair, or paid for a visit from a professional hairdresser. They likely read etiquette books and women's magazines that offered plentiful advice for grooming, styling, and maintaining

---

[123] Angela Rosenthal, "Raising Hair," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 1-16.

[124] The phrase is used by Catherine Allgor with regard to Dolley Madison's political power in early nineteenth-century Washington City, achieved through her republicanism, charisma, stylish clothing, and tasteful interior decoration. Catherine Allgor, *Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 52-58.

[125] Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Knopf, Distributed by Random House, 1992), 63-64.

the health of the hair. Shattuck himself was familiar with the contents of women's magazines, as he contributed landscape paintings that were published as engravings in the *Ladies' Repository* beginning in 1859 until at least 1871.[126]

Two contemporaneous paintings by Thomas Pritchard Rossiter (1818–1871) provide fruitful points of comparison with the work by Shattuck. Rossiter maintained a deep devotion to his home and its environs in Cold Spring, New York, in the Hudson Highlands throughout the last decade of his life (fig. 14).[127] A worldly traveler who lived and worked for many years in Italy and France, Rossiter imbued his passion for the particulars of landscape and local figures, both stateside and overseas in many of the five hundred or so drawings, paintings, and watercolors that make up his oeuvre. [128] Recognized as a Hudson River School painter, in the limited literature about Rossiter, he is often referred to as a traveling companion of the better known artists Thomas Cole, John F. Kensett, and Asher B. Durand.[129] The following discussion situates Rossiter's outdoor paintings *Family Group on the Piazza at Cold Spring* (1862) and *Picnic Above the Hudson (Picnic by the Lake)* (ca. 1862) within the world of domesticity and hair in the early 1860s by investigating the artist's treatment of the figure in the landscape, his

---

[126] Myers, "Aaron Draper Shattuck, 1832-1928, Painter of Landscapes and Student of Nature's Charms," 119.

[127] Rossiter's middle name also appears as "Prichard" in the various literature about him.

[128] A large number of Rossiter's works are either lost or unidentified. See Edith Rossiter Bevan, "Thomas Pritchard Rossiter, 1818-1871" (Ruxton, MD, 1957), 19, Typewritten; M. Broaddus, "Thomas P. Rossiter: in Pursuit of Diversity," *American Art and Antiques* 2, no. 3 (1979): 106; Roberta J. M. Olson, *Drawn by New York: Six Centuries of Watercolors and Drawings at the New-York Historical Society* (New York: New-York Historical Society, 2008), 283.

[129] The only lengthy, interpretive study of Rossiter is Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter"; the other main source is by the artist's granddaughter Edith Rossiter Bevan. See Thomas Prichard Rossiter, "Thomas Prichard Rossiter and Rossiter Family Papers, 1840-1961" (Smithsonian Archives of American Art, 1840), Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution Rossiter papers, box 1, folder 6).

interest in romantic literature and poetry, and his deep connection to the domestic and natural spheres of Cold Spring (figs. 15–16). The origin of Rossiter's subject matter may be traced in two of his sketchbooks. The first, from 1843, now in the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, is complemented by that of 1854–58 in the New-York Historical Society.[130] Both provide fascinating glimpses into Rossiter's drawing and compositional methods, revealing his studied interest in the female figure, historical and contemporary costumes, and hairstyles.[131] By examining Rossiter's sketches of hairstyles a better appreciation of the significance of his figural paintings that include female family members is gained. It becomes evident that Rossiter was an especially astute observer of hairstyles and used them to complete the outfits of his female figures.

Owing to the lack of monographic literature on Rossiter, a detailed biographical overview is provided here. Born on September 28, 1818, in New Haven, Connecticut, Rossiter began as an engraver under the tutelage of engraver and portraitist Nathaniel Jocelyn.[132] As a young man he took a studio in New Haven to paint portraits, and in 1837 he began exhibiting at the National Academy of Design in New York; he became an

---

[130] The recent digitization of Rossiter's papers in the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, including materials donated by his great, great granddaughter Patti Rossiter Ravenscroft in 2007, makes sources about him more accessible than ever. A portion of the collection was donated by his granddaughter Edith Rossiter Bevan in 1957.

[131] The 1843 sketchbook is in box 1, folder 8, Rossiter papers. The 1854–58 sketchbook is in the New-York Historical Society, 1956.68. A letter of May 23, 1956, from assistant curator Carolyn Scoon to Mrs. William F. Bevan (Edith Rossiter Bevan), the donor, documents the acquisition (see New-York Historical Society curatorial files). See also the preceding letter from Edith Rossiter Bevan to Ms. Scoon, of May 5, 1956. An earlier drawing book (1836–37) of Rossiter's is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (51.610). Unfortunately, there is no object file or any photographs of this early drawing book (e-mail correspondence between the author and Elizabeth Kathleen Mitchell, assistant curator, Department of Prints, Drawings and Photographs, November 21, 2008).

[132] Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter," 9-10; Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists*, 435.

associate member in 1840, and a full member in 1849.[133] In 1839 he moved from New Haven to Troy, New York; later that year he relocated to New York City.[134] His connection to the metropolis and its institutions continued throughout his life, as he interacted with the major players of its vibrant art circles. An active contributor to the criticism of the day, he wrote several pieces for *The Crayon*, most notably an 1855 review of the Paris Exposition, in which he remarked that all the American works "were minor," and that he wished Kensett, Durand, Church, and Cropsey were exhibited.[135]

As did most of his ambitious contemporaries, Rossiter journeyed to Europe to study. On June 1, 1840, he set off with friends John William Casilear, Kensett, and Durand.[136] The Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, has in its collection two letters of introduction that Rossiter took with him to Europe. The one from John A. Dix of Albany, dated 27 May 1840, to Enos Throop, former governor of New York, reads as follows:

Albany, 27 May 1840
Dear Sir,

---

[133] Examples of Rossiter's portraiture (Casilear and Lang are included) and one undated self-portrait made for his diploma presentation are in the National Academy of Design. See David B. Dearinger, *Paintings and Sculpture in the Collection of the National Academy of Design* (New York; Manchester, VT: Hudson Hills Press, 2004), 481-82; Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter," 20, 77; for records of his inclusion in the National Academy of Design, see Maria Naylor, *The National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1861-1900* (New York: Kennedy Galleries, 1973), 811-12; for his exhibitions at numerous institutions nationwide, throughout his career. James L. Yarnall and William H. Gerdts, eds., *The National Museum of American Art's Index to American Art Exhibition Catalogues: From the Beginning Through the 1876 Centennial Year* (Boston, MA: G.K. Hall, 1986), 3047-52.

[134] Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter," 19.

[135] The quotation is in Thomas Pritchard Rossiter, "Notes on the Universal Exposition of Fine Arts in Paris" 2, no. 25 (December 19, 1855): 390-91; Fort notes that Rossiter himself submitted three paintings to the exposition. Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter," 85.

[136] Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter," 22; Benjamin Champney, *Sixty Years' Memories of Art and Artists* (Woburn, MA: Privately Printed, 1900), 73.

Mr. Thos. P. Rossiter, of Troy is about to visit Europe, [illegible] will [illegible] in Italy. He is a young artist of promise, and in all respects entitled to the kind attention of his countrymen in Europe. Allow me to commend him to you, and believe me
My dear sir, respectfully truly yours,
John A. Dix[137]

A letter dated three days later, on May 30, 1840, from the artist and inventor Samuel F. B. Morse (1791–1872) to sculptor Horatio Greenough (1805–1852) further supports the budding artist, explaining that Rossiter will be boarding the *British Queen*, setting out "to improve himself in painting by the study of the Old Masters in England, France, and Italy." Morse continues, "He expects to visit Florence, and I know I need only say that he is a young man of promise and of character to engage for him any kindship [*sic*] it may be in your power to bestow."[138] Another letter of introduction by James Fenimore Cooper, written entirely in French and inscribed at the upper right "Cooperstown, Etats Unis d'Amérique," was sent to Rossiter in Troy.[139] These letters are significant in that they reflect Rossiter's close relations with highly prominent figures in the art and literary worlds, and they document the timing and details of his trip.[140]

After staying in London from June 17 to August 14, 1840, Rossiter and Kensett proceeded to Paris, arriving on August 17, to study at what Kensett referred to as the "École Préparation des Beaux-Arts" (possibly the Académie Suisse), and to copy Old

---

[137] John A. Dix to Enos Throop, 27 May 1840, [no box or folder given], Rossiter papers.

[138] Samuel F.B. Morse to Horatio Greenough, 30 May 1840, box 1, folder 2, Rossiter papers.

[139] James Fenimore Cooper to Rossiter, undated, box 1, folder 1, Rossiter papers.

[140] The Rossiter Papers also include letters from Louis Mignot to Rossiter, July 6, 1859, box 1 folder 2; and from Henry T. Tuckerman to Rossiter, November 2 [year not indicated], box 1, folder 2. Tuckerman, then living at 15 West 10th Street, writes in this short note to say that he might be able to come to dinner on the 7th.

Master works at the Louvre.[141] One of Rossiter's best-known paintings, *A Studio Reception, Paris* (1841, Albany Institute of History and Art), depicts the communing of American painters in Paris, including Cole, Kensett, Durand, and Casilear.[142] On October 13, 1841, Rossiter headed for Italy with Thomas Cole, the latter remaining until spring 1842.[143] Rossiter stayed on until spring 1846, spending winters in Rome and summers visiting other locales in Italy, Germany, and Switzerland.[144] Rossiter's sketchbook of 1843 contains landscapes and city vistas, as well as studies of castles, windows, sailboats, trees, and sketches of women that show the artist working out expressions, costumes, and hairstyles. Also included is a precisely executed watercolor of lakes and mountains (fig. 17).[145] According to Ilene Fort, Rossiter spent winter 1842–43 in Rome, summer 1843 in Venice, and winter 1843–44 back in Rome, a chronology that places the sketchbook in that period.[146]

---

[141] Bevan, "Thomas Pritchard Rossiter, 1818-1871," 5; For Rossiter and Kensett's travel, see Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter," 26-27; H. Barbara Weinberg speculates that the "École Préparation des Beaux-Arts," was possibly the Académie Suisse. H. Barbara Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers* (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1991), 29; Olson, *Drawn by New York*, 283.

[142] See Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter," 29-32.

[143] Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter," 33; Thomas B. Brumbaugh, "A Venice Letter from Thomas P. Rossiter to John F. Kensett-1843," *American Art Journal* 5, no. 1 (May 1973): 74-78; Lois Fink, "American Artists in France, 1850-1870," *American Art Journal* 5, no. 2 (November 1973): 32-49; Henry T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists: American Artist Life Comprising Biographical and Critical Sketches of American Artists, Preceded by an Historical Account of the Rise & Progress of Art in America*, 2nd ed. (New York: J. F. Carr, 1966), 435. See the full-scale drawing *View Opposite My Balcony in Florence*, 1842, pencil on paper. New-York Historical Society, 1956.72.

[144] He departed Rome about March 31, 1846; see Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter," 34; 43.

[145] NYHS sketchbook box, with sketchbook of 1854–58, 1956.68.

[146] Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter," 39-42.

After returning to New York in autumn 1846, Rossiter became a respected member of New York art circles—he was elected to the National Academy of Art in 1847 and helped found the Century Association.[147] He had also exhibited at the Apollo Association beginning in 1839 and at the American Art-Union. From 1851 to 1852 he shared a studio at Broadway and West Fourth Street with Louis Lang, where he focused on historical and biblical subjects.[148] He attained a certain amount of fame outside of his immediate circle, enjoying widespread compliments for a series depicting George Washington, as well as a series of the life of Christ.[149] On October 15, 1851, he married Anna Ehrick Parmly (1830–1856), a daughter of Dr. Eleazer Parmly (1797–1874) of New Haven, a prominent and wealthy dentist who was the first president of the Society of Surgeon Dentists of the City and State of New York, an avid supporter of the arts, and a committed abolitionist. [150] Beginning on May 28, 1853, Rossiter and his wife spent approximately three years, until spring 1856, in Europe, visiting England, Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Switzerland.[151] While in Paris, in late 1853 or early 1854, they lived at 16, Place Vendôme, and Rossiter exhibited three works at the Paris Exposition of

---

[147] Olson, *Drawn by New York*, 283.

[148] Bevan, "Thomas Pritchard Rossiter, 1818-1871," 10.

[149] He was of sufficient renown to be included in Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists*; and Samuel Isham, *The History of American Painting*, rev. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936). Among the items auctioned after his death in February 1873 at Clinton Hall on Astor Place were a "suit of the era of Washington (light striped green velvet but little worn)" and a "buff vest of the time of Washington".

[150] Rossiter's portraits of Dr. and Mrs. Eleazer Parmly, née Anna Maria Valk Smith (1801–1857) are in the New-York Historical Society, 1943.8 and 1948.563, respectively. For Dr. Parmly's abolitionist affiliations, see Gail E. Husch, *Something Coming: Apocalyptic Expectation and Mid-Nineteenth Century American Painting* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2000), 201-207; Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter," 74; Bevan, "Thomas Pritchard Rossiter, 1818-1871," 11; New-York Historical Society, *Catalogue of American Portraits in the New York Historical Society* (New Haven: Published for the New-York Historical Society by Yale University Press, 1974), 603.

[151] Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter," 79.

1855.[152] In 1854 they had twins, Charlotte Evangeline and Ehrick Kensett, whose middle name was a tribute to John F. Kensett.[153] In March 1856 another daughter, Anna, was born, and on April 30 on that year, Mrs. Anna Parmly Rossiter passed away as a result of childbirth.[154] An entry from Rossiter's diary expounds upon his wife's character and his great loss—"Sweet spirit, how gentle and pure is your memory!"[155] Photographs, most likely dating to 1860–71 in Cold Spring, provide visual evidence of the closeness that the Rossiter family enjoyed (fig. 18).

Indeed, a strong theme running through all of Rossiter's figure studies is his intimacy with his family, especially his wife and children. One apt example is a sketch of the family from the 1860s, which has an inscription on the reverse, most likely by Rossiter's granddaughter that states, "Sketch for picture of Rossiter family. EKR [Ehrick Kensett Rossiter] sitting on nurse [*sic*] lap . . . [illegible] R. in nurse's arms; there is also a sketch of the French nurse."[156] In addition, the Scrapbook contains a pencil sketch of

---

[152] Ibid., 83 The inside flyleaf of Rossiter's 1854–58 sketchbook at NYHS (1956.68) is inscribed "T.P. Rossiter/10 Place Vendome/Paris." However, no. 27 in the Scrapbook is a painting of the Rossiter family in 1855, labeled "16, Place Vendome." The painting shows Rossiter with Anna, the twins, and their nurses. The creator of the painting is not indicated. Both Bevan and Fort document the address as 16, Place Vendome.

[153] Rossiter's close friendship with Kensett is further attested to by a letter in which Kensett asks Rossiter for twenty-five dollars, "as I am pretty hard up." Kensett to Rossiter, September 22, 1850 (?), box 1, folder 1, Rossiter papers. Fort states that Rossiter and Kensett knew each other in 1837, possibly earlier. Fort, 10.

[154] Fort, 95. The Scrapbook, box 1, folder 11, includes Anna Rossiter's obituary in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 2, 1856, noting that she died "during the present summer."

[155] Parmly's publication included selections from Rossiter's diary. Eleazar Parmly, *Thoughts in Rhyme* (New York: T. Holman, 1867), 50; Fort catalogues the painting as fig. 31, with the title *The Rossiter Family: Anna, Thomas, The Twins, and Two Nurses* (1855, oil on canvas, 4 feet, 10 in. x 5 feet, 5 in. E. Gordon Rossiter Collection, Summit, NJ). She catalogues the sketch as fig. 32: *Study for The Rossiter Family* (1855, sepia water color on cardboard, 6 x 10 in. E. Gordon Rossiter Collection, Summit, NJ.). Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter," 105.

[156] The sketch of the Rossiter family is in box 1, folder 10; the sketch of the nurse is in the Sketchbook, no. 32 (Fort, fig. 28), Rossiter Papers, Archives of American Art.

Julia Parmly and one of Anna Rosalie Rossiter dated March 12, 1856—a note indicates that she was born on March 8, 1856.[157] Further, there is a pencil sketch of Anna Parmly shortly before her death, another one of her inscribed, "Beloved Anna, April 29, 1856, and *Trio*, a painting of his three children."[158] An inscription states that Rossiter's friend Louis Lang bought *Trio* on December 20, 1859; it had been exhibited at the Academy in 1858. After Anna's death, Rossiter and the children returned to New York in spring 1856, where Rossiter established a studio and opened an art gallery at his home at 17 West 38th Street, which was sponsored by Dr. Parmly.[159]

Always a man of his time who was willing to take advantage of newly available means of transportation, Rossiter joined Kensett, Lang, and Louis Mignot on an "artists' excursion" on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in 1858, during which he produced landscape paintings.[160] In 1859 he traveled to Michigan and Minnesota, and in 1860 he married his first cousin Mary Sterling (d. 1907). The two had a son, Sterling Rossiter, in 1861. He is included in Rossiter's painting *The Quartet*, 1863 (oil on canvas. Dr. and Mrs. Milton Birnkrant Collection, New York).[161] It was then that he commissioned a house to be built in Cold Spring, where he lived until his death on May 17, 1871 (figs. 19–20). Tuckerman remarks upon Rossiter's relocation as follows: "In 1860 he removed to Cold

---

[157] Sketchbook, box 1, folder 11, (nos. 21, 33, respectively), Rossiter Papers, Archives of American Art.

[158] *Trio* is in the Sketchbook, box 1, folder 11, no. 58 (Fort, fig. 39).

[159] Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter," 95-96. The address still exists.

[160] Rossiter's library contained books on the railroad and steam engine and periodicals discussing scientific discoveries. See Susan Danly Walther, *The Railroad in the American Landscape, 1850-1950: The Wellesley College Museum, Wellesley, Massachusetts, 15 April-8 June 1981* (Wellesley, MA: The Museum, 1981), 84-85. See also Rossiter's painting *The Opening of the Wilderness* (ca. 1858, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 48.471.

[161] Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter," fig. 56.

Spring, Hudson Highlands, where he has since resided, in a house which he designed and built for his professional needs."[162] The house was designed by Richard Morris Hunt in an Italian Renaissance style, and Rossiter often entertained at this "spacious and elegant residence." [163] Writing in 1959, James J. Flynn describes the residence as "a pretentious villa amid spacious grounds, hewn from the rugged wilderness of the highland region . . . [it] commanded one of the most extensive and picturesque views to be found in the whole highland region."[164]

Rossiter's commitment to his home in Cold Spring is evident in *The Legend of Breakneck* (ca. 1867; before January 1, 1868), a 67-page poem that Rossiter wrote, and illustrated in watercolor. It tells the tale of Breakneck Mountain, which he could see from his home.[165] It is comprised of 67 full- and half-page illustrations in black and white,

---

[162] "Died," *New York Tribune* (New York, May 19, 1871), 167; Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter," 167; in 1860, *The Crayon* reported that J.D. Sherwood, Esq. hosted a farewell party for Rossiter at Rossiter's home. Also, on December 20, 1859, a large sale of his works was held at the National Academy of Design before he moved to Cold Spring. See "Untitled," *The Home Journal*, December 3, 1859, 2; the Scrapbook (p. 63), includes a typewritten history of the house, likely by Bevan, noting that it was on seventeen acres "not far from the village of Cold Spring and on the brow of overlooking the Hudson River Valley..." and that in 1957 it was bought by a Mrs. Robert P. Patterson, who named it "Fair Oaks Farm." The Italianate villa-style house is now in private ownership and is located on Route 9D in Cold Spring. See Frances F. Dunwell, *The Hudson River Highlands* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 54, ill.

[163] "Domestic Art Gossip," *The Crayon* 7, no. 3 (March 1860): 82-86; Rossiter had met Hunt in Paris. For further information on the house, which was commissioned by Rossiter's father-in-law, Dr. Parmly, who had sued Hunt over the billing of the project, see Russell Lynes, *The Tastemakers* (New York: Harper, 1954), 134–35. The Scrapbook, box 1, folder 11, Rossiter papers (p. 48), contains a professionally printed list (by Thomas E. Sutter, Printer, 142 Fulton Street) titled "Catalogue of Paintings in the Gallery of T.P. Rossiter," referring to the gallery in the home on 38th Street.

[164] James J. Flynn, "The Legend of Breakneck," *Folklore Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1959): 49.

[165] The manuscript (watercolor on paper, 26 x 21 cm) is in the New-York Historical Society. Fort provides the proposed dating of the work. Rossiter's further devotion to sketching and illustration is evident in three published volumes for which he provided the decoration: *Poems*, by Anne C. Lynch (New York: 1849), one illustration by Rossiter; *Vala: A Mythological Tale*, by Parke Godwin (New York: George P. Putnam, 1851), seven capital letters and three larger designs by Rossiter; Frederic S. Cozzens, *Prismatics* (New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1853), three illustrations by Rossiter. Source: *Early American Book Illustrators and Wood Engravers, 1670-1870; a Catalogue of a Collection of American Books* (Princeton, N.J:

made with ink wash. The legend recounts that upon arriving from Holland, Hendrik Hudson graciously offered the services of his ship's doctor, Hans Leyden, to save the life of the ailing Tonina, daughter of Chiwawa, the local Indian chief. In gratitude Chiwawa gave land along the river to the Dutch. A year later, the Dutch returned again to the area, the doctor with his Dutch bride. Having long fallen in love with the doctor, Tonina died of disappointment, and her father, Chiwawa, jumped off the cliff of the mountain, breaking his neck, and thus resulting in the legendary name of the mountain. As Flynn remarks, "he was more proficient with the brush than the pen," but the poem is somewhat notable for its intimate descriptions of the Hudson Highlands: "Frame in the mirroring river's glass / Reflecting peaceful and serene / Heavens vanit, which domes the gorgeous scene."[166] The illustrations depict serene landscapes, romantic encounters between male and female characters, and dramatic meetings between Native Americans and European Americans, all within miles from Rossiter's home.

Rossiter's deep interest in literature and poetry is further evidenced by his 1865 illustrated edition of John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, the goal of which, as he noted in the preface, was to "[embody] with allegorical suggestion the integrity of the Poem." [167] Rossiter signed the preface as follows: "Thomas Pritchard Rossiter / hudson highlands,

---

Princeton University Library, 1958), 203. Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter," 76, 157.

[166] Thomas Pritchard Rossiter, "The Legend of Breakneck," not after 1868, n.p., New-York Historical Society.

[167] Thomas Pritchard Rossiter, *A Description of Five Serial Pictures, Illustrating Milton's Paradise Lost, Painted by Thomas P. Rossiter, N.A.* (New York: Sanford, Harrow & Co., 1865). Rossiter's personal collection of books was sizeable. Fellow Hudson River artist Jervis McEntee noted in his diary on February 8, 1873, that "Rossiter's effects were sold this week including his pictures, carved furniture, books, etc. I went this evening and bought some French books." See the Jervis McEntee Diary Entry, February 8, 1873, from the Jervis McEntee Papers, 1850–1905, in the Archives of American Art. The quotation is from the preface. New-York Historical Society Library, Main Collection, ND237.R71 A35 1865). Manuscript Department of the New-York Historical Society.

dec. 1864." The Rossiter family scrapbook (ca. 1850–1958) in the Archives of American Art (hereafter "Scrapbook") includes an article from the *New York Tribune* from about 1865 that reproduced Rossiter's five *Paradise Lost* illustrations, noting that they were on exhibition at McVicker's Theatre building in its new art gallery.[168] The images include one of Eve slumbering by a fountain; one titled "Morning in Eden"; as well as "Noon"; "Evening"; and "Adam."[169]

Rossiter sketched and painted the Hudson River environs, as well as family and friends throughout the decade he spent there. Handsome examples are *Sunrise on the Hudson* (fig. 21); *Peaceful Path by a Brook* (undated, oil on canvas, 10 1/4 x 12 in. [26 x 30.5 cm.]; inscribed on the reverse: "By T.P.Rossiter." Christie's New York, September 5, 2008); and *Cold Spring, New York* (dated 1852, oil on canvas, 17 x 28 1/2 in. [43.2 x 72.4 cm]. Christie's New York, March 3, 2005, lot 5). Another is the small canvas *Inlet* (after 1860, Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College). Most telling is the outdoor conversation piece *A Pic-Nic on the Hudson* (1863), which shows an outing on Constitution Island, a tourist locale on the Hudson River, including officers of the United States Military Academy at West Point, artists, writers, friends, and Rossiter himself at the far left wearing a straw hat (fig. 22).[170] The picnic was a popular genre subject that combined the artist's talent in depicting genre in a landscape setting.[171]

---

[168] The undated *New York Tribune* article titled "Our First Parents," is in box 1, folder 11, no. 73, Rossiter papers.

[169] See Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter," 151-55; figs. 660-64, 263-65.

[170] See Ibid., 149-50.

Rossiter was better appreciated in his time than he is today. As Samuel Isham wrote in 1905: “Rossiter’s work is facile, rapidly done, and was popular in its day, and for that very reason is antiquated now”; and in 1970, Harry W. French remarked: “As an artist Mr. Rossiter was not a complete success . . . in drawing he was more deficient . . . His smaller pictures are, many of them, exquisite gems; but the larger ones are invariably confused.” [172] Rossiter’s success with atmospheric effects in such landscapes as *Twilight in the Wilderness* (undated, Shelburne Museum) and *Niagara Falls* (undated, Albright-Knox Art Gallery) has been recognized, but his efforts to depict figures within landscapes have often been regarded as stilted.

One of the reasons Rossiter’s works fell out of favor is his penchant for allegorical, biblical, and historical subjects—an example is *Washington and Lafayette at Mount Vernon, 1784 (The Home of Washington after the War)* (1859, MMA, 05.35; landscape painted by Louis Rémy Mignot).[173] Similarly, his contemporary Hudson River scenes that contain figures carrying out a narrative are often dismissed as awkward “conversation pieces”—pictures that tell a story. These narrative landscapes demand reevaluation in light of their cultural significance as documents of middle-class life in the Hudson River Valley. Drawing upon his experience as a portrait painter, Rossiter made a concerted effort to introduce recognizable likenesses of local residents of Cold Spring. Paintings such as *Home on the Hudson*, the aforementioned *A Pic-Nic on the Hudson*,

---

[171] Linda Ferber writes about the picnic theme, calling it a "nineteenth-century restatement[s] of the Arcadian theme." See Linda S. Ferber, “Themes in American Genre Painting, 1840-80,” *Apollo* 115, no. 242 (April 1982): 254.

[172] Isham, *The History of American Painting*, 291; Harry Willard French, *Art and Artists in Connecticut* (New York: Kennedy Graphics, 1970), 103.

[173] On Rossiter and the subject of George Washington, see Fort, “High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter,” 111-46; for a mention of the Washington and Lafayette project, see “Domestic Art Gossip,” *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* 3, no. 2 (March 1859): 87.

and *Picnic Above the Hudson (Picnic by the Lake)*, carefully portray women and men in contemporary dress engaged in daily activities (see figs. 16, 22).

Rossiter's close studies of figures, dress, and hairstyles are found in his sketchbook of 1854–58, now in the New-York Historical Society, which spans time spent in New York and Europe (figs. 23–33). The drawings were used for works during that period and after he moved to Cold Spring in 1860. The leatherbound, pocket-size (8 x 5 1/4 in.) book has forty-six wove-paper leaves with pencil illustrations on most of the rectos and versos. In fragile condition with some loose pages, it has never been reproduced in full.[174] Of varying levels of elaboration, the sketches include figures, landscapes, and portraits. Here we find Rossiter's playful caricatures of a bearded man, studies of ladies' historical costumes, and a drawing of a contemporary woman in an off-the-shoulder dress, hair pulled back in a stylish bun.[175] He used the same woman in another sketch, there allowing the incongruence between her contemporary dress and the classical staff in her left hand. The sketch provides a dual study for a conversation piece and an allegorical work. In a similar drawing the woman holds a large scythe. Labeled studies of the allegories Faith and Hope are also included. One sheet is a study of men's faces in various emotive expressions, and another of men's legs. A compositionally spare sketch of Rossiter's baby son's head is notated "72 hours old."[176] A similar profile pen-

---

[174] A landscape sketch and a sketch of a woman are in Broaddus, "Thomas P. Rossiter: in Pursuit of Diversity," 108, 113; for the sketch *Joan of Arc in Prison*, dated February 23, 1854, a preparation for the oil painting of the same title, also in the New-York Historical Society, see Richard J. Koke, *American Landscape and Genre Paintings in the New-York Historical Society: A Catalog of the Collection, Including Historical, Narrative, and Marine Art* (New York: The Society in association with G.K. Hall, Boston, MA, 1982), 112.

[175] The New-York Historical Society has two other caricatures attributed to Rossiter: "The Lost Hair" (1956.75B) and "Caricature" (1956.75C).

and-ink sketch on paper of Ehrick Kensett Rossiter of September 17, 1854, "72 hours old," and its pendant sketch of Charlotte Evangeline Rossiter of September 17, 1854, "72 hours old," are in the Scrapbook.[177] Several studies of children's heads follow shortly afterward, as well as a family scene with father, mother, and children, dated April 6, 1858. Handwritten script on the final page of the book pairs the following methods and old masters: "Chiaroscuro: Rembrandt; Chiaroscuro: Veronese; Composition: Raphael; Designs: M. Angelo," an indication of lessons learned during European travels.[178]

Although many of the drawings in the New-York Historical Society sketchbook of 1854–58 have faded with time, the intimacy of the artist's hand is readily apparent. The care with which Rossiter studied women's costumes and hairstyles, in particular, offers a sense of how the artist developed his thoughts, and allows for a new appreciation for the figures in paintings such as *Picnic Above the Hudson* (see fig. 16). The voluminous rust-colored skirt, white shirtwaist, and royal blue shawl or blanket under the central woman's arm (the hue of which matches the ribbon on her summer straw hat), for example, along with her middle-parted corkscrew hairstyle may be seen as a document of a middle-class woman's fashion about 1862 (see fig. 34). The woman on the left is similarly attired in daywear, donning a rose-colored skirt, dark shirtwaist with a white collar and cuffs. Turned slightly to her right to listen to the young man speaking and offering her a flower, the viewer is presented with a frontal view of her hairstyle. Parted in the middle and brushed over her ears to fasten in the back, this style was fashionable in

---

[176] Fort, "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter," fig. 26, 243.

[177] Scrapbook, numbers 30, 31.

[178] Rossiter's sketchbook of 1843 further attests to his early respect for Raphael. Page 67 displays a sketch of a Madonna and Child with the following inscription by Rossiter: "[O]utline of a picture in the house where Raphael was born at Urbino. Said by some to be one of his early productions. [B]y others a work of his father being portraits of his mother and himself when an infant. Urbino/May 30.43."

the early 1860s. Illustrations from *Godey's Lady's Book* evidence the popularity of the middle part and the various options of styling at the back of the head (fig. 35).

A more personal depiction of female figures, fashion, and domestic life is seen in *Family Group on the Piazza at Cold Spring* (1862, Theodore K. Rossiter Collection, Ann Arbor, Michigan) (see fig. 15).[179] The family of ten is shown as a cohesive unit with Thomas Pritchard Rossiter at center as the uniting element between all the figures. Rossiter's pride in his upstanding middle-class family is apparent in the unified tableau he presents. They are situated on the porch of the home that he commissioned and for which he paid. The women are the picture of domesticity, albeit located outdoors, just beyond the female realm of the parlor. Standing next to Rossiter is his wife; she wears a fashionably voluminous white dress with blue bodice and her hair is parted in the center and combed down along her temples and ears, and fastened in a low chignon at the back of the head, a conservative choice with no braiding or floral embellishments. The simple style is more in line with the middle-parted and braided "new style for dressing the hair" show in *Peterson's Magazine* in September 1862 than it is with the more embellished style in *Godey's* of February 1862.[180] Mrs. Rossiter, surrounded by her family, is shown as a refined woman, her hairstyle being one of the main indicators of respectability. Importantly, none of the women and girls in the painting, with the exception of the older

---

[179] The Rossiter Family Scrapbook contains a reproduction of the painting. Sandra S. Phillips and Linda Weintraub, eds., *Charmed Places: Hudson River Artists and Their Houses, Studios, and Vistas* (New York: Edith C. Blum Art Institute, Bard College, and the Vassar College Art Gallery in association with H.N. Abrams, 1988), 115.

[180] Catharine Bishop, *Hairstyles and Headdresses of the Civil War Era* (Nahant, MA: Vintage Victorian, 2000), 33-34.

woman at far right, wear hats or headcoverings of any type despite being outside. These devices used allow Rossiter to better show their hairstyles in full.

Rossiter shows that he was a keen observer of women's lives and fashions. He was familiar with contemporary periodicals and, living with a wife and daughter, undoubtedly would have seen ladies' magazines such as *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine*, which were teeming with costume and hairstyle fashion plates. Moreover, Anna Parmly's parents and their families were prominent New Yorkers with access to the latest fashions. The drawings from Rossiter's sketchbook were transferred to his finished canvases like *Home on the Hudson* and *Picnic Above the Hudson*, which speak directly from the artist's pencil, time, and place, and extend the conversation about his Hudson River paintings. His depiction of hair reinforces a view of middle-class women that is fully consistent with the idea of true womanhood during the height of his career. The wealth of sketches, documentary, and material objects that remain for Rossiter testify to his strong interest in this aspect of women's appearance. Rossiter's concern with showing proper hairstyles reflects his general conservatism in his art and in his life. In the same way that Rossiter chose to follow a traditional path of training by studying the Old Masters during visits to Grand Tour cities, and to join the requisite artists' associations in New York, for example, he chose to portray women as respectable and demure, qualities he successfully conveyed via hairstyles.

Like Shattuck and Rossiter, Eastman Johnson (1824–1906) centralized women in many of his genre and landscape paintings of the 1860s and 70s, closely discerning hairstyles as key elements of their appearance and role in bourgeois life.[181] In 1863 the

[181] Teresa A. Carbone and Patricia Hills, *Eastman Johnson: Painting America* (New York: Brooklyn Museum of Art in association with Rizzoli International Publications, 1999), 223.

Round Table pronounced Eastman Johnson "our best *genre* painter," rivaling the "best *genre* painters of the continent."[182] Forty-five years later, art critic Sadakichi Hartmann agreed, noting that Eastman Johnson "is to-day recognized as the leading *genre* painter of America."[183] Johnson began his career drawing portraits, which led him to painting scenes of daily life in different locales, both interior and exterior scenes.[184] His father, Philip Carrigan Johnson, was a democrat who served for thirty years as the Secretary of State of Maine, then becoming a United States Senator in 1843.[185] As a result, Eastman Johnson lived in Washington, D.C. beginning in 1844 or 1845 and met distinguished figures who sat for portraits.[186] In summer 1849 he set out for Düsseldorf, to study painting, also traveling to London, the Netherlands, and Paris during his six years in Europe; he returned to Washington in 1855.[187]

From April 1858 until 1872 Johnson kept a studio at the University Building on Washington Square, overlapping with Winslow Homer, who was there from 1862 to

---

[182] "American Genius as Expressed in Art," *The Round Table. A Saturday Review of Politics, Finance, Literature, Society* 1, no. 2 (December 26, 1863): 21. Italics are original; see also Eugene Benson, "Eastman Johnson," *The Galaxy. A Magazine of Entertaining Reading* 6, no. 1 (July 1868): 0_003.

[183] Sadakichi Hartmann, "Eastman Johnson: American Genre Painter," *The Studio; an Illustrated Magazine of Fine and Applied Art* 43 (March 1908): 106. Italics are original.

[184] Hartmann, "Eastman Johnson: American Genre Painter," 108; Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists*, 466; David B. Dearinger, ed., *Rave Reviews: American Art and Its Critics, 1826-1925* (New York: National Academy of Design, 2000), 200.

[185] Kornhauser, *American Paintings Before 1945 in the Wadsworth Atheneum*, 513; John Davis, "Eastman Johnson's 'Negro Life at the South' and Urban Slavery in Washington, D.C.," *Art Bulletin* 80, no. 1 (March 1988): 67-92; "Our American Artists," *Hours at Home: A Popular Monthly of Instruction and Recreation* 4, no. 2 (December 1866): 172.

[186] Kornhauser, *American Paintings Before 1945 in the Wadsworth Atheneum*, 514.

[187] Kornhauser, *American Paintings Before 1945 in the Wadsworth Atheneum*, 514; Patricia Johnston, ed., *Seeing High & Low: Representing Social Conflict in American Visual Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 105; Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists*, 467; John I. H. Baur, *An American Genre Painter: Eastman Johnson, 1824-1906* (New York: Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, 1940), 5-28.

1871.[188] Johnson and Worthington Whittredge, a likeminded artist, had met in Emanuel Leutze's studio in Düsseldorf, where they became acquainted. In the mid-1860s they collaborated on genre scenes, including Whittredge's *Springtime: Man Seated by a Hearth* (ca. 1860–65, Ellen Battell Stoeckel Estate) and *Sunday Morning, New England* (ca. 1863, private collection). The paintings are signed "W. Whittredge, figures by E. Johnson"[189] There are affinities between other works by the painters, as both depicted middle-class interiors in their narrative genre scenes, with a close eye for the décor and objects of daily life.[190] In 1860 Johnson was elected a full member of the National Academy of Design, and in June 1869, at the somewhat late age of 45, he married Elizabeth Williams Buckley (b. 1840).[191] Beginning the next year, the two spent time in Nantucket, Massachusetts, the site of some of Johnson's best-known paintings.[192] They had one daughter, Ethel, who was born in May 1870.[193] Two years later they purchased a townhouse at 65 West 55th Street in New York, where Johnson set up a work space on the top floor.[194] During the 1880s Johnson turned away from genre and landscape painting, focusing his time on portraiture, as he had done at the beginning of his

---

[188] Carbone and Hills, *Eastman Johnson*, 186.

[189] Roberta Smith Favis, "Home Again: Worthington Whittredge's Domestic Interiors," *American Art* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 24.

[190] Ibid., 20.

[191] Carbone and Hills, *Eastman Johnson*, 72.

[192] Kornhauser, *American Paintings Before 1945 in the Wadsworth Atheneum*, 514.

[193] Carbone and Hills, *Eastman Johnson*, 72.

[194] Ibid., 74.

career.[195] Johnson was also one of the founders of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1870.[196]

Johnson's interior scenes are compelling for their detail of middle-class life as well as their narratives that some art historians find difficult to parse.[197] For example, *Not at Home*, (ca. 1873, Brooklyn Museum, 40.60), has often caused consternation in the scholarly literature because the female protagonist seems to be vacating her empty parlor without explanation (fig. 36).[198] Gerdts interprets the painting in the context of his discussion of "empty rooms," viewing the painting as a humorous one, with the woman ascending the stairway, fleeing the parlor, perhaps before any more social callers arrive.[199] The woman portrayed is Elizabeth Buckley Johnson, and she is shown in the parlor of the Johnsons' home on West 55th Street. Her fashionably fussy white and black day dress is complemented by her hair, pinned up in a chignon with a dark ribbon set in the center, and falling between the left temple and ear; she is appropriately hatless in her own home. Seen in full-figure profile, the better by which to view her dress and hair, she ascends the stairway in the front entranceway with determination, body leaning forward into the second and third steps, left hand holding the banister for support.

---

[195] Kornhauser, *American Paintings Before 1945 in the Wadsworth Atheneum*, 514; Baur, *An American Genre Painter: Eastman Johnson, 1824-1906*, 23.

[196] Johnson's obituary is "Johnson, Eastman Death," *New York Daily Tribune*, April 6, 1906, 7.

[197] For example, *Negro Life at the South* (1859) has been described as "A complex and ambiguous depiction of African American enslavement." Richard Brilliant and Amy Weinstein, *Group Dynamics: Family Portraits & Scenes of Everyday Life at the New-York Historical Society* (New York: New Press, 2006), 56.

[198] See, for example, Carbone and Hills, *Eastman Johnson*, 74.

[199] William H. Gerdts, "The Empty Room," *Bulletin of the Allen Memorial Art Museum* 33, no. 2 (1975): 79.

Scholars have asked where Mrs. Johnson is headed and why she is escaping the vestibule or parlor behind it—the title *Not at Home* suggests that she is either avoiding a caller or is being summoned on more urgent business upstairs.[200] Although her neat and appropriate hairstyle does not resolve the question, it further defines Mrs. Johnson as a middle-class woman who moves comfortably and assuredly through her own home. Expectations for women in the period would have demanded that Mrs. Johnson spend the majority of her time in her well-appointed townhouse. She would have entertained guests in the parlor, overseen a servant or two while they performed their duties, and cared for the child who would have been strolled in, or played with, the small carriage seen parked against the vestibule wall.[201] As a point of pride in his ability to provide handsomely for his family, Johnson shows his wife as mistress-manager of a respectable home that has all the proper trappings, especially in its quintessential Victorian parlor outfitted with a wood china cabinet topped by knick-knacks, an armed chair, carefully draped fabrics, and two framed paintings.[202]

A comparable work is *The Little Convalescent* (ca. 1872–80, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), which depicts a mother reading to her son in his sick bed (fig. 37).[203] The child turns to his right to look at the viewer, or artist, while the woman remains solidly seated with her back to the viewer, wearing a plain dark day dress with royal blue ribboned belt. The bedroom is modestly appointed, with two glass bottles, a blue glass

---

[200] Carbone and Hills, *Eastman Johnson*, 74.

[201] John Davis, "Children in the Parlor: Eastman Johnson's 'Brown Family' and the Post-Civil War Luxury Interior," *American Art* 10, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 69.

[202] The larger painting depicts Johnson's copy of Jules Breton's *Le Départ pour les Champs* (ca. 1865, Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1960.67).

[203] She may also be teaching the boy to read. See Carbone and Hills, *Eastman Johnson*, 221.

pitcher, white ceramic mug, an unidentifiable object (possibly the spine of a book), and a purple-toned drinking glass set on the ledge above the bed. The background wall is simply executed in brown, muddy brushstrokes. Another book rests on the boy's legs, which are covered with a sheet and blanket. One of the most dominant parts of the composition is the mother's hairstyle, seen full-on from the back and uncovered, just a few inches below the items on the shelf. Twisted and pinned high on the crown of the head, all tresses are carefully accounted for, with no wayward loose ends. Representing a proper woman of the period performing her motherly duties, and the home which she cares for, the hairstyle is neat, clean, and fully respectable. Again, Eastman Johnson depicts a woman appropriately in place, including each hair on her head, a subject worthy of bragging rights for a middle-class man who supports the lifestyle of his wife and children. Mrs. Johnson appears again in *Woman in a White Dress* (ca. 1873, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco), in which she wears a simple, feminine hairstyle, here again as a decidedly formal element in the composition. Indeed, the entire work is made up only of the figure's head and body, a cropped doorframe at left, a wood bench at right, and four circular decorative dishes on the wall at right, three of which are truncated nearly in half (fig. 38).

Finally, Johnson's attention to women's hair and appearances is further attested to by his portrait of Harriet Hubbard Ayer (1881, Corcoran Gallery, 63.24), painted in Nantucket (figs. 39–40).[204] The Chicago-born, New York–based Ayer (1849–1903) was

---

[204] For two more paintings by Johnson showing interest in a woman's daily preparations, see *The Toilet*, 1873, The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 57.21; and *The New Bonnet*, 1876, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.110.11. Hirschl & Adler Galleries, *American Genre Painting in the Victorian Era: Winslow Homer, Eastman Johnson, and Their Contemporaries* (New York: Hirschl & Adler Galleries, 1978), 49. A study for the painting is dated about 1881 (at Hirschl & Adler Galleries, 1978);

married to Herbert Copeland Ayer (1835–1899) when she was sixteen years old, and became a socialite.[205] After enduring her husband's financial failure and separating from him in 1883 (they divorced in 1887), Ayer moved to New York and developed a facial cream, Luxuria, that she had discovered in Paris, in 1886 naming her firm, Récamier Manufacturing Company, after the great beauty of the Napoleonic era, Madame Récamier. The product was advertised consistently, even for years after her death. Following economic trouble with the business, owing to claims by James Seymour, a stockholder who was also the father-in-law of her daughter Harriet, she was forced to stay in an insane asylum for fourteen months, beginning in 1893. Her business fell into disarray during her committal period. Released in 1894, she began a new career in 1896, writing pieces about beauty and health (often promoting "plumpness" as the preferred body type for women) for the *New York World*, and became passionate about the suffrage and dress reform movements. A successful writer, her book *Harriet Hubbard Ayer's Book: A Complete and Authentic Treatise on the Laws of Health and Beauty* was published in 1899.[206]

Annette Blaugrund, "Painting the Extraordinary Harriet Hubbard Ayer," *The Magazine Antiques* (Summer 2010): 200.

[205] Blaugrund, "Painting the Extraordinary Harriet Hubbard Ayer," 197; "Mrs. Harriet Ayer Dead," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 26, 1903, 4; Robert Gates Bardin, "Posing as a Fine Art: William Merritt Chase's Portrait Strategies" (PhD diss., New York: Columbia University, 1997), 101n19.

[206] Harriet Hubbard Ayer, *Harriet Hubbard Ayer's Book: A Complete and Authentic Treatise on the Laws of Health and Beauty* (New York: Home Topics Book Co., 1899); art historian Annette Blaugrund is in the process of writing a biography of Ayer. See also Annette Blaugrund, *The Tenth Street Studio Building: Artist-Entrepreneurs from the Hudson River School to the American Impressionists* (Southampton, NY: Parrish Art Museum, 1997); Blaugrund calls Ayer "the first American woman to establish and manage a successful cosmetics company." Blaugrund, "Painting the Extraordinary Harriet Hubbard Ayer," 194, 197-98; "Mrs. James Brown Potter. A Practical Business Woman Expresses An Opinion---What Mrs. Harriet Hubbard Ayer Thinks of This Charming Actress and Society Belle," *The New York Times*, December 4, 1887, 5; "Mrs. Ayer in an Asylum," *New York Times*, February 28, 1893, 1; Banner, *American Beauty*, 113, 149, 207, 213; John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, *American National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); "Troubles of Her Life," *The Boston Sunday Globe* (Boston, December 19, 1886), 4.

Ayer appeared in two portraits by William Merritt Chase during the heady years of her husband's success as a businessman in the iron industry, the first time in 1879 in which she wears a fashionable dress by Charles Frederick Worth, and the second in 1880, in which she dons a revivalist Directoire outfit with bonnet (figs. 41–42).[207] Based partly on the costume and darker hair in the latter, Ronald G. Pisano and Annette Blaugrund have proposed that Ayer may be the sitter in Chase's famous painting *In the Studio*, ca. 1881 (fig. 43).[208] *In the Studio* depicts a woman seated on a bench, looking through a portfolio of large reproductions that rests on an oriental carpet, perhaps waiting to meet with the artist. Given the heavily furnished and embellished studio the effect is that the woman becomes part of the décor. Blaugrund further suggests that Ayer may be the redheaded model in Chase's later painting, *In the Studio* (ca. 1884, Reynolda House Museum of American Art, Winston-Salem, North Carolina).[209] The likeness in Chase's second painting, in which Ayer's hair is a darker red than in the 1879 version, was not well-received by Herbert Ayer. In fact, he complained to Chase that he recognized only his wife's feet.[210]

---

[207] Ronald G. Pisano, *William Merritt Chase: The Complete Catalogue of Known and Documented Work by William Merritt Chase (1849-1916)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 30; 33-34; Margaret Hubbard Ayer and Isabella Taves, *The Three Lives of Harriet Hubbard Ayer* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1957), 84; Blaugrund, "Painting the Extraordinary Harriet Hubbard Ayer," 198; the painting is discussed in the following article in which the subject is referred to as having a "blond complexion and golden hair." M. G. Van Rensselaer, "William Merritt Chase," *The American Art Review* 2, no. 3 (January 1881): 96.

[208] Blaugrund, *The Tenth Street Studio Building*, 119; Pisano, *William Merritt Chase*, 33; Bruce Weber and Sarah Kate Gillespie, *Chase Inside and Out: The Aesthetic Interiors of William Merritt Chase* (New York: Berry-Hill Galleries, 2004), 28; Blaugrund, "Painting the Extraordinary Harriet Hubbard Ayer," 200.

[209] Blaugrund, *The Tenth Street Studio Building*, 119; 124.

[210] Blaugrund, "Painting the Extraordinary Harriet Hubbard Ayer," 200; interestingly, when the painting was sold in 1917 to the Weston Galleries, the hair was described as follows: "curling hair in which rich brown notes and golden-blond lights appear." American Art Association, *The Completed Pictures, Studies and Sketches Left by the Late William Merritt Chase, N.A.* (New York: American Art Association, 1917), cat. 91.

Mr. Ayer proceeded to commission the portrait by Johnson in 1881, likely to redeem the sitter (and himself) from her portrayal in Chase's 1880 canvas.[211] In the study and final painting (both 1881), Johnson provided a more traditional, acceptable portrait. One of the ways he did so was to lighten the sitter's hair color, have her wear a fashionable dress, not an historical costume, and situate her in a properly decorated Victorian interior (as he did with his wife in *Not at Home*). Ayer is firmly planted in the parlor, her solid figure leaning against a well-appointed fireplace. Pottery, glass objects, and one framed picture populate the shelves above. Ayer is presented standing in a sturdy position. She has a buxom top half and minute waistline, ivory-colored skin highlighted by eye makeup and rouged lips, and an oval face with regular features, the shape of which is enhanced by the fringe of auburn curls along the forehead. The back hair is swept up and pinned in her signature style, which was arranged for her by a Parisian hairdresser. It is said that she wore her hair in this style for the rest of her life.[212] The portrait by Johnson, in comparison to Chase's of 1880, demonstrates how women's hairstyles and hair color could be regarded as acceptable or not, and accentuates Johnson's attention to hair and appearances. Moreover, in 1882, just one year after the Ayer portrait, Mary Gay Humphreys of *The Art Amateur* commended Johnson on his discerning eye for women's hairstyles:

> It is a mistake to imagine that woman's natural instinct is the best guide in dress . . . Left to themselves women commit the greatest sins against their own physiognomies. As an example of this Mr. Johnson instances the fashion of wearing the hair in a succession of stiff waves plastered down to the face, the line of each wave running to the back of the head, a result effected by saturating the hair with bandoline and treating it to short strokes of the comb. This style of hair-

[211] Blaugrund, "Painting the Extraordinary Harriet Hubbard Ayer," 200.

[212] Ayer and Taves, *The Three Lives of Harriet Hubbard Ayer*, 73.

> dressing owes its original success to the difficulty of keeping the hair in crimps during the summer and at the seaside. Artists will not consider any reason sufficient for surrounding the face with this ugly hard outline, which, if women had been indebted to nature for it, would have been considered a deformity. Now the original reason does not obtain, yet the custom still exists to what Mr. Johnson considers an exasperating extent. . . . Aside from the barbarity above described he considers the hair-dressing of the present day especially good. This, it must be remembered, is the simple knot at the back, high or low, with soft waves about the face. Nothing that heightens the importance of the face should be neglected.[213]

Interestingly, she also generally approved of Chase's considerations of hairdo's and hats:

> Everyone familiar with the paintings of Mr. W. M. Chase must have observed how very happy he is in coiffing his models. His preferences evidently tend toward large head-coverings, for which two artistic reasons may be given. In the large lines of the hats and bonnets he is able to emphasize the peculiar style of the face, and he is also able to throw about the head a certain mysterious charm with the shadows of the broad brims. This is especially felt when he uses color in the lining which blends its reflections with the tones of the hair.[214]

Shattuck, Rossiter, and to a somewhat lesser degree, Johnson, were artists better known for landscapes than their figural works, but attention to their treatment of hairstyles contributes to a fuller appreciation of the latter group. Indeed, close study of figural examples demonstrates a predeliction for depicting women, especially family members as the embodiment of True Womanhood. Careful depictions of neat and fashionable, not daring or risqué, hairstyles was a main mode of conveying the message that these male artists were proud of their wives, mothers, and daughters. Albeit, the pride stemmed from the artists' ability to keep them appropriately outfitted and living a comfortable lifestyle. In the forthcoming chapters, depictions of women who diverged from Victorian expectations will be discussed in depth, providing contrast to the good

[213] Mary Gay Humphreys, "Art in Dress," *The Art Amateur* 6, no. 4 (March 1882): 86.

[214] Ibid.

wives and mothers in the works by Shattuck, Rossiter, and Johnson. Examples of painting, prints, and photography will show how the primly appointed and coiffed woman began to come undone in subsequent periods, especially as photography became more widespread.

Chapter Three: "Her Own Luxuriant and Flowing Locks": Hair as a Signifier of Social Class and the Modern Woman in Works by Winslow Homer

As a counterpoint to the more complacent, contained treatment of hair by Shattuck, Rossiter, and Johnson covered in the previous chapter, the present discussion argues that Winslow Homer deliberately experimented with more disruptive depictions of women's hair as a way to address sexuality. In contrast to those artists whose hair-related genre works were grounded in middle-class domestic settings, Homer explored a broader range of sitters from varying social classes and ethnic backgrounds, showing them in public settings, especially by the seaside and engaged in athletic activities. Whereas the artists discussed in the previous chapter depicted the proper True Woman, Homer dared to represent ordinary, even disturbingly "ugly" people of the working class. Hair was a significantly charged element in his willful portrayals of women with their hair down, which were received by critics as scandalous. As a realist, bourgeois artist, Homer contended with sexuality through hair, but was ultimately unwilling to be more explicit by virtue of his cultural background. Homer explored the topic in various media throughout his career, and thus, a strictly chronological approach is purposefully not employed. Works on paper are a main focus of the present study, as hairstyles offered opportunities for Homer to show deftness with drawing, etching, and watercolor. These modes also offered a chance to capture nuances of hairstyles that other media would not allow so easily. The chapter begins with a brief overview of hair culture in the 1870s, 80s, and 90s, and then analyzes Homer's hair-related works. It sets up a point of contrast for the forthcoming accounts of works by New Woman photographers like Alice Austen and

the painters Mary Cassatt and Edgar Degas, who furthered the provocative ways of depicting the femininity of long, loose hair.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, hair culture for women in the 1870s gained more freedom, with less constricted styles becoming more acceptable. Recall that in the United States, hairdressing became more professionalized with the founding of the trade magazine *American Hairdresser* in 1878, and the Hair Dealer's Association of the United States in 1888. Visiting a hair salon also became more acceptable for women, and hairstyles became more intricate, in tandem with the taste for large bustled skirts.[1] In the 70s, styles called for hair placed atop the head, with falling braids and curls as embellishments.[2] In contrast, loose chignons, with simpler ornaments, possibly topped by small-brimmed hats with some trimmings, dominated in the 1880s, and in the 1890s bonnets were out, while broad hats set over fuller hairstyles were in, a look that complemented sturdy jackets and skirts suitable for sporting activities.[3] In 1872, Marcel Grateau famously invented the Marcel wave, a manner of using heated tongs to create ripples in the hair.[4]

---

[1] Lois W. Banner, *American Beauty* (New York: Knopf, 1983), 211, 332n20; Joyce Asser, *Historic Hairdressing* (London: Pitman, 1966), 100-101; Joan Nunn, *Fashion in Costume: 1200-1980* (London: Herbert, 1984), 153; Carol de Dobay Rifelj, "The Language of Hair in the Nineteenth-Century Novel," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 32, no. 1 (Fall 2003-Winter 2004): 83-88.; Carol de Dobay Rifelj, *Coiffures: Hair in Nineteenth-Century French Literature and Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2010); Ellen M. Plante, *Women at Home in Victorian America: A Social History* (New York: Facts on File, 1997), 129; Valerie Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism: Ideals of Feminine Beauty from the Victorian Era to the Jazz Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 64, 119.

[2] Nunn, *Fashion in Costume*, 159.

[3] Jean Keyes, *A History of Women's Hairstyles, 1500-1965* (London: Methuen, 1967), 49-53; Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 210; Asser, *Historic Hairdressing*, 101.

[4] Durbin, *Wig, Hairdressing and Shaving Bygones*, 28; Severn, *The Long and Short of It*, 120; Trasko, *Daring Do's*, 98; Huggett, *Hair-Styles and Head Dresses*, 50; Banner, *American Beauty*, 215; Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, 492-93; Jolly, *Hair*, 52; Carol de Dobay Rifelj, "The Language of Hair in the Nineteenth-Century Novel," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 32, no. 1 (Fall 2003/ Winter 2004): n.p.; Rifelj,

All of this led in the direction of the round, fuller and softer look of the confident turn-of-the century New Woman and Gibson Girl types, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

It has become clear that hair color, length, and dressing were associated with sexuality in the mid- to late nineteenth century.[5] The topic of Victorian sexuality is a rich field of exploration, and hair figures strongly within it. As Grant McCracken observes, in western culture, long hair has signified vitality and sexuality, and as Rose Weitz states, women's hair is a site of bodily power and resistance.[6] Wendy Cooper takes a loosely psychoanalytic approach when explaining her belief that hair was linked to sexual power because it is closely related to puberty and regeneration.[7] In the context of English Victorian culture, which may be extended to the Cult of True Womanhood in the United States, Ofek remarks that female sexuality was considered dangerous owing to the belief that the entire social structure depended on its containment.[8] Similarly, Virginia M. Allen

---

Coiffures, 51-53; Kim Smith writes that the Marcel wave played a strong role in the acceptability of visiting hair salons to have specific services performed. Smith, "From Style to Place: the Emergence of the Ladies' Hair Salon in the Twentieth Century," 57.

[5] Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 16; Geraldine Biddle-Perry and Sarah Cheang, "Conclusion: Hair and Human Identity," in *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2008), 243-53; Catherine Clinton, *The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Eric Foner (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984), 148; Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (New York: Viking Press, 1978), 72-73.

[6] Grant David McCracken, *Big Hair: A Journey into the Transformation of Self* (Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, 1996), 139; Rose Weitz, "Women and Their Hair: Seeking Power through Resistance and Accommodation," *Gender and Society* 15, no. 5 (October 2001): 667-86.

[7] Wendy Cooper, *Hair: Sex, Society, Symbolism* (London: Aldus Books, 1971), 183.

[8] Galia Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009), 11; also commenting on Victorian society, Valerie Steele argues that Victorian prudery has been exaggerated. She writes, "If we can speak at all of an 'official' 'middle-class' ideal of femininity, then an analysis of nineteenth-century fashion indicates that that ideal was, in part, an erotic one." See Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism*, 85-101, esp. 100-101; see also Christian Bromberger, "Hair: From the West to the

writes about the "devastating effect of Victorian morality on sexual and psychological health in the individual."[9] Middle- and upper-class women were expected to act modestly and not flaunt their femininity, which included transferring any passionate thoughts into religious spiritualism.[10] To this end, attempts at containing sexuality called for women to wear their hair neatly pinned up as a sign of respectability. The opposite, such as out-of-control curls, were considered provocative.[11] Certain types of false hair even came under scrutiny—some men thought that wearing the hair in a large roll with fake hair placed too much pressure on a woman's small brain, increasing blood flow and sexual desire.[12]

Part of the Victorian world of sexuality was a fetish with hair, which Ofek identifies as the "flagship fetish of the nineteenth century."[13] Ofek cites the ritual involved in repeatedly brushing and dressing the hair on a daily basis, as well as romantic exchanges of hair, hairwork, and hair jewelry, which functioned in performances of courting and mourning.[14] As a removable part of the body, hair, as well as false

---

Middle East through the Mediterranean," *Journal of American Folklore* 121 (Fall 2008): n.p.; and Barbara Welter, *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976), 13.

[9] Virginia M. Allen, *The Femme Fatale: Erotic Icon* (Troy, NY: Whitston, 1983), 144.

[10] Ronald G. Walters, ed., *Primers for Prudery: Sexual Advice to Victorian America*, Updated ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 7-15, 32, 110-17; Degler concludes after a thorough review of written evidence, much of it firsthand accounts from women, rather than prescriptive literature, that despite the public attempts at curtailment, women enjoyed sex. Carl N. Degler, "What Ought To Be and What Was: Women's Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century," *The American Historical Review* 79, no. 5 (December 1974): esp. 1477-79, 1486, 1488-90; Clinton, *The Other Civil War*, 148; Victorian codes of modesty also entailed hiding and not discussing pregnancy. Stephanie Coontz, *The Social Origins of Private Life: A History of American Families, 1600-1900* (London: Verso, 1988), 280.

[11] Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 145.

[12] Walters, *Primers for Prudery*, 58.

[13] Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 20, 36.

[14] Ibid., 26-27.

hairpieces, were likened to objects in a household that could be desired.[15] Guy de Maupassant's story "La Chevelure" includes a scene where an antiques collector comes upon a hair relic within an Italian chest from the seventeenth century:

> Yes, a head of hair, an enormous plait of blonde hair, almost red . . . I remained stupefied, trembling, perturbed! An almost anesthetizing perfume . . . flew from this mysterious drawer as well as from this amazing relic. I picked it up, gently, almost religiously, and I took it from its hiding-place. Immediately, the tress unfurled, spilling its gilded wave, which fell to the ground, thick and light, supple and brilliant, like the fiery tail of a comet.[16]

The character's rapture over his discovery is palpable and representative of the power that women's hair had over certain men in the late nineteenth century. Similarly, American author Henry Frith opened his short story, "A Golden Tress," with the protagonist, Captain Fitz-Hugh, coming upon a length of hair in his hairdresser's shop:

> Fitz-Hugh glanced around the room, and perceived lying on a table beneath the window a quantity of long, thick tresses of the most lovely auburn hair he had ever seen. He stepped across and took hold of it. It was fine and glittering as spun glass or silkworm's silk. The officer murmured, "Beauty draws us by a single hair."[17]

Women, as well as men actively fetishized hair-related objects such as false chignons and hair art, a phenomenon that Emily Apter terms "feminizing the fetish."[18] As will become

---

[15] Ibid., 37.

[16] Guy de Maupassant, *Contes Et Nouvelles*, ed. Louis Forestier, vol. 2 (Paris: Gallimard, 1979), 110; translated in Emily S. Apter, "Splitting Hairs: Female Fetishism and Postpartum Sentimentality in the Fin de Siècle," in *Eroticism and the Body Politic*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 172.

[17] Henry Frith, "A Golden Tress," *Saturday Evening Post* 64, no. 51 (July 4, 1885): 9.

[18] Ofek, *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 34, 215; Emily S. Apter, *Feminizing the Fetish: Psychoanalysis and Narrative Obsession in Turn-of-the-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 244-45; see also Cynthia Amneus, Julie Aronson, and Marjorie E. Wieseman, "The Art of Ornamental Hairwork," in *Perfect Likeness: European and American Portrait Miniatures from the Cincinnati Art Museum* (New Haven: Yale University Press; Cincinnati, Ohio: Cincinnati Art Museum, 2006), 64; Helen Sheumaker, "'This Lock You See': Nineteenth-Century Hair Work as the Commodified

evident, Homer reacted to the changing world of mid- to late nineteenth century womanhood throughout his career, and it is possible to trace his position toward sexuality and inherent class relations through his depiction of hair.

Winslow Homer's (1836–1910) attentiveness to the various strata in social class in the United States during the mid-to late nineteenth century is perhaps nowhere more evident than in the following two works: *Thanksgiving Day, 1860—Two Great Classes of Society* and *Eagle Head, Manchester, Massachusetts (High Tide)*, 1870 (figs. 44–46).[19] The first, a woodblock engraving that appeared on two pages of *Harper's Weekly* on December 1, 1860, literally spells out its message to the viewer both in the title that is presented in an arc of capital letters and in the two captions that describe the bifurcated composition. The three scenes at left are comprised of "Those who have more dinners than appetite." At upper left (the first scene, if the English-reading viewer begins from the left) is a chandelier-lit private room in which a woman of means sits in front of her mirrored toilette casually perusing a pamphlet or book while a maid combs her long dark tresses. In a generously draped dressing gown, the woman is the picture of comfort as she is being made up for a social outing. The episode directly below takes place at the theater, where two women, their hair properly coiffed with center parts, are outfitted in voluminous dresses that inhabit every inch of space in the front row of their boxed seats. A gentleman in a three-piece suit stands behind them straining to his left for a proper view of the proceedings. The three vignettes at right are filled with figures representing

---

Self," *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 1, no. 4 (11, 1997): 426; Apter, "Splitting Hairs: Female Fetishism and Postpartum Sentimentality in the Fin de Siècle."

[19] *Thanksgiving Day, 1860—Two Great Classes of Society* is illustrated in Philip C. Beam, *Winslow Homer's Magazine Engravings*, 1st ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), 93, fig. 74. *Eagle Head, Manchester, Massachusetts (High Tide)* is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA, 23.77.2).

"Those who have more appetite than dinners." Here, the woman at upper right in an attic-type room lit by a single low-burning candle seems to be praying, or gazing downward in solemn reflection. In marked contrast to the women of leisure and means, her unwashed hair hangs limply over her ears. In the scene at lower right a forlorn woman falls against a bed. Appearing as emotionally depleted as her uncarpeted basement room is unfurnished, her disheveled hair reflects her condition. The distinction between the upper and lower classes hinges on the relative kept or unkemptness of their hair.

Brought to light in this work is the issue of labor involved with maintaining hair. The rich women have the means to hire a servant to do their hair. Hair, then, becomes a way to demonstrate their excess wealth. By way of contrast, the poor women are so drained from laboring for others that they do not have enough energy to maintain their own hair. As will become clear in the detailed discussion below, the narrative in *Eagle Head* is more difficult to parse. Depicting three young female bathers at the beach, who have just emerged out of the ocean, the scene is spare. The women are accompanied only by a small dog, their shadows, and the natural environs. One of the primary signifiers of both class and sexuality in these two works, and indeed one that has been previously overlooked in the literature about Homer, is women's hair. In fact, the treatment of hair repeatedly plays a central role in Homer's works in the 1860s and 1870s, providing a gauge, alongside his treatment of clothing, of his awareness of fashion as an indicator of class and femininity.

Homer had taken to women's hair and clothing as subjects while still a student. An apt example is *Spring in the City*, an engraving for *Harper's Weekly*, April 17, 1858, which shows well-appointed women and men in front of a store with a sign advertising

"Laces & Fancy Goods."[20] Further, a graphite drawing in the Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution, depicts a woman standing before a piano on the recto, and two mourning women on the verso. Simply and sketchily drawn, all three women in the compositions wear their hair in low buns; the one on the recto has used braiding to fix it in place. It was produced about 1860–61, when Homer was between twenty-four and twenty-five years old and when he was enrolled in classes at the National Academy of Design's Life School and illustrating for *Harper's Weekly*, as well as embarking on his career as a reporter of the Civil War.[21] The author of an article in *The Nation* on November 15, 1866, wrote the following upon observing Homer's figural works that were up for auction in New York under the direction of art dealer Samuel P. Avery:

> There is, we think, an error in the drawing of one of the figures in the croquet study, but yet how *well* the same figure is drawn, how powerfully—how the body is recognized inside the preposterous and unnatural dress! Indeed, as regards costume alone, these pictures ought to be taken care of, that our descendants may see how the incredible female dress of the present day actually did look, when worn by active young women. And for the beauty of the pictures, it could hardly have been supposed that the out-door dress of fashionable young ladies could have been made to "look so well in a picture."[22]

More than twenty years later, one of Homer's Long Branch seaside scenes was identified by the attention to fashion—"a curious little Long Beach scene by Winslow Homer, painted in the sixties, when hoopskirts were worn."[23]

---

[20] Beam, *Winslow Homer's Magazine Engravings*, 60, fig. 22; Elizabeth Johns, *Winslow Homer: The Nature of Observation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 21.

[21] See Lloyd Goodrich and Abigail Booth Gerdts, *Record of Works by Winslow Homer* (New York: Spanierman Gallery, 2005), 118-120; Nicolai Cikovsky and Franklin Kelly, *Winslow Homer* (Washington DC: National Gallery of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 392.

[22] "Fine Arts. Pictures Elsewhere," *The Nation*, November 15, 1866, 396.

[23] "Sale of American Paintings," *New York Times*, March 16, 1893, 5.

Working for weekly periodicals forced Homer to be aware of the ongoing changes in women's fashions and daily activities.[24] It is apparent from his many beach scenes that Homer had a particular inclination toward depicting swim costumes. In 1891 the *Art Amateur* referred to Homer's "persistent study of draperies wet by sea water or blown by the wind. He seems in danger of falling into a certain mannerism in this regard."[25] He includes an example of the simple shack in which women changed costume when they arrived at the beach in *On the Bluff at Long Branch, at the Bathing Hour*, a wood engraving after Homer for *Harper's Weekly*, August 6, 1870 [MMA, 29.88.8(6)] (fig. 47). This engraving followed the painting *Long Branch, New Jersey*, 1869 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).[26] A sign atop the structure says "BATHING DRESSES," and a sleeveless maillot undergarment hangs off the right side of the roof's overhang to dry in the open air.

Homer's close observation of middle-class fashion as well as of such simple bath houses is evidenced by postcards and photographs he collected. An example is a postcard in the Winslow Homer Collection in the Bowdoin College Museum of Art (1964.69.177.3). By an unknown artist, it shows bath houses at Prouts Neck, Maine, about 1883–1910, when Homer lived and painted there; the card was presumably owned by Winslow and was given to the museum by the Homer family. Also in that museum is a glass-plate photograph by an unknown artist of bathers at the beach, likewise dated about 1883–1910 (1964.69.177.31). Perhaps most fascinating is a group of snapshots affixed to

---

[24] Barbara Dayer Gallati, "Women in Modern American Life," in *Winslow Homer: Illustrating America*, ed. Marilyn S. Kushner, Linda S. Ferber, and Barbara Dayer Gallati (New York: Brooklyn Museum of Art in association with George Braziller, 2000), 88.

[25] "The Water-Color Exhibition," *The Art Amateur* 24, no. 4 (March 1891): 90.

[26] Cikovsky and Kelly, *Winslow Homer*, 79.

four separate pages of an album in the Winslow Homer Collection in the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.[27] The fourth page consists of five circular photographs on a page inscribed "Chatham, Mass.," and shows family members (adults and one child) casually posing on the shore and wading in the water. Although undated, the style of the single woman's bathing suit, which is sleeveless and low-cut at the bodice (although worn with stockings), suggests a date close to the turn of the century.[28] Her dark, pinned-up hair is difficult to use for dating the photographs, as it is set in a casual, undecorated style. Two photographs on the second page of the album appear to show the same party before they enter the water, along with another woman in a full white dress holding a parasol. All faces are in the shade and difficult to identify. The significance of the photographs rests in their evidence of the Homer family's familiarity with the beach, seaside fashion, and etiquette. Homer's family, aside from his wealthy brother, Charles Savage Homer, Jr. (1834–1917), was firmly situated in the New England middle class.[29] His father, Charles Savage Homer, Sr. (1809–1898) was a hardware merchant in Boston; his mother, Henrietta Maria, painted watercolors.[30]

On the Bluff at Long Branch, at the Bathing Hour (see fig. 47) is a fine example of Homer's skill at depicting middle-class women's fashion in hair and clothing and his

---

[27] Winslow Homer Collection, 1877-1945, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. [Microfilm reels D24, 2814, 3483, 4281, and 1817]. See http://www.aaa.si.edu/collectionsonline/homewinl/container208522.htm.

[28] Winslow Homer Collection, 1877-1945, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. [Microfilm reels D24, 2814, 3483, 4281, and 1817]. See http://www.aaa.si.edu/collectionsonline/homewinl/container208522.htm.

[29] See Beam, *Winslow Homer's Magazine Engravings*, 21-22, 43; Johns, *Winslow Homer*, 21, 23; 127-28; Cikovsky and Kelly, *Winslow Homer*, 396. His other brother was Arthur Benson Homer (1841–1916).

[30] Gene W. Teitelbaum, "Men and Women, Boys and Girls Together," *Winslow Homer: An Annual* 3 (1988): 5; Cikovsky and Kelly, *Winslow Homer*, 391.

subjects' adherence to Victorian decorum. A close examination of an original print reveals the careful delineation of the large chunks of blonde braided hair on two of the four women at left and on one of the women at right who is poised to walk down the stairs. Hat and dress ribbons fly on this windy day, and the woman at center attempts to hold on to her hat with her upstretched right hand, in contradistinction to the women in *Eagle Head* who enjoy their dishevelment. Much has been written about the fussy fashions, jewelry, parasol, and unlikely black boots shown in the Long Branch pictures. For example, William Howe Downes wrote the following in 1911 about *On the Bluff*: "A group of five ladies were about to descend a flight of wooden steps to the bath-houses on the edge of the beach below. The strong sea-breeze played pranks with their voluminous flounced skirts."[31] It appears that the women may be marching into the bathing shack to free their bodies of the cumbersome clothes and tightly wound hair. The picture almost may be read cinematically. Envision the women prancing down the stairs, through the front door of the shack, and out the back door on to the sand in their bathing gear ready to enter the water—like the two diminutive running girls at the right of the composition.

---

[31] William Howe Downes, *The Life and Works of Winslow Homer* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), 65; in his 1945 monograph on Homer, Lloyd Goodrich wrote: "With his keen eye for fashion, he delighted in the hoopskirts, flounces, puffed sleeves, little round turbans, flying ribbons, and all the feminine absurdities of this unstreamlined day. Where less realistic artists toned down these extremes of fashion, he exploited their decorative possibilities to the full, though with no hint of caricature. In his work one can follow not only changes in style but the subtler differences between the clothes of the Long Branch belle and her simpler country sister."Lloyd Goodrich, *Winslow Homer* (New York: Macmillan for the Whitney Museum of American Art, 1944), 28; Nicolai Cikovsky, "Winslow Homer's National Style," in *American Icons: Transatlantic Perspectives on Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century American Art*, ed. Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Heinz Ickstadt (Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1992), 253; Johns, *Winslow Homer*, 63; Randall C. Griffin views the scene as comical, and the fashionable dresses as ill-suited for windy days. Randall C. Griffin, *Winslow Homer: An American Vision* (London and New York: Phaidon, 2006), 57; literary scholar Gregory M. Pfitzer proffers the observation that "Homer felt compelled to paint their impractical and restrictive fashions with fidelity." He also refers to the two women in "Long Branch" as "Too afraid to venture forward closer to the embankment and unwilling to join the bathers on the beach, they become outsiders to the festivities of the shoreline." Gregory M. Pfitzer, "Woman at the Water's Edge: The Body Language of Winslow Homer's Seascape Women," *American Transcendental Quarterly* 8 (December 1994): 261-62; Roger B. Stein and Whitney Museum of American Art, *Seascape and the American Imagination* (New York: C. N. Potter, 1975), 96-102.

All six women in *On the Bluff* are blonde, as are many of the women in Homer's work of the 1860s and 70s. There are brunettes, redheads, and strawberry-blondes in the mix, but blonde was the distinct favorite. Scholars have attributed the selection to personal preference. For example, Goodrich notes, "The girls were all young and attractive in their various ways—the dashing, romantic brunette, the buxom blonde of the strongly Anglo-Saxon type that Homer particularly favored."[32] Homer hailed from a middle-class family that had been in America since the seventeenth century, and was favored by critics and the market for being of "Yankee" stock.[33] Homer had spent a year in Paris in 1867, and most of 1881–82 in the village of Cullercoats, near Tynemouth, in England.[34] It has been observed that in Homer's later paintings, such as *A Summer Night* of 1890, the women are often recognizably Anglo-Saxon—one way of assuaging the nation's fears of immigration.[35] Rather than attribute the choice for lightly colored hair in Homer's work to a particular penchant, which cannot be proven, it is more useful to investigate the cultural context that may have led to this tendency in the art.[36] As

---

[32] Goodrich, *Winslow Homer*, 115.

[33] Griffin attributes such a heritage to the "myth" of Homer as an iconic American artist, pointing out that he was influenced by European and Japanese art. Randall C. Griffin, *Homer, Eakins, and Anshutz: The Search for American Identity in the Gilded Age* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2004), 96; 110; Beam, *Winslow Homer's Magazine Engravings*, 21-22; 43; Sarah Burns, "Review: Modernizing Winslow Homer," *American Quarterly* 49, no. 3 (September 1997): 630; in fact, Homer's mother, Henrietta Benson Homer (1809-1884) came from a more genteel family than Homer's father, Charles Savage Homer, Sr. (1809-1898), who continually tried his hand in various businesses, including mining during the Gold Rush; see Cikovsky and Kelly, *Winslow Homer*, 391.

[34] Cikovsky and Kelly, *Winslow Homer*, 393. Cikovsky says that the exact dates of the stay in Cullercoats have not been determined. See page 396.

[35] Griffin, *Homer, Eakins, and Anshutz*, 95.

[36] Davis points out the influence of physiognomic treatises such as Louis Bail's *The Human Head: A Correct Delineation*, on artists' efforts to show "ideal Americans," and shun the appearance of immigrants. Elliot Bostwick Davis, "American Drawing Books and Their Impact on Winslow Homer," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31, no. 2 (Summer-Autumn 1996): 141-63.

discussed in the previous chapter, blonde hair was historically associated with beauty, and was most desirable in the period. As a commercial artist who relied on sales of his work, Homer may have depicted blondes as a way of aligning himself with public anxiety over immigration, and perhaps at his publisher's request.

Another example of Homer's attention to hair and magazine fashion in illustration is *A Country Store—Getting Weighed*, which ran in *Every Saturday* on March 25, 1871, and was one of his final engravings.[37] Close examination of the original page reveals Homer's delight in detail and anecdote [MMA, 30.75.2(5)] (fig. 48). The illustration was produced by wood engraver William James Linton (British, 1812–1897) after Homer's original composition.[38] Four well-dressed women approach the proprietor of a store to weigh their goods and complete the transaction. The season is winter, and all wear heavy multitiered dresses and layered coats; the leftmost figure holds a fur hand warmer. The leader of the group standing at the scale has her coat held by the woman directly to her back left, partially in shadow. Although set in a rural locale, these customers are bedecked in appropriate fashions with the hairstyles and headgear to match.[39] Their lightly hued locks are swept back on their heads and decorated with ribbons holding their bonnets in place. The second woman at the left wears a drop earring in her right ear.

Homer's talent for presenting fashionably coiffed women spanned across media. An example in watercolor is *What Is It?* of 1875, in which two women in white dresses,

---

[37] See fig. 51 in Marilyn S. Kushner, Barbara Dayer Gallati, and Linda S. Ferber, eds., *Winslow Homer: Illustrating America* (New York: Brooklyn Museum of Art in association with George Braziller, 2000), 99; see fig. 191 in Beam, *Winslow Homer's Magazine Engravings*, 210. See also 27.

[38] For more on Linton, see Marilyn S. Kushner, "Notes on Homer and Wood Engraving," in *Winslow Homer: Illustrating America* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum of Art in association with George Braziller, 2000), 37.

[39] Kushner, Gallati, and Ferber, *Winslow Homer*, 99.

superbly executed using much of the reserve of the ground paper, turn to each other amid a field of flowers, contemplating the identity of a particular specimen held up by the woman at left (fig. 49). Homer plays with hair and hats here; the woman at left has removed hers from her head, letting it dangle from her right upper arm. Revealed is her long braided hair, which a writer for *Appletons' Journal of Literature, Science and Art* referred to as blonde.[40] The woman at right dons a feathered hat atop her bound hair that is tied up in a high bun, creating a formidable profile. These may be country women, but they most certainly are not the "simpler country sisters" of whom Goodrich writes. By 1875 advances in transportation, the circulation of mass periodicals, and advertising had made the latest fashions available to urban and rural women alike. It has become clear that in addition to his strong interest in fashion, which has been recognized in the art historical literature to date, Homer was also heavily engaged, even fascinated by women's hair, both in conveying messages of class and ethnic difference. The following discussion regarding a controversial painting sited at a seaside resort traces another strain in Homer's work in which he pays more attention to the developments in women's sexual freedoms. As reflected in Homer's work, the beach constituted a "safe" place for women to experiment with flaunting their femininity without risking their proper reputations.

Now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum, the oil painting *Eagle Head, Manchester, Massachusetts (High Tide)*, signed and dated 1870, was shown in the forty-fifth annual exhibition at the National Academy of Design of that year (see fig. 46).[41] The

---

[40] Goodrich and Gerdts, *Record of Works by Winslow Homer*, 362.

[41] "Art Gossip. The Forty-Fifth Annual Exhibition of the National Academy of Design. Review of the North Room Continued," *New York Evening Mail*, May 4, 1870, 1. The painting came into the Museum's collection in 1923 and the sketch in 1978. A gift of Mrs. William F. Milton, the work was hailed as a prized acquisition.

title given here is that used by the museum. The subtitle, "High Tide," was used for the wood engraving done after the painting, but with considerable compositional changes, published in the magazine *Every Saturday* on August 6, 1870, 504 (fig. 50; MMA, 30.75.1[1]). Manchester-by-the-Sea is located twenty-three miles north of Boston, and at the time was a small fishing village that had become a middle-class resort destination.[42] Natalie Spassky notes that Homer visited Manchester to sketch and paint during 1868 and 1869.[43] Eagle Head is the name of the rocky outcropping seen at the back middle -ground of the painting.[44]

An undated oil sketch on unprimed wood panel executed prior to the painting (possibly in summer 1869), *Study for Eagle Head, Manchester, Massachusetts*, shows Homer working out the composition of the cresting ocean wave and division of sky, land, and sea.[45] The study is free of people (and dog) and there are no known studies for the figures.[46] Harry B. Wehle praised the work in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* in April 1923, appreciating the piece as "one of those direct, unsophisticated observations so characteristic of Homer's early work" and noting the realistic approach to the subject:

[42] Doreen Bolger, *American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Museum in association with Princeton University Press, 1980), 448.

[43] Bolger, *American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 448-49; see also Cynthia Wiedemann Empen, "Public and Exposed: The Female Body Imaged in American Visual Culture, 1848-1875" (PhD diss., Bloomington: Indiana University, 2003), 31, 193n30.

[44] Cikovsky and Kelly, *Winslow Homer*, 85.

[45] MMA, 1979.135.1; reproduced in Bolger, *American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 449.

[46] Ibid.

"The scene is painted just as it happened with an uncompromising drawing of the figures that is invigorating if a trifle brusque."[47]

In *Eagle Head*, three young women tend to themselves after emerging from a swim in the ocean. Composing a triangular formation, each bends her body to perform a task of self-care. The leftmost figure doubles over to wring the saltwater out of her bathing costume. Her long, wet, wavy blonde tresses are flipped over her face, the ends touching the fabric of the swimsuit that is being twisted. Only her reddened left ear and a slice of her left cheek and neck, partially lit by the sun, and partially in shadow, are visible beneath the hair. The standing, statuesque middle figure faces away from the viewer, both arms and hands pulling her long bathing cloak forward. Claudia Kidwell explains that "Bathing mantles or cloaks were worn to conceal the body when crossing the beach. These garments were made of Turkish toweling with wide sleeves and hoods, and were so long as 'to barely escape' the ground."[48] The girl on the right is most visible to the viewer. Seated and turning her head toward the light source, and possibly toward an approaching, unseen figure on her right, her heart-shaped face is lit by the sun and her eyes are turned upward, perhaps in anticipation. She, too, reaches downward, but the object of her gesture is her left foot, on which she secures her beach shoe, or shakes sand out from it, with her right hand. Her left hand steadies the left shin and lower ankle. Homer descendants believe this woman to have been a romantic interest of the artist, but

[47] Harry B. Wehle, "Two More Early Paintings by Homer," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 18, no. 4 (April 1923): 85-86.

[48] Claudia Brush Kidwell, *Women's Bathing and Swimming Costume in the United States* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1968), 20.

the family legend has not been proven.[49] The schoolteacher in the watercolor *The Blackboard* of 1877 (National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC), is thought by some to be the same person, though here the woman is shown fully clothed in professional attire, with her light red hair braided in a high bun at the back of her head, enhanced by a bow that ties at the front above her bangs.[50]

It has been noted that although the women in *Eagle Head* are clearly a group, they do not interact; this is just one of the numerous psychological readings that have been transferred onto Homer's life and paintings, owing to the few archival papers or letters of interest that remain.[51] Indeed, the women are accompanied only by a small brown dog entering at the viewer's left. Scholars have observed that it appears to be surprised, or reacting to the streams of water falling from the blonde's head, as he leans back on his hind legs and stretches his forelegs away from the women while his small ears perk upward, his mouth opens, and a glimmer appears in his eyes.[52] The bluish-green ocean is active at the shore, with white swells settling on the large expanse of rocky sand. Two

---

[49] Bolger, *American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 449; Goodrich and Gerdts, *Record of Works by Winslow Homer*, 122; Gail Gene Nettles, "Winslow Homer and the Women in His Art," *Winslow Homer: an Annual* 6 (1991): 28-29; Teitelbaum, "Men and Women, Boys and Girls Together," 4; Empen, "Public and Exposed," 223n108.

[50] Elliott Bostwick Davis speculates that the woman may be the romantic interest of Homer. See Davis, "American Drawing Books and Their Impact on Winslow Homer," 159.

[51] Beam, *Winslow Homer's Magazine Engravings*, 20; Barbara Novak, *American Painting of the Nineteenth Century; Realism, Idealism, and the American Experience* (New York: Praeger, 1969), 174; Patrick McCaughey, "Native and Nomad: Winslow Homer and John Singer Sargent," *Daedalus* 116, no. 1 (Winter 1987): 135; Johns, *Winslow Homer*, 22; 65; Jules D. Prown, "Winslow Homer in His Art," in *Reading American Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 264-79; Burns, "Review: Modernizing Winslow Homer," 631; 639n8; Griffin, *Winslow Homer*, 62; Nettles, "Winslow Homer and the Women in His Art," 140-41.

[52] Novak, *American Painting of the Nineteenth Century; Realism, Idealism, and the American Experience*, 174; H. Barbara Weinberg describes the dog as "alarmed." See H. Barbara Weinberg and Carrie Rebora Barratt, eds., *American Stories: Paintings of Everyday Life, 1765-1915* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009), 102. Small dogs on the beach seem to have been common. See the illustration, "On the Beach at Newport," *Every Saturday*, July 23, 1870, 468.

white seagulls float over the water at the left middle background; three diminutive figures walking along the beach are barely visible at the left middle ground, and a lone sailboat glides along the water at middle right.

Homer's technique in this painting concentrates more on light and texture in the foreground than on any other area, suggesting that the figures, the blonde woman's hair, the clothing, and sunlit rocky beach were most important. In addition, he signed and dated the painting in this section on the lower left in the sand: "WINSLOW HOMER–1870." Sunlight streams into the scene from the middle left, casting gray shadows on the sand from the dog, blonde woman, and seated girl, suggesting that it is morning. Homer uses this light to glorious effect on the blonde hair, highlighting it with brushstrokes of yellow, brown, black, and even white at the left edges and a few touches of light green at the upper right near her ear. This treatment is the evidence of a painter who closely observed the effects of light on the color and texture of women's hair.

In *Eagle Head*, sunlight lands in white daubs of paint on the gray bathing caps of the standing and seated women, whose hair is nearly entirely enclosed under them. Only a small patch of hair peeking out from the cap over the seated figure's left ear is visible; as mentioned earlier, the color of that patch of paint appears grayish green today, making it difficult to conjecture if the girl was intended to be brunette, red-, or towheaded. The execution of the dog, other than the achievement of his facial expression, is lacking. The back body and legs are a series of exaggerated curves and the execution of the brown paint to depict the hair is deficient. There is no sense of tactility in the coat, as there is in the sweep of blonde tresses on the figure to whom he reacts.

A critic of the day sums up well one aspect of the execution of the ocean, jutting peninsula, and sky: "it represents two women, one of whom is wringing water out of a bathing dress, and the other is getting the sand out of her shoes. Behind them is a leaden-colored bank, and nearer by is a pool of ice-cream from which they have evidently just emerged."[53] Overall, however, critics appreciated the landscape in the painting, more so than the figures. For example, the exhibition reviewer in the *New York Evening Post* on April 27, 1870, wrote, "Although executed in a kind of color-wash, they show the powers of a draughtsman capable of seizing the various points of a composition and presenting his idea according to pictorial law. Certain details, like the water and the headland in the bathing scene, show a fine appreciation of external nature."[54] Homer has always been credited as a realist painter with a keen eye for observation, but it is important to point out that this painting was likely finished in his studio. As a result, some passages benefit from the directness of open-air execution, whereas others lack such immediacy.

In an article for *The Galaxy* in July 1875, Henry James indicated that five years after *Eagle Head*, critics were still heavily favoring Homer's technique over his subjects:

> Mr. Homer goes in, as the phrase is, for perfect realism, and cares not a jot for such fantastic hairsplitting as the distinction between beauty and ugliness…but there is nevertheless something one likes about him. What is it? For ourselves it is not his subjects. We frankly confess that we detest his subjects . . . his flat-breasted maidens, suggestive of a dish of rural doughnuts and pie. Mr. Homer has the great merit . . . that he naturally sees everything at one with its envelope of

---

[53] "National Academy of Design. Forty-fifth Annual Exhibition," *New York World*, April 24, 1870, 3.

[54] "National Academy of Design. First Notice," *New York Evening Post*, April 27, 1870; Goodrich and Gerdts say that the finished painting would have been done in Homer's studio in autumn and winter 1869-70, possibly with the help of a professional model. Goodrich and Gerdts, *Record of Works by Winslow Homer*, 122; see Margaret Conrads' excellent study of critics' reactions to Homer's works throughout his career. Margaret C. Conrads, *Winslow Homer and the Critics: Forging a National Art in the 1870s* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press in association with the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 2001), 29-32.

> light and air. He sees not in lines, but in masses, in gross broad masses. Things come already modeled to his eye.[55]

Almost unanimously, the critics reacted negatively to the subject matter in *Eagle Head*. The *New York Evening Mail* described the three women as *en déshabillé* (in a state of undress) and declared, "The subject is of questionable taste."[56] The writer for the *New York Evening Post* described the women as *en déshabillé* and as trifling subjects:

> Mr. Homer's "Eagle Head, Manchester, Mass.," representing three females on a beach, attired in the customary bathing-dresses of a seaside watering-place, and appearing as ludicrous as it is possible to make them. It is probably a satire on the fashionable eccentricities of Grecian bands and other modern dress addenda. But what a pity to see such trifling subjects from a really clever hand![57]

Eugene Benson, a friend of the artist's writing for *Putnam's Magazine*, credited Homer with "The best, the most natural and original figure or genre painting of the exhibition," but when it came to *Eagle Head*, he concurred with the *Post*: "But the three girls on the beach in the large picture in the north gallery are not beautiful; their legs are not well drawn, nor are they fine or elegant in form . . . Mr. Homer's three girls are awkward; not very interesting, but very natural."[58] Benson's colleague at *Harper's Weekly* provided a tempered reaction: "The pictures are not wholly pleasing; perhaps the bathing scene—like another which he has in the east room—is not quite refined. But the pictures show a fresh eye and a wholesome independence of conventions with spirit and rigor." The reporter for the *New York World* found the women's' legs "exceedingly red,"

---

[55] Henry James, "On Some Pictures Lately Exhibited," *The Galaxy. A Magazine of Entertaining Reading* 20, no. 1 (July 1875): 93-94.

[56] "Art Gossip. The Forty-Fifth Annual Exhibition of the National Academy of Design. Review of the North Room Continued," 1.

[57] "National Academy of Design. First Notice," 1.

[58] Eugene Benson, "The Annual Exhibition of the Academy," *Putnam's Magazine*, June 1870, 702-703.

and *The New York Times* praised the "fine effects of light and shade—Mr. Homer's strong point," but continued to comment that "the brick-dust color of the young bather's legs is not pleasant to look upon."[59]

These critics were responding to Homer's presentation of the modern woman, in her daring athletic activity, progressive swim costume, caps, free-flowing wet hair, suntanned flesh, and stocking-free legs. Homer exercised liberties when depicting the wool and flannel suits that quickly filled with water that women were expected to don at the beach.[60] An illustration of three women and a child emerging from a cabana, hatless, wearing typical voluminous bathing costumes is seen in "Ladies' and Children's Bathing Costumes," *Harper's Bazar*, August 19, 1871, p. 521.[61] The text explains that the centermost woman wears a red flannel swimming or bathing costume with long trousers trimmed with black braid and a black belt ribbon; the woman at the far right is putting on a white flannel bathing mantle with hood, and wears a red ribbon in her hair. The scorn of art critics toward women in bathing costumes is matched by their counterparts in the popular press. In the text accompanying the illustration "On the Beach at Newport" in *Every Saturday* in July on July 23, 1870, signed "Russell-Richardson" and "Hoppin," a work not associated with Homer, the male writer expounds, "It is disloyal to put into

---

[59] "National Academy of Design. Forty-fifth Annual Exhibition," 3; "Opening of the Forty-fifth Annual Exhibition of the Academy of Design—Some of the Portraits and Landscapes—Picture Sales," *New York Times*, April 17, 1870, 3; Margaret Conrads says that the writer for the *World* may have been William Hurlbert; see Margaret C. Conrads, *Winslow Homer and the Critics: Forging a National Art in the 1870s* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press in association with the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 2001), 29.

[60] For another example of a woman's bathing costume of the 1860s, see Blanche Payne, Geitel Winakor, and Jane Farrell-Beck, *The History of Costume: From Ancient Mesopotamia Through the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), 511; Claudia Brush Kidwell and Valerie Steele, eds., *Men and Women: Dressing the Part* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 116-20.

[61] For more on swimming costumes, see Nunn, *Fashion in Costume*, 133.

print, but the truth is, only one woman out of fifty can stand the test of a bathing-dress."[62] The writer of "Long Branch: The American Boulogne," in *Every Saturday*, August 26, 1871, describes the saturation that occurred after emerging from the water: "but behold her half an hour later, as she emerges from the waves, all limp, and slimpsy [*sic*] and collapsed, without form or color,—a mere clothes-line, as one may say, for her pendent garments."[63]

Scholars have failed to analyze the blonde woman's hair or the bathing caps on the two women at the right in *Eagle Head*.[64] In fact, the caps are accurate portrayals for the period.[65] In her study of women's bathing and swimming costume in the United States, Claudia Kidwell describes a bathing cap from 1873 as follows: "an oiled silk bag-crown cap large enough to hold the hair loosely. The frill around the edge was bound with colored braid. Many ladies preferred, however, to let their hair hang loose and under a wide-brimmed hat of coarse straw tied down on the sides to protect their skin from the sun."[66] Homer's women are shown in the first option, the more utilitarian oiled bag type, but without the decorative braid. Two similar caps are seen in the engraving *Bathing at Long Branch "Oh, Ain't It Cold"* from *Every Saturday* of August 26, 1871 [MMA,

---

[62] "Illustrations: On the Beach at Newport, Marie Antoinette, Jo and the Professor," *Every Saturday*, July 23, 1870, 466.

[63] "Long Branch: The American Boulogne," *Every Saturday*, August 26, 1871, 214.

[64] Nettles makes a general statement about Homer's women in her conclusion: "The girls he drew are slender, tall, well endowed with firm, athletic bodies. Their hair, blonde or light brunette, is carefully coifed [*sic*], often pulled into buns or rolls." See Nettles, "Winslow Homer and the Women in His Art," 54.

[65] See "Flannel bathing-dress." Wood-engraved fashion illustration from *Peterson's Magazine*, August 1870, 147.

[66] Kidwell, *Women's Bathing and Swimming Costume in the United States*, 20.

30.75.3 (1)] (fig. 51).[67] Not one of Homer's best compositions, the scale of the three bathers knee-deep in the ocean who comprise the entire foreground is rather awkward.[68] However, the attention to hair, headgear, and swimsuits is notable. Both the young women on the left and right wear simple caps fixed tightly around their heads, outlining the shape of their skulls, with a few strands of wet hair escaping. Included in the text that this image was paired with in *Every Saturday*, is the following: "their slender figures, not fully developed as yet,—like morning lilies which are to blossom at noon,—clad in perfectly fitting garments of bright colored flannel, and their dark brown hair bewitchingly tucked up under dainty oil-skin caps."[69] The choice of the word "bewitchingly" is intriguing, as it suggests the power of women's hair to fascinate men, especially when tantalizingly hidden inside a bathing cap. The young woman at center is by now a familiar trope of Homer's—the swimmer with naturally flowing wet hair, unrestrained by a cap, social decorum, or the presence of men. Two additional female swimmers appear in the right middle ground, wading almost up to their shoulders; the one on the left with a black oiled cap, and the one on the right with free-flowing light hair. Interestingly, in 1911, nearly forty years after its execution, Downes said the picture

[67] The Metropolitan Museum catalogues the work as probably by W. H. Morse (American, active 1870–1882) after a drawing by Homer; it is given definitively to Morse by Marilyn S. Kushner. Kushner, Gallati, and Ferber, *Winslow Homer*, 121; fig. 193 in Beam, *Winslow Homer's Magazine Engravings*, 212.

[68] Various scholars have commented on Homer's handling of the human figure. See High Museum of Art, *The Beckoning Land: Nature and the American Artist: A Selection of Nineteenth Century Paintings* (Atlanta, GA: High Museum of Art; Supplied by Worldwide Books, Boston, 1971), 17; Pfitzer, "Woman at the Water's Edge: The Body Language of Winslow Homer's Seascape Women," 257; John Wilmerding, *American Views: Essays on American Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 198.

[69] "Long Branch: The American Boulogne," 214.

showed "three buxom girls in the water"—a significantly different observation than the careful caption in the periodical that described them as slender and prepubescent.[70]

In the treatment of hair and head coverings in *Eagle Head*, Homer conveys the social class of the women. They are not of the straw-hat set that was wary of the sun's effects on their skin and hair. Suntanned skin was associated with those who worked outdoors to earn a living.[71] Ladies of leisure who spent most of their time indoors receiving visitors coveted porcelain-colored faces, arms, and legs, not the red hue of the two barelegged figures in *Eagle Head*.[72] In fact those two pairs of legs caused more critical upset than any other aspect of the painting. Since the early nineteenth century, American women had adopted the English custom of wearing ankle-length drawers beneath their sea-bathing costumes.[73] Homer omitted the requisite floor-length drawers, revealing the shapely legs of the blonde, another surface on which he could blend pinkish color in the front shaded parts, and the white sunlit part of the curved left leg calf. This provocative deletion led to the accusations of indecency.[74] Earlier interpreters of the painting have recognized Homer's daring exposure of women's bodies, but only from the

---

[70] Downes, *The Life and Works of Winslow Homer*, 68.

[71] Margaret C. Conrads, *Winslow Homer and the Critics: Forging a National Art in the 1870s* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press in association with the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 2001), 32, Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Winslow Homer and the Critics: Forging a National Art in the 1870s" shown at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City, Missouri, the L.A. County Museum of Art in Los Angeles, CA, and the High Museum of Art in Atlanta, GA.; see also Empen, "Public and Exposed," 200n53, 201.

[72] Some individuals, such as New York politician Rosco Conkling, began to adopt tanned skin as a sign of handsomeness. On Conkling, see David M. Jordan, *Roscoe Conkling of New York: Voice in the Senate* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971).

[73] See also Kidwell, *Women's Bathing and Swimming Costume in the United States*, 16, 18; and Empen, "Public and Exposed," 201.

[74] Conrads, *Winslow Homer and the Critics*, 31; H. Barbara Weinberg calls this "the artist's most daring subject and composition to date." See Weinberg and Barratt, *American Stories*, 102.

neck down. It is necessary to also examine the treatment of hair and headgear, to fully comprehend the painting's scandalous qualities.

Another beach scene in oil from the 1870s, *By the Shore* (private collection), includes a conspicuously placed woman standing alone at left center just at the edge of the shore, bare legs and all, wringing out her gray and red swimsuit with both hands in a gesture similar to that of the blonde in *Eagle Head* (who wears a nearly identically colored outfit), though this figure has dark brown hair and faces in the opposite direction (fig. 52). Homer used the same figure standing shoreside at Long Branch, New Jersey, wet hair flipped to hang over her face, and wringing out her costume, in an engraving titled *The Bathers* in *Harper's Weekly* on August 2, 1873, but there the light shading of the hair suggests blonde, and the legs are covered in dark bloomers.[75] Her bare feet are fully in view, whereas in *By the Shore*, the feet are partly obscured by the slight depth of water she stands in. The close similarity of this particular female bather, denoted by her long wet hair in *By the Shore* and *The Bathers* may suggest a date of 1873 for *By the Shore*, which is typically published as being from the 1870s.

So offensive were the legs in *Eagle Head*, that they were one of the main alterations executed in the wood engraving *High Tide* that followed the painting [MMA, 30.75.1(1)] (see fig. 50). Its caption explains its derivation and refers the reader to the corresponding text in the magazine: "High Tide.—From a Painting by Winslow Homer. (see page 499)." The distinction between the original painting and the engraving is identified, and it is necessary to consider whether changes to the engraving were instigated by Homer's reaction to the critique of the painting, or by the publisher of *Every*

[75] Beam, *Winslow Homer's Magazine Engravings*, 221; fig. 199.

Saturday.[76] Paired there with another engraving by Homer of a seaside scene, that one showing children at play, titled *Low Tide*, the text is breezy, praiseworthy of Homer, and clear to explain that the engravings were made after original paintings:

> The two middle pages of the present number are occupied by a pair of sea-side sketches carefully reproduced from two of Mr. Winslow Homer's most characteristic paintings. . . . People in town, and people who are sojourning inland far from the coast, will look with envy on the three ladies in the engraving on page 504. They are fresh from a tussle with the breakers at high-tide,—the mercury at 80 [degrees] in the shade . . . Our second picture represents the same beach seen in the opposite view, only at low tide. . . . The whole scene is very prettily sketched. The original work, from which our drawing is engraved, is in the artist's best manner.[77]

Comparison of the works in either medium reveals that stockings were added to the previously bare-legged women; a bathing cap (white, not gray), presumably tossed on the sand by the blonde, replaces the dog; a single starfish was added on the lower right edge of the canvas; a number of tiny beachgoers appear in the distant left, increased from the original two; the gulls fly toward the main scene and the viewer, rather than ambiguously hovering in the middle distance; the change in shape of the seated figure's mouth into a smile, and the expression in her eyes to one of welcome rather than suspicion; and the artist's signature has been shortened to "HOMER," but remains at the lower left corner of the canvas.

Close study of the large page from the original magazine reveals conditions and details not reproducible in books. For instance, the example in the Metropolitan Museum bears a small brown stain on the middle lower left in the shadow of the blonde woman. Also, the people, windmill, and seaside cabanas, the last with their simple pitched roofs

[76] Empen, "Public and Exposed," 202n56.

[77] "Illustrations," *Every Saturday*, August 6, 1870, 499.

lined up in threes, are clearly visible and do not appear nearly as small as in book reproductions. The blonde hair is well -delineated in contradistinction to the blank white swath of neck between the hair and collar (the ear is hidden), so much so that the woman appears decapitated, like the series of disembodied heads in the aforementioned engraving *What She Sees There*. Diagonal and curved lines on the bathing costume and drawers are also well defined, as is the description on the bathing cap, which appears almost cartoonish. It is clear that the artist's attention was focused on the hair, costume, and shoes—the curved shape of the bathing slippers follows the forms of the rocks in the sand. The linear nature of engraving serves these elements well. The pieces of hair pulled up under the back of the cap of the woman in the full robe are clearly discerned, whereas in the painting, they are only a brushstroke of brown. The change in angle and treatment of the seated woman's head and face in the engraving allows for tufts of hair to show on both sides, with singular pieces on her right and a triangular section on her left. In the painting, a small section is visible only on her left side. In addition, the vibrancy of her enlarged eyes in the engraving is striking in the original. The artist has been less concerned with the waves, water, and sky, and even with the sand, which has less texture than in the painting.

In short, decorum has been infused into the picture for its publication in the Boston magazine *Every Saturday*. The magazine's readership was the middle class, which may explain why the alterations were made.[78] Such an audience would identify with the woman who chooses to toss aside the swim cap and dry her hair in the sun, as well as with the weightiness of the swimming garments, especially the stockings. As is

[78] Beam provides a comprehensive list of the magazines for which Homer worked. See Beam, *Winslow Homer's Magazine Engravings*, 44.

the case in the twenty-first century, publishers of the nineteenth held power over their authors and illustrators, and perhaps cast the deciding vote when it came to changing the composition before authorizing publication. The alterations toned down the controversial aspects of the painting—showing hair in certain ways, along with distasteful red legs were means by which Homer made his work a daring depiction of social class and gender issues.

Notably, critics did not comment on the loose hair of the blonde woman in *Eagle Head*. Long, free hair is also worn by no fewer than six young women in *The Beach at Long Branch*, an engraving for *Appletons' Journal of Literature, Science and Art*, August 21, 1869 (fig. 53).[79] Critics and the public alike may have been primed for such imagery in two ways. First, Homer had depicted modern women engaged in activities that were newly available to them after the Civil War. Second, in beach, swimming, and other sporting scenes, such as croquet and hiking, many of the women wear their hair loose, no longer pinned up in the prescribed Victorian fashions.

Manchester-by-the-Sea, at the time shown in *Eagle Head*, was a resort town located on Massachusetts' North Shore between Salem and Gloucester, attracting artists and beachgoers from a mix of classes.[80] As the *Art Amateur* remarked, "A painter of the sea and of summer life on the shore finds no spot more desirable."[81] Manchester was

---

[79] Beam, *Winslow Homer's Magazine Engravings*, fig. 158, 178; Karen Sherry notes that in this image the women "literally let their hair down, wearing it loose in a style typically reserved for private situations, not the public sphere." See Karen A. Sherry, "Women on the Edge: Liminal Female Identities in Winslow Homer's Representations of Long Branch, New Jersey" (master's thesis, Newark, DE: University of Delaware, 2001), 10.

[80] Robert Grant, "The North Shore of Massachusetts," *Scribner's Magazine*, July 1894; Empen, "Public and Exposed," 193-94.

[81] "Summer Haunts of Artists," *The Art Amateur* 1, no. 3 (August 1879): 50.

similar to Long Branch, New Jersey, on the Jersey Shore, where Homer visited in summer 1869.[82] As opposed to more upscale resorts such as Newport, Rhode Island, Long Branch attracted a more diverse crowd of visitors. In fact, President Ulysses S. Grant was often criticized for choosing Long Branch over more genteel locales.[83] A lengthy article titled "Long Branch: The American Boulogne," in *Every Saturday*, August 26, 1871, provides a detailed and opinionated description of the "watering-place" and its visitors. The article was accompanied by the aforementioned engraving drawn after Winslow Homer, *Bathing at Long Branch"Oh, Ain't It Cold"* (see fig. 51). It explains that some beachgoers were accompanied by "a stalwart maid, Ethiopian or Celtic, who bears in basket or bundle the needed appliances of the "*toilette doo bang*," indicating the ethnic differences between the help and helped, and the essential accessory of the toilette bag for tending to hair and makeup. The reader also learns of the author's enjoyment at viewing certain bathers (but not the "short and portly matron, who persists, perhaps for health's sake, in taking a daily dip in the sea"): "Before long the stream sets back again to the hotels, a few of the younger girls looking distractingly pretty with their hair floating over their shoulders." The democratic nature of the beach is well borne out by the writer's prejudice against those with "a swarthy complexion, and a nose a little deflected from the straight line" and his declaration, "A more pleasing sight is the watering-place beauty who follows,—a plump, nobly shaped blonde with great masses of fair hair,

[82] Cikovsky, "Winslow Homer's National Style," 250; Kushner, Gallati, and Ferber, *Winslow Homer*, 119; Marc Simpson, *Winslow Homer: Paintings of the Civil War* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1988), 96; Johns, *Winslow Homer*, 63; for an extensive study of Homer's works related to Long Branch, see Sherry, "Women on the Edge"; Cikovsky and Kelly, *Winslow Homer*, 86; Griffin, *Winslow Homer*, 57; Marie Louden-Hanes, "Winslow Homer and the Demimonde" (PhD diss., Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University, 1994), 96; the Cassatt family also frequented Long Branch. See "A Ball at Long Branch," *New York Times*, July 31, 1885, 4.

[83] "Long Branch: The American Boulogne"; Lena Lenček, *The Beach: The History of Paradise on Earth* (New York, NY: Viking, 1998), 154-56.

features clearly cut, a laughing face, clear sparkling eyes, and a complexion of cream and carnation." He continues, "Amongst all the faces we fail to discover a real American type of beauty; it seems, rather, as if every nation and every age were fragmentarily represented." His disdain for Jewish visitors is clear in his mention of "the tough-looking Israelitish [*sic*] dandy with black curling hair"; he also explains, "Long Branch has been nicknamed 'Jerusalem' in the city."[84] The writer's usage of hair as a marker of ethnicity and his preference for loose, flowing locks is evident in his comments, and represents the majority opinion at the time. As mentioned earlier, concerns regarding widespread immigration fueled the fear that the "native" Anglo-Saxon American population would begin to diminish. Hair, then, served as a key signifier of ethnic background, but was also a fundamental aspect of women's appeal for men. As seen in the beach-related works, Homer conformed to these general views in the period, and was drawn to the favored type of long, blonde hair.

People came to the beach to be seen, flirt, and have romantic encounters.[85] The author of "On the Beach at Long Branch," in *Appleton's Journal* of August 21, 1869,

---

[84] "Long Branch: The American Boulogne," 212-15; for another vignette of Long Branch, see "Long Branch," *New York Times*, August 18, 1872, 5; see also W. J. H., "Diamonds and Vulgarity," *New York Times*, July 31, 1887, 9; Olive Logan, "Life at Long Branch," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 53, no. 316 (September 1876): 481-95; O. B. Bunce, "Long Branch," *Appletons' Journal of Literature, Science and Art* 8, no. 180 (September 7, 1872): 253-58.

[85] Griffin, *Winslow Homer*, 57; "Our Watering-Places," *The Crayon* 3, no. 11 (November 1856): 337-38; John Badger Bachelder, *Popular Resorts, and How to Reach Them: Combining a Brief Description of the Principal Summer Retreats in the United States, and the Routes of Travel Leading to Them*, 3rd ed. (Boston: J.B. Bachelder, 1875); Kevin D. Murphy, "'Secure from All Intrusion': Heterotopia, Queer Space, and the Turn of the Twentieth Century American Resort," *Winterthur Portfolio* 43, no. 2 (Summer/Autumn 2009): 185-228; Theodore Corbett, *The Making of American Resorts: Saratoga Springs, Ballston Spa, Lake George* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 228-29; Jon Sterngrass, *First Resorts: Pursuing Pleasure at Saratoga Springs, Newport, and Coney Island* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 4; Teresa A. Carbone and Patricia Hills, *Eastman Johnson: Painting America* (New York: Brooklyn Museum of Art in association with Rizzoli International Publications, 1999), 198; "On the Beach at Long Branch," *Appletons' Journal of Literature, Science and Art* 2, no. 21 (August 21, 1869): 22.

wrote: "Young men and maidens find enough of interest to sit together under the shade of an umbrella by the hour, and hardly cast a glance at any thing before them."[86] Hairstyles and clothing were key elements in these activities. In addition to costumes for actual bathing, there were dress codes for strolling the beach. *Harper's Bazar* of August 6, 1870, shows a cut-paper pattern of a woman in a seaside costume meant for strolling the beach.[87] The weightiness of the four-piece outfit, requiring yards of material and velvet for trimming, is matched by the elaborate hairstyle that is swept high upon the head, topped by a ribboned bonnet with a train of transparent fabric that flaps in the wind. The article titled "New York Fashions" in the same issue of *Harper's Bazar* of August 6, 1870, explains, "Toilettes for the sea-side have distinct features of their own. They are of far heavier material, and may be more fanciful and picturesque than costumes designed for the city and inland resorts. Linens, muslins, and all starched materials soon become limp and dowdy-looking when exposed to the moisture of the sea." An example of a bathing suit with short sleeves, worn with pantaloons and a flat-topped hat, is seen in a wood-engraved fashion illustration in *Peterson's Magazine*, July 1873.[88] Scholarship on Homer, initiated mostly by David Park Curry's superb study of the artist's series of five oils and a number of sketches and drawings for engravings from 1865 to about 1869 showing men and women, or women alone, playing croquet, has shown Homer's cognizance of the changing social conventions related to gender in modern life,

[86] "On the Beach at Long Branch," 22.

[87] "Sea-Side Costume," *Harper's Bazar*, August 6, 1870, 1.

[88] *Peterson's Magazine*, July 1873, 69. See also "Bathing-Dresses. Hat and Cap." Wood engraved fashion illustration, *Peterson's Magazine*, August 1870; and the advertisement for "Bathing Dresses, gauze undershirts, linen drawers, collars, and cuffs," by Union Adams & Co. of 637 Broadway, New York, in *Harper's Bazar*, August 2, 1873, 494.

particularly in the realm of athletics.[89] In brilliantly colored hoop skirts and holding onto their hats that sit atop well-coiffed updo's, or in loose locks running down to their shoulders, women compete, play, and flirt on the grass alongside men, wielding croquet mallets. Examples in the series, which Homer completed before he departed for France in 1866, are the oil paintings *Croquet Player*, 1865 (National Academy of Design, New York); *Croquet Players*, 1865 (Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York); *A Game of Croquet*, 1866 (Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven); *Croquet Scene*, 1866 (The Art Institute of Chicago); *Croquet Match*, 1868–69 (Terra Foundation for American Art); the wood engravings *Summer in the Country*, in *Appletons' Journal of Literature, Science and Art*, July 10, 1869, 465 (Bowdoin College Museum of Art) and *What Shall We Do Next?* for *Harper's Bazar*, July 31, 1869, 488 (Bowdoin College Museum of Art); and the conté crayon drawing *The Croquet Players*, 1866 (MMA, 37.98). Having come to the United States from England in the early 1860s, croquet was the first sport that allowed Victorian women to participate.[90]

In addition to croquet scenes, Homer produced numerous other depictions of women entering the formerly all-male world of outdoor athletics and activity. In *Under the Falls, Catskill Mountains*, which ran as an engraving after a painting by Homer, in *Harper's Weekly* on September 14, 1872 [MMA, 28.111.5(3)] (fig. 54), the two main

[89] David Park Curry, *Winslow Homer: The Croquet Game* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1984), 1; Nettles, "Winslow Homer and the Women in His Art," 19; Burns, "Review: Modernizing Winslow Homer," 619; Johns, *Winslow Homer*, 46-48; Simpson, *Winslow Homer*, 95; Barbara Dayer Gallati, "Narrative Strategies in Winslow Homer's Art," in *Winslow Homer: Illustrating America* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum of Art in association with George Braziller, 2000), 12-18; 94; Holly Pyne Connor says Homer was the first to show the new athletic type repeatedly, in the croquet pictures; see Holly Pyne Connor, ed., *Off the Pedestal: New Women in the Art of Homer, Chase, and Sargent* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press; London: Distributed by Eurospan, 2006), 35; Weinberg and Barratt, *American Stories*, 100.

[90] Curry, *Winslow Homer*, 1; Kushner, Gallati, and Ferber, *Winslow Homer*, 94-95; Cikovsky, "Winslow Homer's National Style," 250; Griffin, *Winslow Homer*, 45; Empen, "Public and Exposed," 184.

protagonists are women in full dresses, hairdo's, and hats (the one on the right wears a style with a long trail of hair streaming out of her hat down her back), who have completed a demanding hike from a waterfall site below the rocky platform on which they stand. Homer had visited the site, Kaaterskill Falls, in 1872.[91] A close examination of an original wood engraving demonstrates that although the women are fully dressed from head to toe (no bare heads, legs, or even an ankle here), their posture and physical exhaustion are expressions of the activities of modern women. They lean on large hiking sticks; the woman at left rests her left hand on her waist, drawing attention to her curves; and the woman at right leans all of her weight on her stick, causing her rear to jut out. These women, and their many counterparts in the middle background, clearly visible in the original page, but not always in reproductions, are involved in their own accomplishments, unlike the unfortunate one in the lower middle ground whose tired body is hunched over and requires assistance from her stronger male companion.

Similarly, in the wood engraving *The Fishing Party*, after a work by Homer, which ran in *Appletons' Journal of Literature, Science and Art* on October 2, 1869, three women are poised by a river, two of them actively fishing, and one seated, removing gear or a drink from one of two baskets.[92] Once again, they are all hats, ribbons, and dresses, but they engage in activity, the middle one leaning on her right knee, fishing rod in right hand, and another line in her left. They are wholly involved in their task, unlike the three male and one female picnickers behind them.[93] The importance of hair in these

---

[91] Beam, *Winslow Homer's Magazine Engravings*, fig. 196, 216; Kushner, Gallati, and Ferber, *Winslow Homer*, 111.

[92] Beam, *Winslow Homer's Magazine Engravings*, fig. 159, 179.

[93] David Tatham says Homer is the first to depict fishing as a stylish sport. See David Tatham, *Winslow Homer in the Adirondacks* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 57.

depictions of women engaged in outdoor ventures and sports lies in the subtle way they convey sexuality. Critics may have overlooked the daring depictions of loose hair because the women were appropriately dressed and outfitted for particular athletics. Furthermore, the beach resort was a liminal space that allowed for explorations in sexuality and relationships between men and women.[94] The seaside locale allowed Homer to somewhat benignly put women's hair and bodies on view in a public place.

The second way in which critics and viewers may have been primed for loose hair in Homer's beach and sporting scenes was their familiarity with viewing nudes in classical as well as contemporary European art. Although American artists of Homer's time shunned the depiction of fully nude figures—Homer did not show any—the public would have been familiar with nudes attending to their hair, from classical Greek and Roman sculpture as well as Renaissance paintings that were available through reproductions. For example, the text accompanying the aforementioned wood engraving by William H. Redding after a design by Homer titled *The Bathers* that ran in *Harper's Weekly* on August 2, 1873, equates the streaming wet locks of the two young women that escapes their bathing caps with Venus:

> Nothing could be prettier or more bewitching than the sight of a charming young woman in an elegant and tasteful bathing costume, as she trips over the sand from the dressing-house down to the water's edge. . . . But coming out! According to the old fable Venus sprang from the sea, but she was encumbered with no other bathing costume than her own luxuriant and flowing locks. . . . The pretty figures in the foreground of Mr. Winslow Homer's charming picture . . . are perhaps an exception to the general rule, and illustrate the advantages of a costume peculiarly adapted to a graceful exit from the bath.[95]

---

[94] Sherry, "Women on the Edge."

[95] "The Bathers," *Harper's Weekly* (August 2, 1873): 668.

Moreover, the European Impressionists transformed the theme of women at their toilette from the mythic Venus at her mirror to contemporary women in the midst of a private ritual.[96] Combing hair and bathing were popular subjects in the 1870s and 1880s, an extension of their prevalence in the eighteenth century in France.[97] Edgar Degas was perhaps the most enthusiastic exponent of the subjects, as will be discussed in the next chapter. In addition, Auguste Renoir made his career painting contemporary, fleshy nude women explicitly posed in Arcadian landscape settings. *Blonde Bather* of 1881 (Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts, 1955.609), is typical, in that the bather is partially covered only by her long flowing blonde locks and a swath of drapery over her knees. Such works may have been partly responsible for the contemporary preference for depictions of women at the beach with undone hair.

With regard to how Homer used hair to depict ethnicity and social types, it is necessary to address his treatment of African-American hair. An undated (ca. 1883–1910) photographic postcard by an unknown artist shows Homer and his African-American servant Lewis Wright outside his Prouts Neck studio (Bowdoin College Museum of Art, 1964.69.153.5) (fig. 55). The two are actively talking—Wright's mouth is open in speech while he cleans a large platter with his right hand. Homer, artist's palette held by his left arm and hidden hand, seems to be listening and demonstrating something to Wright with

[96] Kathleen Adler and Tamar Garb, *Berthe Morisot* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1987), 93; Elizabeth L. O'Leary, *At Beck and Call: The Representation of Domestic Servants in Nineteenth-Century American Painting* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 237.

[97] Adler and Garb, *Berthe Morisot*, 93; Elizabeth Cowling, "Rebirth of Venus: Women at Their Toilette," in *Picasso Looks at Degas* (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute; Barcelona: Museu Picasso; New Haven: Distributed by Yale University Press, 2010), 157.

his other arm.[98] As with many of Homer's works, the narrative in this photograph is difficult to read. It may be used as a gateway into another area of discussion that has caused mixed interpretation in writings about Homer: race.[99] Blacks appear in the Civil War paintings, the Virginia works of the 1870s and the watercolors done in the Caribbean.[100] Contemporary reviewers, such as the correspondent for the *New York Times* of April 9, 1880, credited Homer for taking on the subject of black people:

> Mr. Homer is one of the few artists who have boldness and originality to make something out of the negro for artistic purposes. It need not be said that he has struck very deep into this vein or shows any signs of exhausting its capacity. On the contrary, he has merely ventured a little way, and if the results are remarkable, that cannot be fairly ascribed to the intrinsic richness of his out-turn, so much as to the apathy and ignorance of his brother artists . . . "Visit from the Old Mistress"—another interior with negro women and children . . . The negresses are better figures than the mistress, since the latter shows uncertainty in the treatment of the face.[101]

The arc of scholarship contends that Homer began by showing stereotypical depictions of black people as entertainers, lazy soldiers, or disheveled characters, as in *Hi! H-o-o-o-! He Done Come. Jumboloro Tell You Fust*, in *The Galaxy*, June 1869.[102] The general consensus is that later in his career Homer depicted African Americans with more dignity, in such paintings as *A Visit from the Old Mistress*, 1876 (Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.); *Dressing for the Carnival*, 1877 (MMA, 22.220); and *The*

---

[98] Downes reproduced this photograph with the caption "An Impromptu Lecture on Art: Winslow Homer and His Man-Servant Lewis." See Downes, *The Life and Works of Winslow Homer*, 21.

[99] Burns, "Review: Modernizing Winslow Homer," 625.

[100] Ibid., 630.

[101] "Artists and their Work," *New York Times*, April 9, 1880, 5; see also "Exhibition of the Academy of Design," *Art Amateur* 2, no. 6 (May 1880): 112.

[102] Kushner, Gallati, and Ferber, *Winslow Homer*, fig. 21, 67, respectively; Beam, *Winslow Homer's Magazine Engravings*, fig. 120, fig. 160, 146, respectively.

Gulf Stream, 1899 (MMA, 06.1234), in which the protagonists assume positions of heroic power.[103]

Homer's treatment of black peoples' hair must be inserted into the discourse on his attitudes toward race. Indeed, the depiction in the earlier works tends to match the activity of the person shown, often deriving from caricature. For example, the cartoonish man in *Hi! H-o-o-o-! He Done Come. Jumboloro Tell You Fust*, who plays a sort of messenger role to a well-dressed white woman waiting on the porch of a country home, is bareheaded, with kinky curls spiraling around and upward off his head. He is in need of a groomed haircut in the same way that his tattered and patched clothing needs replacement. Furthermore, the fiddler in *A Bivouac Fire on the Potomac* has exaggeratedly curly hair.[104] In the later works the depictions are more realistic, often including hats and scarves.[105] In *Sunday Morning in Virginia* of 1877, four black children read a Bible aloud to an older woman at the right of the canvas who looks up and outward to her left, away

[103] Simpson notes that the figures here are shown as noble and monumental. See Simpson, *Winslow Homer*, 54; Wood and Dalton note that *Near Andersonville*, 1865–66 (Newark Museum), shows the slave woman with individual features, in a good dress, as quiet and stoic. Peter H. Wood and Karen C. C. Dalton, *Winslow Homer's Images of Blacks: The Civil War and Reconstruction Years* (Austin: Menil Collection: University of Texas Press, 1988); Peter H. Wood, Near Andersonville: *Winslow Homer's Civil War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010; O'Leary, *At Beck and Call*, 157-58; Michael D. Harris, *Colored Pictures: Race and Visual Representation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 66-67.

[104] Frances K. Pohl, "Black and White in America," in *Nineteenth Century Art: A Critical History*, ed. Stephen F. Eisenman, 3rd ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 208; Homer's contemporary Eastman Johnson was also recognized for his depictions of black people. For a review that describes Johnson's representations in racist terms, see G. W. Bungay, "Eastman Johnson, A Representative American Artist," *The Phrenological Journal and Science of Health* 75, no. 6 (December 1882): 0_1.

[105] Roberta Smith Favis, "Home Again: Worthington Whittredge's Domestic Interiors," *American Art* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 29; for more on head kerchiefs and bandannas in nineteenth-century African-American appearance, see Shane White and Graham White, *Stylin': African American Expressive Culture from Its Beginnings to the Zoot Suit* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 57-62.

from the children, possibly indicating her inability to read.[106] In this post–Civil War picture the hair of the children is truthfully depicted; the two boys wear theirs closely shorn; the girl at left has hers pulled back and low, tied by a blue ribbon. The girl farthest to the right has short, neat plaits, and the older woman dons a colorful scarf.[107] In *A Visit from the Old Mistress* of 1876, three former slave women (one holding a child in her arms) hesitatingly greet their former mistress.[108] The contrast in hairstyles and headgear is as striking as the difference in body language and clothing. All three black women's heads are wrapped in scarves, in shades of brown, pale pink, and pale green; the child dons a floppy pale yellow bonnet. The patternless fabrics match their dresses with broad swaths of color—rosy pink, dark brown, green, and white with brushstrokes of pale green, brown, and black. In contrast, the older white woman's gray hair is fully visible, braided in a high bun atop her head; the pattern of the braid complements the pattern of the lace collar over her long black dress. Her parasol hangs lifeless in her left hand. The question of Homer's stance toward black people remains open, however, it has become clear that he used hair as an indicator of ethnicity in ways that his contemporaries could readily identify. Furthermore, hair follows suit with the trajectory of his treatment of the activities and status of his black figures.

---

[106] Wood and Dalton say that the two middle children are the only two reading. See Wood and Dalton, *Winslow Homer's Images of Blacks*, 88; Connor says the older girl with the bow in her hair is the only one reading. See Connor, *Off the Pedestal*, 20.

[107] Wood and Dalton observe that the two children who are reading are fair-skinned and likely had access to education; they also wear nicer clothing than the other figures. See Wood and Dalton, *Winslow Homer's Images of Blacks*, 87.

[108] For period reviews of the painting, see Goodrich and Gerdts, *Record of Works by Winslow Homer*, 420-24.

As demonstrated, Homer was an artist attuned to the various social classes of his subjects, as well as to the changing positions and opportunities available to women and African Americans after the Civil War. His treatment of hair demonstrates his awareness of cultural difference, but also his ultimate deference to mainstream norms. On the whole, however, Homer's approach toward women's sensuality remained relatively contained. His most daring foray into showing overt sexuality was in the exposure of women's wet hair and uncovered legs in *Eagle Head*, a project that he was forced to revise in the engraved edition as a result of critics' negative responses. Homer uses hair to signal his figures' distance from the bourgeois ideal endorsed by the artists discussed in the previous chapter, but also to remain within accepted bounds. The next chapter will investigate New Woman photographers like Alice Austen who approached the topic of hair even more explicitly by openly subverting acceptable appearances. Letting down their hair for the camera, their most daring works completely eschewed convention.

Chapter Four: Exposing Femininity: Untethered Hairstyles in Photographs by Alice Austen and New Woman Photographers

Acknowledging the widespread impact of photography during the period of the last two decades of the nineteenth century, this chapter, in contrast to the previous ones, focuses on female photographers. It establishes the notion of the insider's view of female hair culture that will be expanded upon in the following chapter, which discusses the painter Mary Cassatt. Unlike that bourgeois Impressionist artist, however, Austen and her New Woman contemporaries maintained a gynosocial, all-female, viewpoint when depicting women's private lives. Throughout the discussion, the integral role that female-centered socialization played in the lifestyle of the New Woman becomes evident.

After the social constrictions of the 1860s and 70s, women fought for and succeeded in obtaining, more rights and freedoms in the 1880s and 90s. The New Woman of this period participated in sports, rode bicycles, was active in politics and professional work, and wore her hair and clothes in a looser fashion to fit the new lifestyle.[1] Encouraged by editorials and advertisements in ladies' magazines, the New Woman also obtained cameras and took pictures of herself, family, and friends, often in playful poses,

[1] See, for example, the photograph by Heustis Cook of female switchboard operators, about 1884-85, in which the women are dressed in comfortable working clothes and their hair is braided in simple low buns so as not to interfere with their headsets. Joan L. Severa, *Dressed for the Photographer: Ordinary Americans and Fashion, 1840-1900* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1995), 404-5; on the New Woman, see Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 176; 245-81; for the New Woman in the English context, see Susan P. Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood in English Art* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London; Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1987), 144-59; Martha Banta, *Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 45-91; on women and bicycling and tennis, see Claudia Brush Kidwell and Valerie Steele, eds., *Men and Women: Dressing the Part* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 110-16; on women and the bicycle, see Ellen Gruber Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlor: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 106-34.

sometimes literally and figuratively letting down her hair. The new handheld camera, introduced in 1888, gave women the medium with which to assert power over their self-presentation in ways that were unavailable in previous decades. This chapter contends that recurring photographs of women showing less constricted hairstyles, as well as pictures of them toying with and exposing long, untethered locks comprise a further iconography, along with bicycling and sporting images, of the New Woman's freedom to explore novel societal liberties. As demonstrated in previous chapters, great importance was placed on the careful arrangement of hair under the Cult of True Womanhood. During the era of the New Woman, letting the hair down became a powerful symbol of liberty and of transgressive masquerade by which cultural representations of femininity were challenged. In its relationship to mirroring, photography was particularly well suited to represent the aspects of identity that John Higham termed "boundlessness" and "consolidation." As John Stauffer argues with regard to Southworth and Hawes's self-proclaimed masterpiece daguerreotype, *Young Girl, Hand on Shoulder* (mid-nineteenth century), wisps of hair escaping from a plain, centrally parted hairdo had the effect of conveying a hint of sexuality—a departure from the morally and physically self-controlled, or consolidated True Woman.[2]

The New Woman emerged by the 1890s out of a culture that allowed more opportunities for women.[3] These freedoms derived from technological and political

---

[2] John Higham, *From Boundlessness to Consolidation: the Transformation of American Culture, 1848-1860* (Ann Arbor: William L. Clements Library, 1969); John Stauffer, "Daguerreotyping the National Soul: The Portraits of Southworth & Hawes," *Prospects* 22 (1997): 74-76.

[3] Jean V. Matthews, *The Rise of the New Woman: the Women's Movement in America, 1875-1930* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2003), 13; Ledger says that the term was used by Ouida, a novelist, who extrapolated it from Sarah Grand's essay, "The New Aspect of the Woman Question," *North American Review*, 158 (1894), 270-76 and Ouida, "The New Woman," North American Review 158 (1894), 610-19.

advances that granted women more time away from domestic chores and familial responsibilities.[4] She may be regarded as both a development from, and a contrast to, the self-sacrificing True Woman of mid-century.[5] More women defied social expectations and eschewed marriage, even restricting the number of pregnancies they were willing to have, choices that contributed to declining birthrates.[6] Instead, they attended college, pursued professional work, joined social clubs, left home without male escorts, and dared to smoke cigarettes in public.[7] The August 18, 1895, edition of *New York World* included an article titled "Here is the New Woman," which provides an early sense of how the New Woman was conceived:

See Ledger for the subject of the New Woman in fiction; see also Sally Ledger, "The New Woman and Feminist Fictions," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Fin de Siècle*, ed. Gail Marshall (Cambridge University Press, n.d.), 153-68; Angélique Richardson and Chris Willis, eds., *The New Woman in Fiction and in Fact: Fin-de-siècle Feminisms* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Holly Pyne Connor, ed., *Off the Pedestal: New Women in the Art of Homer, Chase, and Sargent* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press; London: Distributed by Eurospan, 2006), 4.

[4] Laura R. Prieto, *At Home in the Studio: The Professionalization of Women Artists in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 146; Naomi Rosenblum, "Women in Photography: An Historical Overview," *Exposure* 24, no. 4 (Winter 1986): 8; C. Jane Gover, *The Positive Image: Women Photographers in Turn of the Century America* (SUNY Press, 1988), 1; Suzanne L. Flynt, *The Allen Sisters: Pictorial Photographers 1885-1920* (Deerfield, MA: Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, 2002), 12.

[5] Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1990), 205.

[6] Matthews, *The Rise of the New Woman: the Women's Movement in America, 1875-1930*, 38; Loralee MacPike, "The New Woman, Childbearing, and the Reconstruction of Gender, 1880-1900," *NWSA Journal* 1, no. 3 (Spring 1989): 368-97; Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct*, 176.

[7] Prieto, *At Home in the Studio*, 145; Erika Doss, "Review of Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia," *Winterthur Portfolio* 35, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 304; Matthews also discusses the New Woman and fiction. Matthews, *The Rise of the New Woman: the Women's Movement in America, 1875-1930*, 13-15; 40-51; Vivien Gardner and Susan Rutherford, *The New Woman and Her Sisters: Feminism and Theatre, 1850-1914* (Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), 4-5; see Gail Cunningham, *The New Woman and the Victorian Novel* (Barnes & Noble Books, 1978), 14; 15-35; on social clubs and on suffrage, see Martha H. Patterson, *The American New Woman Revisited: a Reader, 1894-1930* (Rutgers University Press, 2008), 157-79; Jan Jennings, "Drawing on the Vernacular Interior," *Winterthur Portfolio* 27, no. 4 (Winter 1992): 258; Connor, *Off the Pedestal*, 1.

> These women believe that nature fully intended the female sex to be equal in all respects with the male . . . they should have just as much to say about governing themselves, just as many opportunities for mental advancement, and for earning a living, as men . . . they believe that women as a class have a higher, a more noble duty in life than the mere bearing and nursing of children and the comforting and encouraging of men.[8]

As the article indicates, and as scholar Carolyn L. Kitch points out, the New Woman derived from a number of motivations and was effected in several types.[9] One of these was the Gibson Girl, created by Charles Dana Gibson and reproduced in *Life* and *The Ladies Home Journal* in the 1890s and early 1900s; it provides the most tangible visual evidence of the independent woman, albeit an idealized, exaggerated one that was not always reflected in true life.[10] The Gibson Girl was young, tall, white, Anglo-Saxon, and swept her hair upon the head into a rounded overall shape.[11] She also wore a high-collared shirtwaist that emphasized a slim middle and large bust, and a long skirt that were appealing to men (fig. 56).[12] In reality, many New Women chose more comfortable, "rational" clothing, often separates, including mass-produced shirtwaists but also trousers that allowed more movement.[13] Greater physical mobility was paramount, as women took

---

[8] Reprinted in Patterson, *The American New Woman Revisited: a Reader, 1894-1930*, 46-48.

[9] Carolyn L. Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 8.

[10] Prieto, *At Home in the Studio*, 146; for reproductions of Gibson's drawings of the New Woman, see figs. 2.1-2.4, 38-45. Another type was the Fisher Girl, created by Harrison Fisher for the *Saturday Evening Post*. See Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover*, 46-50; Matthews, *The Rise of the New Woman: the Women's Movement in America, 1875-1930*, 13.

[11] Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover*, 39.

[12] Severa, *Dressed for the Photographer*, 456; 474; Matthews, *The Rise of the New Woman: the Women's Movement in America, 1875-1930*, 13-14; Connor, *Off the Pedestal*, 4.

[13] Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers*, 175; Patricia Anne Cunningham, *Reforming Women's Fashion, 1850-1920: Politics, Health, and Art* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2003); Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover*, 39; Severa, *Dressed for the Photographer*, 474; on the dress of collegiate women, see

to bicycling and other sports, exercises that writers such as Catherine Beecher encouraged in the name of good health.[14] With the advent of pneumatic instead of iron tires, the "safety bicycle" became one of the iconic images associated with the New Woman—Gibson's "Scribner's for June" (1896) image of a shirtwaisted woman on a bike provides a key example (fig. 57).[15] The bicycle (or "steel horse") provided inexpensive transportation beyond the confines of the home, as well as a measure of power over the capacity of one's own body (fig. 58).[16] As Patricia Marks puts it, the New Woman on a bicycle was "no longer the angel in the home"; the bicycle helped redefine femininity, changing lifestyles as well as clothing and hairstyles.[17]

The backlash against the New Woman was sizeable, with men as well as women seeing a threat in mannish behavior in females.[18] An outpouring of satirical caricatures testifies to the widespread fear of change, highlighting such abhorrent behaviors as

---

Margaret A. Lowe, *Looking Good: College Women and Body Image, 1875-1930* (Baltimore: James Hopkins University Press, 2005), 79-96.

[14] Cunningham, *Reforming Women's Fashion, 1850-1920*, 28; Severa, *Dressed for the Photographer*, 373, 455; Carol M. Armstrong, "From Clementina to Kasebier: The Photographic Attainment of the 'Lady Amateur'," *October* 91 (Winter 2000): 130n32; Catharine Esther Beecher, *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt-Book: Designed as a Supplement to Her Treatise on Domestic Economy*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850).

[15] Connor, *Off the Pedestal*, 35-36; Banta, *Imaging American Women*, 88; see also the cover of *Judge*, April 30, 1898 ; Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women," *American Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (March 1995): 66-101.

[16] Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers*, 184, 202-3.

[17] Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers*, 175, 203; Connor, *Off the Pedestal*, 2.

[18] Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers*, 205-6; Mary W. Blanchard, "The Manly New Woman," in *Off the Pedestal: New Women in the Art of Homer, Chase, and Sargent*, ed. Holly Pyne Connor (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press; London: Distributed by Eurospan, 2006), 91-124; on the controversy over the New Woman, see Patricia Murphy, *Time is of the Essence: Temporality, Gender, and the New Woman* (State University of New York Press, 2001), 4-10.

women smoking cigarettes, a punishable crime if done in public in the 1890s (fig. 59).[19] Men felt endangered by women who were sexually aware of themselves, dressed without corsets and petticoats, and who played croquet, tennis, golf, and field hockey.[20] The rationale held that if women ventured to work, social clubs, or engaged in leisure pursuits outside the home, they would not have sufficient time to tend to their children.[21] An apt example is the illustration of a woman in bloomers sidling up to a bar: "Bloomers at the Bar. Daring Fannie Dee, an Englewood, Ill. New Woman, Waltzes into a Saloon and Takes Her Tipple Just Like a Man," which ran in the *National Police Gazette* on October 5, 1895.[22]

As previously mentioned, hairstyles became looser and less constricted in the 1880s to allow more movement for women who were participating in sports and workplace careers, such as teaching, nursing, and social work. In the 1890s, the spherical, upswept styles were set away from the face and fastened into a loose chignon, with no fringes, in contradistinction to mid-century fashions that tightly pulled the hair to the

---

[19] Gover, *The Positive Image*, 120; Banta, *Imaging American Women*, figs. 1.42, 1.43; Gardner and Rutherford, *The New Woman and Her Sisters: Feminism and Theatre, 1850-1914*, 4-5; for satirical caricatures of the New Woman, see Richardson and Willis, *The New Woman in Fiction and in Fact: Fin-de-siècle Feminisms*, 14-23; for English caricatures, see Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood in English Art*, 146-55.

[20] Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers*, 147; Cunningham, *Reforming Women's Fashion, 1850-1920*, 61; Severa, *Dressed for the Photographer*, 455; Cunningham, *The New Woman and the Victorian Novel*, 14; Margaret Maynard, "A Dream of Fair Women: Revival Dress and the Formation of Late Victorian Images of Femininity," *Art History* 12 (September 1989): 330.

[21] Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers*, 147; Ledger, "The New Woman and Feminist Fictions," 154; Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct*, 265; Connor, *Off the Pedestal*, 3, 33.

[22] Reproduced in Banta, *Imaging American Women*, 50.

sides and back of the head (see fig. 56).[23] The Gibson Girl's style was referred to as a pompadour, with the hair swirled high and wide in front of the head, a fashion that often required lengths of fake hair to provide enough tresses to pile over a "rat" or postiche.[24] Skilled hairdressers were in demand to make such creations, and women who could not afford such an amenity might turn to servants or prepare the hair themselves.[25]

Another significant, growing activity that was open to women in this period was photography, in which New Women participated behind and in front of the camera. As Laura Prieto states, "Professional women artists contributed in two vital ways to the creation of this new ideal of womanhood: they acted as flesh-and-blood models of the New Woman . . . and they participated in the production of images that established the New Woman's ideal attributes."[26] Furthermore, Naomi Rosenblum observes a dramatic change in the United States about 1890 when women practiced and wrote about photography.[27] She states that by 1900 there were about 3,500 women listed in the census as professional photographers, an increase of more than 400 percent from 1870, and that

---

[23] Beverly Gordon, "Woman's Domestic Body: The Conceptual Conflation of Women and Interiors in the Industrial Age," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 298; Joan Nunn, *Fashion in Costume: 1200-1980* (London: Herbert, 1984), 160; Jean Keyes, *A History of Women's Hairstyles, 1500-1965* (London: Methuen, 1967), 51; Richard Corson, *Fashions in Hair: The First Five Thousand Years* (New York: Hastings House, 1965), 494-97.

[24] Victoria Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of Hair: A Cultural History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006), 138; Keyes, *A History of Women's Hairstyles, 1500-1965*, 53; Caroline Cox, *Good Hair Days: A History of British Hairstyling* (London: Quartet Books, 1999), 21.

[25] Cox, *Good Hair Days*, 21.

[26] Prieto, *At Home in the Studio*, 146.

[27] Rosenblum, "Women in Photography: An Historical Overview," 8.

thousands of women were members of camera clubs.[28] Research over the past few decades has uncovered the names and careers of many of the women who ably handled cameras. These include Gertrude Käsebier, Anne Brigman, Alice Boughton, Mary Bartlett, Alice Austen, Frances Benjamin Johnston, Davida Johnson Clark, Eva Watson-Schütze, Amelia Van Buren, Catherine Weed Barnes Ward, Chansonetta Emmons, Zaida Ben-Yusuf, Mathilde Weil, Sarah Sears, Harriet V.S. Thorne, Frances and Mary Allen, among others.[29] Their styles varied from Pictorialist to Photo-Secessionist to snapshooter.[30] Perhaps the largest group is the last one, anonymous women who were

---

[28] Rosenblum, "Women in Photography: An Historical Overview," 13; Judith Fryer Davidov, *Women's Camera Work: Self/Body/Other in American Visual Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 76; Gover, *The Positive Image*, xiii; 53-85.

[29] Clark posed as a studio model for Augustus Saint-Gaudens. See also a photograph of Clark, about 1886, with long, unruly hair. Banta, *Imaging American Women*, 155, fig. 3.4; aside from monographs, Rosenblum is the best source for information on women photographers of the nineteenth century. Naomi Rosenblum, *A History of Women Photographers* (Paris; New York: Abbeville Press, 1994), 23; Frances Benjamin Johnston was one of the most influential, and hence, best studied, female photographers of the period. See especially her self-portrait of about 1900 with the subtitle "as 'New Woman.'"Gillian Greenhill Hannum, "Frances Benjamin Johnston: Promoting Women Photographers in 'The Ladies' Home Journal'," *Nineteenth Century* 24, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 23; see also Bettina Berch, *The Woman Behind the Lens: The Life and Work of Frances Benjamin Johnston, 1864-1952* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 63-68; 77-91; for a list of women photographers of the period, see Palmquist, who includes a section on Barnes. *Camera Fiends & Kodak Girls: 50 Selections by and About Women in Photography, 1840-1930* (New York: Midmarch Arts Press, 1989), 63-68; 77-91; on Zaida Ben-Yusef, see Frank Henry Goodyear, *Zaida Ben-Yusuf: New York Portrait Photographer* (London: Merrell, 2008); on Emmons, see Marius B. Péladeau, *Chansonetta: The Life and Photographs of Chansonetta Stanley Emmons, 1858-1937* (Waldoboro: Maine Antique Digest, 1977); Armstrong, "From Clementina to Kasebier: The Photographic Attainment of the 'Lady Amateur'."

[30] Pictorialism was a movement in photography that looked toward painting as a model. Adherents, such as the Briton Julia Margaret Cameron, and the Americans Gertrude Käsebier and Anne Brigman, chose a soft focus, strong shadows, and textured paper for their prints. The Photo-Secession movement, founded in 1902 by Alfred Stieglitz, and including Eva Watson-Schutze who was a founding member, aimed to legitimize photography as a true art form. See Martin W. Sandler, *Against the Odds: Women Pioneers in the First Hundred Years of American Photography* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 2002), 49-51; one-fifth of the members of the Photo-Secession were women. Davidov, *Women's Camera Work*, 52; Gover, *The Positive Image*, 10; Jill Guthrie, *Camera Women: Women Photographers in the Collection of the Princeton University Art Museum* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Art Museum, 2001), 20; Flynt, *The Allen Sisters*, 13; Cameron's multiple photographs of her maid Mary Hillier often portray the subject with erotic, loose and flowing Pre-Raphaelite hair. Others depict women embracing, as well as the eroticization of the mother-child embrace, all of which provide an interesting backdrop against which to consider later works by New Woman photographers. On Cameron, see Carol Armstrong, "Cupid's Pencil of

encouraged by editorials in ladies' magazines, along with advertisements by Kodak, to pick up a lightweight handheld camera after its appearance on the market in 1888, and shoot away.[31]

Infamously advertised under the slogan, "You press the button; We do the rest," the Kodak Number One camera, introduced by George Eastman in 1888, ushered in the era of amateur photography. In 1890 personal Kodak cameras sold for twenty-five dollars (the equivalent of four hundred dollars in the twenty-first century), and only seven thousand were produced. [32] Such a costly item was available only to people of certain means who had enough leisure time to use it. These middle- and upper-class customers were referred to as "Kodakers," capturing snapshots (a word borrowed from hunting terminology in 1860 by Sir John Herschel) of family members, daily activities, interiors and exteriors of their homes, vacations, and countless other subjects that remain the vocabulary of amateur photography today. After shooting images of cozy living room card games or trips to Niagara Falls, for example, the owner sent the camera to the Eastman Kodak Company in Rochester, New York, where the hundred-exposure roll of film was developed and returned with the photographs.[33] Personal Kodak cameras

---

Light: Julia Margaret Cameron and the Maternalization of Photography," *October* 76 (April 1, 1996): 114-41; and Armstrong, "From Clementina to Kasebier: The Photographic Attainment of the 'Lady Amateur'," 119-28.

[31] Davidov, *Women's Camera Work*, 80; by the end of the 1890s, Kodak allocated $750,000 per year on advertising. Doss, "Review of Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia," 304; Naomi Rosenblum, *Women Seeing Women: A Pictorial History of Women's Photography from Julia Margaret Cameron to Annie Liebovitz* (New York: Norton, 2003), 12.

[32] Doss, "Review of *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*," 302; Nancy Martha West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (Charlottesville, Va: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 23-24.

[33] Mia Fineman, "Kodak and the Rise of Amateur Photography," *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000*, October 2004, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/kodk/hd_kodk.htm (accessed June 15, 2010).

became increasingly more popular as their prices lowered, with several models in the early 1890s on the market for fifteen to fifty dollars, and the "Pocket Kodak" available for five dollars in 1895–1900.[34] The proliferation of roll-film cameras reached 1.5 million by 1898, with the number climbing by 1900 when the "Brownie" (marketed especially for children) sold for just one dollar.[35] As the advertisements explained, "Anybody can use it." Without a viewfinder, this was "Photography Reduced to Three Motions," asking only that its owner pull the cord, turn the key, and press the button.[36] Eastman's "Kodak Girl" marketing campaign began in 1892—similar to the Gibson Girl, the Kodak Girl was young, modern, lively, and in control of her pictures.[37] Many of these newfound hobbyists joined camera clubs and societies for amateur photographers in which they enjoyed picture-taking excursions with fellow enthusiasts.[38]

With hundreds of photographs in hand, the turn-of-the-century snapshooter needed a place to keep them. In addition to frames mounted on walls, mantles, and resting on tabletops, albums provided an amenable repository. Kodak was quick to supply

---

[34] Keith F. Davis, *An American Century of Photography: From Dry-Plate to Digital: The Hallmark Photographic Collection* (Kansas City, MO: Hallmark Cards in association with H.N. Abrams, 1999), 20.

[35] Colin Ford, *You Press the Button We Do the Rest: The Birth of Snapshot Photography* (London: Nishen in association with the National Museum of Photography Film and Television, 1988), 24; Fineman, "Kodak and the Rise of Amateur Photography."

[36] Ford, *You Press the Button We Do the Rest*, 22.

[37] Hannum, "Frances Benjamin Johnston: Promoting Women Photographers in 'The Ladies' Home Journal'," 28; Doss, "Review of Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia," 304; West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 53; Douglas R. Nickel, *Snapshots: The Photography of Everyday Life, 1888 to the Present* (San Francisco, CA: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1998), 10.

[38] Davis, *An American Century of Photography*, 23.

the demand, offering forty-seven different albums by 1904.[39] Covers were embossed with decorative motifs, visually associating them with important household books (even family bibles), and pages were fashioned with slits to allow the secure placements of circular or rectangular pictures.[40] Vernacular photographs and albums have received increasingly more attention in the scholarship of photographic history. Generally defined as "ordinary photographs . . . by everyday folk," vernacular photographs are now acquired by museums simultaneously with the "art photography" of well-known Pictorialist and Photo-Secessionist artists.[41] In turn, albums are also acquired and receive interpretive and theoretical attention from scholars such as Geoffrey Batchen, Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, and Martha Langford.[42] Many individual photographs have come to scholars after being separated from albums. Unfortunate as this practice is, one of the benefits is that it allows observation of recurring themes and subjects and consideration alongside "art photography" by known practitioners. Furthermore, New Women imagery in loose photographs as well as in albums provided repositories of hair imagery to artists and to women who may have aspired to adopt the emancipated lifestyle.

Alice Austen (1866–1952) was a camerawoman of the late nineteenth century, a decidedly independent one who defied categorization in a particular type of photography,

---

[39] Philip Stokes, "The Family Photograph Album: So Great a Cloud of Witnesses," in *The Portrait in Photography*, ed. Graham Clarke (London: Reaktion Books, 1992), 194.

[40] Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, eds., *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), 11; Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: the Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 94.

[41] Geoffrey Batchen, "Vernacular Photographies," *History of Photography* 24, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 262.

[42] See especially Batchen, "Vernacular Photographies"; Geoffrey Batchen, *Forget Me Not: Photography & Remembrance* (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum; New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004); Langford, *Suspended Conversations: the Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums.*

as she was not a Pictorialist, Secessionist, or amateur.[43] Born Elizabeth Alice Munn, she hailed from an upper-class family on Staten Island, New York, where she lived most of her life in her grandparents' home called Clear Comfort, a Dutch farmhouse of 1690 redecorated in the Gothic Revival style.[44] She moved to the house with her mother, Alice Cornell Austen, in the 1860s after Alice's father abandoned them.[45] In 1876 her uncle, Oswald Müller, permitted her to use his camera, and by age eighteen she became a self-trained camerawoman taking pictures of herself as well as her family and friends.[46] Because she did not rely on her work for an income, many of her pictures are witty, even mischievous, often subverting expected codes of femininity, and flaunting herself as a New Woman in charge of her life and her camera. She was known as a free spirit who hauled her fifty-pound equipment on a horse-drawn carriage, using glass-plate cameras until she purchased her first handheld Kodak in 1895.[47] A swimmer and tennis player as well, she incorporated athletics into her lively photographs.[48] She also illustrated the book

---

[43] Gover, *The Positive Image*, 115-16.

[44] Ann Novotny, *Alice's World: The Life and Photography of an American Original, Alice Austen, 1866-1952* (Old Greenwich, CT: Chatham Press, 1976), 15-66. Austen's house is kept today as a museum and national historic landmark open to the public. See www.aliceausten.org.; Hugh Campbell Humphreys and Regina Benedict, "The Friends of Alice Austen," *Infinity*, July 1967, 28; Christian Karr, "Clear Comfort: The Alice Austen House and Museum" (master's thesis, New York: Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, 1999), 28.

[45] See www.aliceausten.org.

[46] Novotny, *Alice's World*, 17; Rosenblum, "Women in Photography: An Historical Overview," 16.

[47] See Novotny, *Alice's World*, 68-90; 137-63; Humphreys and Benedict, "The Friends of Alice Austen," 28.

[48] Novotny, *Alice's World*, 44; Humphreys and Benedict, "The Friends of Alice Austen," 30.

Bicycling for Ladies (1896), written by Violet Ward, her friend who had designed the drop-bar bicycle for women.[49]

Austen's pictures provide a case study of the changing lifestyles achieved by women in the period, showing a range of proper Victorian updo's and the New Woman experimenting with freer hairstyles. A seated self-portrait of September 19, 1892, depicts Austen posed on the lushly foliate porch of Clear Comfort in a full-length dress, fan held with two gloved hands (fig. 60).[50] In this conventional image, Austen's hair is fixed at the top of her head with a fashionable fringe of short bangs along the upper forehead. She is posed in a semi-public setting—the porch of the house is a liminal place between the private home and world outside, and thus she does not wear a hat. She gazes thoughtfully into the distance toward the upper left, and the entire picture has the aura of a romantic, theatrical performance. Somewhat different is a portrait of Austen taken by Oswald Müller, the uncle who started her with a camera, which depicts her in a private outdoor setting (fig. 61). Again, Alice presents herself, this time for a male photographer, as a fashionable woman of the period—her hair is swept and fixed upward beneath a dramatic, feathered hat that complements the striped and bustled skirt of her dress. In her right hand is a pocket watch or mirror, and her left hand lightly holds, but does not lean on, a large parasol. Unmistakable is Austen's determined, serious facial expression complete with wrinkled brow and pursed lips. This is clearly a woman who is uncomfortable posing for someone else's camera, especially a man's, for which she is required to enact the role of a proper Victorian woman, one that she does not regularly play in her private photographs.

---

[49] John Pultz, *Photography and the Body* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995), 56.

[50] See Novotny, *Alice's World*, 22.

In contrast to these traditional portraits, one of Austen's most famous images is *Trude and I Masked* of 1891, which she annotated with the following description: "Trude and I Masked, Short Skirts. 11 p.m., Thursday, Aug. 6th 1891. Gas on, flash. Stanley 35, Waterbury lense [*sic*], 11 ft." (fig. 62). The picture shows Alice and her friend Gertrude Eccleston wearing white masks that cover their eyes and the tops of their noses. Smoking cigarettes, an act associated with men, everything else about them flaunts their femininity—they are *en déshabillé*, donning only their underclothes, dark stockings, and shoes, and their arms are bare.[51] Most remarkably, in this private, curtained room, the women let down their long hair, free from the bindings of the usual updo. Underscoring the subversive tone of the image is the belief that the photograph was taken at St. John's Episcopal Church where Trude's father was the rector.[52]

Austen toyed with gender expectations in other photographs as well, many of which include her lifelong friend and companion, Gertrude Amelia Tate of Brooklyn, whom she met in 1899.[53] Most sources on Austen rightly understand her relationship with Tate within the context of nineteenth-century female gynosocial friendship.[54] Scholar Ann Novotny calls the fifty-year companionship with Gertrude Tate a "satisfactory

---

[51] Gover, *The Positive Image: Women Photographers in Turn of the Century America*, 120; Dolores Mitchell, "The "New Woman" as Prometheus: Women Artists Depict Women Smoking," *Woman's Art Journal* 12, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1991): 3.

[52] "The Newly Discovered Picture World of Alice Austen," *Life*, September 24, 1951, 141.

[53] Novotny, *Alice's World*, 46.

[54] A number of female photographers did not marry. These include Johnston, Boughton, and Frances and Mary Allen. Davidov, *Women's Camera Work*, 84; Gover, *The Positive Image*, 35-36; 45; Amy S. Doherty, "Women in Focus: Early American Women Photographers," *Picturescope* 31, no. 2 (Summer 1983): 51; on female friendship, see Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct*, 53-76.

alternative to marriage."[55] Two scholars differ from this reading, referring to Austen's lesbianism. Mary W. Blanchard regards *Trude and I Masked* as a provocative lesbian image, and John Pultz views Austen's photographs as strong expressions of women's control over the presentation of the body, in line with her lesbianism.[56] All told, the visual evidence suggests that Austen consistently engaged in gynosocial relationships with other women, and openly explored them in photographs like *Trude and I Masked*. That work is best understood through the lens of the masquerade, in which hair plays a major role. Samantha Holland's definition of the masquerade as playing with cultural representations of femininity to "provoke and confound the male gaze" is useful here.[57] By showing herself and her friend with long, loose, untethered hair, Austen subverts patriarchal society's expectations of how a woman should present herself. As Whitney Chadwick writes,

> Every woman who paints a self-portrait, or sculpts a likeness, or places herself in front of the lens of a camera whose shutter she controls, challenges in some way the complex relationship that exists between masculine agency and feminine passivity in Western art history.[58]

Wearing masks allows the women to hide their identities while they are challenging society's rules for women's presentation. Austen further complicates this semi-self-portrait by putting forward a mirror image in which she and Trude come across as twin-

---

[55] Novotny, *Alice's World*, 60; Gover uses nearly the same language: "a fulfilling alternative to marriage." She also refers to Austen's "hermetic lifestyle." Gover, *The Positive Image*, xviii; 39.

[56] Blanchard, "The Manly New Woman," 123; Pultz, *Photography and the Body*, 56.

[57] Samantha Holland, *Alternative Femininities: Body, Age and Identity* (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 36.

[58] Whitney Chadwick, "How Do I Look?," in *Mirror Mirror: Self-Portraits by Women Artists*, ed. Liz Rideal (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2001), 9.

like, with matching hair, clothes, and actions. By doing so, the two figures double the transgressive challenge to femininity.

Three further pictures by Austen from the early 1890s are remarkably daring in their play with gender roles. The first, of August 29, 1890, shows Austen and her friends Mrs. Snively and Julia in a bed, with Austen at left, arms raised to rest behind her head, and staring off into the distance toward her left. Austen is often placed in the leftmost position in group photographs, perhaps to allow for better access to the handheld cable attached to the camera's shutter. Mrs. Snively is next to her, in the middle, looking off to her right, and Julia is at far right, eyes closed, and leaning the side of her head against Mrs. Snively's raised left arm. They wear underclothes or nightgowns, and their hair is uncovered but fixed to their heads in styles appropriate for the period. The second photograph, of October 15, 1891, comprises Austen and her friends Julia Martin and Julia Bredt dressed fully as men, with Alice at left, holding a fake cigarette (fig. 63). The scene is set in a garden, likely at Clear Comfort. Suited in pants, vests, ties, and sport jackets, their outfits are respectively topped by three different men's hats—a cap on Martin, a straw brimmer on Bredt, and a black top hat on Austen. The moustached women all have their hair pulled back to accommodate the hats; Martin's front bangs are visible beneath the lid of her cap, and Austen's left side hair is seen, but Bredt's hair is completely covered, making her the most believable-looking as a male. She is also the one with the phallic, upright end of an umbrella jutting out between her legs. Exactly two weeks later Austen took a picture of herself and three other friends seaside in Staten Island, embracing as two couples (fig. 64). Austen stands at left with her arms around Trude Eccleston, the same woman she posed with in *Trude and I Masked*. Next in line is Julia

Marsh, arms set on Sue Riply's waist. Annotated at the left corner is the title *The Darned Club*, a name given to the group by neighboring men.[59]

Austen's interests extended beyond her immediate circle, as in the 1890s she made regular trips on the Staten Island Ferry to Manhattan where she documented immigrant life. She also traveled with her camera to Canada, Ohio, Maryland, Florida, and Illinois, where she photographed the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. A self-portrait depicts twenty-seven year-old Austen posing with her pug dog Punch before heading to Chicago (fig. 65). The caption reads as follows: "Self-starting for Chicago. Punch also. Fine day, in shade. 3:30 p.m., Saturday, July 1st, 1893. Stanley 35, Waterbury lense [*sic*], 10 ft., Instantaneous medium."[60] It is a lighthearted picture, with Austen smirking and holding the dog's paw in her left hand, but it also documents Austen setting out on a momentous trip, for which she is dressed in a traditional traveling suit and her dark hair is neatly tucked under a matching hat. The end of Austen's remarkable life and career could not have been predicted by any of the events that came before. In 1929, at the age of sixty-three, she lost her money in the stock market crash, and after many attempts with Gertrude Tate to restore financing, including selling Clear Comfort in 1945, Austen spent her last two years in a home for elderly people, where she died in 1952.[61]

---

[59] Novotny, *Alice's World*, 64.

[60] Ibid., 91-109.

[61] See Novotny, *Alice's World*, 165-215; Rosenblum, *A History of Women Photographers*, 16. See also www.aliceausten.org; Kende Galleries at Gimbel Brothers, *Gold Boxes and Watches, Jewelry, Fabergé Objects, Paintings, Prints, Furniture, Decorations, Porcelains, Oriental Rugs, Textiles, Fine Laces* (New York, 1941); "Art Sale Brings $7,519," *New York Times*, February 13, 1941, 16.

Austen was a free spirit whose photographs reflect the complexity and contradictions experienced by women in the period. She presents herself in her work as both the good, traditional daughter (see fig. 60), but also as a New Woman engaged in gynosocial relationships (see figs. 62–64). The mood of Austen's photographs is visually conveyed by women's hairstyles—alternating between fashionably constrained and riskily untethered. Austen was independent, but not alone in her experiments with showing both aspects of women's place in society at the time. Photographs by and of female college students provide a vast resource of New Women interacting with their hair, likely because these places, such as Radcliffe College in Cambridge, Massachusetts, were all-female environments where experimenting with self-presentation was acceptable, as they were free for the most part from the male gaze. A group portrait of Radcliffe students provides a salient example (fig. 66). Five women are shown lined up on the steps of a university building, each wearing a lightweight outfit for spring or summer, comprised of a shirtwaist and skirt. Posing casually, the three women at left link their arms around each other, while the two at right stand slightly apart. The woman in the second position from the right leans to her left, with her left hand raised to her face, perhaps to cover a sneeze just at the moment the camera's shutter closes. These New Women are hatless and wear the loose hairstyles of the day—a soft roundness is especially prevalent on the first and fifth women from the left. Similar photographs from the Radcliffe Archives show women in gardens and on porches, or frolicking on the tennis court, as well as posing in full dresses during visits to the beach.[62]

[62] See http://via.lib.harvard.edu/via.

A good number of the collegiate photographs, however, defy conventional poses and appearances. As in Austen's more experimental pictures, long, loose hair appears as a recurring trope in photographs of the 1880s and 1890s by anonymous photographers, many of whom were likely women with access to female private spaces. It would have been unacceptable for a man to photograph a woman with undone hair. In a cyanotype of about 1899–1902, a Radcliffe student is seen by the side of a beach house (fig. 67). Holding an unidentified object as well as a handkerchief in her left hand, she appears to be caught off guard, possibly speaking to the cameraperson. Coatless and hatless, the student wears a light-colored shirtwaist and dark skirt; most remarkably, her hair is loose and flyaway, the result of a windy spring or summer day. The informality of the scene, signified by the woman's hair, indicates the comfort of an all-female environment, even on an outing to the public beach.

The annotation on another, non-collegiate photograph captures the daringness of showing women's intimacy with caring for their hair, but also a sense of joking around with the exaggerated lengths required for hairstyles: "Caught in the act!" (fig. 68). In this gelatin silver print, a snapshooter depicts a woman outdoors in the garden behind a home, dark wet hair drawn entirely over her face to dry it in the sun.[63] Equally intriguing is a back shot of a blonde with her hair completely hanging loose. Its length rivals that of her dark dress, which reaches to the ground in this backyard garden setting (fig. 69).[64]

---

[63] Sarah Greenough and Diane Waggoner, *The Art of the American Snapshot, 1888-1978: From the Collection of Robert E. Jackson* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 28-31.

[64] Greenough and Waggoner, *The Art of the American Snapshot, 1888-1978*, 29-31; for a cabinet card showing a woman with blonde hair that extends well past the hem of her dress skirt, see Marsha Peters and Bernard Mergen, "'Doing the Rest': The Uses of Photographs in American Studies," *American Quarterly* 29, no. 3 (1977): 284, fig. 1.

Showing the back of the hair is common in this subcategory of anonymous pictures, as photographing from behind accomplishes two aims. First, it allows a full-on view of the length of a woman's "crowning glory," and second, it hides the face, denying any identification of the sitter who has agreed to be a part of a revealing, socially risqué image. Overall, they reveal a fascination with the long hair necessitated by the pinned-up hairstyles required in the period. Another example is a tintype portraying the backs of eight women with long hair, dating to about 1880 (fig. 70). Three of them, all in dark dresses, stand, while five kneel, presumably in a studio, as the setting is comprised of a blank backdrop and a rug. The face of only one figure, at the farthest left, is partially visible. Otherwise, the composition is a mass of long lengths of hair, some wavier than others, and all dark with the exception of the woman at front right who is lighter, possibly blonde.

In similar fashion is another tintype (ca. 1875) depicting the backs of two women with wavy dark hair, here set in a parlor, or photographer's studio outfitted with props like the vase on a bookcase, to look like one (fig. 71).[65] Finally, and perhaps most interesting, is a tintype from about 1880, of a woman shown from a three-quarter view to accentuate the depth of her mass of long, dark wavy hair (fig. 72). She is posed against a studio backdrop decorated as a beach. Adding to the whimsy of the scene, the subject stands on a "sand" floor and holds binoculars in her left hand as if to obtain a better view of the ship that sails to the left out of the backdrop's margin. The picture is contradictory and therefore intriguing on several counts, as the figure wears a dark, long-sleeved day

[65] For a similar photograph by Belle Johnson, of three women with long, loose hair, one of which reaches the floor, see Rosenblum, *A History of Women Photographers*, plate 78, 85; also reproduced in Peters and Mergen, "'Doing the Rest': The Uses of Photographs in American Studies," fig. 2, 285.

dress, hardly the outfit for beach-going. Indeed she appears in a liminal state in which she desires to freely enjoy a seaside visit, hair down and ready for a figurative swim, but at the same time unwilling to shed the propriety that would allow such an act, a hesitation symbolized by her long ruffled dress that reaches to the ground.[66]

The advent of accessible photography during the 1880s and 1890s paralleled the freedoms gained by the New Woman. Using the camera to show and experiment with femininity, women presented themselves in daring ways that were not previously achievable. As seen in photographs by Alice Austen and in images of college students, emancipation from the constrictions of mid-century did not happen instantaneously, but rather comprised a complicated and varied process that is evident in the range of hairstyles worn. Thus, pictures by coeds letting down their hair capture lighthearted moments, whereas Austen's *Trude and I Masked* expresses transgressiveness (see figs. 85–86, 81). Both show the makers of the images and their subjects playing with feminine identity and experiencing a state between traditional roles and unconfined ones.

It has become evident how the photographers employed hair as a symbol of the emancipation of the New Woman, and Austen depicts rituals that have a gynosocial character. As New Women themselves, they used hair to express femininity, intimacy, and sexuality, sometimes transgressively so. The following chapter will show that, although not greatly distanced in date, Austen and the female college student photographers used hair in a manner related to, but distinct from, Cassatt, Morisot, and Degas. The painters and the photographers considered hair as essential to the depiction of women's private lives, and in some cases exhibited a fetishistic view of women's private

[66] For another example of a woman with long, loose hair, see Frances and Mary Allen, *Louise Rogers Pulling Mabel Brown's Hair*, 1896-99, reproduced in Flynt, *The Allen Sisters*, fig. 9, 26.

rituals. For the Impressionists as well as for Austen, medium was a key method for achieving an effect of intimacy that corresponded with the subject matter of female personal rituals. The repetitive aspect of washing, combing, and either binding up or letting down the hair is well conveyed by the processes of printmaking and paper photography.

Chapter Five: *En Déshabillé*: Sensual Hair in Works by Mary Cassatt

Note to the Reader

Works on paper by Mary Cassatt and Edgar Degas include reference numbers to the standard catalogues on these artists. References are listed in the bibliography and notes.

Abbreviations for Cassatt sources:

Breeskin

Adelyn Dohme Breeskin, *Mary Cassatt: a Catalogue Raisonné of the Graphic Work* (New York: H. Bittner, 1949)

Breeskin 1970

Adelyn Dohme Breeskin, *Mary Cassatt; a Catalogue Raisonné of the Oils, Pastels, Watercolors, and Drawings* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970)

Abbreviations for Degas sources:

Atelier Sale II

Catalogue des tableaux, pastels et dessins par Edgar Degas.… (Paris: Galeries Georges Petit, December 11–13, 1918)

Atelier Sale III

Catalogue des tableaux, pastels et dessins par Edgar Degas.… (Paris: Galeries Georges Petit, April 7–9, 1919)

Janis

Eugenia Parry Janis, *Degas Monotypes: Essay, Catalogue & Checklist* (Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum, 1968)

Lemoisne

Paul André Lemoisne, *Degas et son oeuvre*, 4 vols. (Paris: P. Brame et C. M. de Hauke, aux Arts et métiers graphiques, 1946–49)

Reed and Shapiro

Sue Welsh Reed and Barbara Stern Shapiro, *Edgar Degas: The Painter as Printmaker* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1984)

Mary Cassatt (1844–1926) addressed femininity through hair in her work. This bourgeois artist, however, stopped short of depicting indecorous scenes, such as fetishized views of nude women combing their hair. That task was the domain of certain male artists, of which Cassatt's colleague in the French Impressionist circle, Edgar Degas (born Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas, 1834–1917), is one example. Degas, who had a personalized, fetishistic interest in hair that becomes manifest in the numerous works devoted to the subject, is incorporated here as a contrast to Cassatt's treatment of the subject. Within the vast field of Degas's oeuvre, his attention to hair is singled out here to provide a specific foil to Cassatt's work with the same subject. This chapter argues that within the world of Impressionism, Cassatt employed hair as a key strategy in making private acts public, specifically in images of women at the toilette and *en déshabillé*.

One of the key changes that the Impressionists introduced to art was the depiction of aspects of modern life that were previously deemed too private for public exposure.[1] In ways that were distinctly different than her male colleagues, Mary Cassatt used hair to address femininity in scenes that were traditionally conceived of as private. Critic André Meilerio's statement of 1895 suggests how Cassatt took advantage of women's private spaces: "Miss Cassatt knows and understands the woman of the world—because she is one herself. She renders her with a rare happiness and perfect justice for the reason that she is also endowed with the nature of the artist."[2] Although from a revisionist standpoint Meilerio's comment may be viewed as essentialist, or grounded in Cassatt's "essential"

[1] See Griselda Pollock, "Mary Cassatt: The Touch and the Gaze, or Impressionism for Thinking People," in *Women Impressionists*, ed. Ingrid Pfeiffer and Max Hollein (Frankfurt am Main: Schirn Kunstahlle Frankfurt, 2008), 157.

[2] Eleanor B. Caldwell and André Meilerio, "Mary Cassatt. Gallery Durand Ruel, Paris," *Modern Art* 3, no. 1 (Winter 1895): 4.

makeup as a woman, it is useful here for its period perspective on Cassatt's hair-related pictures. The discussion begins with an in-depth analysis of a selection of Cassatt's work, and then proceeds to briefly contrast Cassatt's treatment with that of her male colleague Degas. Degas shared an interest in hair's sensuality, but approached it from the decidedly distinct viewpoint of personal, fetishistic desire.

A member of the wealthy class in both the United States and Paris, where she worked for most of her career, Mary Cassatt painted sitters of her own set (including models dressed to look that way) as well as those of the lower and servant classes.[3] She was born into a Pennsylvanian family of means. Her father, Robert Simpson Cassatt (1807–1891), owned a shipping company and was elected mayor of Allegheny City in 1847. Her well-educated and supportive mother was Katherine Kelso Johnstone (1816–95), and one of her brothers was Alexander (Aleck) Johnston Cassatt (1839–1906), who became the wealthy president of the Pennsylvania Railroad.[4] Mary Cassatt's biography and career have been well documented and will not be recounted here. It is important to make the point, however, that despite having settled in Paris in 1874 (her family joined her there in 1877), Cassatt consistently has been considered an American artist. In his column "My Note Book," for *The Art Amateur* of November 1891, the writer Montague Marks, who sometimes went by the pseudonym Montezuma, referred to Cassatt as "that virile American etcher," and in August 1892, he called her "our talented

[3] Linda Nochlin, *Representing Women* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999), 181; Nochlin notes that Cassatt shows a privileged circle, often upper-middle-class mothers. See Linda Nochlin, "Issues of Gender in Cassatt and Eakins," in *Nineteenth Century Art: A Critical History*, ed. Stephen F. Eisenman, 3rd ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 349, 360.

[4] Griselda Pollock, "Mary Cassatt: Painter of Women and Children," in *Reading American Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 280-81; Sally Webster, *Eve's Daughter/Modern Woman: A Mural by Mary Cassatt* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 11; Judith A. Barter, ed., *Mary Cassatt, Modern Woman* (New York: The Art Institute of Chicago in association with Harry N. Abrams, 1998), 328.

countrywoman."[5] The following year, the *New York Tribune* quoted Meilerio's exclamation that "after Whistler, Miss Cassatt is the only artist of distinction of whom America can boast."[6] Moreover, the author of the article "In the World of Art," published in the *New York Times* in April 1895, wrote: "Miss Cassatt left this country many years ago for Paris, where she settled down and has remained ever since. She has identified herself with the new movement in Paris, and is essentially French in all her predilections. Nevertheless, we claim the right to regard her as a true American representative."[7]

Art historian Sally Webster provides a further reasoning as to why Cassatt has been, and rightly should be, placed in both the American and European contexts. She explains that although Cassatt was an expatriate, she retained her citizenship in the United States, cultivated patrons from there, and advised American collector Louisine Havemeyer with regard to her influential art acquisitions.[8] Indeed, Havemeyer referred to Cassatt as the "fairy godmother of her collection who was willing to travel far and wide in discomfort and fatigue for the sake of hunting down good pictures for her friend."[9] Furthermore, Cassatt contributed to one of the most important expressions of national identity: the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893.[10] Significantly, Cassatt

---

[5] Montezuma [pseud. for Montague Marks], "My Note Book," *The Art Amateur* 25, no. 6 (November 1891): 130; Montague Marks, "My Note-Book," *The Art Amateur* (February 1895): 51; see also "Art News and Comments," *New York Tribune*, June 13, 1886, 6.

[6] "The Chronicle of Arts," *New York Tribune*, December 17, 1893, 22.

[7] "In the World of Art," *New York Times*, April 21, 1895, 13.

[8] Webster, *Eve's Daughter/Modern Woman*, 112; see also Nancy Mowll Mathews and Barbara Stern Shapiro, *Mary Cassatt: The Color Prints* (New York: H.N. Abrams with Williams College Museum of Art, 1989), 19.

[9] "'Art and Artists' by Mrs. Havemeyer," *New York Times*, April 7, 1915, 7.

[10] Webster, *Eve's Daughter/Modern Woman*, 112; Mathews and Shapiro, *Mary Cassatt*, 19.

took the opportunity in this most public work to comment upon reformed hairstyles for women. She was commissioned to create the now lost or destroyed oil-on-canvas mural *Modern Woman*, 1892–93, for the North Tympanum of the Woman's Building.[11] The project was coordinated by Bertha Potter Palmer, a suffragist and board member of the Woman's Building.[12] The left panel was titled *Young Women Pursuing Fame*; the central panel was *Young Women Plucking the Fruits of Knowledge or Science*, showing women in an orchard; and the right panel was *Arts, Music, Dancing*.[13] Regarded by Cassatt as a forward-looking depiction of women's place in society, importantly, she depicted women in an allegorical setting, but in contemporary dress.[14] She wrote: "I have tried to express the modern woman in the fashions of the day, and I have tried to represent those fashions

[11] See Webster, *Eve's Daughter/Modern Woman*, 221-22; Griselda Pollock, *Mary Cassatt: Painter of Modern Women* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1998), 54-59; Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, eds., *Reclaiming Female Agency: Feminist Art History After Postmodernism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 81-84; Nochlin, *Representing Women*, 208-10; Nochlin, "Issues of Gender in Cassatt and Eakins," 363-67; Judith A. Barter, "Mary Cassatt: Themes, Sources, and the Modern Woman," in *Mary Cassatt, Modern Woman*, ed. Judith A. Barter (New York: The Art Institute of Chicago in association with Harry N. Abrams, 1998), 87-98; Norma Broude, "Mary Cassatt: Modern Woman or the Cult of True Womanhood?," *Woman's Art Journal* 21, no. 2 (Autumn 2000-Winter 2001): 36-43; Roger Riordan, "Miss Mary Cassatt," *The Art Amateur* 38, no. 6 (May 1898): 130; Frank Linstow White, "Younger American Women in Art," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* 36, no. 5 (November 1893): 9; for a negative comment on the mural, see Marks, "My Note-Book," n. p.; see also "Women's Work in the Fine Arts," *The Art Amateur* (June 1893): 10; Ellen M. Henrotin, "An Outsider's View of the Woman's Exhibit," *The Cosmopolitan; a Monthly Illustrated Magazine*, September 1893, 560; see also "The Decoration of the Woman's Building at the Columbian Exposition," *The Decorator and Furnisher* 23, no. 6 (March 1894): 221-22.

[12] Nochlin, "Issues of Gender in Cassatt and Eakins," 365; Barter, "Mary Cassatt: Themes, Sources, and the Modern Woman," 87; Broude, "Mary Cassatt," 36; Carolyn Kinder Carr and Sally Webster, "Mary Cassatt and Mary Fairchild MacMonnies: The Search for their 1893 Murals," *American Art* 8, no. 1 (Winter 1994): 53.

[13] Roger Riordan recalled in 1898, "Those of our readers who visited the World's Fair will not have forgotten the large semicircular painting at the end of the main hall of the Women's Building, which was so strong as to give a character of seriousness to the painted decoration generally. It represented an orchard with young girls plucking fruit, a favorite subject with the artist." Riordan, "Miss Mary Cassatt," 130.

[14] Norma Broude also observes a feminist message in the mural. See Broude and Garrard, *Reclaiming Female Agency*, 260; Nochlin, "Issues of Gender in Cassatt and Eakins," 366; Barter, "Mary Cassatt: Themes, Sources, and the Modern Woman," 95; Broude, "Mary Cassatt," 36.

as accurately and in as much detail as possible."[15] At least one critic perceived the mural as "cynical," remarking that her contribution to the mural program was the "one note of discord in the harmony of color."[16] The day dresses (solid colored, striped, and floral patterned) are typical of middle-class French women.[17] Notably, they are loose, corsetless garments in line with current dress reform, à la Amelia Bloomer, for independent women who desired free movement with their bodies.[18] Significantly, Cassatt also depicted reformed hairstyles, a choice that has gone unnoticed in the literature. In the main activity of the central panel, three women and a young girl are gathered around a ladder picking and collecting apples from the harvest. All three wear their hair in loose, low buns unadorned with jewelry or ribbons. They do not don hats or bonnets, the better to move freely and see in all directions. The girl, who bends her neck backward to peer at the woman on the ladder and collect an apple from her, has shoulder-length, loose locks. The representation of hairstyle reform is one of the most salient ways that Cassatt demonstrated her attention to the modern woman.

Cassatt's best-known works, however, show proper upper-middle-class women, often accompanied by children. See, for example, the pastel and gouache on tan paper, *Mother Combing Her Child's Hair*, ca. 1901, Brooklyn Museum (46.102, Breeskin 1970,

---

[15] Mary Cassatt to Bertha Potter Palmer, October 11, 1892. Art Institute of Chicago. Reprinted in Nancy Mowll Mathews, *Cassatt and Her Circle: Selected Letters* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), 237-39; Nochlin, *Representing Women*, 210; Nochlin, "Issues of Gender in Cassatt and Eakins," 366; Ruth E. Iskin, "Was There a New Woman in Impressionist Painting?," in *Women in Impressionism: from Mythical Feminine to Modern Woman*, ed. Sidsel Maria Søndergaard (Milan: Skira, 2006), 215; Nancy Mowll Mathews, *Cassatt, a Retrospective* (New York: H.L. Levin Associates, Inc, 1996), 187.

[16] Henrotin, "An Outsider's View of the Woman's Exhibit," 560.

[17] Webster, *Eve's Daughter/Modern Woman*, 81.

[18] Webster, *Eve's Daughter/Modern Woman*, 81; Barter observes the opposite of Webster, writing that Cassatt was unaware of dress reform in the United States; see Barter, "Mary Cassatt: Themes, Sources, and the Modern Woman," 95.

344).[19] The oil on canvas painting *Denise at Her Dressing Table* (2005.129), a later work of about 1908–1909, shows a private moment in which a woman prepares herself for public appearance (fig. 73). Cassatt used an auburn-haired model whom she had employed on several earlier occasions.[20] The woman raises her right arm to arrange her loosely set high bun. She glances downward to her left to check the double reflection on a handheld mirror with a backing of green moiré. Her lavender dressing gown with flowing bodice and sleeves gives the scene an air of comfort and privacy—it sits open loosely around her shoulders and décolletage. The objects that surround her speak to her social set—the mahogany mirror, the outline of the sizeable dressing table, the fabric-backed hand mirror, and the luxurious dressing gown. The brushstrokes are wispy in touches of brown and pink in the hair, and white, pink, and blue in the dress. They are broader and sketchier in the background—scribbles of gray suffice for the wall covering. Cassatt's interest in and depiction of hair contributes effectively to the private nature of the scene. The sitter's raised right hand that touches the hatless, loose upswept hair suggests that it shifts the *en déshabillé* garment, revealing more of the porcelain whiteness of the soft skin of the arm and the décolletage. Hair serves the painting in both the composition and the overall tone of viewing an intimate moment.

Cassatt's treatment of hair is related to her documented personal preference for fine clothing and for showing it in her art. In 1885 she wrote to her sister-in-law Lois Cassatt:

---

[19] See Debra N. Mancoff, *Mary Cassatt: Reflections of Women's Lives* (New York: Stewart, Tabori and Chang, 1998), 86; Effeny observes that the child is "being initiated into feminine rituals"; see Alison Effeny, *Cassatt* (London: Studio Editions, 1993), 132.

[20] Departmental files, Department of American Paintings and Sculpture, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

> However I saw some of Miss Mackays [*sic*] wedding dresses, Arnaud is making her trousseau, sixty-five dresses! [T]he whole thing is to be exhibited . . . I should like to go for the fun of the thing, one of the dresses I saw this morning was very splendid white silk covered with hand embroidery; it was certainly very nice of her to give the whole order to Arnaud, who is a small dressmaker & to whom it was a great advantage, rather than give the order to one of the great houses who don't need it . . . I did not get your gloves exactly the shade you sent because they had nothing but the suede colours, they are the fashion now & worn even with white dresses.[21]

She knew fashion through her daily activities with members of her social set and through viewing illustrations in magazines such as *La Mode Illustrée*.[22] Her Impressionist contemporaries like Berthe Morisot also looked at plates in *La Mode Illustrée* as well as in *Le Charivari*, *La Vie Parisienne*, *Journal des Demoiselles*, and *La Toilette de Paris.* [23]

The Fitting of 1890–91 is a fine example of both Cassatt's interest in fashion and class relations. There are two impressions of the print in the Metropolitan Museum. The first (accession number 16.3.3; Breeskin 147 II), which is the only known impression of the second of seven states of the print, is in dry point and soft-ground, printed in black ink (fig. 74).[24] The second, accession number 16.2.8 (Breeskin 147 VI; Mathews and

---

[21] Mary Cassatt to Lois Cassatt, January 28, 1885. Philadelphia Museum of Art. Reprinted in Mathews, *Cassatt and Her Circle*, 188; see also Julia M. H. Carson, *Mary Cassatt* (New York: D. McKay Co, 1966), 145-46.

[22] Barter, "Mary Cassatt: Themes, Sources, and the Modern Woman," 47-48.

[23] Nancy Mowll Mathews, *Mary Cassatt: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 97, 117; Pollock, *Mary Cassatt: Painter of Modern Women*, 56; Barter, "Mary Cassatt: Themes, Sources, and the Modern Woman," 45; on Cassatt and fashion, see also Nochlin, "Issues of Gender in Cassatt and Eakins," 354; Mathews and Shapiro, *Mary Cassatt*, 125; Nancy Mowll Mathews, *Mary Cassatt: Friends and Family* (Shelburne, VT: Shelburne Museum, 2008), 37, 39, 42; Cassatt even went to the extent of commissioning dresses for her models to wear during sittings. Kathleen Adler, *Perspectives on Morisot: Essays*, ed. T. J. Edelstein (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1990), 105.

[24] Mathews and Shapiro, *Mary Cassatt*, 127, cat. 9-II. A brief description of each printmaking technique that Cassatt used is given here to provide clarity to the forthcoming discussions. In drypoint the artist scratches lines into a metal plate with a stylus or needle. To create an etching, the artist uses a needle to scratch a design through a layer of acid-resistant ground (varnish or wax) on the metal plate; the plate is then exposed to acid to reveal the intended design. An etching with a soft ground uses various mixtures of soft, greasy materials. An aquatint is an etching technique with a ground specifically made of resin

Shapiro 9-VII), the seventh state of the print, is drypoint and aquatint, printed in color (fig. 75).[25] In the second state the client in the striped dress has dark hair, appearing almost black, with barely any suggestion of red. Her hair appears black in the mirror reflection from which she turns away. In the seventh state, the hair of the standing woman is wispy and reddish; her lips are auburn. The seamstress has black hair with white highlights seeming to suggest gray. The precision of the drypoint needle served Cassatt well in delineating the strands of hair on both figures who wear it pulled back in buns. The patterns of the rug, wallpaper, and dress are particularly pronounced, correlating the strokes of black and red hairs. The scene shows a seamstress making one of the dresses that Cassatt would ask her models to wear.[26] Class differences between the two women have been clarified by the composition: the seamstress squats to pin the dress of the standing client, who turns to her right, looking down to observe the work being performed.[27] The portrayal of the hairstyles also contributes to the expression of class distinction. The customer wears her hair in a loose-fitting chignon atop her head, and fashionable curling bangs at the front frame her desirably oval-shaped face. The seamstress, however, who is seen from the back performing her labor, has her hair tied in

---

particles. It is used to achieve tonal effects, like shading or modeling, on printed etchings. For full explanations, see topical discussions on *Grove Art Online*, www.oxfordartonline.com; and *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, www.metmuseum.org.

[25] Ibid., 47, cat. 9-VII. Note that Mathews and Shapiro assign this work as the seventh state, not the sixth state, as in Breeskin.

[26] Mancoff identifies the dress as a simple morning gown. See Mancoff, *Mary Cassatt*, 46; Mathews, *Mary Cassatt*, 41.

[27] Pollock, *Mary Cassatt: Painter of Modern Women*, 173; Kathleen Adler, *Mary Cassatt: Prints* (London: The National Gallery; New Haven: Distributed by Yale University Press, 2006), 10-11; Mathews and Shapiro, *Mary Cassatt*, 43.

a simple back knot. The outline of her head does not suggest stylish bangs or frizzes at front, only a few wayward strands.

Another example showing Cassatt's keen sense of fashion and etiquette is the drypoint and aquatint, printed in color, *Afternoon Tea Party* (1890–1891) (MMA, 16.2.1, fifth state of five, Breeskin 151), in which a visitor, with cloak and bonnet still on, pays a house call to a friend (fig. 76). Again, Cassatt uses the precision of the drypoint technique to delineate each strand of hair on both the black-haired visitor and red-headed hostess, who resembles the woman being sized for a dress in *The Fitting*. The artist's attention to texture is further borne out by Cassatt's method of pressing fabric against the ground of the paper in the brown cloak of the woman at left.[28]

A third example that shows particularly well Cassatt's careful description of a young, well-appointed woman is *The Bonnet*, a drypoint of about 1891 (MMA, 32.109.12, third state of three; Breeskin 137 III) (fig. 77). The face, hair, and elaborate bonnet are well detailed. The frizzy brown hair is thin, puffing just enough to fill the large front lip of the bonnet; the small mouth is pouty, perhaps skeptical of the reflection of the new purchase she sees in the small mirror held in her right hand. The sitter's left hand grips the dark neck ribbon of the bonnet. All other details below the neck are barely sketched in this otherwise spare drawing. The top of the dress is composed of minimal outlines, and the bottom, blending with the dressing table or settee on which she leans, is

[28] Phyllis Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival* (Atlanta, GA: The Museum, 1988), 20.

comprised of just a few faint lines. The composition, intuitively an interior, has a blank background.[29]

In all of the works discussed thus far, which date throughout her career, Cassatt has shown proper women in the midst of bourgeois activities. However, there is a simultaneous strain in her oeuvre that exposes the customarily private acts of women. In works that show women fixing their hair, wearing little clothing, Cassatt addresses the sensuality of women's hair, a notion that was pervasive in the mid-nineteenth century, and equated with privacy and decency. Sexuality and the maintenance of the female body and countenance were taboo subjects for discussion and depictions in art. As Vicomte de Bournon-Ginestoux wrote in *Les jeunes femmes ou les séductions de la nature et de l'art* (Paris, 1856): "A young woman who respects herself must never receive anyone but her husband at her *toilette* . . . She who receives any other man at that moment obviously has nothing left to refuse him."[30] In a number of works, Cassatt dared to expose these normally private female rituals and brings them into the public space. Throughout the following discussion, it will become clear that Cassatt's membership in the Impressionist circle, especially with Degas and Morisot, influenced her more risqué pictures. However, on the whole, she retained a more restrained approach than did Degas, who eagerly indulged in sexualized, sometimes aggressive portrayals of women and their hair.

---

[29] The Metropolitan Museum has another impression of *The Bonnet* (29.107.87; Breeskin 137 III) that appears almost exactly the same as 32.109.12, but has visible, though quite faint, sketch marks for a voluminous skirt.

[30] Vicomte de Bournon-Ginestoux, *Les jeunes femmes ou les séductions de la nature et de l'art* (Paris E. Blanchard, 1856), 109-10; translated in Anne Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot's Images of Women* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 161; see also Baronne Staffe, *The Lady's Dressing Room*, trans. Lady Colin Campbell (London: Cassell, 1892), 11-15.

Girl Arranging Her Hair, 1886 (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), provides an apt example of Cassatt's career-long interest in depicting women fixing their hair in the privacy of dressing rooms (fig. 78). This girl is of a decidedly different class than the woman in *Denise at Her Dressing Table* (see fig. 73). Cassatt described her as "a servant type, the most vulgar kind" with "meager tresses."[31] Robert Cassatt, Mary's father, referred to the subject as "a little red-headed girl in demi-costume, dressing her hair before a glass." He continued, "The two or three experts and artists who have seen it praise it without stint. As for Degas, he was quite enthusiastic, for him."[32] Here, a young woman with red hair, pale skin, red lips, and buck teeth, tightens her long braid with her upstretched left arm, while pulling on it with her right hand. The poet and critic Achille Segard, who published these statements in the first biography of Cassatt (1913), noted the open mouth and overall disposition of the girl: "La bouche reste ouverte. L'expression est stupide et lasse."[33] Her nightdress is simple, as is nearly everything about her, including her hairstyle, clothing, and the room she inhabits—a plain dressing table with toilet water, decanter, washing bowl, mirror, and floral wallpaper provide the setting. The painting was well recognized in its day for its design and composition. For example, Gustave Geffroy praised the six paintings and one pastel that Cassatt showed in the Eighth Impressionist Exhibition in 1886 in *La Justice*, including this work: "Unity is

---

[31] "Elle choisit pour modèle une femme fort laide, une sorte de servante au type vulgaire. Elle la fit poser en chemise à côté de sa table de toilette, avec le movement d'une femme qui se prépare à se coucher, la main gauche saisissant par la nuque la maigre tresse de cheveux relevés et l'autre tirant sur cette tresse pour la nouer." Achille Segard, *Un Peintre Des Enfants Et Des Mères: Mary Cassatt*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Librairie Paul Ollendorff, 1913), 184-85. The biography is based on interviews with Cassatt; see also Gustave Geffroy, "Salon de 1886: VIII. Hors du Salon. Impressionistes," *La Justice* (Paris, May 26, 1886), n.p.

[32] Robert Cassatt to Alexander J. Cassatt, April 14, 1886. Quoted in Nancy Hale, *Mary Cassatt* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975), 109.

[33] Segard, *Un Peintre Des Enfants Et Des Mères*, 185.

harmoniously achieved among the figures' rosy complexions, light clothing, and the young green foliage. . . . The young girl in a nightdress who twists her hair before her dressing table is still swollen with sleep and damp from her first ablutions."[34] Segard reflected in 1913, "And the work has a superb effect. It has style. Firstly because all useless details have been eliminated, and all essential details graduated with discernment, these last contributing to an impression of the whole that is clean and vigorous."[35]

The painting also has an interesting history and provenance with regard to Cassatt's friendship with Edgar Degas. The story proceeds that Degas posed the question of how a woman could know about the style of art. [36] Cassatt took up the challenge in this painting by providing masterful composition, design, and technique, regardless of the model's lack of beauty. The Belgian critic Octave Maus found the study seductive and described the figure "twisting the braid of her blonde tresses with a simple and truthful gesture."[37] The use of the word "blonde" to describe this model, who is clearly a redhead, and who Cassatt used in other works is curious. See, for example, the pastel on paper, *The Long Gloves*, 1889 (Breeskin 1970, 157; Collection Ann and Gordon Getty); in

---

[34] "L'accord est harmonieusement exprimé entre les chairs vermeilles, les toilettes claires et les jeunes verdures . . . La fillette en chemise qui tord sa natte devant sa table de toilette est encore bouffle de sommeil et humide de la première ablution." Geffroy, "Salon de 1886: VIII. Hors du Salon. Impressionistes," 1-2; translated in Charles S. Moffett, *The New Painting, Impressionism, 1874-1886* (Geneva, Switzerland: R. Burton, 1986), 450.

[35] "Et l'oeuvre est en effet superbe. Elle a du style. D'abord à cause de l'élimination de tous les details inutiles et de la gradation donnée avec goût à tous les details essentiels qui concourent à une impression d'ensemble partaitemennt nette et vigoureuse." Segard, *Un Peintre Des Enfants Et Des Mères*, 185.

[36] Pollock, *Mary Cassatt: Painter of Modern Women*, 20; Carson, *Mary Cassatt*, 64; Mathews, *Cassatt, a Retrospective*, 150-51.

[37] "Une personalité, certes accusée spécialement dans la très séduisante étude qui montre une jeune fille en chemise dans le désordre due cabinet de toilette, tordant sur sa nuque sa chevelure blonde, d'un geste simple et vrai." Octave Maus, "Les Vingtistes parisiens," *Art moderne (Brussels)* 6, no. 26 (June 27, 1886): 202-203; translated in George T. M. Shackelford, "Pas de deux: Mary Cassatt and Edgar Degas," in *Mary Cassatt, Modern Woman*, ed. Judith A. Barter (New York: The Art Institute of Chicago in association with Harry N. Abrams, 1998), 127-28.

which the model, believed to be the same as in *Girl Arranging Her Hair*, is clearly a redhead.[38] Indeed, Armand Silvestre's review of the Fifth Impressionist Exhibition of 1880 similarly referred to the woman in Degas's *After the Bath* (Lemoisne 554) as "his figure of a woman getting dressed, tilting her blond head onto her arms lifted behind her!"[39] The woman in this work, too, clearly has red hair. It is possible that the word "blonde," which is the same in English and in French, was sometimes used to describe all hues other than brunette or black, or that it simply is a shortened form of "strawberry blonde." Maus and Silvestre's choice of the term may reflect an additional meaning wherein they equated an absence of color with a lack of beauty in these lower-class models.

Degas responded so positively to Cassatt's answer to his provocation, that he acquired *Girl Arranging Her Hair* and hung it in the living quarters of his Paris apartment at 37, rue de Victor Massé.[40] Segard wrote, "Quand Degas vit le tableau, il écrivit à Miss Cassatt: Quel dessin! quel style!"[41] Degas had obtained the painting after it was shown in the final Impressionist exhibition in 1886, in exchange for his charcoal and pastel *Woman Bathing in a Shallow Tub* (charcoal and pastel, 1885, MMA, 29.100.41,

---

[38] Ingrid Pfeiffer and Max Hollein, eds., *Women Impressionists* (Frankfurt am Main: Schirn Kunstahlle Frankfurt, 2008), 149; reproduced in Suzanne G. Lindsay, *Mary Cassatt and Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1985), 67.

[39] "Sa femme à sa toilette renversant sa tête blonde sur ses deux bras relevés en arrière." Armand Silvestre, "Le Monde des arts: Exposition de la rue des Pyramides," *La Vie moderne* (April 24, 1880): 262; translated in Moffett, *The New Painting, Impressionism, 1874-1886*, 322.

[40] Shackelford, "Pas de deux: Mary Cassatt and Edgar Degas," 128. Also reproduced is an archival photograph from about 1895 showing the painting hanging on the wall in Degas's residence; see 129. The photograph is in the Archives Department of the Metropolitan Museum.

[41] Segard, *Un Peintre Des Enfants Et Des Mères*, 185.

Lemoisne 816), which was also shown.[42] He kept Cassatt's work until he died; it sold for $4,200 at the sale of his estate in 1918—his executors had attributed it to his oeuvre, thinking Degas had produced the work.[43] Cassatt wrote to Louisine Havemeyer in 1917 upon the Degas auction: "The Degas sale will be a sensation. I am glad that in the collection of pictures of other painters he owned I will figure honorably, in fact they thought the two, a painting and a pastel, were his at first."[44] This historical note is significant in that it underscores the more daring side of Cassatt's hair pictures. The treatment, where the lower-class sitter is shown in a private space handling her hair, posed suggestively with her neck and underside of her bent left arm, was similar enough to Degas's approach as to be mistaken for his work.

Two further works join *Girl Arranging Her Hair* within Cassatt's toilette scenes. The first is the drypoint in brown on laid paper, *Young Girl Fixing Her Hair*, *No. 2* of about 1889 (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; 1142) (Breeskin 100), in which Cassatt also shows a young woman handling her light-colored hair, here in the process of making a braid (fig. 79). This woman is attractive, with regular features; her eyes are evenly set,

---

[42] *Woman Bathing in a Shallow Tub* is MMA, 29.100.41; see Ann Dumas, "Degas as a Collector," *Apollo* CXLIV, no. 415 (n.d.): 11; Mancoff, *Mary Cassatt*, 31; Jean Sutherland Boggs, *Degas* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1988), 525. Boggs also proposes the possibility that Degas's pastel *Young Girl Braiding Her Hair* (1894, Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Bernard H. Mendik, Lemoisne 1146; Boggs, cat. 319, 525-27), may have been created as a variation upon Cassatt's *Girl Arranging Her Hair*.

[43] Pollock, *Mary Cassatt: Painter of Modern Women*, 20; Cassatt attended Degas's funeral in Paris in 1917. See Elizabeth Cowling and Richard Kendall, *Picasso Looks at Degas* (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute; Barcelona: Museu Picasso; New Haven: Distributed by Yale University Press, 2010), 105; Ann Dumas, *The Private Collection of Edgar Degas* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 326; Ingrid Pfeiffer, "Impressionism is Feminine: On the Reception of Morisot, Cassatt, Gonzalès, and Bracquemond," in *Women Impressionists*, ed. Ingrid Pfeiffer and Max Hollein (Frankfurt am Main: Schirn Kunstahlle Frankfurt, 2008), 26.

[44] Cassatt to Louisine Havemeyer, December 12, 1917. Reprinted in Mathews, *Cassatt and Her Circle*, 329-30.

her nose is shapely, and her mouth is prim, thin, and closed. Also comparable is the drypoint *En Déshabillé* of about 1889 (MMA, only state; Breeskin 95). Here, Cassatt heavily uses the reserve of the sheet with only limited strokes of the stylus to convey thin blonde hair. There is slightly darker delineation at the part and back of the scalp, but none at all for the length of hair that runs down her back. The eyes are connoted by dark circles; the sitter looks dreamy or as if she has just awakened—her face is free of makeup. As indicated in the title of the work, the sitter wears a dressing gown, barely outlined; the skirt is composed only of simple diagonal lines. The interior space of the dressing room is *en déshabillé* as well—there is no patterned wallpaper or flowing drapery as in other domestic scenes by Cassatt. Although the girls in *Young Girl Fixing Her Hair, No. 2* and *En Déshabillé* are towheaded and use a softer touch when handling their hair, conveying a sense of demureness that is absent in *Girl Arranging Her Hair*, all three serve Cassatt's agenda in carefully exposing scenes of women at their toilette.

An international Impressionist engaged in modern life, Cassatt took advantage of opportunities to view exhibitions of non-European art in Paris. Most career-altering was that of Japanese prints (more than seven hundred) held from April 25 to May 22, 1890, at the École des Beaux-Arts. She was so impressed that she wrote to Morisot imploring her to see it: "Seriously, *you must not* miss it. You who want to make color prints, you couldn't imagine anything more beautiful. I dream of doing it myself . . . P.S. You *must* see the Japanese—*come as soon as you can*."[45] The two viewed the show together

[45] Mathews, *Mary Cassatt*, 194; Kathleen Adler notes that there were 725 woodblock prints and albums in the exhibition; see Adler, *Mary Cassatt*, 9; Mathews and Shapiro, *Mary Cassatt*, 36, 62-63; Pfeiffer gives a slightly different translation. See Pfeiffer and Hollein, *Women Impressionists*, 123; the letter is Mary Cassatt to Berthe Morisot, April 1890. Collection Denis Rouart, Paris. Reprinted in Mathews, *Cassatt and Her Circle*.

(Cassatt visited it with Degas as well), but Cassatt's work was more influenced by it.[46] Cassatt collected color woodcuts by Kitagawa Utamaro (1753–1806), many of which showed themes of women at their toilette fixing their hair.[47] The exposition led to Cassatt's famous suite of ten color prints (in etching, drypoint, and aquatint) dating to the early 1890s, two of which, *The Fitting* and *Afternoon Tea Party*, were discussed above, and which critics appreciated. Frank Linstow White commented on them in *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* in November 1893: "However, in 1891, F. Keppel & Co. . . . exhibited some of her etchings, mostly sketches of feminine life, admirable examples of a succinct, straightforward manner of statement, of a judicious and effective economy of line."[48] Roger Riordan wrote in *The Art Amateur* in May 1898: "She has produced a series of etchings and dry-points of great distinction, and a number of the latter printed in flat tints are among the most delightful color prints of our time."[49] In an article for *The International Studio* in 1906, regarding Cassatt's etchings and color prints, Christian Brinton favored Cassatt over other women Impressionists: "Expressive and full of

[46] Anne Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot*, 1st ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1990), 205; Charles F. Stuckey and William P. Scott, *Berthe Morisot, Impressionist*, 1st ed. (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1987), 212; Dumas, *The Private Collection of Edgar Degas*, 255; Edgar Degas to Paul-Albert Bartholomé, received April 29, 1890. Reprinted in Edgar Degas, *Letters*, ed. Marcel Guérin (Oxford: B. Cassirer, 1948), 145-46.

[47] Mathews and Shapiro, *Mary Cassatt*, 38, 65.

[48] White, "Younger American Women in Art," 9; for earlier praise of Cassatt's etchings, see "Etchings by American Women," *The New York Sun*, April 16, 1888, 4; Jules Antoine similarly praised Cassatt's precise style of drawing. Jules Antoine, "Beaux Arts, Galerie Durand-Ruel.---Deuxième exposition des peintres-graveurs," *Art et critique* 2 (March 15, 1890): 172; for a mention of an exhibition of Cassatt's paintings, pastels, and aquatints at 16, rue Laffite, see "Exhibition of the Society of French Painters-Etchers," *The American Register and the Morning News* (London, April 11, 1891), 6.

[49] Riordan, "Miss Mary Cassatt," 130.

gracious allure as their art was, the work of Miss Cassatt for virility, for dignity and for serious intent frankly transcends that of her sister Impressionistes [*sic*]."[50]

The well-received works show women involved in a variety of activities, such as a visit to the seamstress, sealing a handwritten letter, taking tea at a friend's home, fanning oneself in the living room, venturing a ride on public transportation, or a mother caressing, kissing, or bathing a child.[51] In 1891, Durand-Ruel held an exhibition of these prints; Cassatt's colleagues, especially Camille Pissarro, praised the show. Pissarro wrote to his son Lucien on April 3, 1891: "You remember the effects you strove for at Eragny? Well, Miss Cassatt has realized just such effects, and admirably: the tone even, subtle, delicate, without stains on seams: adorable blues, fresh rose, etc."[52] The exhibition met with more financial success in Europe than in the United States. Cassatt remarked to Joseph Durand-Ruel on February 18, 1892: "Of course it is more flattering from an Art point of view than if they sold in America, but I am still very much disappointed that my compatriots have so little liking for any of my work."[53] Cassatt eventually found Durand-Ruel unsupportive of her printmaking endeavors and in 1903 she signed on with Ambroise Vollard.[54]

---

[50] Christian Brinton, "Concerning Miss Cassatt and Certain Etchings," *The International Studio* 27 (1906): I.

[51] On Cassatt's color prints in general and for a discussion of *In the Omnibus* (softground etching, 1891), see cat. 7, 115-120 in Mathews and Shapiro, *Mary Cassatt*; see also Adler, *Mary Cassatt*; cats. 56-65 in Barter, *Mary Cassatt, Modern Woman*, 278-87; Nochlin, "Issues of Gender in Cassatt and Eakins," 362-64; Broude and Garrard, *Reclaiming Female Agency*, 271.

[52] Camille Pissarro to Lucien Pissarro, April 3, 1891. Camille Pissarro, *Camille Pissarro: Letters to His Son Lucien*, ed. John Rewald, 3rd ed. (Mamaroneck, NY: P. P. Appel, 1972), 158.

[53] Mathews, *Cassatt and Her Circle*, 228.

[54] Adler, *Mary Cassatt*, 9-11; Marc Rosen and Susan Pinsky, *Mary Cassatt: Prints and Drawings from the Collection of Ambroise Vollard* (New York: Adelson Galleries, 2008), 8-9; Mathews and Shapiro, *Mary*

One of the most brilliant works in the color print series is *The Coiffure* of 1890–91 (drypoint and aquatint, printed in color, fifth [final] state [MMA, 16.2.3; Breeskin 152 IV; Mathews and Shapiro 14-V] (fig. 80).[55] It is a large and beautiful print with striking sections of color and pattern, demonstrating the artist's interest and talent for depicting space and fabric. The comfortable dressing chair is striped in white (which appears to be the reserve of the paper) and deep rose, with peach tones. The rug is deep auburn-pink with a tan leaf pattern that is slightly darker than the tan color of the large frame of the mirror, which could be attached to the back of a door. The wallpaper is made up of a faint violet-rose leaf or vine pattern against white. The sitter's tan skin is a large flat plane of color, one shade lighter than the mirror frame. There is no muscle definition in the flesh of the back, arms, or hands that secure her hair into a high knot. The auburn hair is sketched in; from the back view the light hits it on the right in a wash of white. In the mirror reflection the top of the hair has highlights of white that are thinly executed so that the effect is of bald spots. She seems to have a difficult time securing the small amount of hair into the knot. Referring generally to the works in the series, William Walton of *Scribner's Magazine* specifically commended the execution of the hair: "For the curious, decorative dry-point plates printed in colors, a flat, conventional grayish flesh tone generally does duty for all exposed portions, both of mother and infant, and the careful and sometimes eccentric outline finishes the rendering. The hair, on the contrary, is

---

Cassatt, 45-48; see Mary Cassatt to Joseph Pennell, November 17, 1905. Reprinted in Mathews, *Cassatt, a Retrospective*, 286.

[55] Note that Breeskin refers to this as the fourth state; see cat. 152 IV in Adelyn Dohme Breeskin, *Mary Cassatt: a Catalogue Raisonné of the Graphic Work*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979).

carefully done in detail, generally giving the light and shade and the contour of the head."[56]

The sitter gazes down in concentration, with her chin at an angle to her left. Her breasts are bare and without much definition except for the curve of each nipple. She wears only a white dressing gown skirt, which is sketchily defined—it is effected by the reserve of the paper and just a few lines. The eyes are small and downward cast; the eyeballs are not visible and the nose is wide. Cassatt seems tentative about committing to a non-Caucasian identity for the sitter, based on the auburn highlights to the dark hair and the clear Caucasian look of the women in all other prints in the series.[57] However, the sharp angles of the composition, cropping, and patterns of *The Coiffure*, seem influenced by Utamaro's woodcuts.[58] The foreign inspiration may have granted Cassatt more liberty to show a half-nude adult woman here (and in *Woman Bathing* of the same series).[59] The

[56] William Walton, "Miss Mary Cassatt," *Scribner's Magazine*, March 1896, 359-60.

[57] Adler, *Mary Cassatt*, 10.

[58] Adler, *Mary Cassatt*, 10; for contemporary comments on Cassatt's attention to Japanese art, see Arthur Hoeber, "'The Century's' American Artists Series: Mary Cassatt," *Century Illustrated Magazine* 57, no. 5 (March 1899): 740; and "Miss Cassatt's Paintings," *New York Sun*, April 19, 1895, 7; "The Chronicle of Arts," *New York Tribune*, April 21, 1895, 25; Walton, "Miss Mary Cassatt," 360; "Minor Exhibitions," *The Art Amateur* (April 1894): 128; "Various Exhibitions," *The Art Amateur* 25, no. 6 (November 1891): 131; Montezuma [pseud. for Montague Marks], "My Note Book," 130; "Some Notes on French Impressionism," *The Atlantic Monthly* 69, no. 414 (April 1892): 540; Brinton, "Concerning Miss Cassatt and Certain Etchings," VI; "The Fine Arts: the Woman's Art Club," *The Critic: a Weekly Review of Literature and the Arts* 21 (February 24, 1894): 137; "The National Academy of Design," *The Art Amateur* 32, no. 6 (May 1895): 158; "Art at the Exposition," *Omaha Daily Bee*, July 1, 1898, 9; "Pictures by Mary Cassatt," *New York Times*, April 18, 1895; Sophia Antoinette Walker, "Fine Arts," *The Independent* 46, no. 2379 (July 5, 1894): 7; "Expositions à Paris. Pastellistes Francais, Peintres-graveurs," *L'Art moderne (Brussels)*, no. 17 (April 26, 1891): 136-37; Lostalot Alfred de, "Exposition des oeuvres de Miss Mary Cassatt," *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité* (December 9, 1893): 299.

[59] Mathews and Shapiro explain that eroticism was a main subject of the Japanese prints that appealed to the European market; see Mathews and Shapiro, *Mary Cassatt*, 42.

partial nudity is in total contradistinction to the ladies who take tea and mothers who coddle their children, who populate most of her paintings.[60]

The present work is the fifth of five states of the print and is the most finished. A preparatory pencil study with softground on the verso, of *The Coiffure*, was made about 1891 (MMA, 20.14.1; Breeskin Supplement VI) (fig. 81). Here the half-nude is turned to her left, looking into a mirror, holding both arms upward to fix her long dark hair that hangs down her left side touching her left breast. The hair is sketchy, made with quick diagonal and crosshatched strokes (similar to the roughly drawn background); she does not seem to be fixing the hair into any particular style. In this rapid sketch, there is no face reflected in the mirror. Cassatt does not seem to have committed to the ethnicity of the figure, as the features are not yet described. The speediness of the execution is more evident here than in the final print. Both display Cassatt's Impressionist, avant-garde willingness to look toward Japanese woodcuts and their conventions of pattern and cropping, for inspiration.[61]

A print of the first state of *The Coiffure*, which is in drypoint only (32.109.11; Breeskin 152 I), shows a sketch of the upper part of the figure and her reflection (fig. 82). The hair is black, not auburn, and the hair bun is outlined, but not filled in. The reserve of the paper is used for the bun, fingers, and hands. The face and hair are not delineated in the reflection; there is only an outline of the face and the arms uplifted; the hands are not

---

[60] See, for example, *The Cup of Tea* (ca. 1880–81, oil on canvas, MMA, 22.16.17); and *Mother and Child (The Oval Mirror)* (ca. 1899, oil on canvas, MMA, 29.100.47). On Cassatt's women and children pictures, see Nochlin, "Issues of Gender in Cassatt and Eakins," 360-62; on Mary Cassatt's depictions of mothers, see Harriet S. Chessman, "Mary Cassatt and the Maternal Body," in *American Iconology: New Approaches to Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature*, ed. David C. Miller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 239-58.

[61] Judith A. Barter refers to the color prints as Symbolist works; see Barter, "Mary Cassatt: Themes, Sources, and the Modern Woman," 85.

drawn. The deliberation with which Cassatt approached *The Coiffure* series is evident in the preparatory works that resulted in the fifth, final state.[62] Interestingly, a contemporary review of a showing at the Keppel Gallery refers to the sitter in *The Coiffure* and others in the series as "ugly women":

> A single seated woman, nude to the hips, combs her hair before the glass in which her ugly torso is reflected; another in a similar undress washes herself at a washstand, and her auburn hair is mirrored in the glass . . . Always the scenes are ordinary scenes, the acts are ordinary everyday doings. Moreover, the women are always ugly women, as if Miss Cassatt were of the opinion that the pretty of her sex do not deserve recording by so earnest an impressionist as she is.[63]

The writer further called the work "more virile than feminine."[64] The critic's negativity seems to stem from Cassatt's project of depicting a woman in a state of undress who is absorbed in the intimate task of pinning her hair for her own purposes, rather than for display in front of a man.

Cassatt's embrace of the Impressionist subject of women preparing their hair in private spaces is matched by that of Berthe Morisot (1841–1895), a French artist who is brought into the discussion here to demonstrate that Cassatt's approach was not singular. As opposed to the fetish-driven interest in hair by certain male artists, such as Degas, Cassatt and Morisot approached the subject in a more intimate manner. The two women artists, who met by 1879, maintained a professional and sometimes complicated friendship, although Cassatt's respect for Morisot's work was demonstrated a year earlier

---

[62] Ingrid Pfeiffer notes that the critics generally praised *The Coiffure*; see Pfeiffer and Hollein, *Women Impressionists*, 184; on further preparatory studies for *The Coiffure*, see cat. 14 in Mathews and Shapiro, *Mary Cassatt*, 151-56.

[63] "Colored Prints by Miss Cassatt," *New York Times*, October 3, 1891, 4.

[64] Ibid.

when Cassatt acquired a painting by Morisot in 1878.[65] Their companionship and interchange of ideas is similarly attested to by their joint visit to the aforementioned Japanese art exhibition in Paris in 1890. Both showed their art with the Impressionists as a result of Degas's encouragement; Cassatt did so in 1879, 1880, 1881, and 1886; Morisot did so in every year from 1874 to 1886 except for 1879.[66] Seven letters from Cassatt to Morisot and her daughter, Julie Manet (1878–1966), some of which were unpublished until 2008, bear out a friendship between the two and express distinct admiration by Cassatt for Morisot's work.[67] In autumn 1879, for example, Cassatt wrote, "I assure you that I am really envious of your talent."[68]

Both Cassatt and Morisot enjoyed fashion, came from well-off families, and possessed the means to study painting. Cassatt attended the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts from about 1860 to 1865 (squarely sitting out the Civil War) and spent time in the studios of Parisian painters, including Jean-Léon Gérôme and Thomas Couture.[69] Morisot, along with her sister Edma, studied with a number of established French

---

[65] Webster says they met by 1879, but it is not known exactly when, and that although they were friends, Cassatt was not included in Morisot's intimate circle; see Webster, *Eve's Daughter/Modern Woman*, 11, 24; Shennan quotes Morisot's grandson, Denis Rouart, as saying that the two were never close friends, but were professional rivals. She points out that Cassatt would visit Morisot and her daughter and that they corresponded in friendly terms, visited each other, and maintained mutual friends; see Margaret Shennan, *Berthe Morisot: the First Lady of Impressionism* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 1996), 195; 239-40; Higonnet notes that the summer of 1880 witnessed many visits between the two; see Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot*, 159; see also Mathews, *Mary Cassatt*, 194; Hale, *Mary Cassatt*, 131.

[66] Mathews and Shapiro, *Mary Cassatt*, 57; Chessman, "Mary Cassatt and the Maternal Body," 250; Nochlin, "Issues of Gender in Cassatt and Eakins," 349; Charles Harrison, *Painting the Difference: Sex and Spectator in Modern Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 128; Shennan, *Berthe Morisot: the First Lady of Impressionism*, 195.

[67] Pfeiffer and Hollein, *Women Impressionists*, 122-25.

[68] Other letters include a dinner invitation and discussions of summer lodgings. Ibid., 122.

[69] Shackelford notes that she may have studied anatomy at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts; see Shackelford, "Pas de deux: Mary Cassatt and Edgar Degas," 122-23.

painters including Joseph-Benoît Guichard.[70] Morisot married Eugène Manet, brother of fellow painter Edouard Manet, and tended to use her daughter, Julie, and other family members as models.[71] Importantly, however, both Cassatt and Morisot possessed the luxury of depicting their domestic servants.[72] Contemporary accounts often compare the two women's approach to art and their careers. For example, in 1896, Emma Bullet of the *Brooklyn Eagle* credited Cassatt with promoting her own work to great advantage: "Berthe Morisot all her life shunned popularity . . . Mary Cassatt is more enterprising; she has American blood running through her veins . . . Mary Cassatt measured her talent with the consideration due to it, and at the value it was worth, and did not pretend that others should estimate it any lower."[73]

Morisot provided her fair share of Impressionist canvases showing women at their toilettes or at leisure. *The Bath (Girl Arranging Her Hair)*, an oil of 1885–86, was shown at the 1886 Impressionist exhibition and acquired by Claude Monet after Morisot's death (fig. 83).[74] The overall sketchy style upholds the artist's categorization as Impressionist,

---

[70] Witzling makes the important point that Morisot was able to learn anatomy from humans, not animals such as cows, in contrast to the usual practice for women, and that her work sold well; see Mara Rose Witzling, ed., *Voicing Our Visions: Writings by Women Artists* (New York: Universe, 1991), 59; on Morisot and fashion, see Anne Schirrmeister, "La Dernière Mode: Berthe Morisot and Costume," in *Perspectives on Morisot: Essays*, ed. T. J. Edelstein (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1990), 103-15; Kathleen Adler and Tamar Garb, *Berthe Morisot* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1987), 102; Anne Higonnet, "Feminine Visual Culture in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Berthe Morisot's Images of Women* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 84-122.

[71] Harrison, *Painting the Difference*, 128.

[72] Griselda Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," in *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, ed. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York: IconEditions, 1992), 265.

[73] Emma Bullet, "Women in Art," *Brooklyn Eagle*, March 29, 1896, 25.

[74] It is has been part of the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts, since its acquisition by Sterling Clark in 1949 (1955.926). Michael Conforti, *The Clark Brothers Collect: Impressionist and Early Modern Paintings* (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute; New Haven: Distributed by Yale University Press, 2006), 107; Stuckey and Scott, *Berthe Morisot, Impressionist*, 116.

although the girl's face is individualized with round, dark eyes and pinkened lips and cheeks.[75] The brown hair is composed of strokes of pink and gray paint in the bangs and front crown. She pulls her hair tightly, but, as in Cassatt's *The Coiffure*, the hair is not especially full or long and there is not much to fix into place, perhaps into a high braided knot. A sizeable hairbrush of blond wood with bristles rests on the figure's lap.[76] The girl wears a white underdress conveyed by strokes of pink, blue, gray, and tan.[77] The deep blue-purple of the ribbon around her neck picks up complementary shades on the back of the chair and along the side of the table (where the artist's signature is also placed). She sits on a simple chair next to a blue-covered side table on top of which is placed a perfume holder.[78] Pink is the dominant color in the painting; the girl's skin along her face, arms, décolletage, and fingers are light pink; her ears and lips are a deeper shade tinged with peach. Her left arm bears a gold bracelet or ribbon, with a tie at the top; a gold ring on the ring finger of her left hand matches. These few embellishments to her otherwise unadorned body and the simple interior seem appropriate in light of her bold stare out and to her left, at the viewer. The light source is from the left of the painting—she may be getting ready for bed or preparing for a social engagement. Preparing the hair was central to both activities.

---

[75] The seventeen-year-old model was Isabelle Lambert; see Conforti, *The Clark Brothers Collect*, 107; Stuckey and Scott, *Berthe Morisot, Impressionist*, 116.

[76] Stuckey correlates the brush to the painter's brush; see Stuckey and Scott, *Berthe Morisot, Impressionist*, 116.

[77] Schirrmeister, "La Dernière Mode: Berthe Morisot and Costume," 103-4.

[78] Conforti, *The Clark Brothers Collect*, 107.

An even more private, intimate portrayal of a woman handling her hair is seen in the monochromatic work by Morisot, *Young Woman Reclining*, a drypoint on wove paper dated to 1889 (MMA, 22.60.96) (fig. 84). The Metropolitan Museum catalogues the work as depicting the artist's daughter, Julie, however, it has also been proposed that the figure is the model Jeanne Marie Fournamoir, shown in Morisot's studio.[79] The woman's entire body is not visible, nor is her dress delineated, but rather her long darkish hair cascades over her shoulders, onto the back of the chaise and over her body, in a fluid motion of swirling lines that work in concert with the scrolls and swan-shaped finial of the sofa. Her right arm, adorned with a bracelet, is propped upward so that her right hand may rest in her hair. There is no background to this interior scene, solely the reserve of the cream wove paper.[80] Regardless of whether the sitter was Julie or Jeanne, the figure's preoccupied, almost dreamy state calls to mind Cassatt's numerous depictions of naked, fleshy children, and conveys an overtone of innocence rather than sexuality.

As has become evident, like her Impressionist colleagues, Cassatt often approached the subject of hair in works on paper, using the techniques of drawing with graphite and crayon; drypoint; etching; and aquatint. These media were better suited to achieving the qualities that Cassatt was pursuing, including the texture of hair and the raw naturalness of wet hair. In addition, the hybrid nature of works on paper, which were often made for personal consumption rather than public sale, aptly suited Cassatt's agenda of depicting private scenes of women preparing their hair. Cassatt expanded her

---

[79] Elizabeth Harvey-Lee, *Mistresses of the Graphic Arts: Famous & Forgotten Women Printmakers c.1550-c.1950: A New Stock Catalogue, Autumn 1995* (North Aston, Oxfordshire: Elizabeth Harvey-Lee, 1995), cat. 57, n.p.

[80] On Morisot's use of sparse furnishings, see Schirrmeister, "La Dernière Mode: Berthe Morisot and Costume," 105.

experience with printmaking via her professional relationship with Degas, whom she met in 1877, and who encouraged her to exhibit with the Impressionists. In 1898, Roger Riordan wrote about Cassatt and Degas, "He, on his side was quick to recognize her talent, and did not refuse to freely accord her the advice and instruction for which she asked."[81] In 1909, the author of an article in *Current Literature* claimed that "Under the tutelage of Degas, she may be said to have "found" herself, and during the years that have followed she has grown steadily in the capacity for individual expression and in mastery of her technique."[82] The two worked together from 1877 until the early 1880s—Cassatt modeled for some of Degas's works—the pastel *At the Milliner's* of 1882 is one example (MMA, 29.100.38; Lemoisne 682), and Degas portrayed Cassatt in the etching *Mary Cassatt at the Louvre: The Etruscan Gallery*, 1879–80;[83] Degas also contributed to Cassatt's works, painting directly on the background of at least one painting, *Little Girl in Blue Armchair* of 1878 (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), the subject of which was the daughter of Degas's friends.[84] Moreover, Cassatt owned works by Degas, including the aforementioned charcoal *Woman Bathing in a Shallow Tub*, and the monotype (possibly of a prostitute) *Girl Putting on Her Stockings*, 1876–77 (MMA,

[81] Riordan, "Miss Mary Cassatt," 130.

[82] "The Most Eminent of Living American Women Painters," *Current Literature* 46, no. 2 (February 1909): 167.

[83] Softground etching, drypoint, aquatint, and etching; MMA, 19.29.2, Reed and Shapiro 51.iii/ix; third state of nine; see Sue Welsh Reed and Barbara Stern Shapiro, *Edgar Degas: The Painter as Printmaker* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1984), cat. 51, 168-83; Callen notes that Cassatt posed for *At the Milliner's*; see Mathews and Shapiro, *Mary Cassatt*, 60; Anthea Callen, *The Spectacular Body: Science, Method, and Meaning in the Work of Degas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 33.

[84] Chessman, "Mary Cassatt and the Maternal Body," 250-51; H. Barbara Weinberg and Carrie Rebora Barratt, eds., *American Stories: Paintings of Everyday Life, 1765-1915* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009), 125.

29.107.54, Janis 40/169), which Degas gifted to Cassatt, who in turn presented it to Louisine Havemeyer in 1889.[85]

Cassatt had viewed Degas's pastels as early as 1875, and the exchange of influences and ideas, especially with regard to creating images with media other than oil, continued for years.[86] The most direct influence of Degas's prints on Cassatt's indeed may be seen in her works depicting women combing or fixing their hair. In addition to owning *Girl Arranging Her Hair*, Degas acquired nearly one hundred of Cassatt's prints.[87] Cassatt began her printmaking activities with Degas (and Camille Pissarro and Félix Bracquemond) for the never-realized journal *Le Jour et la nuit*, which was meant to be filled with black-and-white images.[88] The soft-ground and aquatint *Back View of Draped Model Arranging Her Hair* (MMA, 20.1.1; second state of two; Breeskin 96 II) provides an unusual example in which Cassatt adapts Degas's more intrusive, rather than intimate, treatment of a woman tending her hair (fig. 85). The Metropolitan Museum dates the work to about 1889, which seems most likely; Breeskin dates it at 1889, but George T. M. Shackelford tentatively places it earlier, at about 1880.[89] This small work,

---

[85] Harrison, *Painting the Difference*, 129; Cowling and Kendall, *Picasso Looks at Degas*, 212; 318n14.

[86] Barter, "Mary Cassatt: Themes, Sources, and the Modern Woman," 45; Shackelford, "Pas de deux: Mary Cassatt and Edgar Degas," 124-25.

[87] Mathews and Shapiro, *Mary Cassatt*, 58; Shackelford, "Pas de deux: Mary Cassatt and Edgar Degas," 128.

[88] Adler, *Mary Cassatt*, 6-7; Mathews and Shapiro, *Mary Cassatt*, 27; 57; Barter, *Mary Cassatt, Modern Woman*, 67-68; 119-20; Reed and Shapiro, *Edgar Degas*, xlii; Webster, *Eve's Daughter/Modern Woman*, 24; Marc Rosen et al., *Mary Cassatt: Prints and Drawings from the Artist's Studio*, 1st ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 14. For an example of Pissarro's shared, and continued interest in the theme of women and hair, see *Woman Fixing Her Hair*, monotype, 1894 (MMA, 47.90.4). See also *Pissarro's Woman Combing Her Hair*, color monotype, 1894–95 (Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 60.793); Barter, "Mary Cassatt: Themes, Sources, and the Modern Woman," 67-68; Shackelford, "Pas de deux: Mary Cassatt and Edgar Degas," 119-20. 47.90.4).

[89] Breeskin, *Mary Cassatt*, cat. 96 II; Shackelford, "Pas de deux: Mary Cassatt and Edgar Degas," 124.

slightly larger than a postcard, is in fair condition although significantly faded. The artist's signature, which appears to be Mary Cassatt's full name, is obscured, but visible at the lower right. The long mane of hair is composed of strokes drawn from the upper left of the scalp to the lower right, but quickly becomes blurry in the middle of the length of hair, then devolves into simple crosshatching at the end of the tail as it hits the sitter's knee. The shapeless body of the nude sitter is barely delineated, especially in the lap and knee areas. The difference between the *en déshabillé* hair in this work and the properly, if casually, pinned coiffures in such works as *Denise at Her Dressing Table* is striking (see fig. 73). The positioning of the subject in *Back View* tantalizingly denies the viewer's gaze, whereas the bourgeois woman in *Denise* provides multiple invitations into her dressing room, via the devices of the hand mirror and the toilette mirror, which draw the eye to the hair, the object of the sitter's attention. The contrast may be explained by the liberties in which Cassatt indulged with printmaking and her interchange of ideas with Degas. However, on the whole, Cassatt retained the perspective of intimacy rather than voyeurism.

As with many of Cassatt's black-and-white prints, especially of nude or seminude figures, *Back View of Draped Model Arranging Her Hair* has an overall experimental effect.[90] Many of the etchings in particular have a dark, raw quality that suits the depiction of wet, uncombed hair, as in *Back View*. The artistic process of creating an etching, which has a scraping and acidic biting aspect to it, lends itself to the depiction of water-laden strands of hair, especially in undefined or mysterious interiors. Etching and related processes offered artists an opportunity to produce smaller, more private works of

[90] Webster notes that Cassatt's prints demonstrate the artist's openness to experiment; see Webster, *Eve's Daughter/Modern Woman*, 28.

art. Scenes of women at their toilette or emerging from a bath fit the reduced scale and seem to upset the fashion plate (themselves, works on paper) tradition that the Impressionists, Cassatt included, were so reliant upon for their subject matter.

As demonstrated, Cassatt experimented with exposing the private, intimate act of a woman handling her hair. As a point of contrast, the following discussion will show briefly the significantly different manner in which Degas approached the subject of sexuality through the depiction of hair. It is emphasized here that hair is one aspect of Degas's large and varied oeuvre. It is selected not to simplify the artist's work, but to provide a rich counterpoint to the discussion of his colleague Cassatt's work with the same subject matter. Both of the artists used hair as a central strategy in making private acts public; however, as we have seen, Cassatt employed hair as a way to show the intimacy of the feminine daily ritual of the toilette. In contrast, Degas's fetish for hair manifested itself in unabashed portrayals of women taming their locks during private moments. Overall, his work challenged the boundaries of decorum, as Theodore Child remarked in 1887: "of late years he has indulged too evidently in his favorite distraction of puzzling and horrifying the *bourgeois*."[91]

The issue of the "gaze" has been well-covered in feminist-based art historical literature, especially with regard to Cassatt and Degas. In Cassatt's paintings such as *In the Loge* of 1878 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) and *Reading "Le Figaro,"* of about 1878 (private collection), the artist has been credited with depicting strong women in

[91] Theodore Child, "A Note on Impressionist Painting," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 74, no. 440 (January 1887): 314.

control of their actions.[92] In the former, a single female operagoer watches the show she has come to see, not the gentleman who looks at her; in the latter, the artist's mother, who was fluent in French, confidently reads the local newspaper. In the hair-fixing scenes as well, the women are absorbed in their tasks, often looking downward or into a mirror, or positioned with their backs to the viewer, yet remaining fully visible.[93] In contrast, Degas's intention was to invade women's private moments—he supposedly said to George Moore that his nudes were meant to be seen "as if you looked through a key-hole."[94] Furthermore, the critic Octave Maus wrote in 1886 regarding one of Degas's bathing scenes: "He is solely concerned with the woman who believes that she is alone, absolutely alone, and who, having discarded all coquetry, devotes herself without reflection, naively, naturally, like a young cat, to the cares of her toilette, to cleaning in the freshness of the tub."[95] Throughout his career, Degas observed and exposed women's bodies, but he was particularly enthralled with one aspect in particular—hair.

---

[92] Pollock, "Mary Cassatt: Painter of Women and Children," 281; Richard Kendall and Griselda Pollock, eds., *Dealing with Degas: Representations of Women and the Politics of Vision* (New York: Universe, 1992), 106-30; Nochlin, "Issues of Gender in Cassatt and Eakins," 193-94; Broude and Garrard, *Reclaiming Female Agency*, 259-75; Broude, "Mary Cassatt," 37; Holly Pyne Connor, ed., *Off the Pedestal: New Women in the Art of Homer, Chase, and Sargent* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press; London: Distributed by Eurospan, 2006), 19; Iskin, "Was There a New Woman in Impressionist Painting?," 197.

[93] Shackelford notes that none of Cassatt's nudes turn around to look toward the viewer; see Shackelford, "Pas de deux: Mary Cassatt and Edgar Degas," 124.

[94] Edgar Degas to George Moore, ca. 1885. George Moore, *Impressions and Opinions* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1891), 318.

[95] "[Il est] uniquement le préoccupe la femme qui se croit seule, absolument seule, et qui, dépouillant toute coquetterie, s'abandonne sans arrière-pensée, naïvement, naturellement, comme un jeune chat, aux soins de sa toilette, aux ablutions dans la fraicheur du tub." Maus, "Les Vingtistes parisiens," 202; translated in Moffett, *The New Painting, Impressionism, 1874-1886*, 432.

Edgar Degas's fascination with women's hair is well documented.[96] About 1878, he asked to watch Geneviève Halévy, his friend Ludovic Halévy's cousin, comb her hair, a request that began the ongoing theme in his art. The model told writer Edmond de Goncourt that Degas was "a strange gentleman—during an entire four-hour sitting he had done nothing but comb her hair."[97] Degas wrote the following in his notebook dated 1868–74: "I can readily call to mind the color of certain hair, for example, because I associate it with the color of gleaming walnut or of hemp, or indeed of horse chestnuts, real hair, with its shimmering flow and its lightness, or its coarseness and its weight."[98] Degas's attentiveness to hair coincided with the strong concern regarding hygiene in France during the 1870s, when hair was believed to be a dangerous breeding ground for bacteria, and careful brushing and periodic washing were recommended.[99]

---

[96] Richard R. Brettell, Paul Hayes Tucker, and Natalie Henderson Lee, *Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Paintings* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Princeton, NJ: in association with Princeton University Press, 2009), 81; Brettell has observed Degas's attention to hair in the large-scale pastel and charcoal on tracing paper mounted on gray board *The Bathers*, 1890–95, in the Dallas Museum of Art, in which he notes, "Even the hair of the central figure seems to have weight as it flows over her head across the front of her body." (Dallas Museum of Art, 1985.R.24, Lemoisne 1071). The work is dated 1895–97 by Brettell, but is currently dated 1890–95 by the Dallas Museum of Art; see Richard R. Brettell, *Impressionist Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture from the Wendy and Emery Reves Collection* (Dallas, TX: Dallas Museum of Art, 1995), 118-19; Sidsel Maria Søndergaard, "Women in Impressionism: An Introduction," in *Women in Impressionism: From Mythical Feminine to Modern Woman* (Milan: Skira, 2006), 44.

[97] On Geneviève Halévy, see Roy McMullen, *Degas: His Life, Times, and Work* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984), 385; the account is also recalled in Boggs, *Degas*, 255; for the original quotation, see Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt, *Journal: mémoires de la vie littéraire*, vol. 4 (Paris: Fasquelle, Flammarion, 1956), 674; the account is also recalled in George D. Painter, *Marcel Proust: A Biography*, vol. 1 (London: Chatto and Windus, 1959), 89.

[98] Boggs, *Degas*, 255; Elizabeth Cowling, "Rebirth of Venus: Women at Their Toilette," in *Picasso Looks at Degas* (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute; Barcelona: Museu Picasso; New Haven: Distributed by Yale University Press, 2010), 159; "Je me rappelle facilement la couleur de certains cheveux, par exemple, parceque il m'est venue à l'idée que c'était des cheveux en bois de noyer verni ou bien en filasse, ou bien en écorce de marron d'Inde de vrais cheveux avec leur souplesse et leur légèreté ou leur dureté et leur pesanteur." In Theodore Reff, *The Notebooks of Edgar Degas: A Catalogue of the Thirty-Eight Notebooks in the Bibliothèque Nationale and Other Collections* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), Notebook 22.

[99] Cowling, "Rebirth of Venus: Women at Their Toilette," 160-64.

Degas's images of women combing, drying, or fixing their hair are numerous, and began with the oil on paper *Women Combing Their Hair* (ca. 1875, The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C., Lemoisne 376).[100] Perhaps most directly illustrative of the sentiments in the notebook entry cited above is the early pastel in the Louvre titled *Study of a Woman's Hair*, ca. 1861.[101] Examples from the Metropolitan Museum's collection

[100] See Boggs, *Degas*, 415; Degas's hair pictures inspired artists throughout the twentieth century. The most famous is Pablo Picasso (1881–1973), fifty years Degas's junior, who collected pictures by the older artist and borrowed themes such as women bathing and dancers. Exemplary points of comparison are Degas's *Woman Having Her Hair Combed*, pastel, ca. 1886–88 (MMA, 29.100.35, Lemoisne 847) and Picasso's oil on canvas *La Coiffure* of 1906 (MMA, 53.140.3). The exhibition "Picasso Looks at Degas," at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts, explored the influence that the earlier artist had on Picasso. The exhibition was at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts, June 13–September 12, 2010, and the Museo Picasso, Barcelona, fall 2010. See the exhibition catalogue for many examples of Picasso's works concerning coiffure. Cowling and Kendall, *Picasso Looks at Degas*, 171-86.

[101] *Study of a Woman's Hair*, ca. 1861, is Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins (32.8 x 24.7 cm; not in Lemoisne). Following are selected, pertinent examples of Degas's works involving women and hair: *Beach Scene*, ca. 1869–70, oil on paper on canvas, National Gallery, London (NG 3247), Lemoisne 406, shown in the third Impressionist exhibition in 1877, see David Bomford, *Art in the Making: Degas* (London: National Gallery, 2004), 96-103; *Actresses in their Dressing Rooms*, 1879–80, print, etching and aquatint, fifth state of five, Los Angeles County Museum of Art; *Nude Woman Combing Her Hair*, ca. 1879–83, monotype, Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre (Orsay), Paris (RF16724), Janis 156/Cachin 168, see Boggs, *Degas*, cat. 247, 415; *Woman Brushing Her Hair*, ca. 1885–90, oil on canvas, The Kreeger Museum, Washington, D.C. (1964.4), Lemoisne 642, see Cowling and Kendall, *Picasso Looks at Degas*, fig. 181, 161; *Woman Standing in a Bathtub*, 1890–92, charcoal on yellow tracing paper, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts (1955.1394), Atelier Sale III.327 (2), see Cowling and Kendall, *Picasso Looks at Degas*, fig. 186, 163; *Nude Woman Standing Drying Herself*, ca. 1891, transfer lithograph, Print Department, Boston Public Library, Albert H. Wiggin Collection, Reed and Shapiro 61.iv, see Boggs, *Degas*, cat. 294, 499-500; *After the Bath*, large plate, 1891–92, transfer lithograph, The Art Institute of Chicago (1962.80), Reed and Shapiro 66.iii, see Boggs, *Degas*, cat. 295, 500-501; *Bathers* series, see Boggs, *Degas*, cats. 346–350, 557-560, especially *The Bathers*, ca. 1890–95, pastel and charcoal on tracing paper mounted on gray board, Lemoisne 1071, Dallas Museum of Art (1985.R.24); *After the Bath*, large plate, 1891–92, transfer lithograph, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (23117), Reed and Shapiro 66.v, see Boggs, *Degas*, cat. 296, 501; *After the Bath*, charcoal on yellow tracing paper, ca. 1891–92, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts (1955.1408), see Cowling and Kendall, *Picasso Looks at Degas*, fig. 185, 163; *Bather Drying Herself*, pastel and charcoal, heightened with white chalk, on tracing paper, ca. 1892, MMA(61.101.18), Lemoisne 856, see Boggs, *Degas*, cat. 297, 501-502; *Young Girl Braiding Her Hair*, pastel, 1894, Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Bernard H. Mendik, New York, Lemoisne 1146, see Boggs, *Degas*, cat. 319, 525-27; *Woman at Her Toilet*, charcoal and pastel on paper, ca. 1894, Tate Gallery, London (N04711), Lemoisne 1161; *The Breakfast after the Bath*, paste and brush on tracing paper, ca. 1895, Lemoisne 1205, private collection; see Schacherl, *Edgar Degas*, 104; *Woman Combing Her Hair*, ca. 1896–99, charcoal and pastel on tracing paper, private collection, Lemoisne 933, see Cowling and Kendall, *Picasso Looks at Degas*, fig. 223, 198; *The Coiffure*, oil on canvas, ca. 1896, National Gallery, London, Lemoisne 1128, see Boggs, *Degas*, cat. 344, 553-54; and Bomford, *Art in the Making*, 142-149; *The Coiffure*, oil on canvas, 1892–95, Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo, Lemoisne 1127, see Boggs, *Degas*, cat. 345, 554-57; *Seated Nude From Behind Combing Her Hair*, charcoal and pastel, ca.

provide a useful cross-section of Degas's preoccupation with hair, which he explored in every medium from the mid-1880s until the early twentieth century.[102] The present study does not include in-depth comments regarding oil paintings by Degas, however two important ones may serve as references: *The Coiffure* of about 1896 (The National Gallery, London, NG 4865; Lemoisne 1128) (fig. 86); and *The Coiffure*, 1892–95 (Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo, 1292; Lemoisne 1127) (fig. 87).[103]

Indeed, Degas's depictions of women interacting with their hair are worthy of a dedicated catalogue, and should be regarded as a subgenre of his works that focus on the female body, as well as his interest in portraying the lower classes. Indeed, he trained his eye to focus on all aspects of feminine anatomy. For example, he wrote to James Tissot

---

1897, Lemoisne 1283, Kunsthaus, Zurich; *Nude Woman Drying Herself*, ca. 1900, charcoal and pastel, The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Lemoisne 1423 *bis*, see Boggs, *Degas*, cat. 382, 596-98; *Bather Beside the Water*, pastel, ca. 1900–5, location unknown, reproduced in Dumas, *The Private Collection of Edgar Degas*, fig. 293, 215, catalogue raisonné information not given; *After the Bath, Woman Drying Her Hair*, ca. 1905, pastel, private collection, Lemoisne 1424, see Boggs, *Degas*, cat. 383, 596-598. In addition to Boggs, *Degas*, for discussions of various of these works, see Brettell, *Impressionist Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture from the Wendy and Emery Reves Collection*, 118-19; Harrison, *Painting the Difference*, 107-18; Richard Kendall, ed., *Degas by Himself: Drawings, Prints, Paintings, Writings*, 1st ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1987), 137; 169; 234; *Bather Drying Herself*, charcoal on tracing paper, undated, location unknown, Atelier Sale II: 316, reproduced in Dumas, *The Private Collection of Edgar Degas*, fig. 376, 287. Degas's delight in showing the swirls of a woman's chignon sitting underneath a black hat and with long pieces of hair extending from it, is seen in *The Jet Earring*, black ink printed on white wove paper, ca. 1876–77, MMA ,59.651,, Janis 243/Cachin 39, see Boggs, *Degas*, cat. 151, 261. Compare the hairstyle in *Jet Earring* to that of the prostitute in *Brothel*, monotype, ca. 1876–77, Bibliothèque de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art, Paris, Collections Jacques Doucet (EM DEGAS 9), Janis 68, reproduced in Cowling and Kendall, *Picasso Looks at Degas*, fig. 232, 212. See, in general, Lemoisne 376, 406, 436, 554, 628, 641, 643, 721, 724, 726, 727, 799, 815, 815 *bis*, 847, 848, 849, 856, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 935, 935 *bis*, 935 *ter*, 936, 951 *bis*, 952, 962, 962 *bis*, 963, 964, 965, 976, 977, 978, 994, 1003, 1070, 1071, 1073, 1085, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1130, 1132, 1133, 1146, 1147, 1160, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1164 *bis*, 1165, 1227, 1228, 1228 *bis*, 1228 *ter*, 1283, 1290, 1291, 1306, 1316, 1333, 1422, 1423, 1423 *bis*, 1424, 1424 *bis*, 1425, 1426, 1427, 1464, 1464 *bis*, 1464 *ter*.

[102] Rebecca A. Rabinow, ed., *Cézanne to Picasso: Ambroise Vollard, Patron of the Avant-Garde* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006), 346.

[103] Boggs, *Degas*, cats. 344 and 345, pages 553-54 and 554, respectively; Cowling and Kendall use the dates given here; see Cowling and Kendall, *Picasso Looks at Degas*, fig. 200, 179; see also Rabinow, *Cézanne to Picasso: Ambroise Vollard, Patron of the Avant-Garde*, 159. Another oil of interest is *Woman Combing Her Hair Before a Mirror* (ca. 1877, Lemoisne 436, Norton Simon Art Foundation, M.1968.03.P).

on November 19, 1872: "Everything is beautiful in this world of the people. But one Paris laundry girl, with bare arms, is worth it all for such a pronounced Parisian as I am."[104] Degas came from a wealthy family and received a classic education, but eschewed decorum when he notoriously chose to visit brothels in order to draw and paint prostitutes, who were often naked or half-dressed.[105] These women who worked in the sex trade offered an opportunity for Degas and likeminded artists to temporarily exit bourgeois society and indulge in taboo subjects. Degas's daringness was noted by George Moore in the November 1890 issue of *The Magazine of Art*, recounted in the *New York Times*:

> Degas has introduced subject matter heretofore deemed impossible in art . . . Baudelaire is the only one I can name who did what Degas has done—that is, to tread, nay more, to walk firmly, where none has walked before. It may be wise or unwise to do this, but artists will understand the almost superhuman genius it requires to take subject matter that has never received artistic treatment before and bring it at once within the sacred pale.[106]

The number and variation of Degas's hair works are due in part to the fact that many were prints executed in repetition. More so than Cassatt, Degas repeated themes in his work throughout his long career, including dancers, nudes in the bath, and women

---

[104] Edgar Degas to James Tissot, November 19, 1872. Translated in Degas, *Letters*, 17-19.

[105] Lipton identifies many of the women in Degas's monotypes as prostitutes; see Eunice Lipton, *Looking into Degas: Uneasy Images of Women and Modern Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 170-79; further, Ann Dumas has noted that Paul Gavarni's "Les Lorettes" (1842) were strong influences for Degas's toilette scenes; see Dumas, "Degas as a Collector," 56; ill. on 58; on Degas's works that depict prostitutes and regarding prostitution in Europe in the period, see Callen, *The Spectacular Body*, 36-70; Carol M. Armstrong, *Odd Man Out: Readings of the Work and Reputation of Edgar Degas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 152-56; Elizabeth Cowling refers to the "class-conscious" Degas as well as the "matted hair" of the prostitutes in Degas's monotypes; see Cowling, "Rebirth of Venus: Women at Their Toilette," 159; Hollis Clayson, *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 27-55.

[106] "Art Notes," *New York Times*, October 26, 1890, 12; see George Moore, "Degas: The Painter of Modern Life," *The Magazine of Art* 13 (1890): 416-25; see also George Moore, "Memories of Degas (Conclusion)," *The Burlington Magazine* 32, no. 179 (February 1918): 64.

handling their hair, to the point of extremism.[107] As with Cassatt, perhaps Degas's most daring explorations of women interacting with their hair were in prints, but unlike Cassatt, Degas pursued full-body nudes. A fine example is *Nude Woman Standing, Drying Herself*, lithograph transfer from monotype, crayon, tusche, and scraping on wove paper; fifth of six states, 1891–92 (MMA, 1972.626, Reed and Shapiro 61.v/vi) (fig. 88). In the privacy of her boudoir a nude woman bends to her left to dry her hip after bathing. Her long, thick mass of black hair with errant strands poking out in all directions has been whipped over the right side of her head, perhaps having just been towel-dried. There is much pattern and texture on the chaise and background wallpaper, though its effect is sketchy as a result of the lithographic medium.[108] Not only does Degas delight in depicting the mass of wet black hair that the woman whips to her left (and doubles the image with a mirror in front of her), but he also includes false hairpieces on the chaise.[109]

It has become evident that Cassatt's treatment of women and hair is part of a larger attempt by those associated with the French Impressionists to focus on private rituals in public art, but as demonstrated through the contrasting example of Degas, the depiction of hair became a subject where the approaches of male and female artists were differentiated. As shown, although Cassatt and Degas both contended with women and hair, they addressed the subject in distinct manners. Even works that have an affinity with one another disclose the disparate motivations between the artists. For example, there are

---

[107] Regarding seriality in Degas's works, see Armstrong, *Odd Man Out*, 8-9; 14; Boggs, *Degas*, 256.

[108] Theodore Reff explains that Degas drew on the stone with a brush and lithographic ink instead of a lithographic crayon, then used a scraper to define certain highlights. Theodore Reff, *Degas: The Artist's Mind* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976), 287.

[109] Boggs, *Degas*, cat. 294, 500; a discussion of all states of *Nude Woman Standing Drying Herself*, where the hairpieces are also identified, is in Reed and Shapiro, *Edgar Degas*, cat. 61, 220–30; Cowling, "Rebirth of Venus: Women at Their Toilette," 164.

undeniable compositional and technical similarities in Cassatt's aforementioned etching *Back View of Draped Model Arranging Her Hair* of 1889 (see fig. 85) and Degas's earlier monotype in black ink *Nude Woman Combing Her Hair* of about 1879–83 (Musée du Louvre, Paris, RF 16724) (fig. 89).[110] They have in common a black-and-white modality and spare composition, but Degas's effort retains a fierceness in the downward hair combing that is absent in that of Cassatt's sitter who somewhat gently lifts up her mane with two hands. Furthermore, the two artists exhibited a preference in their pastels and oils for depicting redheads, but Degas exaggerates the hue to the point of near fluorescence in such works as *The Coiffure*, 1892–95 (Lemoisne 1127) and *The Coiffure*, ca. 1896 (Lemoisne 1128) (see figs. 86–87). This overstatement of the color, given to both the sitters and the maids in the canvases, suggests a deliberate link with the negative characteristics of lower-class status and loose morals that were associated with redheads, to which Degas seems to have taken pleasure. Degas's works, which treat hair from a fetishistic point of view serve as a counterpoint to Cassatt's exploration of depicting the intimate daily hair rituals of women.

Continuing the exploration of the eroticization and social symbolism of hair in the Parisian setting, the next chapter focuses on John Singer Sargent's *Madame X* (1883–84), a painting that marks a change in the trajectory traced thus far. Here, a male artist followed the lead of his sitter who was thoroughly comfortable expressing her sexuality, red hair and all, to create one of the most risqué images of the period. His modernist

[110] Linda Nochlin reminds readers that they must compare Cassatt to Degas with regard to formal boldness; see Nochlin, "Issues of Gender in Cassatt and Eakins," 196; Shackelford makes this comparison and notes that Cassatt shows an awareness of Degas's prints of nudes; see Shackelford, "Pas de deux: Mary Cassatt and Edgar Degas," 124.

handling of the paint, conveying planes of color on the sitter's body, were equated with Madame Gautreau's own painting of herself with makeup and dyed hair.

Chapter Six: Teasing John Singer Sargent's *Madame X*

John Singer Sargent's painting *Madame X* (1883–84) dared to display an unabashedly sexual woman, a redhead no less, in the most public arena—the Parisian Salon. The chapter argues that in *Madame X*, Sargent knowingly recognized the power of hair to speak about femininity and unmasked sexuality. Situated in Paris during the 1880s, a period of social change that saw the *femme nouvelle* embracing opportunities for education, divorce, and independent access to public venues, Sargent drew upon popular associations of hair, and specifically with the "professional beauty." With the selection of a painting that so outwardly exploits the ability of women's hair to convey sexuality, this chapter provides a culmination of developments traced throughout the dissertation, which has investigated the progression from Victorian containment and the masking of sexuality to open displays of it. The prior chapter discussed the ways in which the New Woman rejected the restrictiveness of midcentury culture in the United States by embracing individualism, politics, and athleticism. An American in Paris, Amélie Gautreau was a *femme nouvelle* who similarly eschewed constrictions, especially in her hairstyle, discarding the "high coiffures with false curls," as historian Gabriel Louis Pringué wrote in 1948.[1]

As a further culmination to the themes addressed in this dissertation, the chapter argues that Sargent's modernist handling of paint in *Madame X* marks a turning point in hair culture and its representation. Scholars have rightfully placed much importance on

[1] The full quotation is "C'était l'époque où les femmes portaient les cheveux en terrasses, avec d'énormes postiches, des poitrines rembourrées, des manches ballons, genre montgolfières, et d'amples robes dont les traînes sans fin se prenaient dans les portes et renversaient les fauteuils et les tabourets trop légers." Gabriel Louis Pringué, *30 Ans de Dîners en Ville* (Paris: Revue Adam, 1948), 212.

the depiction of Gautreau's daring black dress and the lavender pallor of her skin (fig. 90). A celebrated beauty in Paris, Gautreau established her signature look well before Sargent recorded it on canvas—as Susan Sidlauskas observes, Sargent "painted a woman who had already painted herself."[2] Art historians have examined the painting and its numerous preparatory studies, paying close attention to the sitter's makeup, posture, profile, and infamously wayward shoulder strap. However, other than a passing observation, the significance of the red, upswept hairstyle has been overlooked. In fact, color and technique are salient factors in the picture, apparent in the white-lavender of the skin tone, the black of the dress, and the redness of the hair, which are effected in relatively flat planes. By equating his technique with the sitter's own painted qualities, Sargent employs a modernist approach that differs from that of the other artists discussed in this dissertation. Although Sargent paid strong attention to women's hair in other paintings, such as *Ellen Terry as Lady Macbeth* (1889), *Madame X* is selected in this chapter as a case study for its rich comparison with Manet's *Olympia* (1865), which is elucidated below.

Importantly, both Sargent and Gautreau were expatriate Americans living in Paris. John Singer Sargent (1856–1925) was born in Florence, Italy, to American parents, FitzWilliam Sargent (1820–1889) and Mary Newbold Singer (1826–1906).[3] Retaining his United States citizenship throughout his life, he considered himself an American, although he lived most of his years in France and England. Well educated and well

[2] Susan Sidlauskas, "Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent's 'Madame X'," *American Art* 15, no. 3 (Autumn 2001): 11; 25.

[3] Patricia Hills, *John Singer Sargent* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art in association with H.N. Abrams, 1986), 276; Richard Ormond and Elaine Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent: Complete Paintings* (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1998), xi.

traveled, in May 1874 he began studying with Charles Émile Auguste Carolus-Duran (1837–1917); in 1879 he departed for Spain, observing closely the works of the old masters, especially Velázquez. Travels also took him to Florence, Naples, Sorrento, Capri, Venice, Munich, Dresden, Carlsbad, Egypt, and more.[4] Time spent in the United States included an 1887 visit, in which he was received as a celebrity, and a stay in 1890, during which he worked in Boston.[5] Well acquainted with famous people like Henry James and Isabella Stewart Gardner, Sargent had access to the upper crust of intellectual and social circles in the United States and Europe.[6] His commissioned portraits were acclaimed on both continents—*Lady with the Rose (Charlotte Louise Burckhardt)* (1882, Metropolitan Museum, 32.154) and *Margaret Stuyvesant Rutherford White (Mrs. Henry White)* (1883, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 49.4) are just two fine examples from the period (figs. 91–92). Charlotte Louise Burckhardt (1862–1892) was the daughter of an American mother and a Swiss merchant father, whom Sargent knew socially.[7] Mrs. White (1854–1916) was the wife of Henry White, Secretary to the American Legation in London, and a Grosvenor Square socialite.[8] Virginie Amélie Gautreau, however, was an entirely different sitter.

---

[4] Frederick A. Sweet, *Sargent, Whistler and Mary Cassatt* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1954), 40-41; Hills, *John Singer Sargent*, 276-83; Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, Chronology, xi-xvii.

[5] Sweet, *Sargent, Whistler and Mary Cassatt*, 41; Hills, *John Singer Sargent*, 279.

[6] Dorothy Mahon and Silvia Centeno, "A Technical Study of John Singer Sargent's Portrait of Madame Pierre Gautreau," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 40 (2005): 126.

[7] H. Barbara Weinberg and Stephanie L. Herdrich, "John Singer Sargent in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 57, no. 4 (Spring 2000): 15; Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, 64.

[8] Tomás Llorens Serra, *Sargent, Sorolla* (Paris: Petit Palais, 2006), 98; Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, 106; the portrait of White was exhibited at the Royal Academy, London in 1884. Evan Charteris, *John Sargent* (London: W. Heinemann, 1927), 66; H. Barbara Weinberg, "John Singer Sargent: Reputation Redivivus," *Arts Magazine* 54, no. 7 (March 1980): 107.

Madame X was not a commissioned work; Sargent actively sought Gautreau for the portrait, with which he intended to impress the judges of the 1884 Salon.[9] Virginie Amélie Avegno (known as "Amélie") (1859–1915) came to Paris from New Orleans, the daughter of Italian-born Anatole Placido Avegno (1834–1862) and the Louisianian Marie Virginie de Ternant (b. 1837).[10] After Major Avegno died of wounds during the Battle of Shiloh in 1862, Mrs. Avegno moved her daughters to Paris, where Virginie became a "professional beauty" (*femme du monde*) and a known figure in Parisian society both for being in the forefront of fashion and for the striking color of her lavender skin.[11] Legend has it that crowds would form on the beach at Saint Malo to catch a glimpse of her emerging from the sea, with an eye toward whether the faux color of her skin would dissipate:

> The crowd responded that it was time for Mme Gauthereau [*sic*] to bathe. In a few minutes a black coupé arrived, Mme Gauthereau [*sic*] enveloped in a white cape, her red hair imprisoned in a pearl hair net, followed by her servant carrying shawls and white covers.[12]

---

[9] Sidlauskas, "Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent's 'Madame X'," 14.

[10] Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, 113; Virginie Amélie was born on January 29, 1859, in New Orleans at 927 Toulouse Street. She died on July 25, 1915 at 80, Rue Jouffroy, Paris. For the genealogy of the Avegno and de Ternant families, see Mettha Westfeldt Eshleman, *Madame Gautreau* (New Orleans, 1985), 113.

[11] Trevor J. Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent* (New York: Abrams, 1994), 52; Stephanie L. Herdrich and H. Barbara Weinberg, *American Drawings and Watercolors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: John Singer Sargent* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), 128; Marc Simpson, *Uncanny Spectacle: The Public Career of the Young John Singer Sargent* (New Haven: Yale University Press; Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1997), 118; Sidlauskas, "Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent's 'Madame X'," 11; Charteris, *John Sargent*, 63; Weinberg, "John Singer Sargent: Reputation Redivivus," 107; David Milton Kendall McKibbin, *Sargent's Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1956), 22; George E. Jordan, "Parlange, Eshleman Family Records Uncover Story of Immortal 'Madame X'," *The Times-Picayne* (New Orleans, June 29, 1975), sec. 2, 8; Deborah Davis, Elaine Kilmurray, and Richard Ormond, *Sargent's Women* (New York: Adelson Galleries, 2003), 14; Gary Tinterow and Geneviève Lacambre, *Manet/Velázquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 534-35.

[12] "On lui répondit que c'était l'heure du bain de Mme Gauthereau. En effet, quelques instants s'étaient à peine écoulés, qu'un petit coupé noir arriva. Mme Gauthereau, enroulée dans un burnous blanc, ses

Her appearance was the subject of comment throughout her lifetime, including a journalist's letter from Paris to London, published in the *New York Times*, which referred to her as "a statue, beautiful but inanimate." It continues, "I do not suppose you have in London such a piece of plastic perfection as Mme Gauthereau [*sic*]."[13] Likewise, her attendance at a costume ball in Paris was a point of discussion:

> A conspicuous figure was Mme. Gauthereau [*sic*], the noted Creole beauty. She was dressed as Cupid, and of course her raiment was exceedingly scanty. But she was literally incrusted [*sic*] with gold and gems. The abbreviated skirts of her costume were actually made of pure gold, spun and woven into gauze so delicate that it was not much heavier than silk.[14]

The American painter Edward Simmons reminisced upon seeing Gautreau during his student days in Paris:

> I remember seeing Madame De Gautrot [*sic*], the noted beauty of the day, and could not help stalking her as one does a deer. Representing a type that never has appealed to me (black as spades and white as milk), she thrilled me by the very movement of her body. She walked as Vergil speaks of goddesses—sliding—and seemed to take no steps. Her head and neck undulated like that of a young doe, and something about her gave you the impression of infinite proportion, infinite grace, and infinite balance.[15]

Her notoriety extended as far as New Zealand—*The Observer* ran an article titled "Parisian Novelties," which featured one of her hats:

---

cheveux roux emprisonnés dans une résille de perles, en descendit suivie de sa femme de chambre portant châles et couvertures blanches." Pringué, *30 Ans de Dîners en Ville*, 213; see also Perdican [pseud.], "Courrier de Paris," *L'Illustration* 82 (August 11, 1883): 83.

[13] "The Beauty of Mme Ferry: Paris Letter to the London Truth," *New York Times*, February 17, 1885.

[14] "A Monte Cristo Fete," *Current Literature* 1, no. 3 (September 1888): 217; furthermore, the critic Perdican included Gautreau among the gorgeous American women. Perdican [pseud.], "Courrier de Paris," *L'Illustration* 77 (June 18, 1881): 412.

[15] Edward Simmons, *From Seven to Seventy; Memories of a Painter and a Yankee* (New York: Harper, 1922), 127.

> The fourth sketch shows us a hat worn by a very well-known lady, Madame Gauthereau [*sic*], famed for her excellent taste in dress. It is a small black velvet capote, sprinkled all over with black jet beads, and trimmed with jet butterflies and black cock's feathers. With this is worn a small plain white veil.[16]

In 1891, the San Francisco *Morning Call* noted that "For a number of years Mme. Gautreau has posed as the unrivaled professional beauty of Paris . . . He [*sic*] figure and her nuque [*sic*] are regarded as beyond any comparison beautiful."[17] The same year the correspondent for the *Pittsburg Dispatch* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), referred to her as the "reigning beauty of Paris."[18]

Amélie was nineteen when she married the forty-year-old Parisian banker Pierre (Pedro) Gautreau in August 1878.[19] After meeting Gautreau in autumn 1882, Sargent eagerly wished to depict this woman whose striking face and body carried a profile, lines, and curves that were ideal for a "statement" painting.[20] He wrote to Castillo in 1882: "I have a great desire to paint her portrait and have reason to think she would allow it and is waiting for someone to propose this homage to her beauty."[21] In a letter of February 10, 1883, he asked his childhood friend Vernon Lee (the pseudonym of Violet Paget [1856–

---

[16] "Parisian Novelties," *Observer* (New Zealand, March 27, 1886).

[17] "An Unrivaled Professional Beauty," *The Morning Call* (San Francisco, July 13, 1891), 2.

[18] "The Reigning Beauty of Paris," *Pittsburg Dispatch* (Pittsburgh, PA, August 2, 1891), 18.

[19] Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent*, 46; Deborah Davis and Elizabeth Oustinoff, "Madame X Speaks," *The Magazine Antiques* 164, no. 5 (2003): 118-19; Contract de Mariage entre M. Pierre-Louis Gautreau et Mademoiselle Avegno. Paris, M. Deves, notary, 1878. Davis reproduces the bride's signature on the marriage contract. See Deborah Davis, *Strapless: John Singer Sargent and the Fall of Madame X* (New York: Penguin Group, 2003), 42. Although Davis's book is a non-fiction account produced for mass appeal, it is used here as a source, based on Davis's thorough research and reliance on primary sources. She also consulted the curatorial staff of the Metropolitan Museum regarding the painting; Gautreau was given away at the wedding by Judge Charles Parlange, her mother's half-brother. Jordan, "Parlange, Eshleman Family Records Uncover Story of Immortal 'Madame X'," 8; Davis, Kilmurray, and Ormond, *Sargent's Women*, 14.

[20] O'Hare notes that Sargent was drawn to women who defied convention. Mary-Kate O'Hare, "John Singer Sargent and Modern Womanhood," *The Magazine Antiques* 169, no. 3 (March 2006): 78.

[21] Sargent to Ben del Castillo, 1882. Quoted in Charteris, *John Sargent*, 59; Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, 113.

1935]): “Do you object to people who are fardées to the extent of being a uniform lavender or blotting paper colour all over? If so, you would not care for my sitter. But she has the most beautiful lines and if the lavender or chlorate-of-potash-lozenge colour be pretty in itself I shall be more than pleased.”[22] Gautreau agreed to the portrait and sat for Sargent beginning in winter 1882–83 in Paris, and then in summer 1883 at her country home, Les Chênes, at Paramé in Brittany.[23] Sargent executed numerous studies, perhaps as many as thirty, before settling on the final composition, more than he undertook for any other portrait, and he continued to make adjustments to the canvas throughout the painting process.[24]

Notoriously, the finished painting, which hung as “Portrait de Mme ***,” met with mixed, mostly negative, reviews by the press in Europe and the United States. Typical of the responses was that of the American critic located in Europe, W. C. Brownell:

> Mr. Sargent’s portrait, on the other hand, was certainly a mistake . . . From any point of view the individuality of the sitter is quite lost, which is bad portraiture;

---

[22] Sargent to Vernon Lee, February 10, 1883. Ormond family collection. "Fardées" translates to "a made-up woman." Reprinted in Herdrich and Weinberg, *American Drawings and Watercolors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 126; 179; Sidlauskas, “Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent's 'Madame X',” 14; Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, 75-76; 113; Simpson, *Uncanny Spectacle*, 118; for more on Vernon Lee's childhood friendship with Sargent, see Peter Gunn, *Vernon Lee: Violet Paget, 1856-1935* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964); and Charteris, *John Sargent*, 59, 235-55; Richard Ormond, *John Singer Sargent: Paintings, Drawings, Watercolours* (London: Phaidon, 1970), 31.

[23] Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent*, 45; Mahon and Centeno, “A Technical Study of John Singer Sargent's Portrait of Madame Pierre Gautreau,” 121; Weinberg and Herdrich, “John Singer Sargent,” 15; Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, 113; William Howe Downes, *John S. Sargent: His Life and Work* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1925), 134; Elaine Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 101.

[24] Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent*, 45-46; Herdrich and Weinberg, *American Drawings and Watercolors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 126; 179; Simpson, *Uncanny Spectacle*, 119; Davis, Kilmurray, and Ormond, *Sargent's Women*, 16.

> the general aspect is displeasing, which is bad art; and the face is essentially and visibly unreal, which is bad naturalism.[25]

The *New York Times* panned Sargent's effort in an article on May 18, 1884:

> Sargent is below his usual standard this year. His portrait of the so-called beautiful Mme Gauthraut [*sic*]—a more than average specimen, by the way, of the artificial make-up of the day—is a caricature. The pose of the figure is absurd, and the bluish coloring atrocious. The features are so exaggerated that the natural delicacy of outline is entirely lost.[26]

The next month it reprinted the review by the Parisian newspaper *Le Figaro*:

> Mr. Sargent, an American painter of infinite talents, has made an entire mistake this time. The portrait of the lady whom people call the beautiful Mme. Gautherot [*sic*] is an absolute failure. In drawing it recalls very imperfectly the fine profile of the lovely society woman. As regards the peculiar coloring of Mme. Gautherot's complexion, I am quite aware of the difficulty which it presents to the artist, but he might at least have made up for that by grace in the composition.[27]

Further, London's *Art Journal* declared the "unpleasantness" of the painting and hinted at Sargent's awareness of the provocative qualities of the work, referring to "an almost willful perversion of the artists' [*sic*] knowledge of flesh-painting" and "the artist's experiment or willful indifference" with the color of his subject's skin, which "has far too much blue in it."[28] Claude Phillips in the *Academy* also commented on Sargent's effort to create a scandalous work:

> The painter has deliberately rendered, with extraordinary skill and almost cynical audacity, the effect of enamelled flesh and of hair which owes its gold to art. The intention, no doubt, was to produce a work of absolutely novel effect—one

---

[25] W. C. Brownell, "The American Salon," *Magazine of Art (London)* 7 (1884): 493-94; Edward Villiers called the painting "a mistake on the part of the artist, but nevertheless one of the most hotly discussed pictures in the Salon." Edward Villiers, "The Paris Salon," *The Art Amateur* 11, no. 2 (July 1884): 35.

[26] "New Pictures in Paris," *New York Times*, May 18, 1884, 4.

[27] "Art Notes," *New York Times*, June 1, 1884.

[28] William Sharp, "The Paris Salon," *Art Journal (London)* (1884): 179-80; see also William A. Coffin, "Sargent and His Painting," *Century Illustrated Magazine*, June 1896, 163.

> calculated to excite, by its *chic* and daring, the admiration of the *ateliers* and the astonishment of the public; and in this the painter has probably succeeded beyond his desire.[29]

Importantly, however, there were also positive assessments of the work, such as that in *American Architect and Building News*:

> Of Mr. Sargent's portrait of Mme . . ., one can say nothing but praise . . . vigorous, well-drawn, and full of life. Mr. Sargent is in a fair way to eclipse his master, M. Carolus-Duran, if the world does not spoil him and make him careless.[30]

The architectural periodical was published in Boston, where Sargent had numerous contacts even before his first visit in 1887. For example, his canvas *El Jaleo* (1882), which he had painted in Paris, was purchased by T. Jefferson Coolidge of 93 Beacon Street, an early acquisition by an American collector.[31] Such well-connected acquaintances like Coolidge and the painter Edward Boit, a Bostonian living in Paris and a longtime friend of Sargent's, may have been responsible for the favorable review in the journal.[32]

---

[29] Claude Phillips, "The Salon II," *Academy* 25, no. 632 (June 14, 1884): 427. Italics are original. .

[30] Penguin [pseud.], "The Paris Salon," *The American Architect and Building News* 15, no. 443 (June 21, 1884): 296; similar comments are in Penguin [pseud.], "The Paris Salon," *The Artist* 5, no. 54 (June 1, 1884): 188.

[31] McKibbin, *Sargent's Boston*, 33-34.

[32] See Sargent's *The Daughters of Edward Darley Boit*, 1882. Oil on canvas, 87 3/8 x 87 5/8 in. (221.93 x 222.57 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 19.124.

An example of a mixed review is provided by the London *Times*:

> Mr. Sargent, though those who know Madame Gauthereau [*sic*] declare that he has not done justice to her beauty, has at least produced a most interesting work of art.[33]

Other contemporary critics and viewers were specifically offended by the indecorous draping dress strap and heavy makeup—the unapologetic, public sexuality depicted in the painting.[34] Theodore Child predicted public response in his article for the *Art Amateur* in June 1884 after the preliminary viewing of works in the Salon: "John S. Sargent's 'Mme. Gouthereau [*sic*],' a beautiful Parisienne in powder, whose attire is somewhat startlingly décolletée."[35] It was declared vulgar, boring, and monstrous, and people observed that the dress appeared to be falling off.[36] Albert Wolff of *Le Figaro* wrote, "One more struggle and the lady will be free."[37] Other pictures of women at the Salon included nude mythological figures, but only Sargent's showed a contemporary woman with plunging décolletage and bare arms.[38] The slouching strap on the figure's right shoulder was so troubling that it spurred derisive newspaper and magazine caricatures. One of the most visually scathing is that in *La Vie Parisienne* of May 17, 1884, which shows an

---

[33] "Impressions of the Salon," *The Times (London)*, June 3, 1884, 8.

[34] Trevor J. Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist* (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 75; Herdrich and Weinberg, *American Drawings and Watercolors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 127; Mahon and Centeno, "A Technical Study of John Singer Sargent's Portrait of Madame Pierre Gautreau," 121.

[35] Theodore Child, "The Paris Salon. Preliminary Notice," *The Art Amateur* 11, no. 1 (June 1884): 5-6.

[36] "Détestable! ennuyeux! curieux! monstrueux!" Louis de Fourcaud, "Le Salon de 1884," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 29 (June 1884): 483.

[37] Mentioned in Charteris, *John Sargent*, 62; there is no year given for the original quotation.

[38] Davis and Oustinoff, "Madame X Speaks," 123; Herdrich and Weinberg, *American Drawings and Watercolors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 127; Simpson, *Uncanny Spectacle*, 120.

excessively asymmetrical décolletage, a fallen dress strap (here on the middle of her left arm), and an elongated neck supporting an haughty profile. Dark hair is sketched into a messy top knot (fig. 93).[39] The cartoon by Draner for *Le Charivari* of May 1, 1884, exaggerates the profile even further, topped by a meager arrangement of dark, messy curls (fig. 94).[40] The caricaturist L. P. G. B. Morel-Retz, who went by the pseudonym "Stop," created a similar image for *Le Journal Amusant* (fig. 95).[41] Furthermore, Pierre Veron of *Le Journal Amusant* mused upon the painting as worthy of receiving a *médaille d'erreur* (medal of error), declaring that "if Mlle. Gauthereau [*sic*] brought a lawsuit for defamation against Mr. Sargent she would get the maximum sentence."[42]

The strongest critic of all was Gautreau's mother who greatly disliked the painting, demanding that Sargent remove it from the Salon.[43] He refused to do so, believing that he had painted her just as she was in life, but he eventually acquiesced and repainted the strap in a more decorous, upright position.[44] The subject herself initially favored the

---

[39] "Caricature of Mme X," *La Vie Parisienne*, May 17, 1884.

[40] Draner, "Le Salon pour rire," *Le Charivari* (May 1, 1884): 3.

[41] Stop [pseud. for L. P. G. B. Morel-Retz], "Le Salon de 1884," *Le Journal Amusant* (May 17, 1884): 7.

[42] The full quotation is "S'il y avait une médaille d'erreur, elle reviendrait sans conteste à Sargent, le malheureux portraitiste de la plus malheureuse Mlle. Gauthereau. Avoir un tel modèle qui jouit d'une réputation universelle de beauté, et en faire cette inconsciente caricatore! C'est commettre un double crime de lèse-peinture et de lèse-galanterie. Le satin noir de la robe semble avoir déteint sur les chairs marbrées de plaques choléri formes. Les formes sont grèles, le profil calomnié, la . . . Je crois que si Mlle. Gauthereau faisait un procès en diffamation, elle obtiendrait contre M. Sargent le maximum de la peine." There is no illustration. Pierre Veron, "Chronique Parisienne. Le Salon de 1884," *Le Journal Amusant* (May 10, 1884): 2.

[43] Ralph Curtis to parents, 1884. Sargent Papers, Boston Athenaeum, box 1, folder 12. Reprinted in Charteris, *John Sargent*, 61-62; Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, 113-14.

[44] Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent*, 46; Davis and Oustinoff, "Madame X Speaks," 123; Mahon and Centeno, "A Technical Study of John Singer Sargent's Portrait of Madame Pierre Gautreau," 121; Sidlauskas, "Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent's 'Madame X'," 25; for a photograph in the Metropolitan Museum of the painting before the shoulder strap was repainted, see Weinberg and Herdrich, "John Singer Sargent," 17-18; Llorens Serra, *Sargent, Sorolla*, 97; Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, 113;

painting, saying, “Mr. Sargent has made a masterpiece of the portrait,” but subsequently changed her mind after hearing the reaction of her mother and the press.[45] Owing to the scandal of the painting, Sargent left Paris for London in spring 1886, and held the painting until Gautreau died in 1915.[46] In 1916 he sold it to the Metropolitan Museum having declared to director Edward Robinson: “I suppose it is the best thing I have done. I would let the Metropolitan Museum have if for £1,000 . . . Let me know your opinion . . . If Madame Gautreau should not stay in America I think she had better come back here with the rest of my things.”[47]

The Metropolitan Museum has in its collection three studies for *Madame X*.[48] One, in graphite on off-white paper, shows Gautreau seated on a sofa, wearing the black dress of the final portrait and sitting in a twisted position to her left with her head turned to her right in profile (fig. 96).[49] In this black-and-white sketch, the color of the hair is not

---

Trevor Fairbrother, “The Shock of John Singer Sargent's Madame Gautreau,” *Arts Magazine* 55 (January 1981): 91.

[45] Weinberg and Herdrich, “John Singer Sargent,” 15; Llorens Serra, *Sargent, Sorolla*, 97; “Mr. Sargent a fait un chef d’oeuvre du portrait, je tiens à vous l’écrire car je suis sûre qu’il ne vous le dira pas.” Gautreau to Madame Allouard-Jouan, 1884. Adelson Galleries, Inc. Reprinted in Davis, Kilmurray, and Ormond, *Sargent's Women*, 18.

[46] Herdrich and Weinberg, *American Drawings and Watercolors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 128; Weinberg and Herdrich, “John Singer Sargent,” 18; see the chronology in Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, xv.

[47] Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist*, 81; Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, 114; Fairbrother, “The Shock of John Singer Sargent's Madame Gautreau,” 90; Simpson, *Uncanny Spectacle*, 121; a complete reprint of the letter is in Charteris, *John Sargent*, 65; see also “Sargent Masterpiece Rejected by Subject Now Acquired by Museum,” *The Herald*, May 12, 1916.

[48] The studies are *Madame X (Madame Pierre Gautreau)*, 1970.47; *Madame X (Madame Pierre Gautreau)*, 1883-84, graphite on off-white wove paper, 31.43.2; and *Madame X (Madame Pierre Gautreau)*, 1883-84, graphite on off-white wove paper, 31.43.3. See Herdrich and Weinberg, *American Drawings and Watercolors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 179-81; for more on Sargent's figural drawings, see Dorothy Moss, “John Singer Sargent, 'Madame X' and 'Baby Millbank',” *The Burlington Magazine* 143, no. 1178 (May 2001): 268-275; see also Sidlauskas, “Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent's 'Madame X'”; Doreen Bolger, *American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Museum in association with Princeton University Press, 1980), 229.

apparent, but the style is established as a loose chignon swept upward and close to the back of the head, complementing the downward slope of the exaggeratedly pointed nose. A hairband is in place at the center of the scalp, but the crescent-shaped decoration is absent. A second sheet, also in graphite, depicts Gautreau in backward profile looking downward to her left (fig. 97).[50] In this loose sketch the upswept hairstyle is in place, but there is no indication of a headband or other ornament. A third graphite drawing portrays a proper profile of the right side of Gautreau's head (fig. 98).[51] Here, the downward sweep of the line from scalp to neck is dramatically defined, but the outline of the hair is merely penciled in; it retains the same upward style, however, as the other sketches and the final painting.

A portion of the remaining sketches are in private collections; the British Museum, London; Musée National de Blérancourt, Château de Blérancourt, France; and the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, which also holds a watercolor (ca. 1883) of Gautreau seated in the black dress (both straps in place), with a book on her lap (fig. 99).[52] The colors of most elements are filled in (the book, or sheaf of papers is blank and unfinished, however)—the black of the dress and blue-green of the sofa fabric are particularly saturated. Her auburn hair, darker in front than in the back where the light hits it, matches the color of the wood supports on the sofa.

---

[49] MMA, 1970.47.

[50] MMA, 31.43.2.

[51] MMA, 31.43.3.

[52] Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent*, 51-52; for a list of the known sketches, see Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, 115; see also 118; for a reproduction of a charcoal on paper study in the British Museum, see Carter Ratcliff, *John Singer Sargent* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982), 82, fig. 112; James Lomax and Richard Ormond, *John Singer Sargent and the Edwardian Age* (Leeds: Leeds Art Galleries, 1979), cat. 14, 33. See also cat. 15, 33, for a preparatory sketch in the collection of the Ormond family.; for a pencil-on-paper sketch in a private collection (ca. 1883, 9 9/16 x 12 13/16 in. [24.3 x 32.5 cm]), see Davis, Kilmurray, and Ormond, *Sargent's Women*, cat. 39, 122-23.

In the preparatory works, Sargent appears to be working out the position and angle by which to most effectively depict his subject, as well as which dress she should wear. For example, in *Study for Madame X* (ca. 1883) in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Jean-Marie Eveillard, Gautreau dons a sleeveless and full, draped dress, seen from behind (fig. 100). Notably, in all the sketches, Gautreau's hairstyle is consistently swept off the face into a high chignon in the back, suggesting that this was the style she wore daily and for sittings. Complementary as it was to the striking angle of her head and face, Sargent does not alter it. As Sidlauskas notes, Gautreau's appearance was her main preoccupation, and she knew how to best present herself, hair and makeup included.[53] Although Sargent played with the positioning of her face and body, he followed her expertise when it came to the hair. A portrait by Gustave Courtois (1891, Musée d'Orsay, Paris) that hung in the 1891 Salon also shows the signature wavy red hairstyle in place, carefully coiffed but again unembellished by jewelry (fig. 101).[54] As recognized at the time of its debut, Courtois's painting captured Gautreau's "aristocratic profile and queenly carriage."[55]

In the final painting, completed after eighteen months of work, Sargent settled on a standing pose with Gautreau looking sharply to her left, her body turned to the right, with her left hand holding a closed black fan and lifting a swath of the dress skirt.[56] The

---

[53] Sidlauskas, "Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent's 'Madame X'," 11.

[54] Reproduced in Moss, "John Singer Sargent, 'Madame X' and 'Baby Millbank'," 270; also in Sidlauskas, "Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent's 'Madame X'," 30; on the Courtois portrait, see Fairbrother, "The Shock of John Singer Sargent's Madame Gautreau," 90-91; Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist*, 216.

[55] Lucy Monroe, "Chicago Letter," *The Critic: a Weekly Review of Literature and the Arts* (June 10, 1893): 390; "An Unrivaled Professional Beauty," 2; "The Reigning Beauty of Paris," 18.

[56] Llorens Serra, *Sargent, Sorolla*, 96. Sargent used the same pose in the unfinished replica now in the Tate Gallery, London (N04102); Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, 115-17; Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist*, 81.

right arm is unnaturally extended behind her, resting on the Louis Seize–style mahogany table.[57] As Sidlauskas points out, this is a contorted posture with strained movements.[58] The black outfit, chosen by Sargent from Gautreau's closet, is comprised of two pieces—a bustier and skirt.[59] Sleek and form-fitting, the dress was risqué in the early 1880s, a period in which larger, more fabric-heavy styles were in fashion.[60] Notably, it was designed by Félix Poussineau, a couturier who began his career as a hairdresser to Empress Eugénie.[61] Poussineau, known simply as "Félix," kept a shop on the Rue de Faubourg Saint-Honoré, and interestingly, in the early 1890s was active in rights for mothers, including "motherhood insurance," which promoted the health of pregnant women with the aim of lowering infant mortality and granting women maternity leave from work.[62] Poussineau's involvement, along with other clothiers, with such an issue attests to the closeness with which male hairdressers and couturier's worked with women and their bodies. Poussineau and his associates may have helped create Gautreau's signature hairstyle of a Grecian knot, which was consistently referred to in the context of her "classical beauty." Trevor J. Fairbrother proposes that two ancient sculptures at the

---

[57] Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, 114.

[58] Sidlauskas, "Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent's 'Madame X'," 9-10; Davis, Kilmurray, and Ormond, *Sargent's Women*, 17.

[59] Sargent enjoyed choosing the outfits that his sitters would wear in their portraits. See Davis and Oustinoff, "Madame X Speaks," 121; Davis, Kilmurray, and Ormond, *Sargent's Women*, 15.

[60] Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent*, 48.

[61] Davis and Oustinoff, "Madame X Speaks," 121, 125; Gioia Diliberto, "Art/Architecture; Sargent's Muses: Was Madame X Actually a Mister?," *The New York Times*, May 18, 2003, sec. Arts, (accessed October 7, 2010).

[62] Albert Hassell, *Transactions of the Fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography, Washington, September 23-28, 1912* (Washington DC: Government printing office, 1913), 72; Rachel Ginnis Fuchs, *Poor and Pregnant in Paris: Strategies for Survival in the Nineteenth Century* (Rutgers University Press, 1992), 148.

Louvre may have inspired her coiffure, the *Diane Chasseresse* and *Diane de Gabies*.[63] An article in *The New York Herald* of March 30, 1880, refers to Poussineau's responsibility for dressing Gautreau, and his assistant Émile's role as coiffeur:

> Mme. Gautherot [*sic*] may be so much as four and twenty. Her head is classical, and she wears her naturally wavy hair in Grecian bandeaux . . . At first sight one is literally stunned by her beauty, which her dress sets off. In shape and color the *ensemble* and the details are perfect. Mme. Gautherot is a statue of Canova transmitted into flesh and blood and bone and muscle, dressed by Félix, and *coiffed* by his assistant Émile . . . Mdme Gautherot was dressed last night in a yellow silk dress, part of which was covered with a network of yellow beads and small white bugles. She also wore a necklace of diamonds, set in the classical style, a brooch, bracelets, and Greek bandalettes in her hair, sparkling with brilliants. A small Diana crescent was attached to her foremost bandalette. A murmur of admiration greeted her wherever she went.[64]

The account effectively captures the fascination with Gautreau's beauty from head to toe. Against the dark velvet of Poussineau's dress, the paleness of the almost translucent skin is heightened to the point of unnaturalness. And, against the skin, the reddened right ear has the effect of ornament, which in general is minimal in the painting—restricted to only the fan, jeweled dress straps, and crescent tiara.

Gautreau had red hair, a trait that Sargent captures so well in the final painting and related works such as the sketch in the Fogg Museum and the oil on panel painting *Madame Gautreau Drinking a Toast* (ca. 1883) in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston (fig. 102).[65] The significance of the red hair and the crescent tiara worn in the

---

[63] Theodore E. Stebbins et al., *A New World: Masterpieces of American Painting 1760-1910* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1983), 300-301.

[64] "La Belle Americaine," *The New York Herald*, March 30, 1880; see also "The Reigning Beauty of Paris," *Nelson Evening Mail* (New Zealand, July 19, 1880).

[65] Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist*, 76; Leigh Culver, "Performing Identities in the Art of John Singer Sargent" (PhD diss., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1999), 4; Davis and Oustinoff, "Madame X Speaks," 124; Sidlauskas, "Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent's 'Madame X'," 10; 18; Llorens

final painting is manifold and would have been instantly identified by viewers in the period. First, and most superficially, the redness of the hair contrasted effectively with the lavender hue of Gautreau's pale skin, an aspect of her look that she acquired by applying rice powder, not swallowing arsenic, as has been erroneously stated.[66] Sargent reportedly was enamored by the color of her skin, which he said seemed to change its shade each day.[67] Second, and perhaps most significantly, red hair, and especially dyeing the hair that color had associations with passion and moral looseness. As discussed in the second chapter of this dissertation, red was historically the most maligned of hair colors and carried negative connotations, being linked with the lower classes as well as with evil.[68] It was also connected to the Jewish mythological figure Lilith, a long-haired harlot and vampire who was associated with sexual desire.[69] A London advertisement from 1802 offers a sense of the derision toward red hair: "To those who are ashamed of red hair,

---

Serra, *Sargent, Sorolla*, 19; 24-25; 97; Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, 117; Hills, *John Singer Sargent*, 88; Davis, Kilmurray, and Ormond, *Sargent's Women*, 116-17.

[66] Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent*, 216n16; Herdrich and Weinberg, *American Drawings and Watercolors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 179; Moss, "John Singer Sargent, 'Madame X' and 'Baby Millbank'," 270; Davis and Oustinoff reproduce a page from a ledger showing Gautreau's purchase of rice powder. See Davis and Oustinoff, "Madame X Speaks," 118; 120; Weinberg and Herdrich refer to lavender powder. Weinberg and Herdrich, "John Singer Sargent," 15; see also Deborah Davis, *Strapless: John Singer Sargent and the Fall of Madame X* (New York: Penguin Group, 2003), 56.

[67] Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist*, 76; Herdrich and Weinberg, *American Drawings and Watercolors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 126; Moss, "John Singer Sargent, 'Madame X' and 'Baby Millbank'," 270; Sidlauskas, "Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent's 'Madame X'," 14; 17; Fairbrother, "The Shock of John Singer Sargent's Madame Gautreau," 90; Davis, *Strapless*, 138-39; Davis, Kilmurray, and Ormond, *Sargent's Women*, 17.

[68] Recall that Jolly states that red hair occurs in only 2-5 percent of humans. Penny Howell Jolly, *Hair: Untangling a Social History* (Saratoga Springs, NY: Frances Young Tang Teaching Museum and Art Gallery at Skidmore College, 2004), 8, 56, 60; Carol de Dobay Rifelj, *Coiffures: Hair in Nineteenth-Century French Literature and Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2010), 122; Christian Bromberger, "Hair: From the West to the Middle East through the Mediterranean," *Journal of American Folklore* 121 (Fall 2008): n.p.; Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes* (New York: Random House, 1981), 241.

[69] Marion Roach, *The Roots of Desire: The Myth, Meaning, and Sexual Power of Red Hair* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2005), 22-25, 176.

which the Romans thought a beauty . . . we must recommend the following suggestions by the ingenious Mr. Overton." It proceeds to promise that Overton will change "specimens of red or grey hair" to "various beautiful and natural shades of flaxen, brown or black."[70] Rifelj writes that nineteenth-century French novelists often employed the association between red hair, evil, ugliness, and prostitution in their stories.[71] A sense of the disdain for redheads, particularly in Sargent's work, is provided in the *Art Amateur*'s review of *Mme Edouard Pailleron* (1879, The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.): "Sargent's 'Portrait of Mme. P.' is of the French, Frenchy. One regrets that so much cleverness could give no lovelier picture to the exhibition than that of a modishly dressed and furiously red-headed woman, who looks as if her hair had not been touched for a week."[72]

Accounts in English regarding Gautreau's hair color range from various shades of red and red-brown. The artist Marie Bashkirtseff, who viewed the painting at the Salon, noted that the sitter colored her hair a rich mahogany: "Further, she paints her ears rose and her hair mahogany. The eyebrows are traced in dark mahogany color, two thick lines."[73] In 1890 the *New York Herald* referred to "Her curious red hair."[74] The author of an article in *Art Amateur* in January 1894, however, referred to the auburn color: "The complexion of the lady is of the brilliantly fresh and transparent sort that often

---

[70] Transcribed in Elisabeth McClellan, *History of American Costume, 1607-1870* (New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1969), 294.

[71] Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 131-35.

[72] Margaret Bertha Wright, "American Pictures at Paris and London," *Art Amateur* 3, no. 2 (July 1880): 26.

[73] Marie Bashkirtseff, *The Last Confessions of Marie Bashkirtseff and Her Correspondence with Guy De Maupassant* (New York, Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1901), 87.

[74] "The Paris Salon and the American Exhibits," *New York Herald*, May 1, 1890, 7.

accompanies hair of the true auburn shade."[75] The writer of "Notes of the Week" in *The New York Times* in 1897 referred to her "wealth of reddish hair."[76] The French social historian Gabriel Louis Pringué described it as "roux," which is best translated as "red" with regard to hair:

> Red hair with gold reflections, thrown back and tied in a Grecian knot, freeing a proud forehead, and admirable face of absolute regularity of feature, without the slightest defect, with the transparency of alabaster.[77]

Modern art historians refer to Gautreau's practice of using henna to dye her hair, however, it has been proposed that the hue began to fade about the age of forty, well after the *Madame X* painting was executed, and that she began to use a henna rinse at that point to approximate the original "copper color."[78] It is sufficient to observe that Gautreau's hair appeared red in life, as it does in *Madame X*, *Madame Gautreau Drinking a Toast*, the 1891 portrait by Courtois, and the 1897 painting by Antonio de la Gandara (1862–1917), in a private collection, which shows her signature style defined with pronounced waves (fig. 103).[79] Furthermore, her coiffure was consistently remarked upon as a central component of her appearance, as commented by Theodore Child in 1886:

> Madame Gauthereau [*sic*] is that South American beauty whose portrait by Mr. John Sargent attracted so much attention and ridicule at the Salon two years ago;

---

[75] "Two Portraits of a Lady," *The Art Amateur* (January 1894): 44-45.

[76] "Notes of the Week," *New York Times*, December 11, 1897.

[77] "Des cheveux roux à reflets d'or, rejetés en arrière, attachés par un chignon à la grecque, dégageant un front altier, un admirable visage d'une régularité absolue, sans le plus petit défaut, aux transparences d'albâtre." Pringué, *30 Ans de Dîners en Ville*, 212.

[78] Davis, *Strapless*, 209. Davis does not cite a source, however.

[79] See Davis, Kilmurray, and Ormond, *Sargent's Women*, 21.

she has carried to unparalleled perfection the art of maquillage, enamelling, and of eccentricity in costume and coiffure.[80]

Regardless of how the hue was obtained, Sargent and his audience would have been aware of the connotations of Gautreau's red hair, rouged ears, and penciled eyebrows, which were not attributes of upper-class women, and indeed were associated with women of ill repute. As mentioned, Gautreau was referred to as a "professional beauty," a designation that she embraced, but one that was inherently negative, suggesting that she concentrated too much on her looks.[81] In addition, although in the painting she wears a gold wedding band on her left ring finger, it is believed that she kept her cousin Dr. Samuel Jean Pozzi (1846–1918) as a lover.[82] Finally, the crescent-moon ornament worn at the top middle of the scalp, which belonged to Gautreau and was not a studio prop, was associated with Diana, goddess of the moon and hunt, linking her even more so to the concept of the dangerous woman.[83]

All these factors—the dyed red hair, crescent ornament, and profuse use of makeup on the face, ears, and body—associated Gautreau as a woman who was aware of her appearance, achieved by a certain amount of artifice, and firmly controlled her

---

[80] Theodore Child, "Society in Paris," *Littell's Living Age*, May 8, 1886.

[81] Davis, *Strapless*, 58.

[81] Sidlauskas, "Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent's 'Madame X'," 27; Davis, *Strapless*, 105-9.

[82] Sidlauskas, "Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent's 'Madame X'," 27; Davis, *Strapless*, 105-9; Pozzi acquired *Madame Gautreau Drinking a Toast* (ca. 1883, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston) at an uncertain date before it was accessioned by the Gardner Museum. Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, 100. See Sargent's portrait *Dr. Pozzi at Home*, 1881. Oil on canvas, 80 1/2 x 43 7/8 in. (204.5 x 111.4 cm). The Armand Hammer Collection, Los Angeles; for more on Pozzi, see Albert Boime, "Sargent in Paris and London: A Portrait of the Artist as Dorian Gray," in *John Singer Sargent*, ed. Patricia Hills (New York: Abrams, 1986), 85-86.

[83] Kilmurray explains that Gautreau owned the crescent ornament. Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, 101.

beauty.[84] The impact of *Madame X* was so great that it was regarded as a radical painting even in a culture that nearly twenty years earlier had been introduced to the redheaded naked courtesan in Edouard Manet's *Olympia* (1863, Musée d'Orsay) at the Salon of 1865.[85] The following discussion will argue that the red hair was one of the factors that contributed to the air of sexuality that proved so unacceptable to the painting's audience.

Sargent's admiration for Manet (1832–1883) and the affinity between *Madame X* (painted in the year of the older master's death), and *Olympia* is a rich area of investigation. Sargent had been first introduced to Manet's work as a student in Carolus-Duran's studio.[86] In winter 1884, Sargent took advantage of two opportunities to indulge in Manet's art in Paris. The first was an exhibition at the École Nationale des Beaux-Arts from January 6 to January 28, at which Sargent viewed *Olympia*.[87] He wrote to his friend Miss Popert on January 18, 1884, from 41, Boulevard Berthier, Paris: "The most interesting thing in Paris now is Manet's exhibition. It is altogether delightful."[88] Sargent was certainly influenced by the exhibition. As W. C. Brownell commented in his review of the 1884 Salon, "The Manet exhibition of last winter gave a renewed impulse to the

---

[84] Sidlauskas, "Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent's 'Madame X'," 18.

[85] Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist*, 75; Herdrich and Weinberg, *American Drawings and Watercolors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 128; Llorens Serra, *Sargent, Sorolla*, 22; Davis, Kilmurray, and Ormond, *Sargent's Women*, 15.

[86] Charteris, *John Sargent*, 251.

[87] Boime, "Sargent in Paris and London: A Portrait of the Artist as Dorian Gray," 91; Elaine Kilmurray, "Sargent, Monet...and Manet," in *Sargent and Impressionism* (New York: Adelson Galleries, 2010), 7; for a review of the Manet exhibition, see "Impressionisme," *Saturday Review* 52 (January 26, 1884): 111-12; see also Theodore Child, "Gallery and Studio: The King of the 'Impressionists'," *The Art Amateur* 14, no. 5 (April 1886): 101.

[88] Sargent to Charlotte Ida Popert, January 18, 1884. Boston Athenaeum, Sargent Papers, box 1, folder 18. Reprinted in Charles Merrill Mount, *John Singer Sargent, a Biography* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1955), 84.

realistic cult, and may have influenced even a pupil of Carolus Duran."[89] The author of an article in *L'Art Moderne* believed that Sargent had repainted *Madame X* after viewing the Manet exhibition:

> The portrait of Madame G***, which we were told about in Paris, was three-quarters done when the Manet exhibition opened. The latter had such an influence on Mr. Sargent that he entirely repainted the canvas on completely different principles. This explains the artist's sudden about-turn to clear tones applied fluidly across the texture of the canvas, built up in broad passages, when he had previously looked for his effects in the contrasts of light and shade and the oppositions of value.[90]

The second opportunity was the posthumous sale of Manet's works at Hôtel Drouot on February 4–5, 1884.[91] Sargent purchased an oil study for *The Balcony (Portrait of Fanny Claus)* for 580 francs and a watercolor of irises (both in private collections).[92] In 1885 he was a guest at a banquet honoring Manet in Paris, and he visited Manet's widow at her home in Gennevilliers where he viewed *Olympia*.[93] Although he was only thirteen years old at the time of the scandal that Manet's *Olympia* made at the 1865 Salon, ensconced as he was in the Parisian art circles, Sargent

---

[89] Brownell, "The American Salon," 494.

[90] "Le portrait de Mme G***, nous racontait-on à Paris, était aux trois quarts achevé quand s'ouvrit l'expositoin Manet. Celle-ci eut sur M. Sargent une influence telle qu'il repeignit presque entièrement sa toile, dans des données différentes. C'est ce qui expliquerait le revirement subit de l'artiste vers les tons clairs, étendue d'une coulée sur le grain du châssis, par larges plans superposés, lui qui, autrefois, cherchait dans les contrastes du jour et de l'ombre, dans les oppositions de valeur, ses effets." "Le Salon de Paris: Quatrième article," *L'Art moderne (Brussels)* (June 15, 1884): 194-95.

[91] Boime, "Sargent in Paris and London: A Portrait of the Artist as Dorian Gray," 91; Françoise Cachin and Charles S. Moffett, *Manet, 1832-1883* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), 537.

[92] Tinterow and Lacambre, *Manet/Velázquez*, 400; Marc Simpson, "Sargent and His Critics," in *Uncanny Spectacle: The Public Career of the Young John Singer Sargent* (New Haven: Yale University Press; Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1997), 49.

[93] Kilmurray, "Sargent, Monet...and Manet," 8; Richard Ormond and Elaine Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent: Complete Paintings* (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2010), 16.

undoubtedly would have known about it.[94] Moreover, in 1889, Sargent played a role in ensuring that *Olympia* remained in Paris and was not sold to an American buyer.[95] He informed his friend Claude Monet that Manet's wife, Suzanne, was considering the sale, and the two artists spawned a movement to raise funds. Sargent asked other companions to contribute to the cause, which they hoped would result in the acquisition of *Olympia* by the Louvre. The campaign, aided by Sargent's and Monet's own money, raised 19,415 francs for the purchase of the painting.[96]

Manet's audacious canvas portrayed a naked courtesan reclining on a chaise lounge, one clawlike hand resting over her pubis, a black maid attending her and holding a bouquet of flowers, and a black cat at her feet. The subject's identity as a courtesan was readily evident to viewers at the Salon—tip-offs were her let-down red hair adorned by an exotic red flower, a ribbon tied around her neck, her naked pale body, bedroom slippers, and most shockingly, her direct stare outward at the viewer. Jules Claretie wrote in *L'Artiste*, "What Olympia? A courtesan no doubt."[97] He reflects the immediate

---

[94] Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent*, 75; other authors have drawn a connection between Manet's *Olympia* and Sargent's *Madame X*. See Davis, Kilmurray, and Ormond, *Sargent's Women*, 11-24; Charteris, *John Sargent*, 60; Elizabeth Prettejohn, *Interpreting Sargent* (London: Tate Gallery, 1998), 15.

[95] Otto Friedrich, *Olympia: Paris in the Age of Manet* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), 304-5; Kilmurray, "Sargent, Monet...and Manet," 8; Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, 57.

[96] Mount, *John Singer Sargent, a Biography*, 152-53; Mary Cassatt did not help the campaign. She wrote to Camille Pissarro: "As to the Manet subscription I declined to contribute." Mary Cassatt to Camille Pissarro, November 27, 1889. Galerie Schmit, Paris. Reprinted in Nancy Mowll Mathews, *Cassatt and Her Circle: Selected Letters* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), 213; Degas contributed 100 francs. See Edgar Degas to Claude Monet, 1889-90. Reprinted in Edgar Degas, *Letters*, ed. Marcel Guérin (Oxford: B. Cassirer, 1948), 141; for a list of other donors, see "Grave and Gay Paris Talk," *New York Times*, April 1, 1890, 7; Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, xvii; for an account of the campaign, see Letter 1047 Daniel Wildenstein, *Claude Monet: Biographie et Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. 3 (Lausanne: La Bibliothèque des arts, 1979), 255; Theodore Child recognized Manet's influence on Sargent. See Theodore Child, *Art and Criticism: Monographs and Studies* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1892), 106.

[97] Theodore Reff identifies the flower as an orchid, whereas Phylis Floyd believes it to be an amorous camellia. Theodore Reff, *Manet, Olympia* (London: Allen Lane, 1976), 108; Phylis A. Floyd, "The Puzzle of 'Olympia'," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2004), http://19thc-

understanding that the sitter was depicted as a naked modern woman, not a classical or mythological nude, nor even as a courtesan presented as a classical figure, as in Titian's *Venus of Urbino* (1538, Uffizi, Florence), on which *Olympia* was based.[98] Both *L'Illustration* and *Le Charivari* published acerbic caricatures of *Olympia*, making a buffoonery of the sitter, overweight in one and in the other as skinny as the frightened cat on the edge of the sofa.[99] Manet wrote to Charles Baudelaire: "Abuses rain upon me like hail. I have never before been in such a fix."[100] Critics derided the subject—*La Presse* described it as "spicy"; *Le Constitutionnel* as a "vulgarity"; and *Le Figaro* as "wretched." In 1878 the American periodical *Appleton's Journal* recalled the painting as "representing a nude female figure caressing a hideous cat; a negress is introduced for more contrast. The principal figure is a portrait of a dramatic celebrity."[101] As Sargent would years later, Manet left Paris after the painting's poor reception, visiting Spain in August 1865 and then joining his family on vacation at the Château de Vassé, in the Sarthe on September 13.[102]

---

artworldwide.org/index.php/spring04/285-the-puzzle-of-olympia; see also Cachin and Moffett, *Manet, 1832-1883*, 174-90; the Claretie quotation, ""Olympia? Olympia? Quell eOlympia? Une courtisane sans doute," is in T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (New York: Knopf, 1985), 86, 285n28.

[98] Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life*, 93.

[99] *L'Illustration*, June 3, 1865 and Cham, *Manet, La Naissance du petit ébéniste*, wood engraving in *Le Charivari*, May 14, 1865, reproduced in Wayne V. Andersen, *Manet: The Picnic & the Prostitute* (Boston: Èditions Fabriart, 2005), 148-49; see also Reff, *Manet, Olympia*, 15; Bernheimer, *Figures of Ill Repute*, 121, fig. 14; Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life*, 92, fig. 30; 145, fig. 52; see also 97, fig. 33.

[100] Manet to Charles Baudelaire, May 4, 1865. In Charles Baudelaire, *Lettres à Charles Baudelaire*, ed. Claude Pichois (Neuchâtel: Éditions de la Baconnière, 1973), 233-34.

[101] "French Writers and Artists," *Appleton's Journal: a Monthly Miscellany of Popular Literature* 5, no. 13 (September 1878): 277.

[102] Cachin and Moffett, *Manet, 1832-1883*, 509.

The sitter, Victorine Meurend, was a favorite of Manet's, whom he also used in the equally controversial *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (1863).[103] In *Olympia* he presented her as a high-end courtesan, or mistress, a type of woman with a distinct place in mid-century Paris. Courtesans belonged to the *demimonde*, in between respectable society and prostitution, and were recognizable for their use of cosmetics and often, for red hair.[104] One such woman, exactly contemporary with Manet's *Olympia*, was Cora Pearl (born Emma Elizabeth Crouch, 1835–1886), famous in part for frequently changing her hair color and for spurring a taste for a red hue among her cohorts, achieved by combining ammonia and ground-up bricks.[105] Led by T. J. Clark, *Olympia*'s identification as a courtesan has been duly recognized in the scholarly literature. Clark notes that the name "Olympia" was a common one for upper-level courtesans, and provides a reading of the figure's hair, focusing on the significance of its looseness as well as the formal attributes of its color in the composition.[106] Noting that the abundance of hair on the head substitutes for the hairlessness of her body, he remarks that in nude representations, hair is the "prime signifier of sex." In the painting the red hair complements the color of the Japanese screen behind, and its abundance shapes the sitter's face and adds recognizable sexuality to the body. [107]

---

[103] Reff, *Manet, Olympia*, 77.

[104] For the distinction between the numerous levels of prostitution in nineteenth-century France, see Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 49; see Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life*, 109-11; Hollis Clayson, *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

[105] Rifelj, *Coiffures*, 129-30; see Cora Pearl, *The Memoirs of Cora Pearl: the English Beauty of the French Empire* (George Vickers, 1886); Katie Hickman, *Courtesans: Money, Sex, and Fame in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003); Joanna Richardson, *The Courtesans: the Demi-Monde in 19th Century France* (Phoenix, 2003).

[106] Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life*, 86; 136.

[107] Ibid., 136.

In many ways, *Madame X* is a descendant of Manet's *Olympia*, in subject, technique, and scandal. First, Gautreau's marriage was known to be mostly for show, and as mentioned, she is believed to have had a relationship with Dr. Samuel Jean Pozzi. Carter Ratcliff writes that one of the unspoken aspects of Sargent's defiance in the painting was that he depicted a woman whom the public knew committed adultery.[108] Gautreau was not a courtesan, but as a mistress and professional beauty, she was related to that type. Her mother, Marie Virginie de Ternant, had encouraged the marketing of Gautreau's appearance from the time she emerged into Parisian society as a teenager, and throughout her life she indulged heavily in cosmetics, hairdressing, and clothing to sustain the role, spending the equivalent of hundreds of thousands of dollars.[109] "Professional beauties," an English term that gained use in France, were women whose sole role in society was to attend balls and look good. Boime explains that this category of women came from an elite English designation, but in Gautreau's Paris, would have been associated with the ascendant middle class.[110] Critic Louis de Fourcaud refers to Gautreau as:

> this foreign-born Parisienne, raised from her infancy to be an idol and constantly cited in the popular press as a *beauté reconnue*, or, as the English expression has it, a professional beauty . . . This woman ends by being no longer a woman: she becomes a sort of canon of popular beauty. Her only interest is to show herself off.[111]

---

[108] Ratcliff, *John Singer Sargent*, 85.

[109] Davis, *Strapless*, 35, 51; Boime, "Sargent in Paris and London: A Portrait of the Artist as Dorian Gray," 88.

[110] Boime, "Sargent in Paris and London: A Portrait of the Artist as Dorian Gray," 88-91; see also Prettejohn, *Interpreting Sargent*, 25-26.

[111] "La Parisienne d'origine étrangère, élevée dès son enfance pour être une idole et citée constamment dans les journaux mondains à titre de beauté reconnue ou, selon l'expression anglaise, de professional beauty." Italics are original. de Fourcaud, "Le Salon de 1884," 482-84; translated in Martha Kingsbury, "John Singer Sargent; Aspects of His Work" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1969), 80.

In addition to her actions and the way she enjoyed a life of riches, the color of Gautreau's red hair identified her as an available woman, an association that Sargent exploited in order to capture the essence of his sitter. Boime appears to be the only scholar to date who has recognized Sargent's "fascination for hair, which bordered on the fetishistic."[112] Indeed, the artist exclaimed upon both women's and men's hair color, and made the following remark regarding his portrait subject Edmund William Gosse (1886): "Oh, what lovely lilac hair, no one ever saw such beautiful lilac hair!"[113] Further, before embarking on the painting *Ellen Terry as Lady Macbeth* (1889, The Tate Gallery, London), he wrote to a friend:

> Miss Terry has just come out in Lady Macbeth and looks magnificent in it, but she has not yet made up her mind to let me paint her in one of the dresses until she is quite convinced she is a success. From the pictorial point of view there can be no doubt about it—magenta hair![114]

Montague Marks of *The Art Amateur* noticed the effort Sargent made regarding the hair color in that work:

> Broad plaits of red hair forced to an almost magenta hue to key with the peacock blues and beetles'-wing greens, descend to the knees. As a likeness of Miss Terry, the picture is hardly worthy of consideration; but as a tour de force, a remarkable decoration, it fairly takes away one's breath.[115]

---

[112] Boime, "Sargent in Paris and London: A Portrait of the Artist as Dorian Gray," 100; the account about lilac hair likely derives from the Gosse family to David McKibbin, December 29, 1947. See Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent*, 172.

[113] Boime, "Sargent in Paris and London: A Portrait of the Artist as Dorian Gray," 102.

[114] Mount, *John Singer Sargent, a Biography*, 142; Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist*, 71; Sargent to Isabella Stewart Gardner, January 1, 1889. See Charteris, *John Sargent*, 101.

[115] Montezuma [pseud. for Montague Marks], "My Note Book," *The Art Amateur* (August 1889): 46.

It seems possible, then, that Sargent was deliberately following Manet's lead in emphasizing the red hair of his subject, a hue that he knew was associated with sexually "loose" women. Rather than simply showing the redness of her hair, as did Gustave Courtois (see fig. 101) and Antonio de La Gandara (see fig. 103), Sargent dynamically exploited it in the final painting as well as in the preparatory watercolor (see fig. 99) in order to explicitly present Gautreau as a professional beauty. In contrast to Manet's project, however, Sargent collaborated with his subject to construct her sexualized image. As previously discussed, Sargent had Gautreau sit for him numerous times before the final composition was worked out; he even invaded her closet to select the black velvet two-piece dress. In 1913, Royal Cortissoz compared Sargent's portrait to that by Courtois, observing the following:

> Where Madame Gautreau has received a happier commemoration at Sargent's hands than at those of Courtois, has been in the greater extent to which the American has allowed her to co-operate, as it were, with him. Her style, her atmosphere, the last, most evanescent perfume of her individuality, help enormously to make this portrait appealing not simply as a portrait, but as a painting.[116]

However, as a professional beauty, many aspects of Gautreau's tightly controlled appearance presented themselves directly to Sargent's brush, including the red hair, which along with the pale skin, red ear, close-fitting dress, and slackened strap, contributed to the controversial painting that teased the borders of respectability.

As did Manet in *Olympia*, Sargent used a strikingly flat technique of applying paint to the canvas in *Madame X*. Manet's signature method of minimal tonality and

[116] Royal Cortissoz, *Art and Common Sense* (New York, C. Scribner's Sons, 1913), 231.

simplified forms as applied to *Olympia* was panned by critics.[117] For example, Théophile Gautier commented, "The colour of the flesh is dirty, the modeling non-existent."[118] W. C. Brownell agreed that the "face is a mere section, quite without modelling, and perfectly resembling a painted paper doll's."[119] In works of the late 1870s and 1880s, Sargent evoked Manet's manner by calling attention to the conceits of painting, often using a limited or monochromatic palette, favoring color over line. The *New York Times* applauded the approach in Sargent's portrait of Carolus-Duran of 1879: "How admirably he has placed color by color, and brought harmony out of shades of gray and brown put cleverly side by side!"[120] Regarding *Lady with the Rose (Charlotte Louise Burckhardt)* of 1882, London's *Art Journal* noted that "contrast between the somber blacks and the fresh hue of the lady's complexion gives such a ripe richness to the whole."[121] However, Sargent's *Mrs. Albert Vickers* of 1884 was criticized for its color and line: "His coloration is seldom satisfactory, being, as a rule, either violently keyed as in the picture of 'Harrison' . . . or disagreeably slaty as in that of 'Mrs. Vickers.' Not infrequently his drawing is faulty, and his mannerisms are so pronounced as to be aggressive."[122] The

---

[117] See T. J. Clark's canonical reading of the painting in Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life*, 79-146; see also Bernheimer, *Figures of Ill Repute*, 89-128; Beatrice Farwell, *Manet and the Nude: A Study of Iconography in the Second Empire* (New York: Garland Publishers, 1981), 221-36; for a neutral interpretation of Manet's style at the time of the posthumous exhibition, see Child, "Gallery and Studio: The King of the 'Impressionists'," 101.

[118] "Le ton des chairs est sale, le modelé nul." Théodore Gautier, "Untitled (Theodore Gautier, Le Moniteur Universel, June 24, 1865)," *Le Moniteur Universel* (June 24, 1865); see Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life*, 285n24, 288n65.

[119] Brownell, "The American Salon," 494.

[120] "The American Artists. Close of the Exhibition," *New York Times*, April 16, 1880, 8.

[121] "The Salon. From an Englishman's Point of View," *Art Journal (London)* 44, no. 7 (July 1882): 218.

[122] Montezuma [pseud. for Montague Marks], "My Note-Book," *The Art Amateur* 15, no. 2 (July 1886): 24.

aforementioned *Ellen Terry as Lady Macbeth* was recognized by the *Art Amateur* for its intentional rendering of the actress's makeup as a result of the artist's brush: "But, on the stage, we might take the rice powder and burnt cork for the pallid and haggard face of the murderess, while Mr. Sargent with his usual cynical candor, insists that we shall take them for what they are. We are forced, therefore, to consider the picture as so much still-life; and as such we find it really admirable."[123]

In *Madame X*, Sargent accentuated the distinct passages of color in a manner that emphasized the artificiality of the subject herself. Gautreau's skin forms an expanse of whitish blue from the forehead to neck, continuing down to the chest, arms, and hands. The red hair, ear, and lips contrast starkly with the skin, resulting in an immaterial effect. The red hair elicits an aura around the face—the color is blended at the side of the forehead, becoming darker in the mass of the gathered bun. Visible brushstrokes are evident in the unblended swipe of yellow along the edge of the table; the yellow and gray on the table legs; the dabs of green, gold, and white that make up the jeweled straps of the dress; and the additions of light gray in the black dress that define the drapery folds. Light brown brushstrokes comprise the blank background of the painting, blended in some passages, and left visible in others. Especially bold is the continuous dark brown outline that traces Gautreau's right arm, neck, shoulder, arm, and hand. As a whole, the formal elements—the black dress against white skin topped by red hair—become associated with the act of painting, both on canvas and on Gautreau's self. In a modernist manner, the transparency of representation is eschewed, favoring instead the bold approach that was the hallmark of Manet's style.

[123] "American Painting," *The Art Amateur* 29, no. 6 (November 1893): 134.

Reviewers found the effect at turns problematic and perplexing—the *Saturday Review* remarked: "Mr. Sargent's portrait of a lady is the most disquieting object that eyes ever looked upon. The hideous colour and the fantastic drawing which Mr. Sargent has brought together in this strange work fairly puzzle the will."[124] The correspondent for the August 1884 issue of *Art Amateur* disliked most formal aspects of the work:

> This portrait is simply offensive in its insolent ugliness and defiance of every rule of art. . . . The drawing is bad, the color atrocious, the artistic ideal low, the whole purpose of the picture being, not an artistic sensational "tour de force" still within the limits of true art, as Sargent's Salon pictures have hitherto been, but a willful exaggeration of every one of his vicious eccentricities, simply for the purpose of being talked about and provoking argument.[125]

In January 1894 the *Art Amateur*'s article on Sargent's and Courtois's versions of Madame X discerned a more natural approach in Courtois's painting than in Sargent's, which was viewed as "marred by a willful exaggeration of the accessories of the toilette," but whose "splendid brushwork and [his] subtle sense of color and values, makes Mr. Sargent's fame assured, however little satisfaction his sitters and their friends may get out of his work."[126] Modern scientific analysis confirms contemporary reviews of the stark palette and application that Sargent used, revealing, for example, that the juxtaposing pale flesh and rose tones of the ear were achieved by unmixed genuine rose madder. The background of the painting, which appears wholly brown from a distance was built up with brushstrokes of yellow ochre, white, and black. [127]

---

[124] "The Paris Salon," *Saturday Review* 57, no. 1493 (June 7, 1884): 745.

[125] "Eccentricities of French Art," *The Art Amateur* 11, no. 3 (August 1884): 52.

[126] "Two Portraits of a Lady," 45.

[127] Mahon and Centeno, "A Technical Study of John Singer Sargent's Portrait of Madame Pierre Gautreau," 126.

W. C. Brownell's observation at the time of the Salon captures Sargent's intent: "A successful, or in current phrase a 'professional,' beauty, the lady herself was superficially a work of art, and for the proper, or at least the satisfactory and complimentary, treatment of the artificial surface she exposed, a method quite different from Mr. Sargent's naturalistic method was needed."[128] Brownell further refers to Sargent's "overpowering insistence of the portrait on the artificial peculiarities of the sitter."[129] Henry James also perceived Sargent's equation of the act of painting with the vitality of the sitter: "It is full of audacity and experiment and science of execution; it has singular beauty of line, and certainly in the body and arms we feel the pulse of life as strongly as the brush can give it."[130] Indeed, Sargent's modernist method of applying color in opaque passages with discernable brushstrokes capitalized upon Gautreau's own pretense.

This chapter has presented *Madame X* as a culmination of this dissertation's themes of hair culture and its representation. Unlike the works of artists discussed in previous chapters, Sargent collaborated with his sitter to create a public image that was as provocative as its predecessor, Manet's *Olympia*. It differs from the paintings of Shattuck, Rossiter, and Johnson, which depict family and friends, and were created for private or limited public consumption. The motivation of those artists was to represent hair as a sign of affluence and proper womanhood, whereas Sargent and Gautreau used it to brazenly show a woman so immersed in her own self-representation that she became a

[128] Brownell, "The American Salon," 494.

[129] Ibid.

[130] Henry James, "John S. Sargent," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 75, no. 449 (October 1887): 691; see also Henry James, *Picture and Text* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1893), 110-12.

professional beauty. In addition, the artificiality of Sargent's application diverges from the transparent approach employed by the other artists. Shattuck, Rossiter, and Johnson, for example, used a seamless technique of hiding the brushstroke, which suited the contained hairstyles worn by the women in the paintings who adhered to the Cult of True Womanhood and masked their sexuality. Furthermore, *Madame X* stands apart from the work of Homer, Cassatt, and Degas, which contend with the personal and sensual aspects of hair, ultimately retaining an intimate quality, especially in the small-scale etchings and prints. Finally, the undaunted boldness of *Madame X* differs from the photographs of Alice Austen and her contemporaries, which comprise private musings on femininity through playfulness with hair. The painting is distinctive in the unapologetic way it presents women's artifice as the main subject, equating it with the process of picture-making itself.

Conclusion

> In all ages, and by all nations and races, a fine head of hair has ever been considered one of the most prominent characteristics of beauty. Poets have sung its praises; the artist and the sculptor have vied with each other in representing it in its many forms of beauty; and we see on marble and on canvas, convincing evidences of the wonderful forms of beauty which the human hair may be made to assume, exciting our admiration and gratifying our taste[1]
>
> —Sarah A. Chevalier, M.D., *Treatise on the Hair: Learn to Cultivate and Have Beautiful Hair to the Latest Period of Life*, 1868

This dissertation has sought to bring ample attention and context to representations of hair in the mid- to late nineteenth century in the northeastern United States, with crosscurrents in Europe, and has aimed to present as detailed a picture as possible of hair culture in that period. It draws upon the evidence and experiences of both male and female artists in America and abroad, as well as their familial and professional influences. The project focuses on artists including Aaron Draper Shattuck, Thomas Pritchard Rossiter, Eastman Johnson, Winslow Homer, Alice Austen, Mary Cassatt, and John Singer Sargent. In doing so, it addresses famous as well as lesser known names and anonymous practitioners, often relying on primary writings, reviews, and artifacts that have gone overlooked in other studies. The dissertation merges art historical and material culture approaches in order to provide a well-rounded account—advertising ephemera and product packaging are considered alongside artist's sketchbooks and written recollections. Hair studies contribute immeasurably to conceptions of gender, class, and

[1] Sarah A. Chevalier, *Treatise on the Hair: Learn to Cultivate and Have Beautiful Hair to the Latest Period of Life* (New York: Turner & Mignard, 1868), 1.

consumerism, and this project aims to do its part in resituating the topic in the mainstream of art history.

The study suggests that hair should take its place with readings of other visual culture in paintings, such as clothing, furniture, and interior decoration that broaden our view into the motivations behind cultural changes. By tracing the development of hairstyles from the 1860s through the 90s in works by selected artists in various media, this dissertation seeks to expand our understanding of the history of the period. It shows a variety of salient ways in which hair functioned and how it was represented in the nineteenth century. The trajectory of hair culture and its representation began here with the in-depth study of hair culture in the mid-nineteenth century, covering the industry, products, and associations with hair color. Books, manuals, diaries, tonics, and accessories were all-pervasive, as evidenced by articles in newspapers and ladies' magazines like *Godey's Lady's Book*, advertisements, trade cards, and extant bottles. The historical context of hair allows a more complete understanding of the traditional genre works of Shattuck, Rossiter, and Johnson, which used contained updo's as symbols of housewifely duties and conspicuous consumption within the context of the Victorian Cult of True Womanhood that surrounded middle-class culture in the 1860s and 70s. Painting their wives and daughters, these artists took a special interest in depicting properly arranged hairstyles in order to advance their projects of creating uncontroversial, salable pictures, and boosting their reputations as successful painters and providers. Recognizing that Shattuck and Rossiter are mostly known for their landscape pictures, this dissertation purposely highlights the breadth of portrait and genre paintings by these practitioners, such as Shattuck's *The Shattuck Family, with Grandmother, Mother, and Baby William*

(1865) and Rossiter's unpublished sketchbooks in the Archives of American Art (1843) and the New-York Historical Society (1854–58), uncovering their interest in women's hair and cultural prescriptions for proper homemaking.

Turning from complacent to disruptive hair pictures, the study investigates Winslow Homer's range of sitters from various social classes and ethnic backgrounds, depicted in the public spaces of the beach and sporting grounds. Images of women handling their hair, as in *Eagle Head, Manchester, Massachusetts (High Tide)* (1870), constituted the artist's foray into showing female sexuality. Upperclass women artists who had the means and leisure time to participate in the culture of the New Woman also employed hair as a key strategy to achieve their goals toward independence. Photographs by Alice Austen and contemporary collegiate women used their loosened locks as a sign of political and sexual liberation. This study establishes unbound hair as part of the iconography of the New Woman and shows how frequently women behind and in front of the camera allowed themselves to be seen "undone." A selection of Austen's photographs demonstrates how she recognized the ability of let-down hair to convey ideas of the masquerade and transgressive gender, typified by *Trude and I Masked* of 1891.

The American Impressionist in Paris, Mary Cassatt, also experimented with hair as a way to expose private female rituals and bring them to a public audience. Works focusing on *la toilette*, such as the color print *The Coiffure* (1890–91), exemplify the artist's endeavor to expose intimate scenes via the subject of preparation of the hair. Cassatt's colleague Edgar Degas provided a counterpoint to her efforts by explicitly embedding himself in women's hair culture so that he could represent it repeatedly in

mediums ranging from painting and sculpture to pastel and etching. His fetish is a more pronounced example of similar interests by other men in the period who confronted the taboo of female sexuality. Shattuck, Rossiter, and Johnson may have had like tendencies, but they pursued them in a more restrained, albeit self-serving, format.

Finally, John Singer Sargent's iconic *Madame X* (1883–84) is a work that has women's artifice as its central theme. A comparison with Edouard Manet's *Olympia* (1863) likens the subject of the courtesan to the professional beauty and links the painters as examples of male artists who capitalized on the potential of hair to provoke large audiences. The private aspects of the works by Shattuck, Rossiter, Johnson, and to a degree, Cassatt, are worlds apart from Sargent's canvas. Its brazen public and self-referential qualities—Sargent created a professional beauty, indeed a "painted lady," who was redheaded, no less, for display at the Parisian Salon—provides a fitting end point for developments traced in this dissertation. His modernist handling of the paint medium, derived from Manet, greatly diverges from the previous artists' transparent representations, which illusionistically hid the brushstroke from the viewer in the same way that contained hairstyles masked the sitter's sexuality.

The story of hair and its representation continues enticingly beyond the scope of the present project. Work by Thomas Dewing, William Merritt Chase, William McGregor Paxton, and John Sloan use hair as a direct way to depict images of modern women.[2] Furthermore, with regard to racial connotations, the novel *Quicksand* (1928) by

[2] For examples, see the following: Paxton, *Tea Leaves*, 1909 (oil on canvas, 36 1/8 x 28 3/4 in. [91.6 x 71.9 cm]). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 10.64.8; Paxton, *Woman Combing Her Hair*, 1909 (oil on canvas, 27 x 22 in. [68.6 x 56 cm]). Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Douglas Hunter, Boston; Paxton,

author Nella Larsen calls attention to the key role that hair played within the culture of the Harlem Renaissance, and her vivid description could prompt future scholarship on the visual arts of that period.

> For the hundredth time she marveled at the gradations within this oppressed race of hers. A dozen shades slid by. There was sooty black, shiny black, taupe, mahogany, bronze, copper, gold, orange, yellow peach, ivory, pinky white, pastry white. There was yellow hair, brown hair, black hair, straight hair, straightened hair, curly hair, crinkly hair, woolly hair.[3]

In the twenty-first century, hair is a defining characteristic for celebrities, newscasters, presidents, and first ladies, with pictures in the media solidifying the images in the collective vision. Indeed, hairstyles are read for the messages they convey about status, confidence, and leadership potential. Hair has become a central subject in works by numerous international artists such as Petah Coyne, Kiki Smith, Kara Walker, Lorna Simpson, Mona Hatoum, Ana Mendieta, Jim Dine, Joseph Beuys, and Berlinde De Bruyckere, to name just a few. Moreover, the art and film exhibition *Brune/Blonde*

Girl with a Hand Mirror. Oil on canvas. Reading Public Museum and Art Gallery, Reading, Pennsylvania; Chase, *Seated Woman*. Drawing, ca. 1880. Cooper-Hewitt Museum, National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution; Sloan, *Sunday, Women Drying Their Hair*, 1912 (oil on canvas. 26 1/8 x 32 1/8 in. [66.4 x 81.6 cm]). Addison Gallery of American Art, Andover, Massachusetts, 1938.67; Sloan, *Hair Dresser's Window*, 1907 (oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in. [81 x 66 cm)]; Sloan, *Semi-Nude, Red Hair*, 1933 (tempera, 23 15/16 x 18 in. [60.8 x 45.8 cm]). John Sloan Trust; Sloan, *Three A.M.*, 1909 (oil on canvas, 32 x 26 1/4 in. [81. 3 x 66. 7 cm]). Philadelphia Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Cyrus McCormick, 1946, 46-10.1. Sloan, *Woman Brushing Her Hair*. Monotype, printed in lavender ink. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 62.1172.

[3] Nella Larsen, *Quicksand; and Passing*, ed. Deborah E. McDowell (Rutgers University Press, 1986), 59.

(2010–2011) at the Cinémathèque française, Paris, provides a tantalizing view of current and forthcoming scholarly endeavors related to hair that have broad public access.[4]

In keeping with the quotation above by Dr. Sarah A. Chevalier, this dissertation sings the praises of artists' representations of women's hair, and answers the call of these same artists to explore the complex meanings and messages behind each wisp and each brushstroke.

[4] See Cinémathèque française, *Brune Blonde: la chevelure féminine dans l'art et le cinéma* (Paris: Skira Flammarion; Paris: Cinémathèque française, 2010).

Bibliography

Archives

Edward Mitchell Bannister Scrapbook, 1866–1901, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

Edward Mitchell Bannister and George W. Forbes letters and manuscripts, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, Boston Public Library

Charles V. Chapin Papers, Rhode Island Historical Society

Departmental Files, Department of American Paintings and Sculpture; Department of Drawings and Prints; Department of European Paintings; Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Winterthur, Delaware

Winslow Homer Collection, 1877–1945, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Jervis McEntee Papers, 1796, 1848–1905, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

Thomas Prichard [*sic*] Rossiter and Rossiter Family Papers, 1840–1961. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

Thomas Pritchard Rossiter, curatorial files, New-York Historical Society

Radcliffe Archives, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Aaron Draper Shattuck Papers, 1810–1983, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

Primary and Secondary Sources

Abajian, James, ed. *Blacks in Selected Newspapers, Censuses and Other Sources: An Index to Names and Subjects*. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1977.

Abram, Trudi. “Representations of American Femininity: True-Woman, New Woman and Thomas Wilmer Dewing's Enigmatic Woman.” PhD diss., University of Southern California, 1999.

Adams, Henry. “The Identity of Winslow Homer's 'Mystery Woman'.” *The Burlington*

Magazine 132, no. 1045 (April 1990): 244-252.

Adler, Kathleen. *Mary Cassatt: Prints*. London: The National Gallery; New Haven: Distributed by Yale University Press, 2006.

———. *Perspectives on Morisot: Essays*. Edited by T. J. Edelstein. New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1990.

Adler, Kathleen, and Tamar Garb. *Berthe Morisot*. Oxford: Phaidon, 1987.

Adler, Kathleen, Erica E. Hirshler, and H. Barbara Weinberg. *Americans in Paris, 1860-1900*. London: National Gallery, 2006. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Americans in Paris, 1860-1900" shown at the National Gallery, London, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Adler, Kathleen, and Marcia R. Pointon, eds. *The Body Imaged: The Human Form and Visual Culture Since the Renaissance*. Cambridge, England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

"Advertisement." *The Liberator*, December 25, 1857.

African American Vernacular Photography: Selections From the Daniel Cowin Collection. New York: International Center of Photography, 2005.

Agar, Eunice. "Aaron Draper Shattuck." *Art & Antiques* 7, no. 5 (October 1982): 48-55.

Aha, Donna. *Perfume & Cosmetic Trade Catalogs: A Century of Advertising 1875-1975*. Portland, OR: privately printed, 1998.

Alcott, Louisa May. *Little Women*. Rev. ed. New York: Puffin, 1868.

Aldrich, T. B. "Among the Studios." *Our Young Folks. An Illustrated Magazine for Boys and Girls* 1, no. 9 (September 1865): 594.

Alexander, David. "The Darlys' Satires of Hair Fashions." *Print Quarterly* 17, no. 2 (June 2000): 173-75.

Alfred de, Lostalot. "Exposition des oeuvres de Miss Mary Cassatt." *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité* (December 9, 1893): 299.

"Alice Austen's America." *Holiday*, September 1952.

Allen, Mrs. R. W. *New Price List and Illustrated Catalogue of Mrs. R.W. Allen: Importer and Wholesale Dealer in Human Hair Manufactured Hair Goods, and Fine Toilet Articles*. Detroit: The Company, 1890.

Allen, Virginia M. *The Femme Fatale: Erotic Icon*. Troy, NY: Whitston, 1983.

———. "'One Strangling Golden Hair': Dante Gabriel Rossetti's Lady Lilith." *The Art Bulletin* 66, no. 2 (June 1984): 285-294.

Allgor, Catherine. *Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

American Art Association. *Catalogue of Finished Pictures, Studies and Drawings by the Late Eastman Johnson, N.A.* New York: American Art Association, 1907.

———. *The Completed Pictures, Studies and Sketches Left by the Late William Merritt Chase, N.A.* New York: American Art Association, 1917.

American Art from the Gallery's Collection. New York: Hirschl & Adler Galleries, 1980.

"The American Artists. Close of the Exhibition." *New York Times*, April 16, 1880.

American Federation of Arts. *Who's Who in American Art.* New Providence, NJ: Marquis Who's Who, 1937.

"American Genius as Expressed in Art." *The Round Table. A Saturday Review of Politics, Finance, Literature, Society* 1, no. 2 (December 26, 1863): 21.

"American Painting." *The Art Amateur* 29, no. 6 (November 1893): 134.

America's Working Women: A Documentary History, 1600 to the Present. Rev. and updated. New York: Norton, 1995.

Amneus, Cynthia, Julie Aronson, and Marjorie E. Wieseman. "The Art of Ornamental Hairwork." In *Perfect Likeness: European and American Portrait Miniatures from the Cincinnati Art Museum*, 63-76. New Haven: Yale University Press; Cincinnati, Ohio: Cincinnati Art Museum, 2006.

Andersen, Wayne V. *Manet: The Picnic & the Prostitute*. Boston: Éditions Fabriart, 2005.

Anderson, Ann. *Snake Oil, Hustlers and Hambones: The American Medicine Show*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2000.

Anderson, Lynne. *Victorian Hair Wreaths*. Privately printed, 1985.

Andrews, Eliza Frances. *The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl 1864-1865*. Edited by Spencer B. King, Jr. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. Accessed via North American Women's Letters and Diaries (Chicago: Alexander Street Press),

http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?ASL9642, 1908.

Andrews, William. *At the Sign of the Barber's Pole: Studies in Hirsute History*. Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1969.

Angell, Henry Clay. *Records of William M. Hunt*. Boston: J.R. Osgood and Company, 1881.

"The Annual Exhibition of the Academy." *Putnam's Magazine. Original Papers on Literature, Science, Art and National Interests*. Vol. 5, no. 30 (June 1870): 699.

Antoine, Jules. "Beaux Arts, Galerie Durand-Ruel—Deuxième exposition des peintres-graveurs." *Art et critique* 2 (March 15, 1890): 172.

Appiah, Kwame Anthony, and Henry Louis Gates, eds. *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*. New York: Basic Civitas Books, 1999.

Apter, Emily S. *Feminizing the Fetish: Psychoanalysis and Narrative Obsession in Turn-of-the-Century France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.

———. "Splitting Hairs: Female Fetishism and Postpartum Sentimentality in the Fin de Siècle." In *Eroticism and the Body Politic*, edited by Lynn Hunt, 164-90. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.

Apter, Emily S., and William Pietz, eds. *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993.

Armstrong, Carol. "Cupid's Pencil of Light: Julia Margaret Cameron and the Maternalization of Photography." *October* 76 (April 1, 1996): 115-41.

———. "Featuring Femininity: Manet's 'Before the Mirror.'" *October* 74 (Autumn 1995): 74-104.

———. "From Clementina to Kasebier: The Photographic Attainment of the 'Lady Amateur'." *October* 91 (Winter 2000): 101-39.

———. *Odd Man Out: Readings of the Work and Reputation of Edgar Degas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Arnold, John Nelson. *Art and Artists in Rhode Island*. Pawtucket, RI: Chronicle Printing Company, 1905.

Aron, Cindy Sondik. *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Aronson, Julie, and Marjorie E. Wieseman. *Perfect Likeness: European and American*

Portrait Miniatures from the Cincinnati Art Museum. New Haven: Yale University Press; Cincinnati, Ohio: Cincinnati Art Museum, 2006.

"'Art and Artists' by Mrs. Havemeyer." *New York Times*, April 7, 1915.

"Art at the Exposition." *Omaha Daily Bee*, July 1, 1898.

"Art Gossip." *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* 4, no. 3 (September 1860): 126.

"Art Gossip." *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* 4, no. 4 (December 1860): 182.

"Art Gossip." *The New York Evening Mail*, June 27, 1870.

"Art Gossip. The Forty-Fifth Annual Exhibition of the National Academy of Design. Review of the North Room Continued." *New York Evening Mail*, May 4, 1870.

"Art News and Comments." *New York Tribune*, June 13, 1886.

"Art Notes." *New York Times*, June 1, 1884.

"Art Notes." *New York Times*, October 26, 1890.

"Art Sale Brings $7,519." *New York Times*, February 13, 1941.

"Artists and their Work." *New York Times*, April 9, 1880.

Asser, Joyce. *Historic Hairdressing*. London: Pitman, 1966.

Ayer, Harriet Hubbard. *Harriet Hubbard Ayer's Book: A Complete and Authentic Treatise on the Laws of Health and Beauty*. New York: Home Topics Book Co., 1899.

Ayer, Margaret Hubbard, and Isabella Taves. *The Three Lives of Harriet Hubbard Ayer*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1957.

Bachelder, John Badger. *Popular Resorts, and How to Reach Them: Combining a Brief Description of the Principal Summer Retreats in the United States, and the Routes of Travel Leading to Them*. 3rd ed. Boston: J.B. Bachelder, 1875.

Bade, Patrick. *Femme Fatale: Images of Evil and Fascinating Women*. New York: Mayflower Books, 1979.

Baker, Malcolm. "'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 (Fall 2004): 63-77.

"A Ball at Long Branch." *New York Times*, July 31, 1885.

Ballaster, Rosalind. *Women's Worlds: Ideology, Femininity, and the Woman's Magazine*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1991.

Banks, Ingrid. *Hair Matters: Beauty, Power, and Black Women's Consciousness*. New York: New York University Press, 2000.

Banner, Lois W. *American Beauty*. New York: Knopf, 1983.

Bannister, Edward Mitchell. "The Artist and His Critics, Ann-Eliza Club Lectures no. 25," April 1886. Box 1. Rhode Island Historical Society.

Banta, Martha. *Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1987.

Bardin, Robert Gates. "Posing as a Fine Art: William Merritt Chase's Portrait Strategies." PhD diss., New York: Columbia University, 1997.

Bare, Ceil Parks. "The Fourth of July Celebration as Seen through the Eyes of Nineteenth-century Artists." *Athanor* 21 (2003): 25-31.

Barker-Benfield, G. J. *The Horrors of the Half-Known Life: Male Attitudes Toward Women and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Routledge, 1999.

Barratt, Carrie Rebora. *John Singleton Copley in America*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "John Singleton Copley in America" shown at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

Barratt, Carrie Rebora, and Lori Zabar. *American Portrait Miniatures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.

Barridoff Galleries. *American and European Art*. Portland, ME: Barridoff Galleries, 2005.

Barter, Judith A. "Mary Cassatt: Themes, Sources, and the Modern Woman." In *Mary Cassatt, Modern Woman*, edited by Judith A. Barter, 45-107. New York: The Art Institute of Chicago in association with Harry N. Abrams, 1998.

Barter, Judith A., ed. *Mary Cassatt, Modern Woman*. New York: The Art Institute of Chicago in association with Harry N. Abrams, 1998. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Mary Cassatt: Modern Woman" shown at the Art Institute of Chicago in Chicago, IL, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, MA, and the

National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC.

Bashkirtseff, Marie. *The Last Confessions of Marie Bashkirtseff and Her Correspondence with Guy de Maupassant*. New York, Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1901.

Bataille, Marie-Louise, and Georges Wildenstein. *Berthe Morisot: Catalogue des Peintures, Pastels, et Aquarelles*. Paris: Les Beaux-Arts, Éditions d'études et des documents, 1961.

Batchen, Geoffrey. *Each Wild Idea: Writing, Photography, History*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001.

———. *Forget Me Not: Photography & Remembrance*. Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum; New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004.

———. "Vernacular Photographies." *History of Photography* 24, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 262–71.

"The Bathers." *Harper's Weekly* (August 2, 1873): 668.

Baudelaire, Charles. *Lettres à Charles Baudelaire*. Edited by Claude Pichois. Neuchâtel: Éditions de la Baconnière, 1973.

Baumann, Felix Andreas, and Marianne Karabelnik, eds. *Degas: Portraits*. London: Merrell Holberton, 1994.

Baur, John I. H. *An American Genre Painter: Eastman Johnson, 1824-1906*. New York: Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, 1940.

Baym, Nina. *Woman's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and About Women in America, 1820-70*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

Beam, Philip C. *Winslow Homer's Magazine Engravings*. New York: Harper & Row, 1979.

Beard, Alice. "Hairstyling in the Fashion Magazine: Nova in the 1970s." In *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion*, edited by Geraldine Biddle-Perry and Sarah Cheang, 229-40. Oxford; New York: Berg, 2008.

Bearden, Romare. *A History of African-American Artists: From 1792 to the Present*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1993.

"The Beauty of Mme Ferry: Paris Letter to the London Truth." *New York Times*, February 17, 1885.

Beaux, Cecilia. *Background with Figures: Autobiography of Cecilia Beaux*. Boston:

Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930.

Beecher, Catharine Esther. *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt-Book: Designed as a Supplement to Her Treatise on Domestic Economy*. 3rd ed. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850.

Beecher, Catharine Esther, and Harriet Beecher Stowe. *The American Woman's Home*. Edited by Nicole Tonkovich. Hartford, CT: Harriet Beecher Stowe Center; New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002.

Beetham, Margaret. *A Magazine of Her Own?: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914*. London: Routledge, 1996.

Beigel, Hermann. *The Human Hair; Its Structure, Growth, Diseases, and Their Treatment.* London, Renshaw, 1869.

Belcher, N. *The Barbers' and Hair-Dressers' Private Recipe Book: Embracing Recipes for Hair Producers, Hair Renewers, Tonic Dressings, Hair Oils, Hair Dyes, Pomades, Toilet Soaps, Shaving Soaps, Shaving Creams, Perfumery and Colognes, Instantaneous Grease Extractor, Washes, and Lotions, Etc. Etc. With a Treatise Upon the Diseases of the Human Hair, Their Causes, Mode of Treatment, and Their Remedies*. Boston: Rockwell & Rollins, 1868.

Bell, C. Jeanenne. *Collector's Encyclopedia of Hairwork Jewelry: Identification & Values*. Paducah, KY: Collector Books, 1998.

Bell, Christine Anne. “A Family Conflict: Visual Imagery of the "Homefront" and the War Between the States, 1860-1866.” PhD diss., Evanston, IL: Northwestern University, 1996.

“La Belle Americaine.” *The New York Herald*, March 30, 1880.

Benson, Eugene. “The Annual Exhibition of the Academy.” *Putnam’s Magazine*, June 1870.

———. “Eastman Johnson.” *The Galaxy. A Magazine of Entertaining Reading* 6, no. 1 (July 1868): 3.

Berch, Bettina. *The Woman Behind the Lens: The Life and Work of Frances Benjamin Johnston, 1864-1952*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

Berg, Charles. *The Unconscious Significance of Hair*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1951.

Bernheimer, Charles. *Figures of Ill Repute: Representing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century France*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.

Betterton, Rosemary, ed. *Looking on: Images of Femininity in the Visual Arts and Media*. London; New York: Pandora, 1987.

Bevan, Edith Rossiter. "Thomas Pritchard Rossiter, 1818-1871." Ruxton, MD, 1957. Typewritten.

"A Bicentennial Treasury: American Masterpieces from the Metropolitan." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 33, no. 4. New Series (Winter 1975/1976): 168-244.

Biddle-Perry, Geraldine, and Sarah Cheang. "Conclusion: Hair and Human Identity." In *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion*, 243-53. Oxford; New York: Berg, 2008.

———. "Introduction: Thinking About Hair." In *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion*, 3-12. Oxford; New York: Berg, 2008.

Biddle-Perry, Geraldine, and Sarah Cheang, eds. *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion*. Oxford; New York: Berg, 2008.

Biersch, S. "Victorian Jewelry Made of Hair." *Nineteenth Century* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 42-3.

Bishop, Catharine. *Hairstyles and Headdresses of the Civil War Era*. Nahant, MA: Vintage Victorian, 2000.

Blanchard, Mary W. "Boundaries and the Victorian Body: Aesthetic Fashion in Gilded Age America." *The American Historical Review* 100, no. 1 (February 1995): 21-50.

———. "The Manly New Woman." In *Off the Pedestal: New Women in the Art of Homer, Chase, and Sargent*, edited by Holly Pyne Connor, 91-124. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press; London: Distributed by Eurospan, 2006.

Blatt, Martin Henry, Donald Yacovone, and Thomas J. Brown, eds. *Hope & Glory: Essays on the Legacy of the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Regiment*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001.

Blaugrund, Annette. "Painting the Extraordinary Harriet Hubbard Ayer." *The Magazine Antiques* 169 (Summer 2010): 194-201.

———. "The Tenth Street Studio Building: A Roster, 1857-1895." *American Art Journal* 14, no. 2 (Spring 1982): 64-71.

———. *The Tenth Street Studio Building: Artist-Entrepreneurs from the Hudson River School to the American Impressionists*. Southampton, NY: Parrish Art Museum, 1997.

Blount, Roy. *It Grows on You: A Hair-Raising Survey of Human Plumage*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1986.

Blum, Stella, ed. *Fashions and Costumes from Godey's Lady's Book*. New York: Dover Publications, 1985.

———. *Victorian Fashions and Costumes from Harper's Bazar, 1867-1898*. New York: Dover Publications, 1974.

Bode, Carl. *Midcentury America; Life in the 1850's*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972.

The Body Exposed: Views of the Body: 150 Years of the Nude in Photography. Zürich: Edition Stemmle, 1995.

Boettcher, Graham Corray. "Domestic Violence: The Politics of Family and Nation in Antebellum American Art." PhD diss., New Haven: Yale University, 2006.

Boettger, Suzaan. "Eastman Johnson's "Blodgett Family" and Domestic Values during the Civil War Era." *American Art* 6, no. 4 (Autumn 1992): 51-67.

Boggis, JerriAnne, Eve Allegra Raimon, and Barbara A. White, eds. *Harriet Wilson's New England: Race, Writing, and Region*. Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press and Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2007.

Boggs, Jean Sutherland. *Degas*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1988. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Degas" shown at the Galeries nationales du Grand Palais in Paris, the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Bogin, Ruth. "Sarah Parker Remond: Black Abolitionist from Salem." *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 110, no. 22 (April 1974).

Bogle, William. *The Anatomy and Physiology of the Hair: With Directions for Preventing Baldness, Removing Dandruff, and Preserving the Natural Beauty and Softness of the Hair*. Boston: Printed by Dutton and Wentworth, 1846.

Boime, Albert. *The Art of Exclusion: Representing Blacks in the Nineteenth Century*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990.

———. "Sargent in Paris and London: A Portrait of the Artist as Dorian Gray." In *John Singer Sargent*, edited by Patricia Hills. New York: Abrams, 1986. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "John Singer Sargent, An Exhibition" shown at the Whitney Museum in New York and The Art Institute of Chicago in Chicago, IL.

Bolden, Tonya. *Strong Men Keep Coming: The Book of African American Men*. New York: J. Wiley & Sons, 1999.

Bolger, Doreen. *American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: The Museum in association with Princeton University Press, 1980.

Bomford, David. *Art in the Making: Degas*. London: National Gallery, 2004.

Bonner, Lonnice Brittenum. *Good Hair: For Colored Girls Who've Considered Weaves When the Chemicals Became Too Ruff*. New York: Crown Trade Paperbacks, 1994.

Bordo, Susan. *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body*. University of California Press, 2003.

Borzello, Frances. *At Home: The Domestic Interior in Art*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2006.

———. *Seeing Ourselves: Women's Self-Portraits*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1998.

Bournon-Ginestoux, Vicomte de. *Les jeunes femmes ou les séductions de la nature et de l'art*. Paris E. Blanchard, 1856.

Boydston, Jeanne. *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Breeskin, Adelyn Dohme. *The Graphic Work of Mary Cassatt: A Catalogue Raisonné*. New York: H. Bittner, 1948.

———. *Mary Cassatt: a Catalogue Raisonné of the Graphic Work*. 2nd ed. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979.

———. *Mary Cassatt: Graphic Art*. Washington, DC: Published for Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service by Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981.

———. *Mary Cassatt; a Catalogue Raisonné of the Oils, Pastels, Watercolors, and Drawings*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970.

Brennan, Anne G., and Donald Furst. *Cassatt, Degas and Pissarro: A State of Revolution*. Wilmington, NC: St. John's Museum of Art, 1992.

Brennan, William J. *An Affair with Freedom; a Collection of His Opinions and Speeches Drawn from His First Decade as a United States Supreme Court Justice*. New York: Atheneum, 1967.

Brettell, Richard R. *Impressionist Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture from the Wendy and Emery Reves Collection*. Dallas, TX: Dallas Museum of Art, 1995.

Brettell, Richard R., Paul Hayes Tucker, and Natalie Henderson Lee. *Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Paintings*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Princeton, NJ: in association with Princeton University Press, 2009.

Breward, Christopher. *The Culture of Fashion: A New History of Fashionable Dress*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1995.

Brilliant, Richard, and Amy Weinstein. *Group Dynamics: Family Portraits & Scenes of Everyday Life at the New-York Historical Society*. New York: New Press, 2006. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Group Dynamics: Family Portraits & Scenes of Everyday Life at the New-York Historical Society" shown at the New-York Historical Society.

Brinton, Christian. “Concerning Miss Cassatt and Certain Etchings.” *The International Studio* 27 (1906): I-VI.

Brinton, Daniel Garrison, and George H. Napheys. *Personal Beauty: How to Cultivate and Preserve It in Accordance with the Laws of Health*. Springfield, MA: W.J. Holland, 1870.

Broaddus, M. “Thomas P. Rossiter: in Pursuit of Diversity.” *American Art and Antiques* 2, no. 3 (1979): 106.

Bromberger, Christian. “Hair: From the West to the Middle East through the Mediterranean.” *Journal of American Folklore* 121 (Fall 2008): 379-99.

“Bronze Star.” *Providence Journal*. Providence, RI, December 20, 2002, sec. B.

Broude, Norma. “Degas's 'Misogyny'.” *The Art Bulletin* 59, no. 1 (March 1977): 95-107.

———. “Edgar Degas and French Feminism, ca. 1880: 'The Young Spartans,' the Brothel Monotypes, and the Bathers Revisited.” In *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, 270-93. New York: IconEditions, 1992.

———. *Impressionism: A Feminist Reading: The Gendering of Art, Science, and Nature in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Rizzoli, 1991.

———. “Mary Cassatt: Modern Woman or the Cult of True Womanhood?” *Woman's Art Journal* 21, no. 2 (Autumn 2000-Winter 2001): 36-43.

Broude, Norma, and Mary D. Garrard, eds. *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*. New York: IconEditions, 1992.

———. *Reclaiming Female Agency: Feminist Art History After Postmodernism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

Brown, Gillian. *Domestic Individualism: Imagining Self in Nineteenth-Century America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

Brown, Marilyn R. “Miss La La's" Teeth: Reflections on Degas and "Race.” *The Art Bulletin* 89, no. 4 (December 2007): 738-65.

Brown, W. *Rhode Island Artists*. [Providence, RI?]: W.A. Brown, 1950.

Brown, William Wells. *The Black Man, His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements*. New York: Thomas Hamilton, 1863.

Brownell, W. C. “The American Salon.” *Magazine of Art (London)* 7 (1884): 493-94.

Brumbaugh, Thomas B. “A Venice Letter from Thomas P. Rossiter to John F. Kensett, 1843.” *American Art Journal* 5, no. 1 (May 1973): 74-78.

Bryer, Robin. *The History of Hair: Fashion and Fantasy Down the Ages*. London: Philip Wilson; Wappinger Falls, NY: Distributed in the United States and Canada by Antique Collectors’ Club, 2000.

Buckwalter, Margaret R., ed. *Alice Austen: Commemorative Journal, 1986*. Staten Island, NY: s.n., 1986.

Buettner, Stewart. “Images of Modern Motherhood in the Art of Morisot, Cassatt, Modersohn-Becker, Kollwitz.” *Woman's Art Journal* 7, no. 2 (Autumn 1986-Winter 1987): 14-21.

Buffum, George Allen, and A. E. Club. “Musings of the A.E. Club. First Collection. Bannister, Edward Mitchell, 1828-1901.” Providence, RI, 1887. Brown University Library.

Bullet, Emma. “Women in Art.” *Brooklyn Eagle*, March 29, 1896.

Bullock, Thomas K., and Maurice B. Tonkin. *The Wigmaker in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg: An Account of His Barbering, Hair-Dressing, & Peruke-Making Services, & Some Remarks on Wigs of Various Styles*. Edited by Thomas K. Ford. Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1971.

Bunce, O. B. “Long Branch.” *Appletons' Journal of Literature, Science and Art* 8, no. 180 (September 7, 1872): 253-54.

Bundles, A'Lelia Perry. *On Her Own Ground: The Life and Times of Madam C.J.*

Walker. New York: Scribner, 2001.

Burns, Sarah. “The Courtship of Winslow Homer.” *The Magazine Antiques* 161 (February 2002): 69-75.

———. *Inventing the Modern Artist: Art and Culture in Gilded Age America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.

———. *Painting the Dark Side: Art and the Gothic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

———. *Pastoral Inventions: Rural Life in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989.

———. “Review: Modernizing Winslow Homer.” *American Quarterly* 49, no. 3 (September 1997): 615-639.

———. “Winslow Homer's Ambiguously New Women.” In *Off the Pedestal: New Women in the Art of Homer, Chase, and Sargent*, edited by Holly Pyne Connor, 53-90. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press; London: Distributed by Eurospan, 2006.

Bushman, Richard L. *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities*. New York: Knopf, Distributed by Random House, 1992.

Butler, Susan. “So How Do I Look? Women Before and Behind the Camera.” *Photo Communique* 9, no. 3 (Fall 1987): 24-35.

Byrd, Ayana D., and Lori Tharps. *Hair Story: Untangling the Roots of Black Hair in America*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001.

Cachin, Françoise, and Charles S. Moffett. *Manet, 1832-1883*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983. Published in conjunction with the exhibition held at the Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Caldwell, Eleanor B., and André Meilerio. “Mary Cassatt. Gallery Durand Ruel, Paris.” *Modern Art* 3, no. 1 (Winter 1895): 4-5.

Callen, Anthea. *The Spectacular Body: Science, Method, and Meaning in the Work of Degas*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Calo, Mary Ann, ed. *Critical Issues in American Art: A Book of Readings*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998.

Calvert, Karin. “The Function of Fashion in Eighteenth-Century America.” In *Of*

Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century, edited by Cary Carson and Peter J. Albert, 252-83. Charlottesville: Published for the United States Capitol Historical Society by the University Press of Virginia, 1994.

Cameron, Ardis, ed. *Looking for America: The Visual Production of Nation and People*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005.

Campbell, Mark. *The Art of Hair Work: Hair Braiding and Jewelry of Sentiment*. Edited by Jules Kliot and Kaethe Kliot. Berkeley, CA: LACIS Publications, 1989.

———. *Self-Instructor in the Art of Hair Work: Dressing Hair, Making Curls, Switches, Braids, and Hair Jewelry of Every Description*. New York: Campbell, 1867.

Cantor, Jay E., and Pamela A. Ivinski. *Art in a Mirror: The Counterproofs of Mary Cassatt*. New York: Adelson Galleries, 2004.

Carbone, Teresa A. *American Paintings in the Brooklyn Museum: Artists Born by 1876*. New York: Brooklyn Museum, 2006.

———. *An American View: Masterpieces from the Brooklyn Museum*. New York: Brooklyn Museum, 2006.

Carbone, Teresa A., and Patricia Hills. *Eastman Johnson: Painting America*. New York: Brooklyn Museum of Art in association with Rizzoli International Publications, 1999. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “Eastman Johnson: Painting America” shown at the Brooklyn Museum of Art in New York, the San Diego Museum of Art in San Diego, CA, and the Seattle Art Museum in Seattle, WA.

[Caricature of Mme X]. *La Vie Parisienne*, May 17, 1884.

Carr, Carolyn Kinder, and Ellen Gross Miles. *A Brush with History: Paintings from the National Portrait Gallery*. Washington, DC: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2001. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "A Brush with History: Paintings from the National Portrait Gallery" shown at the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, DC.

Carr, Carolyn Kinder, and Sally Webster. “Mary Cassatt and Mary Fairchild MacMonnies: The Search for their 1893 Murals.” *American Art* 8, no. 1 (Winter 1994): 53-69.

Carson, Cary, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds. *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*. Charlottesville: Published for the United States Capitol Historical Society by the University Press of Virginia, 1994.

Carson, Julia M. H. *Mary Cassatt*. New York: D. McKay Co, 1966.

Carter, Alice A. *Cecilia Beaux: A Modern Painter in the Gilded Age*. New York: Rizzoli, 2005.

Casteras, Susan P. *English Pre-Raphaelitism and Its Reception in America in the Nineteenth Century*. Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London; Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1990.

———. *Images of Victorian Womanhood in English Art*. Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London; Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1987.

———. *The Substance or the Shadow: Images of Victorian Womanhood*. New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 1982. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "The Substance or the Shadow: Images of Victorian Womanhood" shown at the Yale Center for British Art in New Haven, CT.

Catalogue of Hair Jewelry. New York: A. Bernhard & Co., 1870.

Cavanaugh, Alden. "The Coiffure of Jean-Baptiste Greuze." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 165-181.

Chadwick, Whitney. "How Do I Look?" In *Mirror Mirror: Self-Portraits by Women Artists*, edited by Liz Rideal, 8-21. London: National Portrait Gallery, 2001.

———. *Women, Art, and Society*. New York, NY: Thames and Hudson, 1990.

Chadwick, Whitney, and Dawn Ades. *Mirror Images: Women, Surrealism, and Self-Representation*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998.

Chambers, Bruce W. "A Southern Odyssey: the Robert P. Coggins Collection of American Painting." *American Art Review* IV, no. 2 (August 1977): 32-47.

Champney, Benjamin. *Sixty Years' Memories of Art and Artists*. Woburn, MA: Privately Printed, 1900.

Chapin, Howard M. *Cameo Portraiture in America*. Providence, RI: Printed by the Plimpton Press for Preston & Rounds Co., 1918.

Charles, Ann, and Roger Passeron. *The History of Hair: an Illustrated Review of Hair Fashions for Men Throughout the Ages, Plus a Complete Guide to Hair Care for Men*. Paris; New York: Mediterranean Press, 1970.

Charteris, Evan. *John Sargent*. London: W. Heinemann, 1927.

Chase, W. T., and Jeremy R. Hutt. "Aaron Draper Shattuck's Patent Stretcher Key." *Studies in Conservation* 17, no. 1 (February 1972): 12-29.

Cheang, Sarah. “Roots: Hair and Race.” In *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion*. Oxford; New York: Berg, 2008.

Cherry, Deborah. *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists*. London: Routledge, 1993.

Chessman, Harriet S. “Mary Cassatt and the Maternal Body.” In *American Iconology: New Approaches to Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature*, edited by David C. Miller, 239-258. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

Chevalier, Sarah A. *Treatise on the Hair: Learn to Cultivate and Have Beautiful Hair to the Latest Period of Life*. New York: Turner & Mignard, 1868.

Chiarmonte, Paula L., ed. *Women Artists in the United States: A Selective Bibliography and Resource Guide on the Fine and Decorative Arts, 1750-1986*. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1990.

Child, Lydia Maria Francis. *The American Frugal Housewife: Dedicated to Those Who are Not Ashamed of Economy*. S.S. & W. Wood, 1841.

Child, Theodore. “American Artists at the Paris Exhibition.” *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 79, no. 472 (September 1889): 489-521.

———. *Art and Criticism: Monographs and Studies*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1892.

———. “Gallery and Studio: The King of the 'Impressionists'.” *The Art Amateur* 14, no. 5 (April 1886): 101.

———. “A Note on Impressionist Painting.” *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 74, no. 440 (January 1887): 313-15.

———. “The Paris Salon. Preliminary Notice.” *The Art Amateur* 11, no. 1 (June 1884): 5-6.

———. “Society in Paris.” *Littell's Living Age*, May 8, 1886.

———. *Wimples and Crisping Pins: Being Studies in the Coiffure and Ornaments of Women*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1895.

“The Chronicle of Arts.” *New York Tribune*, December 17, 1893.

“The Chronicle of Arts.” *New York Tribune*, April 21, 1895.

Cikovsky, Nicolai. “Winslow Homer's National Style.” In *American Icons: Transatlantic*

Perspectives on Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century American Art, edited by Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Heinz Ickstadt. Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1992.

Cikovsky, Nicolai, ed. *Winslow Homer: A Symposium*. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art; Hanover, NH: Distributed by the University Press of New England, 1990.

Cikovsky, Nicolai, and Franklin Kelly. *Winslow Homer*. Washington DC: National Gallery of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Winslow Homer" shown at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Cinémathèque française. *Brune Blonde: la chevelure féminine dans l'art et le cinéma*. Paris: Skira Flammarion; Paris: Cinémathèque française, 2010. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Brune Blonde" shown at the Cinémathèque Française, Musée du Cinéma, Paris.

Clairet, Alain, Delphine Montalant, and Yves Rouart. *Berthe Morisot, 1841-1895: Catalogue Raisonné De L'œuvrepeint*. Paris: CERA-nrs, 1997.

Clancy, Jonathan. “Transcendentalism and the Crisis of Self in American Art and Culture, 1830-1930.” PhD diss., New York: City University of New York, 2008.

Claretie, Jules. *La Vie à Paris: 1881*. Paris: Victor Havard, 1881.

Clark, Clifford Edward. *The American Family Home, 1800-1960*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Clark, T. J. *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers*. New York: Knopf, 1985.

Clarke, Graham, ed. *The Portrait in Photography*. London: Reaktion Books, 1992.

Clarke, James Freeman. *Self-Culture; Physical, Intellectual, Moral and Spiritual; a Course of Lectures*. Boston; New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1908.

Clayson, Hollis. *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.

Clement, Russell T, Annick Houzé, and Christiane Erbolato-Ramsey. *The Women Impressionists: A Sourcebook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.

Clinton, Catherine. *The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century*. Edited by Eric Foner. New York: Hill and Wang, 1984.

Clinton, Catherine, and Christine Lunardini. *The Columbia Guide to American Women in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

Clinton, Catherine, and Nina Silber, eds. *Battle Scars: Gender and Sexuality in the American Civil War*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

———. *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Codell, Julie F. "Expression over Beauty: Facial Expression, Body Language, and Circumstantiality in the Paintings of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood." *Victorian Studies* 29, no. 2 (Winter 1986): 255-290.

Coe, Brian, and Paul Gates. *The Snapshot Photograph: The Rise of Popular Photography, 1888-1939*. London: Ash & Grant, 1977.

Coffin, Judy. "Ready-To-Wear and Ready-To-Work: A Century of Industry and Immigrants in Paris and New York, Nancy L. Green." *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 1, no. 4 (11, 1997): 447-451.

Coffin, William A. "Sargent and His Painting." *Century Illustrated Magazine*, June 1896.

Cogan, Frances B. *All-American Girl: The Ideal of Real Woman-Hood in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989.

Cohen, Sarah R. "Chardin's Fur: Painting, Materialism, and the Question of Animal Soul." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 39-61.

Colbert, Charles. *A Measure of Perfection: Phrenology and the Fine Arts in America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Cole, Walter W. "Some Crayon Studies by Winslow Homer." *Brush and Pencil* 11, no. 4 (January 1903): 271-277.

Colloque Degas. *Degas inédit: Actes du colloque Degas*. Paris: Documentation française, 1989.

"Colored Prints by Miss Cassatt." *New York Times*, October 3, 1891.

Conforti, Michael. *The Clark Brothers Collect: Impressionist and Early Modern Paintings*. Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute; New Haven: Distributed by Yale University Press, 2006. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "The Clark Brothers Collect: Impressionist and Early Modern Paintings" shown at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, MA, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY.

Connor, Holly Pyne. “Group Portraits in Picturing America at the Newark Museum.” *Magazine Antiques* 159, no. 4 (2001): 618-627.

———. “Not at Home: The Nineteenth-Century New Woman.” In *Off the Pedestal: New Women in the Art of Homer, Chase, and Sargent*, edited by Holly Pyne Connor, 1-52. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press; London: Distributed by Eurospan, 2006.

Connor, Holly Pyne, ed. *Off the Pedestal: New Women in the Art of Homer, Chase, and Sargent*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press; London: Distributed by Eurospan, 2006. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “Off the Pedestal: New Women in the Art of Homer, Chase, and Sargent” shown at the Newark Museum in Newark, NJ, the Marion Koogler McNay Art Museum in San Antonio, Texas, and the Frick Art and Historical Center in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Conrads, Margaret C. “Winslow Homer and the Critics.” *American Art Review* 13, no. 1 (February 2001): 134-39.

———. “Winslow Homer and the Critics in the 1870s.” *The Magazine Antiques* (August 2001): 174-83.

———. *Winslow Homer and the Critics: Forging a National Art in the 1870s*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press in association with the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 2001. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “Winslow Homer and the Critics: Forging a National Art in the 1870s” shown at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City, Missouri, the L.A. County Museum of Art in Los Angeles, CA, and the High Museum of Art in Atlanta, GA.

Conway, Jill K. *The Female Experience in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century America: A Guide to the History of American Women*. New York: Garland Publishers, 1982.

Coontz, Stephanie. *The Social Origins of Private Life: A History of American Families, 1600-1900*. London: Verso, 1988.

Cooper, Douglas. *Pastels by Edgar Degas: With Thirty-Two Plates in Colour*. New York: Macmillan; Basel: Holbein, 1928.

Cooper, Wendy. *Hair: Sex, Society, Symbolism*. London: Aldus Books, 1971.

Cooper-Hewitt Museum. *Winslow Homer, 1836-1910: A Selection from the Cooper-Hewitt Collection, Smithsonian Institution*. Washington, DC: Published for the Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Decorative Arts and Design, Smithsonian Institution by the Smithsonian Institution Press, 1972.

Corbett, Theodore. *The Making of American Resorts: Saratoga Springs, Ballston Spa, Lake George*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001.

Corn, Wanda M. *The Color of Mood: American Tonalism, 1880-1910*. San Francisco, CA: M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, 1972.

Corson, Richard. *Fashions in Hair: The First Five Thousand Years*. New York: Hastings House, 1965.

———. *Fashions in Hair: The First Five Thousand Years*. Ninth impression with suppl. London: Peter Owen, 2001.

———. *Fashions in Makeup; from Ancient to Modern Times*. New York: Universe Books, 1972.

Cortissoz, Royal. *Art and Common Sense*. New York, C. Scribner's Sons, 1913.

Cott, Nancy F. *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.

———. *Root of Bitterness; Documents of the Social History of American Women*. New York: Dutton, 1972.

[Cover Illustration.] *Judge*, April 30, 1898.

Cowling, Elizabeth. “Rebirth of Venus: Women at Their Toilette.” In *Picasso Looks at Degas*, 157-209. Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute; Barcelona: Museu Picasso; New Haven: Distributed by Yale University Press, 2010.

Cowling, Elizabeth, and Richard Kendall. *Picasso Looks at Degas*. Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute; Barcelona: Museu Picasso; New Haven: Distributed by Yale University Press, 2010. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Picasso Looks at Degas" shown at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, MA.

Cox, Caroline. *Good Hair Days: A History of British Hairstyling*. London: Quartet Books, 1999.

Cox, Caroline, and Lee Widdows. *Hair & Fashion*. London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 2005.

Cozzens, Frederic Swartwout. *Prismatics*. New York; London: D. Appleton & Co., 1853.

Crane, Diana. *Fashion and Its Social Agendas: Class, Gender, and Identity in Clothing*.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Craven, Wayne. *Colonial American Portraiture: The Economic, Religious, Social, Cultural, Philosophical, Scientific, and Aesthetic Foundations*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

The Crayon: A Journal Devoted to the Graphic Arts and the Literature Related to Them. New York: AMS Press, 1970.

Cross, Louisa. "Fashionable Hair In The Eighteenth Century: Theatricality and Display." In *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion*, edited by Geraldine Biddle-Perry and Sarah Cheang, 15-26. Oxford; New York: Berg, 2008.

The Culture of Sewing: Gender, Consumption and Home Dressmaking. Oxford: Berg, 1999.

Culver, Leigh. "Performing Identities in the Art of John Singer Sargent." PhD diss., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1999.

Cumming, Valerie. *The Visual History of Costume Accessories*. London: BT Batsford, 1998.

Cumming, Valerie, and Aileen Ribeiro, eds. *A Visual History of Costume*. London: B.T. Batsford; New York: Drama Book Publishers, 1989.

Cunningham, Gail. *The New Woman and the Victorian Novel*. Barnes & Noble Books, 1978.

Cunningham, Patricia Anne. *Reforming Women's Fashion, 1850-1920: Politics, Health, and Art*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2003.

Curry, David Park. *Winslow Homer: The Croquet Game*. New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1984.

Curry-Evans, Kim, Neal A. Lester, Pamela Sneed, and Sonya Clark. *HairStories*. Scottsdale, AZ: Scottsdale Museum of Contemporary Art, 2003.

Cutshaw, Stacey McCarroll, and Ross Barrett. *In the Vernacular: Photography of the Everyday*. Boston University Art Gallery, 2008.

Czestochowski, Joseph S. *Degas, Sculptures: Catalogue Raisonné of the Bronzes*. Memphis: International Arts, 2002.

Dalrymple, Priscilla Harris. *American Victorian Costume in Early Photographs*. New York: Dover, 1991.

Dalton, John C. *Exhibition of the Works of William Morris Hunt.* 4th ed. Boston: A. Mudge & Son, printers, 1879. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Exhibition of the Works of William Morris Hunt" shown at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

Damon-Moore, Helen. *Magazines for the Millions: Gender and Commerce in the Ladies' Home Journal and the Saturday Evening Post, 1880-1910*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994.

Danly, Susan. *Facing the Past: Nineteenth-Century Portraits from the Collection of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts*. New York: American Federation of Arts; Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1992.

Darly, Matthias. *High Heads: Spotprenten Over Haarmode in De Achttiende Eeuw*. Enschede: Rijksmuseum Twenthe, 1999. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “High Heads: Spotprenten Over Haarmode in De Achttiende Eeuw" shown at the Rijksmuseum Twenthe in Enschede, the Netherlands.

Davidov, Judith Fryer. *Women's Camera Work: Self/Body/Other in American Visual Culture*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.

Davis, Deborah. *Strapless: John Singer Sargent and the Fall of Madame X*. New York: Penguin Group, 2003.

Davis, Deborah, Elaine Kilmurray, and Richard Ormond. *Sargent's Women*. New York: Adelson Galleries, 2003. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “Sargent's Women" shown at the Adelson Galleries in New York.

Davis, Deborah, and Elizabeth Oustinoff. “Madame X Speaks.” *The Magazine Antiques* 164, no. 5 (2003): 116-25.

Davis, Elliot Bostwick. “American Drawing Books and Their Impact on Winslow Homer.” *Winterthur Portfolio* 31, no. 2/3 (Summer-Autumn 1996): 141-63.

———. “Mary Cassatt's Color Prints.” *The Magazine Antiques* 154 (October 1998): 484-93.

Davis, John. “Children in the Parlor: Eastman Johnson's ‘Brown Family’ and the Post-Civil War Luxury Interior.” *American Art* 10, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 51-77.

———. “Eastman Johnson's ‘Negro Life at the South’ and Urban Slavery in Washington, DC.” *Art Bulletin* 80, no. 1 (March 1988): 67-92.

Davis, Karen A. “Christiana Carteaux Bannister (1819-1902): A Supporter of Arts and Social Causes.” *The Providence Journal*. Providence, RI, http://www.projo.com/cgi-bin/include.pl/specials/women/94root8.htm.

Davis, Keith F. *An American Century of Photography: From Dry-Plate to Digital: The Hallmark Photographic Collection*. Kansas City, MO: Hallmark Cards in association with H.N. Abrams, 1999.

———. *The Origins of American Photography: From Daguerreotype to Dry-Plate, 1839-1885*. Kansas City, MO: Hall Family Foundation in association with The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art; New Haven; London: Distributed by Yale University Press, 2007.

Dearinger, David B. *Paintings and Sculpture in the Collection of the National Academy of Design*. New York; Manchester, VT: Hudson Hills Press, 2004.

Dearinger, David B., ed. *Rave Reviews: American Art and Its Critics, 1826-1925*. New York: National Academy of Design, 2000. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Rave Reviews: American Art and Its Critics, 1826-1925" shown at the National Academy of Design, New York, the Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma, and the Indianapolis Museum of Art.

"The Decoration of the Woman's Building at the Columbian Exposition." *The Decorator and Furnisher* 23, no. 6 (March 1894): 221-22.

Degas, Edgar. *Letters*. Edited by Marcel Guérin. Oxford: B. Cassirer, 1948.

———. *Lettres de Degas*. Edited by Marcel Guérin. 7th ed. Paris: B. Grasset, 1931.

Degler, Carl N. *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

———. "What Ought To Be and What Was: Women's Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century." *The American Historical Review* 79, no. 5 (December 1974): 1467-90.

DeLorme, Maureen. *Mourning Art & Jewelry*. Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishers, 2004.

Delteil, Loys, Jean Cailac, and Alan Hyman. *Camille Pissarro: L'Oeuvre Gravé et Lithographié*. San Francisco, CA: Alan Wofsy Fine Arts, (1923) 1999.

D'Emilio, John. *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Denison, Cara Dufour. *From Mantegna to Picasso: Drawings from the Thaw Collection at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York: Catalogue*. London: Royal Academy of Arts; New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1996. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "From Mantegna to Picasso: Drawings from the Thaw Collection at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York" shown at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.

DeVonyar, Jill, and Richard Kendall. *Degas and the Art of Japan*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2007.

Dewhurst, C. Kurt, Betty MacDowell, and Marsha MacDowell. *Artists in Aprons: Folk Art by American Women*. New York: Dutton, 1979.

Diary of Eleanor H. Cohen. Accessed via North American Women's Letters and Diaries (Chicago: Alexander Street Press), http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?ASL9642, 1865.

DiCicco, Vincent. "Silhouette—Portraiture in America: a Fully Developed Form of Folk Expression." *Folk Art* 26 (Fall 2001): 40-6.

Dickason, David Howard. *The Daring Young Men; the Story of the American Pre-Raphaelites*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1953.

"Died." *New York Tribune*. New York, May 19, 1871.

Diliberto, Gioia. "Art/Architecture; Sargent's Muses: Was Madame X Actually a Mister?" *The New York Times*, May 18, 2003.

———. *I Am Madame X: A Novel*. New York: Scribner, 2003.

Doezema, Marianne, and Elizabeth Milroy, eds. *Reading American Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Doherty, Amy S. "Women in Focus: Early American Women Photographers." *Picturescope* 31, no. 2 (Summer 1983): 50-56.

"The Dollars and Cents of Art." *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* 4, no. 1 (March 1860): 30.

"Domestic Art Gossip." *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* 3, no. 2 (March 1859): 87.

"Domestic Art Gossip." *The Crayon* 7, no. 3 (March 1860): 82-86.

"Domestic Art Items and Gossip." *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* 2, no. 4 (September 1858): 207.

Dorment, Richard, and Margaret F. MacDonald. *James McNeill Whistler*. New York: Abrams,
1995.

Doss, Erika. "Review of *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*." *Winterthur Portfolio* 35, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 301-5.

Douglas, Ann. *The Feminization of American Culture*. New York: Anchor

Press/Doubleday, 1988.

Downes, William Howe. *John S. Sargent: His Life and Work*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1925.

———. *The Life and Works of Winslow Homer*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911.

Doyle, Marian I. *An Illustrated History of Hairstyles 1830-1930*. Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishers, 2003.

Draner. "Le Salon pour rire." *Le Charivari* (May 1, 1884): 3.

Driskell, David C. *Hidden Heritage: Afro-American Art, 1800-1950*. San Francisco, CA: The Association, 1985. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Hidden Heritage: Afro-American Art, 1800-1950" shown at the Bellevue Art Museum in Bellevue, WA.

———. *The Other Side of Color: African American Art in the Collection of Camille O. and William H. Cosby, Jr*. San Francisco, CA: Pomegranate, 2001.

———. *Two Centuries of Black American Art*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; New York: Knopf, 1976. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Two Centuries of Black American Art" shown at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in Los Angeles, CA, the High Museum of Art in Atlanta, GA, the Museum of Fine Arts in Dallas, TX, and the Brooklyn Museum in New York.

Druick, Douglas. "La Petite Danseuse et les criminels: Degas moraliste?" In *Degas inédit: Actes du colloque Degas*, 224-50. Paris: Documentation française, 1989.

Dudden, Faye E. *Serving Women: Household Service in Nineteenth-Century America*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press; Scranton, PA: distributed by Harper & Row, 1983.

Dumas, Ann. "Degas as a Collector." *Apollo* CXLIV, no. 415 (September 1996): 3-72.

———. *Degas as a Collector*. London: National Gallery Publications, 1996.

———. *The Private Collection of Edgar Degas*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "The Private Collection of Edgar Degas" shown at the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Dunlap, William. *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*. Edited by Rita Weiss. New York: Dover Publications, (1834) 1969.

Dunwell, Frances F. *The Hudson River Highlands*. New York: Columbia University

Press, 1991.

Durbin, Gail. *Wig, Hairdressing and Shaving Bygones*. Princes Risborough: Shire, 1984.

"Eccentricities of French Art." *The Art Amateur* 11, no. 3 (August 1884): 52.

Edward M. Bannister: A Centennial Retrospective. Newport, RI: Roger King Gallery of Fine Art, 2001. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Edward M. Bannister: A Centennial Retrospective" shown at the Roger King Gallery of Fine Art in Newport, RI.

Edward Mitchell Bannister, 1828-1901, Providence Artist. Providence, RI: Rhode Island School of Design, Museum of Art, 1966.

Edwards, Elizabeth. "Photographs as Objects of Memory." In *Material Memories*, edited by Marius Kwint, Chris Breward, and Jeremy Aynsley, 221-236. Oxford: Berg, 1999.

Edwards, Elizabeth, and Janice Hart, eds. *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*. London; New York: Routledge, 2004.

Edwards, Lee M. *Domestic Bliss: Family Life in American Painting, 1840-1910*. Yonkers, NY: Hudson River Museum, 1986. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Domestic Bliss: Family Life in American Painting, 1840-1910" shown at The Hudson River Museum in Rochester, NY.

Effeny, Alison. *Cassatt*. London: Studio Editions, 1993.

Ehrenreich, Barbara, and Deirdre English. *For Her Own Good: 150 Years of the Experts' Advice to Women*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1979.

Eisenman, Stephen F. *Nineteenth Century Art: A Critical History*. 3rd ed. London: Thames & Hudson, 2007.

Ellet, Elizabeth Fries. *Women Artists in All Ages and Countries*. New York: Harper, 1859.

Empen, Cynthia Wiedemann. "Public and Exposed: The Female Body Imaged in American Visual Culture, 1848-1875." PhD diss., Bloomington: Indiana University, 2003.

Endres, Johannes. "Diderot, Hogarth, and the Aesthetics of Depilation." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 17-38.

Entwistle, Joanne, and Elizabeth Wilson, eds. *Body Dressing*. Oxford; New York: Berg, 2001.

Erotic Photography: An Exhibition. Trenton, New Jersey: Demarais Studio, 1981.

Eshleman, Mettha Westfeldt. *Madame Gautreau*. New Orleans, 1985.

"Etchings by American Women." *The New York Sun*, April 16, 1888.

Ewen, Stuart. *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976.

Ewen, Stuart, and Elizabeth Ewen. *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982.

Ewing, William A. *Love & Desire: Photoworks*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1999.

"An Excursion on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad" 5, no. 1 (July 1858): 208–210.

"Exhibition of the Academy of Design." *Art Amateur* 2, no. 6 (May 1880): 112.

"Exhibition of the Society of French Painters-Etchers." *The American Register and the Morning News*. London, April 11, 1891, vol. XXIV, no. 1201.

"Exhibitions at Art Schools. Students Win Prizes and Diplomas—News of the Studios at the Season's End." *Philadelphia Inquirer*. May 26, 1901.

"Expositions à Paris. Pastellistes Francais, Peintres-graveurs." *L'Art moderne (Brussels)*, no. 17 (April 26, 1891): 136-37.

Faderman, Lillian. *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present*. New York: Morrow, 1981.

Failing, Patricia. "Getting the Big Picture." *ARTnews* 99, no. 5 (May 2000): 192-196.

Fairbrother, Trevor. "The Shock of John Singer Sargent's Madame Gautreau." *Arts Magazine* 55 (January 1981): 90-97.

Fairbrother, Trevor J. *John Singer Sargent*. New York: Abrams, 1994.

———. *John Singer Sargent and America*. New York: Garland Publishers, 1986.

———. *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist*. Seattle Art Museum; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

———. "Notes on John Singer Sargent in New York, 1888-1890." *Archives of American Art Journal* 22, no. 4 (1982): 27-32.

———. *Sargent Portrait Drawings: 42 Works by John Singer Sargent*. New York: Dover, 1983.

Farwell, Beatrice. *Manet and the Nude: A Study of Iconography in the Second Empire*. New York: Garland Publishers, 1981.

"[Fashion Plates]." *Godey's Lady's Book*, September 1858.

Fashion Plates, 1800-1900. London: Penguin, 1943.

Favis, Roberta Smith. "Home Again: Worthington Whittredge's Domestic Interiors." *American Art* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 15-35.

Faxon, Alicia. "Painter and Patron: Collaboration of Mary Cassatt and Louisine Havemeyer." *Woman's Art Journal* 3, no. 2 (Autumn 1982-Winter 1983): 15-20.

The Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, and The Museum of African American History. *Black Entrepeneurs of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Boston: The Federal Reserve Bank of Boston; Nantucket, MA: The Museum of African American History, 2009. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Black Entrepeneurs of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" shown at The Federal Reserve Bank of Boston in Boston, MA and The Museum of African American History in Nantucket, MA.

Federhen, Deborah Anne, Bradley C. Brooks, and Lynn A. Brocklebank. *Accumulation & Display: Mass Marketing Household Goods in America, 1880-1920*. Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1986.

Fehrer, Catherine. "Women at the Académie Julian in Paris." *The Burlington Magazine* 136, no. 1100 (November 1994): 752-757.

Feigenbaum, Gail. *Degas and New Orleans: A French Impressionist in America*. New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art, 1999.

Feldman, Martha, and Bonnie Gordon. *The Courtesan's Arts: Cross-cultural Perspectives*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Feminisms: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism. 2nd ed. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997.

Ferber, Linda S. "Themes in American Genre Painting, 1840-80." *Apollo* 115, no. 242 (April 1982): 250-259.

Ferber, Linda S., and William H. Gerdts. *The New Path: Ruskin and the American Pre-Raphaelites*. New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1985.

Ferguson, Charles B. “Aaron Draper Shattuck, White Mountain School Painter.” *American Art Review* 3, no. 3 (June 1976): 68-81.

Fernandez, Rafael, and Alexandra R. Murphy. *Degas in the Clark Collection*. Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1987.

“Fine Arts.” *The Independent* 33, no. 1703 (July 21, 1881): 9.

“Fine Arts.” *New York Times*, April 17, 1870.

“Fine Arts. Pictures Elsewhere.” *The Nation*, November 15, 1866.

“The Fine Arts: the Woman's Art Club.” *The Critic: a Weekly Review of Literature and the Arts* 21 (February 24, 1894): 137.

Fine, Elsa Honig. *Women & Art: A History of Women Painters and Sculptors from the Renaissance to the 20th Century*. Montclair, NJ: Allanheld & Schram/Prior, 1978.

Fineman, Mia. *Other Pictures: Anonymous Photographs from the Thomas Walther Collection*. Santa Fe, NM: Twin Palms Publishers, 2000.

Fink, Lois. “American Artists in France, 1850-1870.” *American Art Journal* 5, no. 2 (November 1973): 32-49.

Firth, Raymond. *Symbols: Public and Private*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973.

Fleck, Margaret B. *History of Cosmetics and Hairdressing*. Bronx, NY: Milady Publishing Corporation, 1970.

Florentin, P. *Album de Dessins en Cheveux. Repertoire de P. Florentin Professeur de Dessins en Cheveux*. Privately printed: Paris, 1856.

Floyd, Phylis A. “The Puzzle of *Olympia*.” *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2004). http://19thc-artworldwide.org/index.php/spring04/285-the-puzzle-of-olympia.

[F. L. S.]. *The Art of Ornamental Hair Work*. London: Bosworth and Harrison, 1856.

Flynn, James J. “The Legend of Breakneck.” *Folklore Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1959): 48-58.

Flynt, Suzanne L. *The Allen Sisters: Pictorial Photographers 1885-1920*. Deerfield, MA: Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, 2002.

Foan, Gilbert Arthur. *The Art and Craft of Hairdressing; a Standard and Complete Guide*

to the Technique of Modern Hairdressing, Manicure, Massage and Beauty Culture. London; New York: Sir I. Pitman & Sons, Ltd., 1931.

Ford, Colin. *You Press the Button We Do the Rest: The Birth of Snapshot Photography*. London: Nishen in association with the National Museum of Photography Film and Television, 1988.

Foreman, P. Gabrielle. "Recovered Autobiographies and the Marketplace: *Our Nig's* Generic Genealogies and Harriet Wilson's Entrepreneurial Enterprise." In *Harriet Wilson's New England: Race, Writing, and Region*, edited by JerriAnne Boggis, Eve Allegra Raimon, and Barbara A. White. Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press; Hanover: Published by University Press of New England, 2007.

Foreman, P. Gabrielle, and Katherine Flynn. "Mrs. H.E. Wilson, Mogul?" *The Boston Globe*, February 15, 2009.

Foresta, Merry A. *American Photographs: The First Century from the Isaacs Collection in the National Museum of American Art*. Washington, DC: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1996.

Fort, Bernadette. "Editor's Note." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): v-vi.

Fort, Ilene Susan. "High Art and the American Experience; the Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter." Master's thesis, New York: Queens College, 1975.

De Fourcaud, Louis. "Le Salon de 1884." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 29 (June 1884): 477-78; 482-84.

"France." *New York Times*, June 7, 1868.

Frazier Gallery. *Eastman Johnson, 1832-1906: Forerunner of Homer and Eakins*. New York: Frazier Gallery, 1937.

"French Writers and Artists." *Appleton's Journal: a Monthly Miscellany of Popular Literature* 5, no. 13 (September 1878): 277.

French, Harry Willard. *Art and Artists in Connecticut*. Boston: Lee and Shepard; New York: C.T. Dillingham, 1879.

———. *Art and Artists in Connecticut*. New York: Kennedy Graphics, 1970.

Friedrich, Otto. *Olympia: Paris in the Age of Manet*. New York: HarperCollins, 1992.

Frith, Henry. "A Golden Tress." *Saturday Evening Post* 64, no. 51 (July 4, 1885): 9.

Fuchs, Rachel Ginnis. *Poor and Pregnant in Paris: Strategies for Survival in the*

Nineteenth Century. Rutgers University Press, 1992.

G. W. Bungay. "Eastman Johnson, A Representative American Artist." *The Phrenological Journal and Science of Health* 75, no. 6 (December 1882): 1.

Gallati, Barbara Dayer. *Children of the Gilded Era: Portraits by Sargent, Renoir, Cassatt and Their Contemporaries*. London; New York: Merrell, 2004.

———. *Great Expectations: John Singer Sargent Painting Children*. Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Museum in association with Bulfinch Press, 2004.

———. "Narrative Strategies in Winslow Homer's Art." In *Winslow Homer: Illustrating America*, 9-26. Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum of Art in association with George Braziller, 2000.

———. "The Shattuck Family: Aaron Draper Shattuck's Experiment in Narrative Content." *American Art Journal* 20, no. 3 (1988): 37-47.

———. *William Merritt Chase*. New York: Harry N. Abrams in association with the National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1995.

———. *William Merritt Chase: Modern American Landscapes, 1886-1890*. Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum of Art in association with H. Abrams, 1999.

———. "Women in Modern American Life." In *Winslow Homer: Illustrating America*, edited by Marilyn S. Kushner, Linda S. Ferber, and Barbara Dayer Gallati, 88. New York: Brooklyn Museum of Art in association with George Braziller, 2000.

Gamman, Lorraine, and Margaret Marshment, eds. *The Female Gaze: Women as Viewers of Popular Culture*. Seattle: Real Comet Press, 1989.

Garb, Tamar. *Bodies of Modernity: Figure and Flesh in Fin-de-Siècle France*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998.

———. *The Painted Face: Portraits of Women in France, 1814-1914*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

———. *Sisters of the Brush: Women's Artistic Culture in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

———. *Women Impressionists*. New York: Rizzoli, 1986.

Gardner, Albert Ten Eyck. "Metropolitan Americana." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 16, no. 1. New Series (Summer 1957): 1-12.

Gardner, Vivien, and Susan Rutherford. *The New Woman and Her Sisters: Feminism and*

Theatre, 1850-1914. Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992.

Garland, Joseph E. *Boston's North Shore: Being an Account of Life Among the Noteworthy, Fashionable, Wealthy, Eccentric, and Ordinary, 1823-1890*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1978.

Garrett, Elisabeth Donaghy. *At Home: The American Family, 1750-1870*. New York: H.N. Abrams, 1990.

Garvey, Ellen Gruber. *The Adman in the Parlor: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

———. "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women." *American Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (March 1995): 66-101.

Gaskins, Bill. *Good and Bad Hair*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997.

Gautier, Théodore. "Untitled." *Le Moniteur Universel* (June 24, 1865).

Gayne, Mary K. "Illicit Wigmaking in Eighteenth-Century Paris." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 119-137.

———. "The Wigmakers, the Public, and the State: Cultural and Material Production of Eighteenth-century French Hairstyles." PhD diss., New York: Cornell University, 2007.

Geffroy, Gustave. "Salon de 1886: VIII. Hors du Salon. Impressionistes." *La Justice*. Paris, May 26, 1886.

Gelbart, Nina Rattner. "The Blonding of Charlotte Corday." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 201-221.

Gerdts, William H. "The Empty Room." *Bulletin of the Allen Memorial Art Museum* 33, no. 2 (1975): 72-88.

———. *The Great American Nude: A History in Art*. New York: Praeger, 1974.

———. *Revealed Masters: 19th Century American Art: an Exhibition Organized by American Federation of Arts, New York*. New York: American Federation of Arts, 1974. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Revealed Masters: 19th Century American Art" shown at the American Federation of Arts in New York.

Giarusso, Edward A. "Reclaiming a Lost World: 19th Century Providence Art." *Rhode Island Review* (Summer 1983): 5-10.

Gibbs-Smith, Charles Harvard. *The Fashionable Lady in the 19th Century*. London: Her

Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960.

Gifford, Carolyn De Swarte, ed. *The American Ideal of the "True Woman" as Reflected in Advice Books to Young Women*. New York: Garland Publishers, 1987.

Gilliam, Anne. “Winslow Homer’s Knitting Women. Fate, Mythology, and the Sea in Homer’s Art of the 1880s.” *Winslow Homer: an Annual* 7 (1992): 3-55.

Gindhart, Maria P. “Imaging Blackness in the Long Nineteenth Century.” *Visual Resources* 24, no. 3 (2008): 225-32.

Gitter, Elisabeth G. “The Power of Women’s Hair in the Victorian Imagination.” *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 99, no. 5 (October 1984): 936-54.

Glauber, Carole. *Witch of Kodakery: The Photography of Myra Albert Wiggins, 1869-1956*. Pullman, Wash: Washington State University Press, 1997.

Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine. Philadelphia: L.A. Godey, 1840.

Godwin, Parke. *Vala, a Mythological Tale*. New York: G. P. Putnam, 1851.

Goncourt, Edmond de, and Jules de Goncourt. *Journal: mémoires de la vie littéraire*. Vol. 4. Paris: Fasquelle, Flammarion, 1956.

Goodrich, Lloyd. *The Graphic Art of Winslow Homer*. New York: Museum of Graphic Art, 1968.

———. *Thomas Eakins*. Cambridge, MA: Published for the National Gallery of Art by Harvard University Press, 1982.

———. *Winslow Homer*. New York: Macmillan for the Whitney Museum of American Art, 1944.

Goodrich, Lloyd, and Abigail Booth Gerdts. *Record of Works by Winslow Homer*. New York: Spanierman Gallery, 2005.

Goodrum, Charles A., and Helen Dalrymple. *Advertising in America: The First 200 Years*. New York: H.N. Abrams, 1990.

Goodyear, Frank Henry. *American Paintings in the Rhode Island Historical Society*. Providence, RI: Rhode Island Historical Society, 1974.

———. *Zaida Ben-Yusuf: New York Portrait Photographer*. London: Merrell, 2008.

Gordon, Beverly. “Woman's Domestic Body: The Conceptual Conflation of Women and

Interiors in the Industrial Age." *Winterthur Portfolio* 31, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 281-301.

Gover, C. Jane. *The Positive Image: Women Photographers in Turn of the Century America*. SUNY Press, 1988.

Grant, Robert. "The North Shore of Massachusetts." *Scribner's Magazine*, July 1894.

"Grave and Gay Paris Talk." *New York Times*, April 1, 1890.

Green, Harvey. *The Light of the Home: An Intimate View of the Lives of Women in Victorian America*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1983.

Greenough, Sarah, and Diane Waggoner. *The Art of the American Snapshot, 1888-1978: From the Collection of Robert E. Jackson*. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Grier, Katherine C. *Culture & Comfort: Parlor Making and Middle-Class Identity, 1850-1930*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997.

Griffin, Randall C. *Homer, Eakins, and Anshutz: The Search for American Identity in the Gilded Age*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2004.

———. *Winslow Homer: An American Vision*. London and New York: Phaidon, 2006.

Grilli, Stephanie. "Pre-Raphaelitism and Phrenology." In *Pre-Raphaelite Papers*, edited by Leslie Parris, 44-60. London: Tate Gallery, 1984.

Grinnell, Nancy Whipple. "Rhode Island Painters of the Late 19th Century." *American Art Review* 20, no. 1 (February 2008): 92-99.

Groce, George Cuthbert, and David H. Wallace. *Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1860*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957.

———. *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1860*. 1957. Reprint, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969.

Groft, Tammis Kane, and Mary Alice Mackay, eds. *Albany Institute of History & Art: 200 Years of Collecting*. New York: Hudson Hills Press in association with Albany Institute of History & Art, 1998.

Grover, Kathryn. *Hard at Play: Leisure in America, 1840-1940*. University of Massachusetts Press, 1992.

Grover, Kathryn, ed. *Dining in America, 1850-1900*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987.

Gunn, Peter. *Vernon Lee: Violet Paget, 1856-1935*. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Guthrie, Jill. *Camera Women: Women Photographers in the Collection of the Princeton University Art Museum*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Art Museum, 2001.

Gutman, Herbert George. *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1976.

Hague, Norma. *Combs and Hair Accessories*. Cincinnati: Seven Hills Books; Cambridge: Lutterworth, 1985.

Hale, Nancy. *Mary Cassatt*. Garden City, NY.: Doubleday, 1975.

Hale, Sarah Josepha Buell. *Manners; or, Happy Homes and Good Society All the Year Round*. 1868. Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1972.

Hales, Peter Bacon. *Silver Cities: Photographing American Urbanization, 1839-1939*. University of New Mexico Press, 2005.

Halford, William, and Charles Young. *The Jewellers' Book of Patterns in Hair Work: Containing a Great Variety of Copper-Plate Engravings of Devices and Patterns in Hair; Suitable for Mourning Jewellery, Brooches, Rings, Guards, Alberts, Necklets, Lockets, Bracelets, Miniatures, Studs, Links, Earrings, &c. &c. &c.* London: Published and sold by William Halford & Charles Young, Manufacturing Jewellers, 1864.

Hallpike, C. R. "Social Hair." *Man* 4, no. 2 (June 1969): 256-64.

Haltman, Kenneth. "Antipastoralism in Early Winslow Homer." *The Art Bulletin* 80, no. 1 (March 1998): 93-112.

Halttunen, Karen. *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.

Hannavy, John. *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-century Photography*. CRC Press, 2008.

Hannum, Gillian Greenhill. "Frances Benjamin Johnston: Promoting Women Photographers in *The Ladies' Home Journal*." *Nineteenth Century* 24, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 22-29.

Harris, Juliette, and Pamela Johnson, eds. *Tenderheaded: A Comb-Bending Collection of Hair Stories*. New York: Pocket Books, 2001.

Harris, Michael D. *Colored Pictures: Race and Visual Representation*. Chapel Hill:

University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Harris, Middleton A., ed. *The Black Book*. New York: Random House, 1974.

Harrison, Charles. *Painting the Difference: Sex and Spectator in Modern Art*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Harrison, Charles, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger. *Art in Theory, 1815-1900: an Anthology of Changing Ideas*. New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 1998.

Hartigan, Lynda Roscoe. *Sharing Traditions: Five Black Artists in Nineteenth-Century America: From the Collections of the National Museum of American Art*. Washington, DC: Published for the Museum by the Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985.

Hartmann, Sadakichi. "Eastman Johnson: American Genre Painter." *The Studio; an Illustrated Magazine of Fine and Applied Art* 43 (March 1908): 106-11.

Harvey, Eleanor Jones. *The Painted Sketch: American Impressions from Nature, 1830-1880*. Dallas, TX: Dallas Museum of Art, 1998.

Harvey-Lee, Elizabeth. *Mistresses of the Graphic Arts: Famous & Forgotten Women Printmakers c.1550-c.1950: A New Stock Catalogue, Autumn 1995*. North Aston, Oxfordshire: Elizabeth Harvey-Lee, 1995.

Hassell, Albert. *Transactions of the Fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography, Washington, September 23-28, 1912*. Washington DC: Government printing office, 1913.

Havemeyer, Louisine Waldron Elder. *Sixteen to Sixty; Memoirs of a Collector*. New York: Privately printed for the family of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1961.

Haweis, Mary Eliza Joy. *The Art of Beauty and The Art of Dress*. 1878. Reprint, New York: Garland Publishers, 1978.

Hecht, Thom. "Hair Control: The Feminine 'Disciplined Head.'" In *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion*, edited by Geraldine Biddle-Perry and Sarah Cheang, 205-214. Oxford; New York: Berg, 2008.

Helfand, Jessica. *Scrapbooks: An American History*. Winterhouse ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

Heller, Adele, and Lois Rudnick, eds. *1915, the Cultural Moment: The New Politics, the New Woman, the New Psychology, the New Art & the New Theatre in America*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991.

Hellerstein, Erna Olafson, Leslie Parker Hume, and Karen M. Offen, eds. *Victorian Women: A Documentary Account of Women's Lives in Nineteenth-Century England, France, and the United States*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1981.

Hendricks, Gordon. *Eadweard Muybridge: The Father of the Motion Picture*. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1975.

———. *The Photographs of Thomas Eakins*. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1972.

Henrotin, Ellen M. "An Outsider's View of the Woman's Exhibit." *The Cosmopolitan; a Monthly Illustrated Magazine*, September 1893.

Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum. *A Guide to the Microfiche Edition of Trade Catalogues at the Winterthur Museum*. Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1991.

Herdrich, Stephanie L., and H. Barbara Weinberg. *American Drawings and Watercolors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: John Singer Sargent*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000.

Hershman, P. "Hair, Sex and Dirt." *Man* 9, no. 2 (June 1974): 274-298.

Herzog, Don. "The Trouble with Hairdressers." *Representations*, no. 53 (Winter 1996): 21-43.

Hickman, Katie. *Courtesans: Money, Sex, and Fame in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Harper Collins, 2003.

High Museum of Art. *The Beckoning Land: Nature and the American Artist: A Selection of Nineteenth Century Paintings*. Atlanta, GA: High Museum of Art; Supplied by Worldwide Books, Boston, 1971. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "The Beckoning Land: Nature and the American Artist: A Selection of Nineteenth Century Paintings" shown at the High Museum of Art, Atlanta, GA.

Higham, John. *From Boundlessness to Consolidation: the Transformation of American Culture, 1848-1860*. Ann Arbor: William L. Clements Library, 1969.

Higonnet, Anne. *Berthe Morisot*. New York: Harper & Row, 1990.

———. *Berthe Morisot's Images of Women*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.

———. "Feminine Visual Culture in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." In *Berthe Morisot's Images of Women*, 84-122. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press,

1992.

———. “Secluded Vision: Images of Feminine Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe.” In *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, 171-185. New York: IconEditions, 1992.

Hill, May Brawley. *Fidelia Bridges, American Pre-Raphaelite*. New York: Berry-Hill Galleries, 1981. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Fidelia Bridges, American Pre-Raphaelite" shown at the New Britain Museum of American Art.

Hills, Patricia. “Cultural Racism: Resistance and Accommodation in the Civil War Art of Eastman Johnson and Thomas Nast.” In *Seeing High & Low: Representing Social Conflict in American Visual Culture*, 103-123. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

———. *Eastman Johnson*. New York: C.N. Potter in association with the Whitney Museum of American Art, 1972.

———. “Eastman Johnson's *The Field Hospital*: the U.S. Sanitary Commission, and Women in the Civil War.” *Minneapolis Institute of Arts Bulletin* 65 (1981): 66-81.

———. *The Genre Painting of Eastman Johnson: The Sources and Development of His Style and Themes*. New York: Garland Publishers, 1977.

———. *John Singer Sargent*. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art in association with H.N. Abrams, 1986. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “John Singer Sargent, An Exhibition" shown at the Whitney Museum in New York and The Art Institute of Chicago in Chicago, IL.

———. “John Sloan's Images of Working-Class Women: A Case Study of the Roles and Interrelationships of Politics, Personality, and Patrons in the Development of Sloan's Art, 1905-16.” In *Reading American Art*, edited by Marianne Doezema and Elizabeth Milroy, 311-349. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

———. *The Painters' America: Rural and Urban Life, 1810-1910*. New York: Praeger, 1974. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "The Painters' America: Rural and Urban Life, 1810-1910" shown at the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, and the Oakland Museum.

———. *Turn-of-the-Century America: Paintings, Graphics, Photographs, 1890-1910*. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1977. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “Turn-of-the-Century America: Paintings, Graphics, Photographs, 1890-1910" shown at The Whitney Museum of American Art in New York.

Hiltebeitel, Alf, and Barbara D. Miller, eds. *Hair: Its Power and Meaning in Asian*

Cultures. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998.

Hine, Darlene Clark. *Black Women in America*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Hirsch, Marianne, ed. *The Familial Gaze*. Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College, 1999.

Hirschl & Adler Galleries. *American Genre Painting in the Victorian Era: Winslow Homer, Eastman Johnson, and Their Contemporaries*. New York: Hirschl & Adler Galleries, 1978.

Hirshler, Erica E. *A Studio of Her Own: Women Artists in Boston, 1870-1940*. Boston: MFA Publications, 2001.

Hirshler, Erica E., and H. Barbara Weinberg. "Americans in Paris, 1860-1900." *American Art Review* 18, no. 3 (June 2006).

Hobbs, Susan A. *The Art of Thomas Wilmer Dewing: Beauty Reconfigured*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996.

Hodder, Ian, ed. *The Meanings of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression*. London; Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

Hoeber, Arthur. "*The Century's*' American Artists Series: Mary Cassatt." *Century Illustrated Magazine* 57, no. 5 (March 1899): 740.

Hofmann, Werner. *Degas: A Dialogue of Difference*. London; New York: Thames & Hudson, 2007.

Holland, Juanita. "'Co-Workers in the Kingdom of Culture': Edward Mitchell Bannister and the Boston Community of African-American Artists, 1848-1901." PhD diss., New York: Columbia University, 1998.

———. *Edward Mitchell Bannister, 1828-1901*. New York: Kenkeleba House; Stamford, CT: Whitney Museum of American Art at Champion; New York: Distributed by Harry N. Abrams, 1992. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Edward Mitchell Bannister, 1828-1901" shown at the Kenkeleba House in New York and the Whitney Museum of American Art at Champion in Stamford, CT.

———. *The Life and Work of Edward Mitchell Bannister (1828-1901): a Research Chronology and Exhibition Record*. New York: Kenkeleba House, 1992.

———. "To be Free, Gifted, and Black: African American Artist Edward Mitchell Bannister." *International Review of African American Art* 12, no. 1 (1995): 4–25.

Holland, Samantha. *Alternative Femininities: Body, Age and Identity*. Oxford: Berg, 2004.

Hollander, Anne. *Seeing Through Clothes*. New York: Viking Press, 1978.

Holliday, Ruth, and John Hassard, eds. *Contested Bodies*. London; New York: Routledge, 2001.

Holm, Christiane. "Sentimental Cuts: Eighteenth-Century Mourning Jewelry with Hair." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 139-143.

"The Home-Feeling." *Hours at Home; A Popular Monthly of Instruction and Recreation* 1, no. 5 (September 1865): 409.

"Home and Woman." *Hours at Home; A Popular Monthly of Instruction and Recreation* 7, no. 1 (October 1868): 64.

Homer, William Innes. *Thomas Eakins: His Life and Art*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1992.

Hoppin, Augustus. *Carrot-Pomade, with Twenty-Six Illustrations*. New York: J.G. Gregory, 1864.

Hoppin, Martha J. "William Morris Hunt: Portraits from Photographs." *American Art Journal* 11, no. 2 (April 1979): 44-57.

———. "Women Artists in Boston, 1870-1900: The Pupils of William Morris Hunt." *American Art Journal* 13, no. 1 (Winter 1981): 17-46.

Hoppin, Martha J., and Henry Adams. *William Morris Hunt, a Memorial Exhibition*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1979. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "William Morris Hunt, a Memorial Exhibition" shown at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, MA.

Horton, James Oliver, and Lois E. Horton. *Black Bostonians: Family Life and Community Struggle in the Antebellum North*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1979.

———. *Black Bostonians: Family Life and Community Struggle in the Antebellum North*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1999.

Hosford, Desmond. "The Queen's Hair: Marie-Antoinette, Politics, and DNA." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 183-200.

How to Arrange the Hair or, Golden Rules for the Fair Sex. London: Partridge and Co., 1857.

Howat, John K. *American Paradise: The World of the Hudson River School*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "American Paradise: The World of the Hudson River School" shown at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

Hubbard, Louise. "Imaging Human Hair as an Iconography of Custom and Habit, Poetry and Emotion." Master's thesis, Australia: RMIT University, 2001.

Huber, Christine Jones. *The Pennsylvania Academy and Its Women, 1850-1920*. Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1974. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "The Pennsylvania Academy and Its Women, 1850-1920" shown at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia, PA.

Huggett, Renée. *Hair-Styles and Head Dresses*. London: Batsford Academic and Educational, 1982.

Hughs, Mary. *The Ivy Wreath*. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1849.

Humphrey, Heide. *Hair: Cooper-Hewitt Museum, the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Design, New York, NY, June 10 to August 17, 1980.* New York: The Smithsonian Institution, 1980. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Hair" shown at the Cooper-Hewitt Museum in New York.

Humphreys, Hugh Campbell. *Gateway to America: The Alice Austen House and Esplanade*. New York: Friends of The Alice Austen House and Esplanade, 1968.

Humphreys, Hugh Campbell, and Regina Benedict. "The Friends of Alice Austen." *Infinity*, July 1967.

Humphreys, Mary Gay. "Art in Dress." *The Art Amateur* 6, no. 4 (March 1882): 86.

Humphreys, Nancy K. *American Women's Magazines: An Annotated Historical Guide*. New York: Garland Publishers, 1989.

Hunt, Lynn, ed. *Eroticism and the Body Politic*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.

Hunt, William Morris. *Talks on Art*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1883.

———. *W. M. Hunt's Talks About Art*. 1878. Reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1975.

Husch, Gail E. *Something Coming: Apocalyptic Expectation and Mid-Nineteenth Century American Painting*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2000.

Hutchinson, Earl Ofari. *Let Your Motto Be Resistance; the Life and Thought of Henry*

Highland Garnet. Boston: Beacon Press, 1972.

"Illustrations." *Every Saturday*, August 6, 1870.

"Illustration." *Godey's Lady's Book*, January 1865.

"Illustrations: On the Beach at Newport, Marie Antoinette, Jo and the Professor." *Every Saturday*, July 23, 1870.

Ilyin, Natalia. *Blonde Like Me: The Roots of the Blonde Myth in Our Culture*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000.

"Impressionisme." *Saturday Review* 52 (January 26, 1884): 111-12.

"Impressions of the Salon." *The Times (London)*, June 3, 1884.

"In the World of Art." *New York Times*, April 21, 1895.

Isham, Samuel. *The History of American Painting*. New York: The Macmillan Company, rev. ed., 1936.

Iskin, Ruth E. "Was There a New Woman in Impressionist Painting?" In *Women in Impressionism: from Mythical Feminine to Modern Woman*, edited by Sidsel Maria Søndergaard, 189-223. Milan: Skira, 2006.

Ives, Colta Feller. *The Great Wave: The Influence of Japanese Woodcuts on French Prints*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; distributed by New York Graphic Society, 1974.

Jacobs, Donald M., ed. *Courage and Conscience: Black & White Abolitionists in Boston*. Bloomington, IN: Published for the Boston Athenaeum by Indiana University Press, 1993.

Jacobs-Huey, Lanita. *From the Kitchen to the Parlor: Language and Becoming in African American Women's Hair Care*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Jacobus, Mary. "Woman who Mistook her Art for a Hat." *Art History* 16, no. 3 (September 1993): 470-74.

Jaffee, David, Jack Larkin, and Elizabeth Mankin Kornhauser. *Meet Your Neighbors: New England Portraits, Painters, & Society, 1790-1850*. Edited by Caroline F. Sloat. Sturbridge, MA: Old Sturbridge Village; Amherst, MA: Distributed by the University of Massachusetts Press, 1992. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Meet Your Neighbors: New England Portraits, Painters, & Society, 1790-1850" shown at the Old Sturbridge Village in Sturbridge, MA.

James, Henry. “John S. Sargent.” *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 75, no. 449 (October 1887): 683-92.

———. “On Some Pictures Lately Exhibited.” *The Galaxy. A Magazine of Entertaining Reading* 20, no. 1 (July 1875): 89.

———. *Picture and Text*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1893.

Janson, Anthony F. *Worthington Whittredge*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Jay, Robert. *The Trade Card in Nineteenth-Century America*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987.

Jedding-Gesterling, Maria, ed. *Hairstyles: A Cultural History of Fashions in Hair from Antiquity up to the Present Day*. Hamburg: Hans Schwarzkopf, 1988.

Jennings, Jan. “Drawing on the Vernacular Interior.” *Winterthur Portfolio* 27, no. 4 (Winter 1992): 255-79.

Johns, Elizabeth. *American Genre Painting: The Politics of Everyday Life*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1991.

———. *Thomas Eakins, the Heroism of Modern Life*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983.

———. *Winslow Homer: The Nature of Observation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Johnson, Carmelita Garceau. *Ornamental Hair-Work: A Novice's Guide to Collecting Jewelry and Household Items Made of, or Decorated with, Human Hair*. Canoga Park, CA: Orirana Press, 1980.

Johnson, Dale T. *American Portrait Miniatures in the Manney Collection*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1990.

Johnson, Deborah. “Cassatt's Color Prints of 1891: The Unique Evolution of a Palette.” *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 9, no. 3 (Spring 1990): 31-39.

Johnson, Deborah J. *Whistler to Weidenaar: American Prints, 1870-1950: Gifts from the Fazzano Brothers and Other Donors*. Providence, RI: Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 1987. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “Whistler to Weidenaar: American Prints, 1870-1950: Gifts from the Fazzano Brothers and Other Donors" shown at the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design in Providence, RI.

"Johnson, Eastman Death." *New York Daily Tribune*, April 6, 1906.

Johnson, Elizabeth. "African American Women's Hair as Text." PhD diss., Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University, 2004.

Johnson, Gretchen W., and Christopher R. Miller. "Obsessed by Hair: Through the Lens of Hair Jewelry." Unpublished manuscript. The Newark Museum Association, 2002.

Johnson, William Henry. *Autobiography of Dr. William Henry Johnson, Respectfully Dedicated to His Adopted Home, the Capital City of the Empire State.* New York, Haskell House, 1970.

Johnston, Patricia, ed. *Seeing High & Low: Representing Social Conflict in American Visual Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

Jolly, Penny Howell. *Hair: Untangling a Social History*. Saratoga Springs, NY: Frances Young Tang Teaching Museum and Art Gallery at Skidmore College, 2004.

———. "The Ideal Woman." In *Hair: Untangling a Social History*, edited by Penny Howell Jolly, 47-58. Saratoga Springs, NY: Frances Young Tang Teaching Museum and Art Gallery at Skidmore College, 2004.

Jones, C. S., and Henry T. Williams. *Hair-Work & Other Ladies' Fancy Work*. 1876. Reprint, Berkeley, CA: Lacis Publications, 2003.

Jones, John. "The National Academy of Design," May 14, 1870.

Jordan, David M. *Roscoe Conkling of New York: Voice in the Senate*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971.

Jordan, George E. "Parlange, Eshleman Family Records Uncover Story of Immortal 'Madame X'." *The Times-Picayne*. New Orleans, June 29, 1975, sec. 2.

Kaplan, Daile. *Fine Day: An Exhibition Featuring Photographs by Alice Austen, Frank Eugene, Gertrude Käsebier and Others: May 12-November 13, 1988*. Staten Island, NY: Alice Austen House, 1988. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Fine Day: An Exhibition Featuring Photographs by Alice Austen, Frank Eugene, Gertrude Käsebier and Others" shown at the Alice Austen House in Staten Island, NY.

Kaplan, Sidney. "The Negro in the Art of Homer and Eakins." *The Massachusetts Review* 7, no. 1 (Winter 1966): 105-120.

Karr, Christian. "Clear Comfort: The Alice Austen House and Museum." Master's thesis,

New York: Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, 1999.

Kasher, Steven. *America and the Tintype*. Göttingen: Steidl, 2008.

Kate, Haulman. "A Short History of the High Roll." *Common-Place* 2, no. 1 (October 2001). http://www.common-place.org/vol-02/no-01/lessons/.

Katz, Wendy Jean. "Learning Taste: Art and the Making of an Antebellum Middle-Class Identity." PhD diss., Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles, 1997.

———. *Regionalism and Reform: Art and Class Formation in Antebellum Cincinnati*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2002.

Kendall, Richard. "The Ballet: Work, Pleasure and Vice." In *Picasso Looks at Degas*, 111-19. Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute; Barcelona: Museu Picasso; New Haven: Distributed by Yale University Press, 2010.

———. "Degas and the Contingency of Vision." *The Burlington Magazine* 130, no. 1020 (March 1988): 180-216.

———. *Degas and the Little Dancer*. New Haven: Yale University Press; Omaha, NE: Joslyn Art Museum, 1998.

Kendall, Richard, ed. *Degas by Himself: Drawings, Prints, Paintings, Writings*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1987.

Kendall, Richard, and Griselda Pollock, eds. *Dealing with Degas: Representations of Women and the Politics of Vision*. New York: Universe, 1992.

Kende Galleries at Gimbel Brothers. *Gold Boxes and Watches, Jewelry, Fabergé Objects, Paintings, Prints, Furniture, Decorations, Porcelains, Oriental Rugs, Textiles, Fine Laces*. New York, 1941.

Kennedy Galleries. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Charcoal Drawings by Eastman Johnson, June 1920.* New York: [s.n.], 1920.

Kennedy, Susan Estabrook. *If All We Did Was to Weep at Home: A History of White Working-Class Women in America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979.

Kent, Rachel. *Masquerade: Representation and the Self in Contemporary Art*. Sydney: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2006.

Kessler-Harris, Alice. *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Keyes, Jean. *A History of Women's Hairstyles, 1500-1965*. London: Methuen, 1967.

Khoudari, Amy S. *Alice Austen House: A National Historic Landmark: Museum & Garden Guide*. Staten Island, NY: Friends of Alice Austen House, 1993.

———. “Looking in the Shadows: The Life and Photography of Alice Austen.” Master's thesis, New York: Sarah Lawrence College, 1993.

Kidwell, Claudia Brush. *Women's Bathing and Swimming Costume in the United States*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1968.

Kidwell, Claudia Brush, and Margaret C. S. Christman. *Suiting Everyone: The Democratization of Clothing in America*. Washington, DC: Published for the National Museum of History and Technology by the Smithsonian Institution Press, 1974.

Kidwell, Claudia Brush, and Valerie Steele, eds. *Men and Women: Dressing the Part*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989.

Kilmurray, Elaine. *John Singer Sargent*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

———. *Sargent and Impressionism*. New York: Adelson Galleries, 2010. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Sargent and Impressionism" shown at the Adelson Galleries, New York.

———. “Sargent, Monet...and Manet.” In *Sargent and Impressionism*, 4-16. New York: Adelson Galleries, 2010.

Kincaid, James Russell. *Child-Loving: The Erotic Child and Victorian Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1992.

Kingsbury, Martha. “John Singer Sargent; Aspects of His Work.” PhD diss., Harvard University, 1969.

Kitch, Carolyn L. *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

Klanten, Robert, Matthias Hübner, and Sven Ehmann, eds. *Hair'em Scare'em*. Berlin: Gestalten, 2009.

Klee, Cristina Bishop. “The Happy Family and the Politics of Domesticity, 1840-1870.” PhD diss., Newark, DE: University of Delaware, 2004.

Kleinberg, S. J. *Women in the United States, 1830-1945*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999.

Koke, Richard J. *American Landscape and Genre Paintings in the New-York Historical Society: A Catalog of the Collection, Including Historical, Narrative, and Marine Art*. New York: The Society in association with G.K. Hall, Boston, 1982.

Kornhauser, Elizabeth Mankin. *American Paintings Before 1945 in the Wadsworth Atheneum*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.

Kornhauser, Elizabeth Mankin, and Amy Ellis. *Hudson River School: Masterworks from the Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford, 2003. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Hudson River School: Masterworks from the Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art" shown at The Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University in Stanford, CA, the Carnegie Museum of Art in Pittsburgh, PA, the North Carolina Museum of Art in Raleigh, NC, the Tacoma Art Museum in Tacoma, WA, the Philbrook Museum of Art in Tulsa, OK, The St. Louis Art Museum in St. Louis, MO, and the Frist Center for the Visual Arts in Nashville, TN.

Korzenik, Diana. *Drawn to Art: A Nineteenth-Century American Dream*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1985.

Kouwenhoven, John Atlee. *The Arts in Modern American Civilization*. New York: Norton, 1967.

———. "What is Vernacular?" In *The Arts in Modern American Civilization*, 13-42. New York: Norton, 1948.

Krause, Martin F., Jr. "William McGregor Paxton and Examples of Nineteenth-century Taste." *Nineteenth Century* 6, no. 2 (Summer 1980): 48-51.

Kreisel, Martha. *American Women Photographers: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999.

Kunzle, David. *Fashion and Fetishism: A Social History of the Corset, Tight-Lacing, and Other Forms of Body-Sculpture in the West*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1982.

———. *Fashion and Fetishism: Corsets, Tight-Lacing & Other Forms of Body-Sculpture*. Stroud: Sutton, 2004.

Kushner, Marilyn S. "Notes on Homer and Wood Engraving." In *Winslow Homer: Illustrating America*, 27-39. Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum of Art in association with George Braziller, 2000.

Kushner, Marilyn S., Barbara Dayer Gallati, and Linda S. Ferber, eds. *Winslow Homer: Illustrating America*. New York: Brooklyn Museum of Art in association with

George Braziller, 2000.

Kwint, Marius, Christopher Breward, and Jeremy Aynsley, eds. *Material Memories*. Oxford: Berg, 1999.

Kwolek-Folland, Angel. *Incorporating Women: A History of Women and Business in the United States*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998.

L. Shaw (Firm). *How to Be Beautiful: Unrivalled Hair and Beautifying Bazar*. New York: L. Shaw, 1878.

"Ladies' and Children's Bathing Costumes." *Harper's Bazaar* 4, no. 33 (August 19, 1871): 521.

Lafoy, John B. M. D. *The Complete Coiffeur; or, An Essay on the Art of Adorning Natural, and of Creating Artificial, Beauty*. New York: Stereotyped for the Proprietors, and sold by all the Principal Booksellers, 1817.

Lancaster, Jane. "At Long Last, A Tribute to Bannister." *Providence Journal*, 2002.

———. "I Would Have Made Out Very Poorly Had it Not Been for Her." *Rhode Island History* 59, no. 4 (2001).

Landgren, Marchal E. *The Late Landscapes of William Morris Hunt*. College Park: University of Maryland Art Gallery, 1976.

Langford, Martha. *Suspended Conversations: the Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.

Larsen, Nella. *Quicksand; and Passing*. Edited by Deborah E. McDowell. Rutgers University Press, 1986.

Lauer, Jeanette C., and Robert H. Lauer. "The Battle of the Sexes...." *Journal of Popular Culture* 13, no. 4 (June 1980): 581-89.

Laurie, Bruce. *Artisans into Workers: Labor in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1989.

Leader, Bernice Kramer. "The Boston Lady as a Work of Art: Paintings by the Boston School at the Turn of the Century." PhD diss., New York: Columbia University, 1980.

Lears, T. J. Jackson. *American Victorians and Virgin Nature*. Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2002.

———. *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America*. New York:

Basic Books, 1994.

Ledger, Sally. “The New Woman and Feminist Fictions.” In *The Cambridge Companion to the Fin de Siècle*, edited by Gail Marshall, 153-68. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Lee, Vernon. *Vernon Lee's Letters*. [s.l.]: Privately printed, 1937.

Lemoisne, Paul-André. *Degas et Son Oeuvre*. 4 vols. Paris: P. Brame et C. M. de Hauke, aux Arts et métiers graphiques, 1946.

Lemoisne, Paul-André, and Philippe Brame. *Degas et Son Oeuvre*. New York: Garland Publishers, 1984.

Lenčeк, Lena. *The Beach: The History of Paradise on Earth*. New York, NY: Viking, 1998.

Leonard, Charles Henri. *A Popular Treatise on the Hair, Its Growth, Care, Diseases and Their Treatment*. Detroit: George S. Davis, 1879.

Lesnik-Oberstein, Karín. *The Last Taboo: Women and Body Hair*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2006.

Levine, Barbara, and Stephanie Snyder. *Snapshot Chronicles: Inventing the American Photo Album*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2006.

Lewis, Samella S. *African American Art and Artists*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

Library of Congress. *Hair; a Pictorial Tribute*. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division; International Exhibitions Foundation, 1972.

Lindsay, Suzanne G. *Mary Cassatt and Philadelphia*. Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1985. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “Mary Cassatt and Philadelphia" shown at the Philadelphia Museum of Art in Philadelphia, PA.

Lipton, Eunice. *Looking into Degas: Uneasy Images of Women and Modern Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

Llorens Serra, Tomás. *Sargent, Sorolla*. Paris: Petit Palais, 2006.

Loewenberg, Bert James, and Ruth Bogin, eds. *Black Women in Nineteenth-Century American Life: Their Words, Their Thoughts, Their Feelings*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976.

Logan, Olive. “Life at Long Branch.” *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 53, no. 316

(September 1876): 481-95.

Logan, Rayford Whittingham, and Michael R. Winston, eds. *Dictionary of American Negro Biography*. New York: Norton, 1982.

Lomax, James, and Richard Ormond. *John Singer Sargent and the Edwardian Age*. Leeds: Leeds Art Galleries, 1979.

"Long Branch." *New York Times*, August 18, 1872.

"Long Branch: The American Boulogne." *Every Saturday*, August 26, 1871.

Louden-Hanes, Marie. "Winslow Homer and the Demimonde." PhD diss., Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University, 1994.

Lovell, Margaretta M. *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

———. "Reading Eighteenth-Century American Family Portraits: Social Images and Self-Images." *Winterthur Portfolio* 22, no. 4 (Winter 1987): 243-264.

Lowe, Margaret A. *Looking Good: College Women and Body Image, 1875-1930*. Baltimore: James Hopkins University Press, 2005.

Lubin, David M. *Act of Portrayal: Eakins, Sargent, James*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

———. *Picturing a Nation: Art and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Luckhardt, Jochen, and Regine Marth, eds. *Lockenpracht Und Herrschermacht: Perücken Als Statussymbol Und Modisches Accessoire: Ausstellung Im Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig, 10. Mai Bis 30. Juli 2006*. Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 2006. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Curls and Sovereign Power: Wigs as a Status Symbol and Fashion Accessory" shown at the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in Braunschweig, Germany.

Lurie, Alison. *The Language of Clothes*. New York: Random House, 1981.

Lynes, Russell. *The Tastemakers*. New York: Harper, 1954.

Lynes, Russell, William H. Gerdts, and Donald B. Kuspit. *At the Water's Edge: 19th and 20th Century American Beach Scenes*. Tampa, FL: Tampa Museum of Art, 1989. Published in conjunction with the exhibition " At the Water's Edge: 19th and 20th Century American Beach Scenes" shown at the Tampa Museum of Art in Tampa, FL.

Macklin, Anderson Delano. *A Biographical History of African-American Artists, A-Z.* Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001.

MacDonald, Margaret F., Susan Grace Galassi, and Aileen Ribeiro. *Whistler, Women, & Fashion*. New York: Frick Collection in association with Yale University Press, 2003.

MacPike, Loralee. "The New Woman, Childbearing, and the Reconstruction of Gender, 1880-1900." *NWSA Journal* 1, no. 3 (Spring 1989): 368-97.

Mahawatte, Royce. "Hair and Fashioned Femininity in Two Nineteenth-Century Novels." In *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion*, edited by Geraldine Biddle-Perry and Sarah Cheang, 193-204. Oxford; New York: Berg, 2008.

Mahon, Dorothy, and Silvia Centeno. "A Technical Study of John Singer Sargent's Portrait of Madame Pierre Gautreau." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 40 (2005): 14-15; 121-29.

Mainz, Valérie, and Griselda Pollock, eds. *Work and the Image*. Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2000.

Malagoli, Marisa. *Hairdressing Throughout History*. Milano, Italy: C.E.B. Edicharme, 1984.

Mancoff, Debra N. *Mary Cassatt: Reflections of Women's Lives*. New York: Stewart, Tabori and Chang, 1998.

Manthorne, Katherine, and John W. Coffey. *The Landscapes of Louis Remy Mignot: A Southern Painter Abroad*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996.

Mantz, Paul. "Exposition des oeuvres des artistes indépendants." *Le Temps* (April 23, 1881): 3.

Marien, Mary Warner. *Photography: A Cultural History*. 2nd ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2006.

Marks, Montague. "My Note-Book." *The Art Amateur* (February 1895): n. p.

Marks, Patricia. *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1990.

Marmor, Michael F. *Degas Through His Own Eyes: Visual Disability and the Late Style of Degas*. Paris: Somogy Editions d'Art, 2002.

Marsh, Jan, ed. *Black Victorians: Black People in British Art, 1800-1900*. Aldershot, Hampshire; Burlington, VT: Lund Humphries, 2005.

Marshall, Alice Kahler. “Women in the Civil War and Sanitary Commission Graphics Collection, 1861-1907.” Unpublished manuscript. Pennsylvania State University.

Marshall, Darlene. “The Character of Home: The Domestic Interior in American Painting.” PhD diss., University Park: The Pennsylvania State University, 2005.

Marshall, Gail, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the Fin de Siècle*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Martin, Ann Smart. “Makers, Buyers, and Users: Consumerism as a Material Culture Framework.” *Winterthur Portfolio* 28, no. 2/3 (Summer-Autumn 1993): 141-157.

Martin, Ann Smart, and J. Ritchie Garrison, eds. *American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field*. Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1997.

Martin, Francis John. “The Image of Black People in American Illustration from 1825 to 1925.” PhD diss., Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles, 1986.

Martin, William. “The Hair Worker's Manual, Being a Treatise on Hair Working.” Brighton, England, 1852.

Martinez, Katharine, and Kenneth L. Ames, eds. *The Material Culture of Gender, the Gender of Material Culture*. Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum; Hanover: Distributed by University Press of New England, 1997.

Mathews, Marcia M. *Henry Ossawa Tanner, American Artist*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.

Mathews, Nancy Mowll. *Cassatt and Her Circle: Selected Letters*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1984.

———. *Cassatt, a Retrospective*. New York: H.L. Levin Associates, Inc, 1996.

———. *Mary Cassatt*. New York: Abrams in association with National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1987.

———. *Mary Cassatt: A Life*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

———. *Mary Cassatt: Friends and Family*. Shelburne, VT: Shelburne Museum, 2008. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “Mary Cassatt: Friends and Family" shown at the Shelburne Museum in Shelburne, VT and the National Museum of Women in the Arts in Washington, DC.

———. *Mary Cassatt and Edgar Degas*. San Jose: The Museum, 1981. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Mary Cassatt and Edgar Degas," shown at the San Jose Museum of Art.

———. “Mary Cassatt and the 'Modern Madonna' of the Nineteenth Century.” PhD diss., New York: New York University, 1980.

Mathews, Nancy Mowll, and Barbara Stern Shapiro. *Mary Cassatt: The Color Prints*. New York: H.N. Abrams with Williams College Museum of Art, 1989. Published conjunction with the exhibition "Mary Cassatt: The Color Prints" shown at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and at the Williams College Museum of Art, Williamstown, MA.

Matthews, Jean V. *The Rise of the New Woman: the Women's Movement in America, 1875-1930*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2003.

Maupassant, Guy de. *Contes Et Nouvelles*. Edited by Louis Forestier. Vol. 2. Paris: Gallimard, 1979.

———. *Une Vie*. Édition établie par Pierre Cogny. Paris: GF-Flammarion, 1974.

Maus, Octave. “Les Vingtistes parisiens.” *Art moderne (Brussels)* 6, no. 26 (June 27, 1886): 201-204.

Mavor, Carol. *Pleasures Taken: Performances of Sexuality and Loss in Victorian Photographs*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995.

Maynard, Margaret. “A Dream of Fair Women: Revival Dress and the Formation of Late Victorian Images of Femininity.” *Art History* 12 (September 1989): 322-41.

Mayo, Edith. *American Material Culture: The Shape of Things Around Us*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1984.

McCaskill, Barbara, and Caroline Gebhard, eds. *Post-Bellum, Pre-Harlem: African American Literature and Culture, 1877-1919*. New York: New York University Press, 2006.

McCaughey, Patrick. “Native and Nomad: Winslow Homer and John Singer Sargent.” *Daedalus* 116, no. 1 (Winter 1987): 133-153.

McClellan, Elisabeth. *History of American Costume, 1607-1870*. New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1969.

McCracken, Grant David. *Big Hair: A Journey into the Transformation of Self*. Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, 1996.

———. *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.

McDannell, Colleen. *The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840-1900*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.

McElroy, Guy C. *Facing History: The Black Image in American Art, 1710-1940*. San Francisco, CA: Bedford Arts Publishers in association with the Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1990.

McGuire, Judith White Brockenbrough. *Diary of Judith White Brockenbrough McGuire*. Accessed via North American Women's Letters and Diaries (Chicago: Alexander Street Press), http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?ASL9642, 1867.

McKibbin, David Milton Kendall. *Sargent's Boston*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1956.

McKinstry, E. Richard. *Trade Catalogues at Winterthur: A Guide to the Literature of Merchandising, 1750 to 1980*. New York: Garland Publishers, 1984.

McMullen, Roy. *Degas: His Life, Times, and Work*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984.

Mehaffey, Karen Rae. *Victorian American Women, 1840-1880: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Garland Publishers, 1992.

Melot, Michel. *The Impressionist Print*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.

Mercer, Kobena. *Welcome to the Jungle: New Positions in Black Cultural Studies*. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Mercier, John Denis. "The Evolution of the Black Image in White Consciousness, 1876-1954, a Popular Culture Perspective." PhD diss., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1984.

Merish, Lori. "'The Hand of Refined Taste' in the Frontier Landscape: Caroline Kirkland's *A New Home, Who'll Follow*? and the Feminization of American Consumerism." *American Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (December 1993): 485-523.

———. "Sentimental Consumption: Harriet Beecher Stowe and the Aesthetics of Middle-Class Ownership." *American Literary History* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 1-33.

Meyers, Jeffrey. *Impressionist Quartet: The Intimate Genius of Manet and Morisot, Degas and Cassatt*. Orlando: Harcourt, 2005.

Miles, Ellen Gross, ed. *The Portrait in Eighteenth-Century America*. Newark: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1993. Published in

conjunction with the exhibition “American colonial portraits, 1700-1776" shown at the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC.

Miller, David C., ed. *American Iconology: New Approaches to Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993.

Miller, Janice. “Hair Without a Head: Disembodiment and the Uncanny.” In *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion*, edited by Geraldine Biddle-Perry and Sarah Cheang, 183-192. Oxford; New York: Berg, 2008.

Miner, George Leland. *Angell's Lane: The History of a Little Street in Providence*. Providence, RI: Akermann-Standard Press, 1948.

“Minor Exhibitions.” *The Art Amateur* (April 1894): 128.

Mirzoeff, Nicholas, ed. *The Visual Culture Reader*. London; New York: Routledge, 1998.

“Miss Cassatt's Paintings.” *New York Sun*, April 19, 1895.

Mitchell, Dolores. “The ‘New Woman’ as Prometheus: Women Artists Depict Women Smoking.” *Woman's Art Journal* 12, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1991): 3-9.

Mitchell, Mark DeSaussure. “The Artist-makers: Professional Art Training in Mid-Nineteenth-century New York City.” PhD diss., New Jersey: Princeton University, 2002.

Mitnick, Barbara J., ed. *George Washington: American Symbol*. New York: Hudson Hills Press in association with the Museums at Stony Brook and the Museum of Our National Heritage, 1999.

“Modern Portrait Painting.” *The Living Age*, April 12, 1902.

Moffett, Charles S. *The New Painting, Impressionism, 1874-1886*. Geneva, Switzerland: R. Burton, 1986. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "The New Painting: Impressionism 1874-1886," shown at the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco and the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

Monroe, Lucy. “Chicago Letter.” *The Critic: a Weekly Review of Literature and the Arts* (June 10, 1893): 390.

De Mont., Elie. “L'Exposition du boulevard des Capucines.” *La Civilisation* (April 21, 1881): 1-2.

“A Monte Cristo Fete.” *Current Literature* 1, no. 3 (September 1888): 217.

Montesquiou, Robert de. "'Le Pavé rouge': Quelques Reflexions sur l'oeuvre de M. Sargent." *Les Arts de la Vie* 3 (June 1905): 329-48.

Montez, Lola. *The Arts and Secrets of Beauty, with Hints to Gentlemen on the Art of Fascinating*. 1858. Reprint, New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1969.

Montezuma [pseud. for Montague Marks]. "My Note-Book." *The Art Amateur* 15, no. 2 (July 1886): 24.

———. "My Note Book." *The Art Amateur* (August 1889): 46.

———. "My Note Book." *The Art Amateur* 25, no. 6 (November 1891): 130.

Moore, George. "Degas: The Painter of Modern Life." *The Magazine of Art* 13 (1890): 416-25.

———. *Impressions and Opinions*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1891.

———. "Memories of Degas." *The Burlington Magazine* 32, no. 178 (January 1918): 22-29.

———. "Memories of Degas (Conclusion)." *The Burlington Magazine* 32, no. 179 (February 1918): 63-65.

Morgan, Jo-Ann. "African-American Women in Nineteenth Century Visual Culture." PhD diss., Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles, 1997.

Morisot, Berthe. *Berthe Morisot, the Correspondence with Her Family and Friends: Manet, Puvis De Chavannes, Degas, Monet, Renoir and Mallarmé*. Edited by Denis Rouart. Translated by Betty W. Hubbard. Mt. Kisco, NY: Moyer Bell, 1987.

———. *Croquis De Ma Mere... (Facsimile Sketchbook)*. [S.l.: s.n.], 1886.

———. *Croquis De Ma Mère, Berthe Morisot. G.M.* [S.l.: s.n.], 1956.

Morrow, Willie Lee. *400 Years Without a Comb*. San Diego, CA: Morrow's Unlimited, Inc., 1973.

Mosby, Dewey F. *Across Continents and Cultures: the Art and Life of Henry Ossawa Tanner*. Kansas City, MO: Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 1995.

Mosby, Dewey F., Darrel Sewell, and Rae Alexander-Minter. *Henry Ossawa Tanner*. Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Museum of Art; New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1991. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Henry Ossawa

Tanner" shown at the Philadelphia Museum of Art in Philadelphia, PA.

Moss, Dorothy. “John Singer Sargent, *Madame X* and *Baby Millbank*.” *The Burlington Magazine* 143, no. 1178 (May 2001): 268-275.

Mossell, N. F. *The Work of the Afro-American Woman*. 1894. Reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

“The Most Eminent of Living American Women Painters.” *Current Literature* 46, no. 2 (February 1909): 167.

Motz, Marilyn Ferris, and Pat Browne, eds. *Making the American Home: Middle-Class Women & Domestic Material Culture*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988.

Mount, Charles Merrill. *John Singer Sargent, a Biography*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1955.

Moure, Nancy Dustin Wall. *American Narrative Painting*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1974.

Moynihan, Danny. *Private Collection: A History of Erotic Photography*. London: Other Criteria, 2008.

“Mrs. Ayer in an Asylum.” *New York Times*, February 28, 1893.

“Mrs. Harriet Ayer Dead.” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 26, 1903.

“Mrs. James Brown Potter. A Practical Business Woman Expresses An Opinion—What Mrs. Harriet Hubbard Ayer Thinks of This Charming Actress and Society Belle.” *The New York Times*, December 4, 1887.

Munroe, Alexandra. *The Third Mind: American Artists Contemplate Asia, 1860-1969*. New York: Guggenheim Museum, 2009.

Murphy, Kevin D. “'Secure from All Intrusion': Heterotopia, Queer Space, and the Turn of the Twentieth Century American Resort.” *Winterthur Portfolio* 43, no. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2009): 185-228.

Murphy, Kevin M. “Painting for Money: Winslow Homer as Entrepreneur.” *Winterthur Portfolio* 37, no. 2/3 (Summer-Autumn 2002): 147-160.

Murphy, Patricia. *Time is of the Essence: Temporality, Gender, and the New Woman.* State University of New York Press, 2001.

Myers, John Walker. “Aaron Draper Shattuck, 1832-1928, Painter of Landscapes and

Student of Nature's Charms." PhD diss., Newark, DE: University of Delaware, 1982.

Napolitan, Louis. *Six Thousand Years of Hair Styling*. New York: Printed by the Polygraphic Co. of America, 1939.

National Academy of Design. *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1826-1860*. New York: Printed for the New-York Historical Society, 1943.

"The National Academy of Design." *The Art Amateur* 32, no. 6 (May 1895): 158.

"National Academy of Design. First Notice." *New York Evening Post*, April 27, 1870.

"National Academy of Design. Forty-fifth Annual Exhibition." *New York World*, April 24, 1870.

National Portrait Gallery (Smithsonian Institution). *Portrait of a Nation*. London; New York: Merrell, 2006.

Naylor, Maria. *The National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1861-1900*. New York: Kennedy Galleries, 1973.

Nazarieff, Serge. *Early Erotic Photography*. Köln: Benedikt Taschen, 1993.

Nell, William Cooper. *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution*. 1855. Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1968.

———. *Services of Colored Americans in the Wars of 1776 and 1812*. 1851. Reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1976.

Nelson, Elizabeth White. *Market Sentiments: Middle-Class Market Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2004.

Nettles, Gail Gene. "Winslow Homer and the Women in His Art." *Winslow Homer: an Annual* 6 (1991): 3-76.

New Britain Museum of American Art, and Charles B. Ferguson. *Aaron Draper Shattuck, N.A., 1832-1928; a Retrospective Exhibition*. New Britain, CT: New Britain Museum of American Art, 1970. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Aaron Draper Shattuck, N.A., 1832-1928; a Retrospective Exhibition" shown at the New Britain Museum of American Art in New Britain, CT.

New Hampshire Historical Society. *Consuming Views: Art & Tourism in the White Mountains, 1850-1900*. Concord, NH: New Hampshire Historical Society; Hanover and London: Distributed by University Press of New England, 2006. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Consuming Views: Art & Tourism

in the White Mountains, 1850-1900" shown at The Museum of New Hampshire History in Concord, NH.

"New Pictures in Paris." *New York Times*, May 18, 1884.

Newark Museum. *American Art in the Newark Museum: Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture*. Newark, NJ: The Museum, 1981.

"The Newly Discovered Picture World of Alice Austen." *Life*, September 24, 1951.

New-York Historical Society. *Catalogue of American Portraits in the New York Historical Society*. New Haven: Published for the New-York Historical Society by Yale University Press, 1974.

———. *A Guide to Print, Photograph, Architecture and Ephemera Collections at the New-York Historical Society*. New York: New-York Historical Society, 1998.

———. *Perspectives on the Collections of the New-York Historical Society: The Henry Luce III Center for the Study of American Culture*. New York: New-York Historical Society, 2000.

Nicgorski, Ann M. "The Iconography of the Herakles Knot and the Herakles-Knot Hairstyle of Apollo and Aphrodite." PhD diss., Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1995.

Nickel, Douglas R. "History of Photography: The State of Research." *The Art Bulletin* 83, no. 3 (September 2001): 548–58.

———. *Snapshots: The Photography of Everyday Life, 1888 to the Present*. San Francisco, CA: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1998. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Snapshots: The Photography of Everyday Life, 1888 to the Present" shown at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art in San Francisco, CA.

Noble, Lulu Gray. "A Small Piece of the Woman Question." *Scribner's Monthly* 3, no. 4 (February 1872): 483-488.

Nochlin, Linda. *Bathers, Bodies, Beauty: The Visceral Eye*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.

———. *The Body in Pieces: The Fragment as a Metaphor of Modernity*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1995.

———. "Issues of Gender in Cassatt and Eakins." In *Nineteenth Century Art: A Critical History*, edited by Stephen F. Eisenman, 349-367. 3rd ed. London: Thames & Hudson, 2007.

———. *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society*. New York: Harper & Row, 1989.

———. *Representing Women*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1999.

———. *Women, Art, and Power: And Other Essays*. New York: Harper & Row, 1988.

North American Print Conference. *Art & Commerce: American Prints of the Nineteenth Century: Proceedings of a Conference Held in Boston, May 8-10, 1975, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1978.

North Carolina Central University. *Edward Mitchell Bannister: American Landscape Artist*. Durham, NC: North Carolina Central University, 1997.

Northern, Orathai Meon. "Making Hair Black, Making Black Hair: Untangling the Politics of Hair and Race." PhD diss., Riverside: University of California, Riverside, 2006.

"Notes of the Week." *New York Times*, December 11, 1897.

Novak, Barbara. *American Painting of the Nineteenth Century; Realism, Idealism, and the American Experience*. New York: Praeger, 1969.

Novotny, Ann. *Alice's World: The Life and Photography of an American Original, Alice Austen, 1866-1952*. Old Greenwich, CT: Chatham Press, 1976.

Nunn, Joan. *Fashion in Costume: 1200-1980*. London: Herbert, 1984.

Nylander, Jane C. *Our Own Snug Fireside: Images of the New England Home, 1760-1860*. New York: Knopf, 1993.

Obeyesekere, Gananath. *Medusa's Hair: An Essay on Personal Symbols and Religious Experience*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Objects of Special Devotion: Fetishism in Popular Culture. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1982.

O'Connell, James C. *Becoming Cape Cod: Creating a Seaside Resort*. Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2003.

Ofek, Galia. *Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture*. Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009.

O'Hare, Mary-Kate. "John Singer Sargent and Modern Womanhood." *The Magazine Antiques* 169, no. 3 (March 2006): 72-79.

O'Leary, Elizabeth L. *At Beck and Call: The Representation of Domestic Servants in Nineteenth-Century American Painting*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996.

O'Leary, Mary Elizabeth Lokey. "At Beck and Call: The Representation of Domestic Servants in Nineteenth-Century American Painting." PhD diss., Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1993.

Olson, Roberta J. M. *Drawn by New York: Six Centuries of Watercolors and Drawings at the New-York Historical Society*. New York: New-York Historical Society, 2008. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Drawn by New York: Six Centuries of Watercolors and Drawings at the New-York Historical Society" shown at the New-York Historical Society, New York; the Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie; and the Taft Museum of Art, Cincinnati.

Olson, Stanley. *John Singer Sargent, His Portrait*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986.

"On the Beach at Long Branch." *Appletons' Journal of Literature, Science and Art* 2, no. 21 (August 21, 1869): 22.

"Opening of the Forty-fifth Annual Exhibition of the Academy of Design—Some of the Portraits and Landscapes—Picture Sales." *New York Times,* April 17, 1870.

Ormond, Richard. *John Singer Sargent: Paintings, Drawings, Watercolours*. London: Phaidon, 1970.

Ormond, Richard, and Elaine Kilmurray. *John Singer Sargent: Complete Paintings*. New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1998.

———. *John Singer Sargent: Complete Paintings*. New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2010.

Orvell, Miles. *American Photography*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Otfinoski, Steven. *African Americans in the Visual Arts*. New York: Facts on File, 2003.

Ottervik, Kathleen V. "Thomas Eakins and the Image of Woman." Master's thesis, Louisville, KY: University of Louisville, 1995.

"Our American Artists." *Hours at Home: A Popular Monthly of Instruction and Recreation* 4, no. 2 (December 1866): 172.

"Our Watering-Places." *The Crayon* 3, no. 11 (November 1856): 337-38.

Ovenden, Graham. *Pre-Raphaelite Photography*. London: Academy Editions; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984.

Ovenden, Graham, and Peter Mendes. *Victorian Erotic Photography*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973.

Painter, George D. *Marcel Proust: A Biography*. Vol. 1. London: Chatto and Windus, 1959.

Palmquist, Peter E. *A Bibliography of Writings by and About Women in Photography, 1850-1990*. Arcata, CA: P.E. Palmquist, 1994.

Palmquist, Peter E., ed. Camera Fiends & Kodak Girls: 50 Selections by and About Women in Photography, 1840-1930. New York: Midmarch Arts Press, 1989.

Panzer, Mary. *Mathew Brady and the Image of History*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press for the National Portrait Gallery, 1997.

"The Paris Salon." *Saturday Review* 57, no. 1493 (June 7, 1884): 74.

"The Paris Salon and the American Exhibits." *New York Herald*, May 1, 1890.

"Parisian Novelties." *Observer*. New Zealand, March 27, 1886.

Parker, Rozsika, and Griselda Pollock. *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.

Parmly, Eleazar. *Address to the Graduating Class of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery at Its Seventh Annual Commencement, February 1847*. Baltimore, MD: John W. Woods, 1847.

———. *Thoughts in Rhyme*. New York: T. Holman, 1867.

Parris, Leslie, ed. *Pre-Raphaelite Papers*. London: Tate Gallery, 1984.

Parry Janis, Eugenia. *Degas Monotypes: Essay, Catalogue & Checklist*. Cambridge, MA: Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, 1968. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Degas Monotypes" shown at the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University in Cambridge, MA.

Passeron, Roger. *Impressionist Prints*. New York: Dutton, 1974.

Patterson, Cynthia Lee. "'A Taste for Refined Culture': Imag(in)ing the Middle Class in the Philly Pictorials in the 1840s and 50s." PhD diss., Fairfax, VA: George Mason University, 2005.

Patterson, Martha H. *The American New Woman Revisited: a Reader, 1894-1930*. Rutgers University Press, 2008.

Patterson, Orlando. *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Payne, Blanche. *History of Costume, from the Ancient Egyptians to the Twentieth Century*. New York: Harper & Row, 1965.

Payne, Blanche, Geitel Winakor, and Jane Farrell-Beck. *The History of Costume: From Ancient Mesopotamia Through the Twentieth Century*. 2nd ed. New York: HarperCollins, 1992.

Pearl, Cora. *The Memoirs of Cora Pearl: the English Beauty of the French Empire*. George Vickers, 1886.

Peet, Phyllis. *American Women of the Etching Revival*. Atlanta, GA: The Museum, 1988. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "American Women of the Etching Revival" shown at the High Museum of Art in Atlanta, GA.

———. “The Emergence of American Women Printmakers in the Late Nineteenth Century.” PhD diss., Los Angeles: University of California, 1987.

Peimer, Laura. “Alice's Identity Crisis: a Critical Look at the Alice Austen House Museum.” *History of Photography* 24, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 175-79.

Peiss, Kathy Lee. *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 1998.

Péladeau, Marius B. *Chansonetta: The Life and Photographs of Chansonetta Stanley Emmons, 1858-1937*. Waldoboro: Maine Antique Digest, 1977.

Penguin [pseud.]. “The Paris Salon.” *The American Architect and Building News* 15, no. 443 (June 21, 1884): 295-96.

———. “The Paris Salon.” *The Artist* 5, no. 54 (June 1, 1884): 186-89.

Penny, Virginia. *The Employments of Women: a Cyclopaedia of Woman's Work*. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co., 1863.

Perdican [pseud.]. “Courrier de Paris.” *L'Illustration* 77 (June 18, 1881): 412.

———. “Courrier de Paris.” *L'Illustration* 82 (August 11, 1883): 83.

Perrot, Philippe. *Fashioning the Bourgeoisie: A History of Clothing in the Nineteenth*

Century. Translated by Richard Bienvenu. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Perry, Claire. *Young America: Childhood in 19th-Century Art and Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts, Stanford University, 2006. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “Young America: Childhood in 19th-Century Art and Culture" shown at the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts, Stanford University in Stanford, CA.

Perry, Gill. “Staging Gender and 'Hairy Signs': Representing Dorothy Jordan's Curls.” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 145-163.

Perry, Regenia A. *Free Within Ourselves: African-American Artists in the Collection of the National Museum of American Art*. Washington, DC: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution in association with Pomegranate Artbooks, San Francisco, 1992.

Peters, Marsha, and Bernard Mergen. “'Doing the Rest’: The Uses of Photographs in American Studies.” *American Quarterly* 29, no. 3 (1977): 280–303.

Peterson, Harold Leslie. *Americans at Home: From the Colonists to the Late Victorians; a Pictorial Source Book of American Domestic Interiors with an Appendix on Inns and Taverns*. New York: Scribner, 1971.

Petteys, Chris. *Dictionary of Women Artists: An International Dictionary of Women Artists Born Before 1900*. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1985.

Peyton, Kate Virginia. “My Blonde Wig.” *Peterson's Magazine* 70, no. 5 (November 1876): 318.

Pfeiffer, Ingrid. “Impressionism is Feminine: On the Reception of Morisot, Cassatt, Gonzalès, and Bracquemond.” In *Women Impressionists*, edited by Ingrid Pfeiffer and Max Hollein, 12-30. Frankfurt am Main: Schirn Kunstahlle Frankfurt, 2008.

Pfeiffer, Ingrid, and Max Hollein, eds. *Women Impressionists*. Frankfurt am Main: Schirn Kunstahlle Frankfurt, 2008. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “Women Impressionists: Berthe Morisot, Mary Cassatt, Eva Gonzalés, Marie Bracquemond" shown at Schirn Kunsthalle in Frankfurt, Germany and the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco in San Francisco, CA.

Pfitzer, Gregory M. “Woman at the Water's Edge: The Body Language of Winslow Homer's Seascape Women.” *American Transcendental Quarterly* 8 (December 1994): 257-286.

Phillips New York Auctioneers. *American Art*. New York: Phillips, de Pury &

Luxembourg, 2002.

Phillips, Claude. “The Salon II.” *Academy* 25, no. 632 (June 14, 1884): 427.

Phillips, Dorothy W. *A Catalogue of the Collection of American Paintings in the Corcoran Gallery of Art*. Washington, DC: The Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1966.

Phillips, Sandra S., and Linda Weintraub, eds. *Charmed Places: Hudson River Artists and Their Houses, Studios, and Vistas*. New York: Edith C. Blum Art Institute, Bard College, and the Vassar College Art Gallery in association with H.N. Abrams, 1988.

“Pictures by Mary Cassatt.” *New York Times*, April 18, 1895.

Piepmeier, Alison. *Out in Public: Configurations of Women's Bodies in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Pisano, Ronald G. *Idle Hours: Americans at Leisure, 1865-1914*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1988.

———. *William Merritt Chase: The Complete Catalogue of Known and Documented Work by William Merritt Chase (1849-1916)*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

Pissarro, Camille. *Camille Pissarro: Letters to His Son Lucien*. Edited by John Rewald. 3rd ed. Mamaroneck, NY: P.P. Appel, 1972.

Pitman, Joanna. “In Pursuit of a Fair Likeness.” *Country Life* 197, no. 12 (March 20, 2003): 100.

———. *On Blondes*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2003.

Pivar, David J. *Purity Crusade: Sexual Morality and Social Control, 1868-1900*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973.

Plante, Ellen M. *Women at Home in Victorian America: A Social History*. New York: Facts on File, 1997.

Pohl, Frances K. “Black and White in America.” In *Nineteenth Century Art: A Critical History*, edited by Stephen F. Eisenman, 199-223. 3rd ed. London: Thames & Hudson, 2007.

Pointon, Marcia R. *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*. New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1993.

———. *Naked Authority: The Body in Western Painting, 1830-1908*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Pollock, Griselda. *Mary Cassatt*. London: Chaucer, 2005.

———. *Mary Cassatt: Painter of Modern Women*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1998.

———. "Mary Cassatt: Painter of Women and Children." In *Reading American Art*, 280-301. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

———. "Mary Cassatt: The Touch and the Gaze, or Impressionism for Thinking People." In *Women Impressionists*, edited by Ingrid Pfeiffer and Max Hollein, 154-67. Frankfurt am Main: Schirn Kunstahlle Frankfurt, 2008.

———. "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity." In *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, edited by Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, 245-67. New York: IconEditions, 1992.

———. *Vision and Difference: Femininism, Femininity and the Histories of Art*. 1988. Reprint, London; New York: Routledge, 2003.

Pope, Daniel. *The Making of Modern Advertising*. New York: Basic Books, 1983.

Porter, James A. *Modern Negro Art*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1992.

Potter, Eliza. *A Hairdresser's Experience in High Life*. Cincinnati: Privately printed, 1859.

———. *A Hairdresser's Experience in High Life*. 1859. Reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Powell, Margaret K., and Joseph Roach. "Big Hair." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 79-99.

Praz, Mario. *Conversation Pieces; a Survey of the Informal Group Portrait in Europe and America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971.

Prelinger, Elizabeth. *The Gilded Age: Treasures from the Smithsonian American Art Museum*. New York: Watson-Guptill Publications in association with the Smithsonian American Art Museum, 2000.

Prettejohn, Elizabeth. *Interpreting Sargent*. London: Tate Gallery, 1998.

Prieto, Laura R. *At Home in the Studio: the Professionalization of Women Artists in America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Prince, Althea. *The Politics of Black Women's Hair*. London, Ontario: Insomniac Press, 2009.

Princeton University, and Sinclair Hamilton. *Early American Book Illustrators and Wood Engravers, 1670-1870; a Catalogue of a Collection of American Books*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Library, 1958.

Pringué, Gabriel Louis. *30 Ans de Dîners en Ville*. Paris: Revue Adam, 1948.

Procter, Richard Wright. *The Barber's Shop*, with an introduction by William E. A. Axon. Manchester, England: A. Haywood, 1883.

Prown, Jules D. "Winslow Homer in His Art." In *Reading American Art*, 264-279. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Prown, Jules David. *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

Pultz, John. *Photography and the Body*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995.

Pyne, Kathleen. "Evolutionary Typology and the American Woman in the Work of Thomas Dewing." *American Art* 7, no. 4 (Autumn 1993): 13-29.

Pyne, Kathleen A. *Art and the Higher Life: Painting and Evolutionary Thought in Late Nineteenth-Century America*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996.

Rabinow, Rebecca A., ed. *Cézanne to Picasso: Ambroise Vollard, Patron of the Avant-Garde*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Cézanne to Picasso: Ambroise Vollard, Patron of the Avant-Garde" shown at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the Art Institute of Chicago, and the Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

Radford, Frederick Henry, ed. *The Art and Craft of Hairdressing Including Beauty Culture and Therapy: A Standard and Complete Guide to Modern Techniques and Salon Management*. London: Pitman, 1968.

Ratcliff, Carter. *John Singer Sargent*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1982.

Rather, Susan. "Carpenter, Tailor, Shoemaker, Artist: Copley and Portrait Painting around 1770." *The Art Bulletin* 79, no. 2 (June 1997): 269-290.

———. "Contrary Stuart." *American Art* 24, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 66-93.

Rauser, Amelia. "Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 101-117.

———. “Sex and Sensibility: Hair in the Macaroni Caricatures of the 1770s.” In *Hair: Untangling a Social History*, edited by Penny Howell Jolly, 29-38. Saratoga Springs, NY: Frances Young Tang Teaching Museum and Art Gallery at Skidmore College, 2004.

“Recent Accessions.” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 11, no. 5 (May 1916): 113-15.

Reed, Christopher. “The Artist and the Other: the Work of Winslow Homer.” *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* (Spring 1989): 68-79.

Reed, Sue Welsh, and Barbara Stern Shapiro. *Edgar Degas: The Painter as Printmaker*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1984.

Reff, Theodore. *Degas: The Artist's Mind*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976.

———. *Manet, Olympia*. London: Allen Lane, 1976.

———. *The Notebooks of Edgar Degas: A Catalogue of the Thirty-Eight Notebooks in the Bibliothèque Nationale and Other Collections.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

“The Reigning Beauty of Paris.” *Nelson Evening Mail*. New Zealand, July 19, 1880.

“The Reigning Beauty of Paris.” *Pittsburg Dispatch*. Pittsburgh, PA, August 2, 1891.

Renaud, Philippe, William Wheeler, and Corinne Fossey. *Les Détails Du Corps: La chevelure*. Paris: Bookking International, 1994.

Rennie, James. *The Art of Preserving the Hair, on Popular Principles; Including an Account of the Diseases to Which It Is Liable*. London, Prowett, 1826.

Revised Catalogue of Perfumery, Essential Oils, Combs, Brushes, Toilet Articles, Human Hair, Walking Sticks, Cricketing Goods, etc. London: R. Houvenden & Sons, 1864.

Rey, Jean Dominique. *Berthe Morisot*. Translated by Shirley Jennings. New York: Crown Publishers, 1982.

Rey, Robert. *Manet*. Neafels, Switzerland: Bonfini Press, 1983.

Riback, Estelle. *The Intimate Landscape: A New Look at the Origins of the American Barbizon Movement*. Fort Bragg, CA: Lost Coast Press, 2004.

Ribeiro, Aileen. *Dress and Morality*. London: B.T. Batsford, 1986.

Richardson, Angélique, and Chris Willis, eds. *The New Woman in Fiction and in Fact: Fin-de-siècle Feminisms*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.

Richardson, Joanna. *The Courtesans: the Demi-Monde in 19th Century France*. Phoenix, 2003.

Richardson, John. "The Catch in the Late Picasso." *New York Review of Books* (July 19, 1984): 26.

Rideal, Liz, ed. *Mirror Mirror: Self-Portraits by Women Artists*. London: National Portrait Gallery, 2001.

Rifelj, Carol de Dobay. "*Cheveau épars*: Hair, Suffering and Eroticism in the Eighteenth-Century Novel." *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 5 (2000): 331-37.

———. *Coiffures: Hair in Nineteenth-Century French Literature and Culture*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2010.

———. "The Language of Hair in the Nineteenth-Century Novel." *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 32, no. 1/2 (Fall 2003/Winter 2004): 83-103.

Rimmer, William. *Art Anatomy*. Rev. New York: Dover Publications, 1962.

Rinhart, Floyd, and Marion Rinhart. *Summertime: Photographs of Americans at Play, 1850-1900*. New York: C.N. Potter, 1978.

Riordan, Roger. "Miss Mary Cassatt." *The Art Amateur* 38, no. 6 (May 1898): 130.

Riordan, Teresa. *Inventing Beauty: A History of the Innovations That Have Made Us Beautiful*. New York: Broadway Books, 2004.

Roach, Marion. *The Roots of Desire: The Myth, Meaning, and Sexual Power of Red Hair*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2005.

Robertson, Bruce. *Reckoning with Winslow Homer: His Late Paintings and Their Influence*. Cleveland, OH: Published by the Cleveland Museum of Art in cooperation with Indiana University Press, 1990.

Robertson, Meg. "John Singer Sargent: His Early Success in America, 1878-1879." *Archives of American Art Journal* 22, no. 4 (1982): 21-26.

Robinson, Gwendolyn. "Class, Race and Gender: A Transcultural Theoretical and Sociohistorical Analysis of Cosmetic Institutions and Practices to 1920." PhD diss., Chicago: University of Illinois at Chicago, 1984.

Roby, Kimberla Lawson. *Be Careful What You Pray For*. New York: William Morrow, 2010.

———. *Behind Closed Doors: A Novel*. Baltimore, MD: Black Classic Press, 1997.

———. *Casting the First Stone*. New York: Kensington Books, 2000.

———. *Here and Now*. New York: Kensington Books, 1999.

Rock, Chris. *Good Hair*. Santa Monica, CA: Lionsgate, 2009.

Rogers, Sherbrooke. *Sarah Josepha Hale: A New England Pioneer, 1788-1879*. Grantham, NH: Tompson & Rutter, 1985.

Romaine, Lawrence B. *A Guide to American Trade Catalogs, 1744-1900*. New York: Bowker, 1960.

Rooks, Noliwe M. *Hair Raising: Beauty, Culture, and African American Women*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996.

———. *Ladies' Pages: African American Women's Magazines and the Culture That Made Them*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004.

Rosado, Sybil Dione. "Nappy Hair in the Diaspora: Exploring the Cultural Politics of Hair Among Women of African Descent." PhD diss., Gainesville: University of Florida, 2007.

Roscio, Jessica Loren. "Unpacking a Victorian Woman: Alice Austen and Photography of the Cult of Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America." Master's thesis, State University of New York at Buffalo, 2005.

Rosen, Marc, and Susan Pinsky. *Mary Cassatt: Prints and Drawings from the Collection of Ambroise Vollard*. New York: Adelson Galleries, 2008. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Mary Cassatt: Prints and Drawings from the Collection of Ambroise Vollard" shown at the Adelson Galleries in New York.

Rosen, Marc, Susan Pinsky, Warren Adelson, and Barbara Stern Shapiro. *Mary Cassatt: Prints and Drawings from the Artist's Studio*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Rosenblum, Naomi. *A History of Women Photographers*. Paris; New York: Abbeville Press, 1994.

———. *A History of Women Photographers*. 2nd ed. New York: Abbeville Press, 2000.

———. “Women in Photography: An Historical Overview.” *Exposure* 24, no. 4 (Winter 1986): 6-26.

———. *Women Seeing Women: A Pictorial History of Women's Photography from Julia Margaret Cameron to Annie Liebovitz*. New York: Norton, 2003.

Rosenthal, Angela. “Raising Hair.” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 1-16.

Rossiter, Thomas Pritchard. *Catalogue of Rossiter's Collection of Pictures and Sketches, to Be Sold at Auction*. New York: Hall, Clayton & Co, 1859.

———. *Catalogue of Valuable Antique Furniture, Paintings, Engravings and Books ... Also a Few Coins, Seals, Watches, etc*. New York: [s.n.], 1873.

———. *A Description of the Picture of "The Home of Washington After the War," Painted by T. P. Rossiter and L. R. Mignot*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1859.

———. *A Description of Five Serial Pictures, Illustrating Milton's* Paradise Lost, *Painted by Thomas P. Rossiter, N.A.* New York: Sanford, Harrow & Co., 1865.

———. “The Legend of Breakneck,” (1868?). New-York Historical Society.

———. “Notes on the Universal Exposition of Fine Arts in Paris” 2, no. 25 (December 19, 1855): 390-91.

Rounding, Virginia. *Grandes Horizontales: the Lives and Legends of Marie Duplessis, Cora Pearl, La Païva and La Présidente*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2003.

Rowland, Alexander. *The Human Hair, Popularly and Physiologically Considered with Special Reference to Its Preservation, Improvement and Adornment, and the Various Modes of Its Decoration in All Countries.* London: Piper, 1853.

Rudisill, Richard. *Mirror Image: the Influence of the Daguerreotype on American Society*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971.

Rudofsky, Bernard. *The Unfashionable Human Body*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971.

Rummell, John. *Aims and Ideals of Representative American Painters*. Buffalo, NY, 1901.

Russell, Douglas A. *Costume History and Style*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1983.

Russett, Cynthia Eagle. *Sexual Science: The Victorian Construction of Womanhood*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.

Rutherford, Emma. *Silhouette*. New York: Rizzoli, 2009.

Ryan, Mary P. *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

———. *Womanhood in America, from Colonial Times to the Present*. New York: New Viewpoints, 1975.

"The Sacrificial Parlor." *Scribner's Monthly* 9, no. 6 (April 1875): 762.

"Sale of American Paintings." *New York Times*, March 16, 1893.

"The Salon. From an Englishman's Point of View." *Art Journal (London)* 44, no. 7 (July 1882): 218.

"Le Salon de Paris: Quatrième article." *L'Art moderne (Brussels)* (June 15, 1884): 194-95.

Samuels, Shirley C., ed. *The Culture of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Sandler, Martin W. *Against the Odds: Women Pioneers in the First Hundred Years of American Photography*. New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 2002.

Sandweiss, Martha A., ed. *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*. Fort Worth, TX: Amon Carter Museum; New York: H.N. Abrams, 1991.

Santamarina, Xiomara. *Belabored Professions: Narratives of African American Working Womanhood*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

"Sargent Masterpiece Rejected by Subject Now Acquired by Museum." *The Herald*, May 12, 1916.

Scanlon, Jennifer. *Inarticulate Longings: The Ladies' Home Journal, Gender, and the Promises of Consumer Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

Schacherl, Lillian. *Edgar Degas: Dancers and Nudes*. Translated by John Ormrod. Munich: Prestel, 1997.

Schiller, Joyce K. *Woman's World, 1880-1920: From Object to Subject*. Winston-Salem, NC: Reynolda House, Museum of American Art, 2000. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “Woman's World, 1880-1920: From Object to Subject" shown at Reynolda House, Museum of American Art in Winston-Salem, NC.

Schirrmeister, Anne. “La Dernière Mode: Berthe Morisot and Costume.” In *Perspectives on Morisot: Essays*, edited by T. J. Edelstein, 103-15. New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1990.

Schlereth, Thomas J., ed. *Material Culture Studies in America*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira, 1999.

Schnurnberger, Lynn Edelman. *Let There Be Clothes: 40,000 Years of Fashion*. New York: Workman, 1991.

Schorsch, David A., Ruth Wolfe, and Eileen M. Smiles, eds. *Expressions of Innocence and Eloquence: Selections from the Jane Katcher Collection of Americana*. Seattle: Marquand Books; New Haven: In association with Yale University Press, 2006.

“Sea-Side Costume.” *Harper's Bazar* 3, no. 32 (August 6, 1870): 1.

Segard, Achille. *Un Peintre Des Enfants Et Des Mères: Mary Cassatt*. 2nd ed. Paris: Librairie Paul Ollendorff, 1913.

Seifert, Carolyn J. “Images of Domestic Madness in the Art and Poetry of American Women.” *Woman's Art Journal* 1, no. 2 (Autumn 1980-Winter 1981): 1-6.

Severa, Joan L. *Dressed for the Photographer: Ordinary Americans and Fashion, 1840-1900*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1995.

———. *My Likeness Taken: Daguerreian Portraits in America*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2005.

Severn, Bill. *The Long and Short of It; Five Thousand Years of Fun and Fury Over Hair*. New York: McKay, 1971.

Sewell, Darrel. *Thomas Eakins*. Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Museum of Art in association with Yale University Press, 2001.

Seymour, Miranda. “White Shoulders.” *The New York Times*, September 28, 2003.

Shackelford, George T. M. “Pas de deux: Mary Cassatt and Edgar Degas.” In *Mary Cassatt, Modern Woman*, edited by Judith A. Barter, 109-43. New York: The Art Institute of Chicago in association with Harry N. Abrams, 1998.

Shamboosie. *Beautiful Black Hair: Real Solutions to Real Problems*. New York: Amber Books, 2002.

Shannon, Martha A. S. *Boston Days of William Morris Hunt*. Boston: Marshall Jones, 1923.

Shapiro, Barbara Stern. *Camille Pissarro; the Impressionist Printmaker*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1973.

———. *Mary Cassatt: Impressionist at Home*. New York: Universe, 1998.

Shapiro, Laura. *Perfection Salad: Women and Cooking at the Turn of the Century*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1986.

Sharf, Frederic Alan, and John Hardy Wright. *William Morris Hunt and the Summer Art Colony at Magnolia, Massachusetts, 1876-1879*. Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1981. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “William Morris Hunt and the Summer Art Colony at Magnolia, Massachusetts, 1876-1879" shown at Essex Institute in Salem, MA.

Sharp, William. “The Paris Salon.” *Art Journal (London)* (1884): 179-80.

Shaw, Gwendolyn DuBois. “Landscapes of Labor: Race, Religion, and Rhode Island in the Painting of Edward Mitchell Bannister.” In *Post-Bellum, Pre-Harlem: African American Literature and Culture, 1877-1919*, 110–38. New York: New York University Press, 2006.

———. “'Moses Williams, Cutter of Profiles': Silhouettes and African American Identity in the Early Republic.” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 149, no. 1 (March 2005): 22-39.

———. *Portraits of a People: Picturing African Americans in the Nineteenth Century*. Andover, MA: Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy; Seattle: In association with University of Washington Press, 2006. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Portraits of a People: Picturing African Americans in the Nineteenth Century" shown at the Addison Gallery of American Art, the Delaware Art Museum, and the Long Beach Museum of Art.

Shennan, Margaret. *Berthe Morisot: the First Lady of Impressionism*. Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 1996.

Shep, R. L., and Mark Campbell. *Civil War Ladies: Fashions and Needle-Arts of the Early 1860's*. Mendocino, CA: R.L. Shep, 1987.

Sherrow, Victoria. *Encyclopedia of Hair: A Cultural History*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Sherry, Karen A. “Women on the Edge: Liminal Female Identities in Winslow Homer's Representations of Long Branch, New Jersey.” Master's thesis, Newark, DE: University of Delaware, 2001.

Sheumaker, Helen. *Love Entwined: The Curious History of Hairwork in America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

———. “'This Lock You See': Nineteenth-Century Hair Work as the Commodified Self.” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 1, no. 4 (11, 1997): 421-445.

A Token That Love Entwines: Nineteenth-Century Human Hair Work and the American White Middle Class, 1999.

Sheumaker, Helen, and Shirley Teresa Wajda. *Material Culture in America: Understanding Everyday Life*. ABC-CLIO, 2008.

Sidlauskas, Susan. *Body, Place, and Self in Nineteenth-Century Painting*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

———. “Degas and the Sexuality of the "Interior".” In *Body, Place, and Self in Nineteenth-Century Painting*, 20-60. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

———. “Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent's 'Madame X'.” *American Art* 15, no. 3 (Autumn 2001): 9-33.

Sieber, Roy, and Frank Herreman. “Hair in African Art and Culture.” *African Arts* 33, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 55-96.

Sieber, Roy, and Frank Herreman, eds. *Hair in African Art and Culture*. New York: Museum for African Art, 2000.

Siegel, Elizabeth. *Playing with Pictures: The Art of Victorian Photocollage*. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago; New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2009.

Silvestre, Armand. “Le Monde des arts: Exposition de la rue des Pyramides.” *La Vie moderne* (April 24, 1880): 262.

Simmons, Edward. *From Seven to Seventy; Memories of a Painter and a Yankee*. New York: Harper, 1922.

Simmons, William J. *Men of Mark; Eminent, Progressive and Rising*. New York: Arno Press, 1968.

Simon, Diane. *Hair: Public, Political, Extremely Personal*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.

Simpson, Marc. “Sargent and His Critics.” In *Uncanny Spectacle: The Public Career of the Young John Singer Sargent*, 31-70. New Haven: Yale University Press; Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1997.

———. *Uncanny Spectacle: The Public Career of the Young John Singer Sargent*. New Haven: Yale University Press; Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1997.

———. *Winslow Homer: Paintings of the Civil War*. San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1988.

Simpson, Marc, Sally Mills, and Patricia Hills. *Eastman Johnson, The Cranberry Harvest, Island of Nantucket*. San Diego, CA: Timken Art Gallery, 1990. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Eastman Johnson: The Cranberry Harvest, Island of Nantucket" shown at the Timken Art Gallery in San Francisco, CA.

Singleton, Esther. “Manet Now the Craze: Petite Salons of New York: Mary Cassatt.” *The Washington Post*, January 26, 1896.

Sklar, Kathryn Kish. *Catharine Beecher: a Study in American Domesticity*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.

Smith, Kim. “From Style to Place: the Emergence of the Ladies' Hair Salon in the Twentieth Century.” In *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion*, edited by Geraldine Biddle-Perry and Sarah Cheang, 55-66. Oxford; New York: Berg, 2008.

Smith, Lindsay. *The Politics of Focus: Women, Children, and Nineteenth-Century Photography*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1998.

Smith, Shawn Michelle. *American Archives: Gender, Race, and Class in Visual Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Sobieszek, Robert A. *Ghost in the Shell: Photography and the Human Soul, 1850-2000: Essays on Camera Portraiture*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999.

Sokol, David M. *Life in 19th Century America: An Exhibition of American Genre Painting: September 11- November 15, 1981, Terra Museum of American Art/Evanston, Illinois*. Evanston, IL: The Museum, 1981.

"Some Notes on French Impressionism." *The Atlantic Monthly* 69, no. 414 (April 1892): 535-42.

Søndergaard, Sidsel Maria. "Women in Impressionism: An Introduction." In *Women in Impressionism: From Mythical Feminine to Modern Woman*, 11-97. Milan: Skira, 2006.

Søndergaard, Sidsel Maria, and Tea Baark Mairey. "Like a Quivering between Things." In *Women in Impressionism: From Mythical Feminine to Modern Woman*, edited by Sidsel Maria Søndergaard, 225-73. Milan: Skira, 2006.

Sotheby's New York. *American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*. New York: Sotheby's New York, 2004.

Speight, Alexanna. *The Lock of Hair: Its History, Ancient and Modern, Natural and Artistic with the Art of Working in Hair. Illustrated by Numerous Designs*. London: A. Goubaud & Son, 1872.

Staffe, Baronne. *The Lady's Dressing Room*. Translated by Lady Colin Campbell. London: Cassell, 1892.

Stafford, Barbara Maria. *Body Criticism: Imaging the Unseen in Enlightenment Art and Medicine*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991.

Stage, Sarah. *Female Complaints: Lydia Pinkham and the Business of Women's Medicine*. New York: Norton, 1979.

Staiti, Paul. "Character and Class: The Portraits of John Singleton Copley." In *Reading American Art*, edited by Marianne Doezema and Elizabeth Milroy, 12-37. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Stansell, Christine. *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860*. New York: Knopf, 1986.

Starke, Barbara M., Lillian O. Holloman, and Barbara K. Nordquist. *African American Dress and Adornment: A Cultural Perspective*. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1990.

Stauffer, John. "Daguerreotyping the National Soul: The Portraits of Southworth & Hawes." *Prospects* 22 (1997): 69-107.

Stebbins, Theodore E., Carol Troyen, Trevor J. Fairbrother, Pierre Rosenberg, and H. Barbara Weinberg. *A New World: Masterpieces of American Painting 1760-1910*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1983.

Steele, Valerie. *Fashion and Eroticism: Ideals of Feminine Beauty from the Victorian*

Era to the Jazz Age. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

———. *Fashion and the Modern Parisian Woman: A Comparison of the Work of Alfred Stevens, Mary Cassatt, and Berthe Morisot*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979.

———. "Letter from the Editor." *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 1, no. 4 (11, 1997): 337-338.

Steele, Valerie, ed. *Encyclopedia of Clothing and Fashion*. Farmington Hills, MI: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2005.

Stein, Roger B. "A Flower's Saving Grace: The American Pre-Raphaelites." *ARTnews* 84 (April 1985): 85-90.

———. *Seascape and the American Imagination*. New York: C. N. Potter, 1975.

Sterling, Charles. *A Catalogue of French Paintings*. Cambridge, MA: Published for the Museum by Harvard University Press, 1955.

Sterling, Dorothy, ed. *We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1984.

Sternberger, Paul Spencer. *Between Amateur and Aesthete: the Legitimization of Photography as Art in America, 1880-1900*. University of New Mexico Press, 2001.

Sterngrass, Jon. *First Resorts: Pursuing Pleasure at Saratoga Springs, Newport, and Coney Island*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

Stevens-Cox, James. *An Illustrated Dictionary of Hairdressing & Wigmaking*. London: Batsford Academic and Educational, 1984.

Stewart, James. *Plocacosmos: Or the Whole Art of Hair Dressing Wherein Is Contained, Ample Rules for the Young Artizan, More Particularly for Ladies Women, Valets, &c. &c. as Well as Directions for Persons to Dress Their Own Hair; ... By James Stewart. With an Elegant Frontispiece, and Other Copper-Plates*. London: Printed for the author; and sold by all the booksellers in town and country, 1782.

Stewart, Miriam, and Kerry Schauber. "Catalogue of Sketchbooks and Albums by John Singer Sargent at the Fogg Art Museum." *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 7, no. 1 (Autumn 1999-Winter 2000): 16-38.

Stokes, Philip. "The Family Photograph Album: So Great a Cloud of Witnesses." In *The Portrait in Photography*, edited by Graham Clarke, 193-205. London: Reaktion Books, 1992.

Stop [pseud. for L. P. G. B. Morel-Retz]. “Le Salon de 1884.” *Le Journal Amusant* (May 17, 1884): 7.

Stott, Annette. “Floral Femininity: A Pictorial Definition.” *American Art* 6, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 61-77.

Strasser, Susan. *Never Done: A History of American Housework*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.

Stuckey, Charles F., and William P. Scott. *Berthe Morisot, Impressionist*. New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1987. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Berthe Morisot, Impressionist" shown at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, TX, and the Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, South Hadley, MA.

Suleiman, Susan Rubin, ed. *The Female Body in Western Culture: Contemporary Perspectives*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986.

“Summer Haunts of Artists.” *The Art Amateur* 1, no. 3 (August 1879): 50.

Sutherland, Daniel E. *The Expansion of Everyday Life, 1860-1876*. New York: Harper & Row, 1989.

Sutton, Denys. *Edgar Degas, Life and Work*. New York: Rizzoli, 1986.

Sweet, Frederick A. “Croquet Scene by Winslow Homer.” *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago (1907-1951)* 37, no. 7 (December 1943): 98-100.

———. *Sargent, Whistler and Mary Cassatt*. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1954.

Swinth, Kirsten. *Painting Professionals: Women Artists & the Development of Modern American Art, 1870-1930*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

Synnott, Anthony. *The Body Social: Symbolism, Self and Society*. London; New York: Routledge, 1993.

———. “Shame and Glory: A Sociology of Hair.” *The British Journal of Sociology* 38, no. 3 (September 1987): 381-413.

Tappert, Tara L. *Cecilia Beaux and the Art of Portraiture*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995.

———. “Choices: the Life and Career of Cecilia Beaux: A Professional Biography.” PhD diss., Washington, DC: George Washington University, 1990.

Tatham, David. *Winslow Homer and the Illustrated Book*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1992.

———. *Winslow Homer and the Pictorial Press*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003.

———. *Winslow Homer in London: A New York Artist Abroad*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2010.

———. *Winslow Homer in the 1880s: Watercolors, Drawings and Etchings*. Syracuse, NY: Everson Museum of Art, 1983. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Winslow Homer in the 1880s: Watercolors, Drawings and Etchings" shown at the Everson Museum of Art in Syracuse, NY.

———. *Winslow Homer in the Adirondacks*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996.

———. *Winslow Homer's Books: A Descriptive List of Books Once Owned by Winslow Homer, and Now the Property of the Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum, Rochester, New York*. Syracuse, NY: Dept. of Fine Arts, Syracuse University, 1976.

———. "Winslow Homer's Library." *American Art Journal* 9, no. 1 (May 1977): 92-98.

Taylor, Hilary. *James McNeill Whistler*. New York: Putnam, 1978.

Tedeschi, Martha, and Kristi Dahm. *Watercolors by Winslow Homer: The Color of Light*. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

Teitelbaum, Gene W. "Men and Women, Boys and Girls Together." *Winslow Homer: An Annual* 3 (1988): 3-59.

Thompson, Eleanor McD. *Trade Catalogues at the Winterthur Museum, Part II*. Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1991.

Thompson, Mrs. C. *Wigs, Hair, Jewelry, Ornamental Hairwork. . .* New York: privately printed, 1885.

Thomson, Richard. *The Troubled Republic: Visual Culture and Social Debate in France, 1889-1900*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

"Three Late Works by Edgar Degas." *Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Bulletin* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 9-22.

Tiedemann, Nicole. *Haar-Kunst: Zur Geschichte Und Bedeutung Eines Menschlichen Schmuckstücks*. Köln: Böhlau, 2007.

Tinterow, Gary. *Masterpieces of European Painting, 1800-1920, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

———. "Nude Woman Having Her Hair Combed." In *Degas*, edited by Jean Sutherland Boggs, 451-53. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1988.

Tinterow, Gary, and Geneviève Lacambre. *Manet/Velázquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003. Published in conjunction with an exhibition held at the Musée d'Orsay, Paris and at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Todd, Ellen Wiley. *The "New Woman" Revised: Painting and Gender Politics on Fourteenth Street*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Todd, John M. *A Sketch of the Life of John M. Todd: Sixty-Two Years in a Barber Shop, and Reminiscences of His Customers, Written by Himself.* Portland, ME: William W. Roberts Co., 1906.

Trachtenberg, Alan. *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1989.

Trasko, Mary. *Daring Do's: A History of Extraordinary Hair*. Paris; New York: Flammarion, 1994.

Trotter, David. *Cooking with Mud: The Idea of Mess in Nineteenth-Century Art and Fiction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

"Troubles of Her Life." *The Boston Sunday Globe*. Boston, December 19, 1886.

Trow's Business Directory of Greater New York, Five Boroughs Combined ... New York: Trow Directory, Print. and Bookbinding Co., 1898.

Tseëlon, Efrat, ed. *Masquerade and Identities: Essays on Gender, Sexuality and Marginality*. London: Routledge, 2001.

Tuckerman, Henry T. *Book of the Artists: American Artist Life Comprising Biographical and Critical Sketches of American Artists: Preceded by an Historical Account of the Rise & Progress of Art in America*. 1867. Reprint, New York: James F. Carr, 1967.

Tufts, Eleanor. *American Women Artists, 1830-1930*. Washington, DC: International Exhibitions Foundation for the National Museum of Women in the Arts, 1987.

"Two Portraits of a Lady." *The Art Amateur* (January 1894): 44-45.

"An Unrivaled Professional Beauty." *The Morning Call*. San Francisco, July 13, 1891.

"Untitled." *The Home Journal*, December 3, 1859.

"Untitled." *The Liberator*, January 20, 1860.

Vail, Gilbert Miller. *A History of Cosmetics in America*. New York: Toilet Goods Association, 1947.

Van Hook, Bailey. *Angels of Art: Women and Art in American Society, 1876-1914*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996.

———. "Decorative Images of American Women: The Aristocratic Aesthetic of the Late Nineteenth Century." *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 4, no. 1 (Winter 1990): 45-69.

———. "'Milk White Angels of Art': Images of Women in Turn-of-the-Century America." *Woman's Art Journal* 11, no. 2 (Autumn 1990-Winter 1991): 23-29.

———. *The Virgin & the Dynamo: Public Murals in American Architecture, 1893-1917*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003.

Van Rensselaer, M. G. "William Merritt Chase." *The American Art Review* 2, no. 3 (January 1881): 91-98.

Vanderbeek, Stan. *A La Mode, an Attire Satire*. New York: Grove Press, 1959.

"Various Exhibitions." *The Art Amateur* 25, no. 6 (November 1891): 131.

Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of the Leisure Class; an Economic Study of Institutions*. New York: The Modern library, 1934.

Vendryes, Margaret Rose. "Race Identity/Identifying Race: Robert S. Duncanson and Nineteenth-Century American Painting." *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 27, no. 1 (2001): 82-104.

Vercoutter, Jean, Jean Leclant, Frank M. Snowden, and Jehan Desanges. *The Image of the Black in Western Art*. Edited by Ladislas Bugner and Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow. Fribourg: Office du livre, 1976.

Veron, Pierre. "Chronique Parisienne. Le Salon de 1884." *Le Journal Amusant* (May 10, 1884): 1-3.

Verplanck, Anne Ayer. "Facing Philadelphia: The Social Function of Silhouettes,

Miniatures, and Daguerreotypes, 1760-1860." PhD diss., Williamsburg, VA: College of William and Mary, 1996.

———. "The Silhouette and Quaker Identity in Early National Philadelphia." *Winterthur Portfolio* 43, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 41–78.

Vicinus, Martha, ed. *Suffer and Be Still; Women in the Victorian Age*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972.

———. *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977.

Villermont, Marie comtesse de. *Histoire de la Coiffure Féminine*. Paris: H. Laurens, 1892.

Villiers, Edward. "The Paris Salon." *The Art Amateur* 11, no. 2 (July 1884): 35.

Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *Daily Life in Civil War America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

Volo, James M., and Dorothy Denneen Volo. *Family Life in 19th-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Voorsanger, Catherine Hoover, and John K. Howat, eds. *Art and the Empire City: New York, 1825-1861*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Art and the Empire City: New York, 1825-1861" shown at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

Vosmeier, Sarah McNair. "The Family Album: Photography and American Family Life Since 1860." PhD diss., Bloomington: Indiana University, 2004.

W. J. H. "Diamonds and Vulgarity." *New York Times*, July 31, 1887.

Walker, Juliet E. K. *The History of Black Business in America: Capitalism, Race, Entrepreneurship*. New York: MacMillan Library Reference USA, 1998.

Walker, Juliet E. K., ed. *Encyclopedia of African American Business History*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999.

Walker, Sophia Antoinette. "Fine Arts." *The Independent* 46, no. 2379 (July 5, 1894): 7.

Walpole, Horace. *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937.

Walters, Ronald G., ed. *Primers for Prudery: Sexual Advice to Victorian America*. Updated ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

Walther, Susan Danly. *The Railroad in the American Landscape, 1850-1950: The Wellesley College Museum, Wellesley, Massachusetts, 15 April-8 June 1981*. Wellesley, MA: The Museum, 1981. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "The Railroad in the American Landscape" shown at The Wellesley College Museum in Wellesley, MA.

Walton, William. "Miss Mary Cassatt." *Scribner's Magazine*, March 1896.

Warner, Marina. *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and Their Tellers*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1994.

———. *Monuments & Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form*. New York: Atheneum, 1985.

Washburn, Wilcomb E. *Defining the Museum's Purpose*. Cooperstown, NY: New York State Historical Association, 1975.

Wasserman, Burton. "The Graphic Art of Mary Cassatt." *Art Education* 21, no. 8 (November 1968): 16-19.

"The Water-Color Exhibition." *The Art Amateur* 24, no. 4 (March 1891): 90.

Waters, Clara Erskine Clement, and Laurence Hutton. *Artists of the Nineteenth Century and Their Works: A Handbook Containing Two Thousand and Fifty Biographical Sketches*. Boston: James R. Osgood, 1889.

Watson, John Fanning. *Annals and Occurrences of New York City and State, in the Olden Time: Being a Collection of Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Incidents Concerning the City, Country, and Inhabitants, from the Days of the Founders* ... Philadelphia: H.F. Anners, 1846.

Wayne, Tiffany K. *Women's Roles in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Weber, Bruce, and Sarah Kate Gillespie. *Chase Inside and Out: The Aesthetic Interiors of William Merritt Chase*. New York: Berry-Hill Galleries, 2004.

Webster, Sally. *Eve's Daughter/Modern Woman: A Mural by Mary Cassatt*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004.

———. *William Morris Hunt, 1824-1879*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Wehle, Harry B. "Two More Early Paintings by Homer." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 18, no. 4 (April 1923): 85-87.

Weinberg, H. Barbara. *American Impressionism and Realism: The Painting of Modern Life, 1885-1915*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “American Impressionism and Realism: The Painting of Modern Life, 1885-1915” shown at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

———. *Childe Hassam: American Impressionist*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

———. *John Singer Sargent*. New York: Rizzoli International, 1994.

———. “John Singer Sargent: Reputation Redivivus.” *Arts Magazine* 54, no. 7 (March 1980): 104-9.

———. *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers*. New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1991.

Weinberg, H. Barbara, and Carrie Rebora Barratt, eds. *American Stories: Paintings of Everyday Life, 1765-1915*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "American Stories: Paintings of Everyday Life, 1765-1915" shown at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Weinberg, H. Barbara, and Stephanie L. Herdrich. “John Singer Sargent in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 57, no. 4 (Spring 2000): 1-64.

Weiner, Lynn Y. *From Working Girl to Working Mother: The Female Labor Force in the United States, 1820-1980*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1985.

Weitenkampf, Frank. *The Dry-Points of Mary Cassatt*. New York: Far Gallery, 1916.

Weitz, Rose. *Rapunzel's Daughters: What Women's Hair Tells Us About Women's Lives*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2004.

———. “Women and Their Hair: Seeking Power through Resistance and Accommodation.” *Gender and Society* 15, no. 5 (October 2001): 667-686.

Wellman, Rita. *Victoria Royal; the Flowering of a Style*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons; London: C. Scribner's Sons, Ltd, 1939.

Welter, Barbara. “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860.” *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1966): 151-74.

———. *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976.

West, Nancy Martha. *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*. Charlottesville, VA.: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

Wexler, Laura. *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism*. University of North Carolina Press Books, 2000.

"What Are Women Doing?" *The English Woman's Journal* 7 (August 1861): 51-53.

White, Barbara Ehrlich. *Impressionists Side by Side: Their Friendships, Rivalries and Artistic Exchanges*. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1996.

White, Deborah G. *Ar'n't I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South*. New York: Norton, 1999.

White, Elizabeth Alice. "Sentimental Enterprise: Sentiment and Profit in American Market Culture, 1830-1880." PhD diss., New Haven: Yale University, 1995.

White, Frank Linstow. "Younger American Women in Art." *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* 36, no. 5 (November 1893): 9.

White, Shane, and Graham White. "Slave Hair and African American Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." *The Journal of Southern History* 61, no. 1 (February 1995): 45-76.

———. *Stylin': African American Expressive Culture from Its Beginnings to the Zoot Suit*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Wierich, Jochen, "The Domestication of History in American Art, 1848-1876." PhD diss., Williamsburg, VA: College of William and Mary, 1998.

White, Stephen, and Andreas Blühm. *The Photograph and the American Dream, 1840-1940*. Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum, 2001.

Wilcox, Ruth Turner. *The Mode in Hats and Headdress, Including Hair Styles, Cosmetics, and Jewelry*. New York: Scribner, 1959.

Wildenstein, Daniel. *Claude Monet: Biographie et Catalogue Raisonné*. Vol. 3. Lausanne: La Bibliothèque des arts, 1979.

Willett, Julie A. *Permanent Waves: The Making of the American Beauty Shop*. New York: New York University Press, 2000.

Williams, Katherine. *Women on the Verge: The Culture of Neurasthenia in Nineteenth-Century America*. Stanford, CA: Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, 2004. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “Women on the Verge: The Culture of Neurasthenia in Nineteenth-Century America" shown at Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University in Stanford, CA.

Williams, Susan. *Savory Suppers & Fashionable Feasts: Dining in Victorian America*. New York: Pantheon Books in association with the Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum, 1985.

Willis, Deborah. *Black Photographers, 1840-1940: An Illustrated Bio-Bibliography*. New York: Garland Publishers, 1985.

———. *Let Your Motto Be Resistance: African American Portraits*. Washington, DC: National Museum of African American History and Culture, Smithsonian Institute, 2007.

Willis, Deborah, ed. *Early Black Photographers, 1840-1940: 23 Postcards*. New York: New Press, 1992.

———. *J.P. Ball, Daguerrean and Studio Photographer*. New York: Garland Publishers, 1993.

Willis, Deborah, and Carla Williams. *The Black Female Body: A Photographic History*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002.

Wilmerding, John. *American Views: Essays on American Art*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Wilmerding, John, and Linda Ayres. *Winslow Homer in the 1870s: Selections from the Valentine-Pulsifer Collection*. Princeton, NJ: Art Museum, Princeton University; Hanover: Distributed by University Press of New England, 1990.

Wilson, Harriet E. *Our Nig: Or, Sketches from the Life of a Free Black, in a Two-Story White House, North: Showing That Slavery's Shadows Fall Even There*. 2nd ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1983.

Wilson, Jackie Napolean. *Hidden Witness: African-American Images from the Dawn of Photography to the Civil War*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.

Wilson, Judith. “Beauty Rights: Towards an Anatomy of Culture in African American Women’s Art.” *The International Review of African American Art* 11, no. 3 (1994): 11–17; 47-54.

Wilson, Kathryn E. “Commodified Craft, Creative Community: Women's Vernacular

Dress in Nineteenth-century Philadelphia." In *The Culture of Sewing: Gender, Consumption, and Home Dressmaking*, edited by Barbara Burman, 141-56. Oxford: Berg, 1999.

Wilson's Business Directory of New York City. New York: John F. Trow, 1858.

Winkler, Gail Caskey. "Influence of *Godey's Lady's Book* on the American Woman and Her Home: Contributions to a National Culture, 1830-1877." PhD diss., Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1988.

Winkler, Gail Caskey, and Roger Moss. *Victorian Interior Decoration: American Interiors, 1830-1900*. New York: H. Holt, 1986.

"Winslow Homer: A National Type Among the Painters of America." *New York Tribune*, May 26, 1895.

Homer, Winslow. *Winslow Homer: A Retrospective Exhibition*. Boston: The Museum, 1959.

Wise, Daniel. *Bridal Greetings: A Marriage Gift in Which the Mutual Duties of Husband and Wife Are Familiarly Illustrated and Enforced*. New York: Phillips, 1854.

———. *The Young Lady's Counsellor, or, Outlines and Illustrations of the Sphere, the Duties, and the Dangers of Young Women: Designed to Be a Guide to True Happiness in This Life and to Glory in the Life Which Is to Come*. New York: Carlton & Phillips, 1855.

Wiser, William. *The Great Good Place: American Expatriate Women in Paris*. New York: Norton, 1991.

Withers, Josephine. *Women Artists in Washington Collections*. College Park: The Gallery, 1979.

Witkin, Joel-Peter. *Harms Way: Lust & Madness, Murder & Mayhem: A Book of Photographs*. Santa Fe, N.M: Twin Palms Publishers, 1994.

Witzling, Mara Rose, ed. *Voicing Our Visions: Writings by Women Artists*. New York: Universe, 1991.

"Women Etchers of America." *New York Tribune*, April 12, 1888.

"Women's Work in the Fine Arts." *The Art Amateur* (June 1893): 10.

Wood, Peter H. *Near Andersonville: Winslow Homer's Civil War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Wood, Peter H., and Karen C. C. Dalton. *Winslow Homer's Images of Blacks: The Civil War and Reconstruction Years*. Austin: Menil Collection: University of Texas Press, 1988. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Winslow Homer's Images of Blacks: The Civil War and Reconstruction Years" shown at the Menil Collection, Houston, TX, the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, VA, and the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, NC.

Woodforde, John. *The Strange Story of False Hair*. London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1971.

Woods, Naurice Frank. "Insuperable Obstacles: The Impact of Racism on the Creative and Personal Development of Four Nineteenth-Century African-American Artists." PhD diss., Cincinnati, OH: Union Institute Graduate School, 1993.

Wright, Lesley C. "Men Making Meaning in Nineteenth-Century American Genre Painting, 1860-1900." PhD diss., Stanford University, 1993.

Wright, Margaret Bertha. "American Pictures at Paris and London." *Art Amateur* 3, no. 2 (July 1880): 26.

Yale University. *Yale University Portrait Index, 1701-1951*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951.

Yarnall, James L., and William H. Gerdts, eds. *The National Museum of American Art's Index to American Art Exhibition Catalogues: From the Beginning Through the 1876 Centennial Year*. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1986.

Yates, Paula. *Blondes: a History from Their Earliest Roots*. New York: Delilah Communications, 1984.

Yeh, Susan Fillin. "Mary Cassatt's Images of Women." *Art Journal* 35, no. 4 (Summer 1976): 359-363.

Yeldham, Charlotte. *Women Artists in Nineteenth-Century France and England: Their Art Education, Exhibition Opportunities and Membership of Exhibiting Societies and Academies, with an Assessment of the Subject Matter of Their Work and Summary Biographies*. New York: Garland Publishers, 1984.

Yonge, Charlotte Mary. *Womankind*. New York: Macmillan, 1877.

Yount, Sylvia. *Cecilia Beaux: American Figure Painter*. Atlanta: High Museum of Art; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

Zafar, Rafia. *We Wear the Mask: African Americans Write American Literature, 1760-1870*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Zdatny, Steven. “The Boyish Look and the Liberated Woman: The Politics and Aesthetics of Women's Hairstyles.” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 1, no. 4 (11, 1997): 367-397.

Zdatny, Steven M. *Hairstyles and Fashion: A Hairdresser's History of Paris, 1910-1920*. Oxford; New York: Berg, 1999.

Zehnder, Amanda T. “Conversations with the Other: Episodes and Intersections in the Careers of Mary Cassatt and Edgar Degas.” PhD diss., Pennsylvania: Bryn Mawr College, 2005.

Zurier, Rebecca, Robert W. Snyder, and Virginia M. Mecklenburg. *Metropolitan Lives: The Ashcan Artists and Their New York*. Washington, DC: National Museum of American Art; New York: Norton, 1995. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “Metropolitan Lives: The Ashcan Artists and Their New York" shown at the National Museum of American Art in Washington, DC.

Zwick, Madame. *Go to Madam Zwick and You Will Be Sure to Get the Best of All Kinds of Hair Jewelry, Braids, Curls, Ladies Wigs, Devises, Etc.: Hair Furnished by Customers, Invariably Used, and Gold Warranted. First Premium Received from Cincinnati Industrial Exposition. 40 West Fourth Street, Cincinnati, O.* Cincinnati, OH: Cohen, Everson & Co., 1860.

Illustrations