

University of Warwick institutional repository: <http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap>

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of Warwick

<http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap/66909>

This thesis is made available online and is protected by original copyright.

Please scroll down to view the document itself.

Please refer to the repository record for this item for information to help you to cite it. Our policy information is available from the repository home page.

Hair, Wigs and Wig Wearing in Eighteenth-Century England

Emma Markiewicz

A thesis submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in History

Department of History
University of Warwick
September 2014

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Illustrations	v
Acknowledgements	viii
Declaration	ix
Abstract	ix
List of Abbreviations.....	x
 Introduction	 1
Hair as a Body Part, or Part of the Body	4
Thesis Outline	5
Material Culture Studies	10
History of Medicine, History of the Body	14
Histories of Trade and Consumption	17
History of Dress	20
Scope: Chronology and Gender Focus	23
Source Material	25
 Part One – The Physical Nature of Hair	 31
 Chapter One – Hair as Part of the Body: Physical Order and Disorder	 32
1.1 Hair and Medical Theory	33
1.2 Hair and Symptoms of Ill Health	40
1.3 Understanding the Physical Nature of Hair	48
1.4 Disorders of the Head	55
1.5 Hair and Infection	60
1.6 Conclusion	66
 Chapter Two - Hair as a Part of the Body: Beauty and Well Being	 68
2.1 Hair and the Appearance of Health	69
2.2 Hair and the Beauty Trade	79
2.3 Hair and Domestic Cleanliness	86
2.4 Health and the Artificial Appearance	98

2.5 Conclusion	103
Part Two – Transforming Hair	105
Chapter Three - The Modification of Human Hair: From Part of the Body to Artefact	106
3.1 Hair Humane or Brute Hair	106
3.2 The Geography of the Hair Trade	114
3.3 Obtaining the Raw Material	117
3.4 The Value of Human Hair	123
3.5 Transforming Hair into Wigs	127
3.6 Strategies of Buying and Selling	136
3.7 Conclusion	142
Chapter Four - The Commodification of Human Hair: The Business of Hair	143
4.1 Defining Relationships in the Hair Trade	144
4.2 Organisation of the Hair Trade	148
4.3 The Worshipful Company of Barber-Surgeons	153
4.4 The Growth of the Hair Trade	156
4.5 Diversification of the Hair Trade	158
4.6 The Emergence of the Hairdresser	161
4.7 How Lucrative was the Hair Trade?	165
4.8 The Politics of Hair	170
4.9 Conclusion	175
Part Three – Consuming Hair	177
Chapter Five - Wearing Hair: Strategies of Use	178
5.1 Health and the Maintenance of Cleanliness	179
5.2 Wigs for Transformation and Gender Differentiation	182
5.3 Wigs as Fashionable Attire	189
5.4 Ownership of Wigs	198
5.5 Shape and Style	209

5.6 Conclusion	220
Chapter Six - Wearing Hair: The Morality of Physical Transformation	222
6.1 The Physical Nature of Hair: Judging Character, Behaviour and Identity	222
6.2 The Morality of Long Hair	227
6.3 Hair and Identity: To Conceal, Disguise and Control	232
6.4 Transforming Hair into Fashion: Profiting from the Body	236
6.5. The Construction and Deconstruction of Social Order	243
6.6 Wigs in the Popular Imagination	246
6.7 Conclusion	253
Chapter Seven - Towards a More Naturalistic Style: The Decline of Wig Wearing	255
7.1. Changing Perceptions of the Physical Nature of Hair	257
7.2. A New Look for a New Century	263
7.3. Politeness, Convenience and the Changing Aesthetic of Masculinity	270
7.4 Conclusion	281
Conclusion	282
The Physical Nature of Hair	283
The Value of Hair as a Commodity	286
Morality and the Creation of Appearances	288
Bibliography	293

List of Tables and Illustrations

Table 3.1	Quantities of Hair Imported into the Domestic Market	116
Illustration 1.1	<i>Group portrait with Anatomical Demonstrations</i> , painting by Cornelis de Man (1681)	42
Illustration 1.2	<i>The Academicians of the Royal Academy</i> , painting by Richard Earlom (1773)	43
Illustration 1.3	<i>English Barber</i> , print by P. Stevenart (1771)	64
Illustration 2.1	An advertisement for a perfumer's shop (c.1780)	71
Illustration 2.2	<i>The Village Barber. L.M.</i> , coloured etching by J. Bretherton (1722)	72
Illustration 2.3	<i>Louse Clinging to a Human Hair</i> , print by John Carwitham (1736)	96
Illustration 2.4	<i>John Montagu, 2nd Earl of Montagu</i> , painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller (1709)	100
Illustration 2.5	<i>Six Stages of Mending a Face</i> , etching by Thomas Rowlandson (1792)	102
Illustration 3.1	Trade Card of Richard Arkwright (1755)	118
Illustration 3.2	<i>Wig-making equipment</i> , engraving by R. Bénard (1762)	129
Illustration 3.3	<i>Wig-making equipment</i> , engraving by R. Bénard (1762)	130

Illustration 3.4 Wig from the funeral effigy of Edmund, Duke of Buckingham (1735)	135
Illustration 3.5 <i>Morning Post and Fashionable World</i> (1796)	138
Illustration 4.1 Trade Card of Thomas Brown, Peruke Maker and Hair Cutter, Bearbinder Lane, London (c. 1720)	163
Illustration 5.1 <i>Portrait of Colonel Alexander Luttrell</i> by Unknown artist (c. 1700)	184
Illustration 5.2 <i>Portrait of Anne Spencer (nee Churchill) Countess of Sunderland</i> by Sir Godfrey Kneller (c. 1710)	185
Illustration 5.3 <i>The Gaols Committee of the House of Commons</i> , print by William Hogarth (c. 1729)	190
Illustration 5.4 <i>The Five Orders of Periwigs</i> , print by William Hogarth (1761)	196
Illustration 5.5 <i>King Charles II</i> , painting after Sir Peter Lely (c. 1675)	210
Illustration 5.6 <i>Thomas Wharton, First Marquess of Wharton</i> , painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller (1710-15)	211
Illustration 5.7 <i>Portrait of Henry Fownes Luttrell</i> by Unknown Artist (1730-40)	217
Illustration 5.8 <i>Portrait of Francis Luttrell</i> by John Vanderbank (1729)	218
Illustration 5.9 <i>Portrait of Prince James Francis Edward Stuart</i> by Alexis Simon Belle (c. 1712)	219

Illustration 6.1 Woodcuts from <i>Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe</i> by Johann Kaspar Lavater (1775-1778)	224
Illustration 6.2 <i>A Barbers Shop</i> , print after Thomas Rowlandson, late eighteenth century	239
Illustration 6.3 A selection of portraits by Godfrey Kneller (1710–15)	248
Illustration 6.4 <i>A New Mode of Digestion from a Drawing of Mr. Grims</i> by J. Lockington (1776)	249
Illustration 6.5 <i>An Election Entertainment</i> , print by William Hogarth (1755)...	252
Illustration 7.1 Advertisements in <i>Public Advertiser</i> (1770)	261
Illustration 7.2 <i>The Honourable Robert Boyle (1627-91), Irish Natural Philosopher</i> , portrait by J. Smith (1689)	265
Illustration 7.3 <i>John Theophilus Desaguliers</i> , portrait by Peter Pelham, after Hans Hysing (1725)	266
Illustration 7.4 <i>What Is This My Son Tom</i> , mezzotint by R. Sayer & J. Bennett (1774).....	274
Illustration 7.5 <i>Tobias George Smollett (1721-71), Novelist</i> , portrait by unknown artist, c. (17.....	276
Illustration 7.6 <i>Westminster Election Scene Outside St. Paul's, Covent Garden</i> , print by Robert Dighton (1796)	279

Acknowledgements

I am immensely grateful to the many people who contributed to this project over the last few years. Firstly, and above all, my thanks must go to my supervisor Giorgio Riello. His support has been second to none, and I would not have been able to complete this project without his insight and especially, his patience.

I would also like to thank numerous colleagues from The National Archives for their continued interest in the project, and their unfailing ability to point me in the direction of records that opened up many new angles in my research. Adrian Ailes, Amanda Bevan, Liz Hore, Matt Greenhall, Sarah Hutton, Kelly Kimpton, Kevin Mulley and Anne Samson in particular were always there with invaluable advice and support. I am also grateful for the extremely useful comments and conversations with Susan North at the V&A, Emma Tarlo at Goldsmiths College, University of London, and Louise Hoare (Deputy Head of Hair and Make-up) and Giuseppe Cannas (Head of Hair and Make-up) at the National Theatre for their unique insights gained from using traditional wig making methods in the modern day.

My research benefitted greatly from discussions at conferences at which I have presented, in Durham, London, Exeter and Lyon, and I am grateful for the comments and suggestions from the other participants. Last, but not least, I would like to thank staff in archives and libraries across the country, for their impressive knowledge of their collections, and the helpful service they tirelessly provide. This particularly includes Joy Thomas, former archivist at the Worshipful Company of Barbers, London.

Declaration

This thesis is submitted to the University of Warwick in support of my application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It is entirely my own work, and has not been published prior to the date of submission. It has not been submitted in any previous application for any degree, either at Warwick or any other university, except elements of Chapter Six, which were discussed in my MA essay ‘The Social Significance of Wig Wearing in the Eighteenth Century’.

Abstract

This thesis explores the period of prominence experienced by wigs and wig wearing in England from the late seventeenth to the latter decades of the eighteenth century. Its primary focus is the ‘raw material’ from which wigs were made: human hair. Being produced from a part of the body placed wigs in a unique position as fashionable items. The act of ‘making’ a wig entailed taking a natural entity growing on the head, and turning it into an intrinsically unnatural artefact. ‘Wearing’ a wig meant for the wearer to invest time in shaving or cutting his own hair. Questions about why this became such an important and fashionable practice are explored here by starting with the hair itself, a topic not generally considered by the extensive literature on eighteenth-century wigs and wig-wearing. My thesis highlights the diverse functions a wig could fulfil, by presenting hair in the context of eighteenth-century understanding of medicine and the body. These functions included protecting the wearer from the elements and potential contagion, projecting a more healthy or youthful appearance, and marking status or profession. This thesis considers how hair - as part of the body - became a highly desirable commodity, and the moral and physical implications this entailed. The physicality of the raw material affected those who traded in human hair and made a living out of producing wigs, as well as those who wore wigs that defined their public image. This thesis challenges existing work, which has tended to focus on gender and dress, by emphasising the connection of hair to the body and how this was translated into the conspicuous fashion for wigs.

List of Abbreviations

BL	British Library, London
BPP	British Parliamentary Papers Online
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives, London
RS	The Royal Society, London
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
WL	Wellcome Library, London
WCB	The Worshipful Company of Barbers, London

INTRODUCTION

Hair, Wigs and Wig Wearing in Eighteenth-Century England

Wig wearing is an evocative symbol of eighteenth-century England. Eighteenth-century tastes, moral outlooks and understanding of the physical nature of bodies enabled wig wearing to become a prominent fashion for men during a large part of the period. This thesis explores the place of human hair during this period to establish the motivations for the widespread practice of wig wearing and aims to understand eighteenth-century attitudes towards the process of transformation and the creation of appearances. It explores themes of health, fashion and beauty, commodities and commodification, and the relationship between retail, production and consumption to understand how and why false hair became so popular. The thesis shows that hair was a key component in the creation of appearances and one that was affected by changes in fashion over time. But appearances were not simply governed by fashion. In the case of hair they were tied to medical ideas and understanding of materiality. Taking hair as the key focus of this thesis enables narratives about the rise and decline in the popularity of wigs to be reinterpreted.

This thesis integrates histories of science and medicine to understand the role of hair in the materiality of knowledge, exploring how its nature was understood, how it was observed, described and represented as a body part. It considers theories developed from the late seventeenth century, at a time when the invention of the microscope and a new interest in scientific enquiry concerning the natural world gave rise to renewed exploration of hair and its place in connection to the body. Despite long-standing interest in the flamboyant, masculine fashion for wig wearing during this period, few studies have focussed on the materiality of hair itself,

preferring to take fashion, culture and consumption as their primary focus. In terms of parts of the body, hair itself has been explored less frequently than the phenomenon of wigs. Discussion on hair in the historiography of the eighteenth century has more recently focused on gender, emphasising moral and other cultural aspects of wigs.

By considering human hair through the lens of medical theories and social practices in the eighteenth century, this thesis explores wig wearing from a new standpoint. Rather than starting with the wig as an item of fashion, it considers the physical nature of hair and its commodification as the context in which to further our understanding of the social significance of wig wearing. It is not intended to add to the body of work tracing the rise and fall of a particular fashion, but it considers how ideas about hair changed over time. By taking hair itself as a starting point, the thesis encompasses an exploration of the journey of hair and the physical processes involved in wig ‘making’ as well as that of wig ‘wearing’. The act of removing one of the body’s natural productions (hair) and replacing it with ‘processed hair’ (which had belonged to one or many known or unknown individuals) was a time-consuming, skilled process, and the thesis takes into account those who made a living by manipulating this intimate bodily excretion.

False hair today is used more commonly to embellish what is there already in the form of hair extensions, or to replace what has been lost through illness or nature. In western European culture at least, this use of false hair by men is often concealed by the wearer and considered a ridiculous vanity by observers. In eighteenth-century England, however, it was common practice for men at least, to completely remove by shaving the hair that grew naturally, and replace it with a wig. Consideration of the

physical nature of hair as a part of the body is central to understanding how this came about.

This introduction provides an overview of the argument and aims of the thesis, highlighting the themes and rationale for this fresh approach to hair, wigs and wig wearing. It considers the existing historiography on the subject, and its place in the narrative of medical, gender and dress histories of the eighteenth century. Finally, it sets out the source material used, and the geographical and chronological scope. The period covered is broadly 1660 – 1800, known traditionally amongst historians as the long eighteenth century. This allows for consideration of the complete period in which the wig first became popular, and subsequently went into decline as an item of popular fashion. Geographically, the thesis covers England, with a focus on London. This was a period of great French influence in the world of fashionable taste, and the fashion for wigs is often traced to the court of Louis XIV. A body of work exists therefore which focuses on French creators and consumers of fashionable hair.¹ This thesis therefore covers England in order to fill a significant void in the historiography, though it draws on comparable literature for France.

¹ See for example Michael Kwass, 'Big Hair: A Wig History of Consumption in Eighteenth Century France', *American Historical Review*, 111:3 (2006) pp. 631-59; Mary K. Gayne, 'Illicit Wig Making in Eighteenth Century Paris', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38:1 (2004) pp. 47-90; Morag Martin, *Selling Beauty: Cosmetics, Commerce, and French Society, 1750-1830* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009) and Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Hair as a Body Part, or Part of the Body

A key aspect of this thesis is the consideration of hair as a ‘natural’ material. It is therefore necessary to briefly highlight the ways in which the thesis characterises the physicality of hair. Hair is not traditionally considered to be a body part. Unlike the majority of body parts, such as internal organs or limbs, hair can be easily removed without affecting mechanical or biological functions, and will usually regenerate in a relatively short period of time. Additionally, its damage does not cause physical pain to the individual on whose head it sits. For the purposes of this thesis therefore, hair is considered to be a part of the body, but a unique one in that it can be formed into an artificial object to be worn on the head of another person. In order to create a wig, the hair must first be removed from the head. At this point, it becomes a different material. It transforms from being a part of the body attached to an individual, to a material akin to fabric in its ability to be manipulated, embellished and transformed. Once transformed into a wig, it becomes an object at once reminiscent of its origins and at the same time inanimate, no longer human. This subtle, yet significant change is apparent when considering how people react to hair once it has been removed from the head.

The ways in which people responded towards the disembodied hair change according to the purpose to which it was put, or the object it was used to create. If used within a piece of memorial jewellery or as a keepsake, it was understood to directly represent the presence of the owner, and retained a powerful sense of their person. This can be seen in the case of mourning jewellery, which often contained a lock of hair as a remembrance of the loved one, and became popular in eighteenth

century England.² In this context, hair held particular significance as a remembrance as it had been a part of that person and discharged from within their physical being, in a more real way than an object they had owned or worn. The lock of hair acted as a reminder of the person's physical presence with characteristics such as colour, length and texture distinctive to its owner and recognisable by those who knew them. Hair was an evocative memorial that could be touched or smelled.

The act of transforming the hair into a wig loses the sense of memory for the previous owner. Hair becomes a commodity to be bought and sold, worn and displayed on the head, and the new wearer was not intentionally reminded of the presence of the individual from whom the hair originated. The intimate nature of the hair was still present however, expressed through the anxiety that the hair may have come from an unsavoury source. This is the starting point of this thesis: it will consider how hair was understood in both an academic and practical context as an entity that was at once a fundamental part of the body, and a valuable commodity to be bought, sold and transformed.

Thesis outline

This thesis explores the physicality of hair as part of the body and attitudes to its transformation. It asks what changed in the understanding of the body and its relationship to the environment to enable the phenomenon of wig wearing to become

² See Christiane Holm, 'Sentimental Cuts: Eighteenth-Century Mourning Jewelry with Hair', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 38:4 (2004), pp. 139-43; Marcia Pointon, 'Materialising Memory', in Christopher Breward, Jeremy Aynsle and Marcus Kwint (eds.), *Material Memories: Design and Evocation (Materialising Culture)* (Oxford: Berg, 1999), pp. 39-59; Deborah Lutz, 'The Dead Still Among Us: Victorian Secular Relics, Hair Jewelry and Death Culture', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 39:1 (2011), pp. 127-142.

not only permissible, but hugely popular across several levels of society. Examination of attitudes to hair as a raw material and commodity, as well as changes in fashion and more broadly style, provide the mechanism through which to understand why hair became such a key focus in eighteenth-century fashion. Hair, and subsequently wig wearing, are used as a lens through which to explore changing attitudes to the body and the creation of appearances.

Part one, *The Physical Nature of Hair*, is dedicated to contextualizing the medical and practical knowledge and ideas around hair that underpinned the period in which wigs were 'fashionable'. It explores the social and cultural elements that enabled the hair trade to become so vital to the beauty economy of the eighteenth century. Part two, *Transforming Hair*, discusses the process of transforming hair from a part of the body into a commodity, and the network of actors engaged in working with this intimate part of the body. Part three, *Consuming Hair*, considers the social consequences of commodifying and wearing a part of the body, and the ways in which wigs gradually fell out of popularity from the mid eighteenth century. The thesis therefore integrates different themes and approaches ranging across medical knowledge and understanding, the physical nature of hair, commodities and commodification, and the relationship between production, consumption and fashion.

Part One examines the centrality of hair to eighteenth-century medical understanding of the body and the maintenance and display of good health. Starting with the physicality of hair in relation to the body, chapter one shows how the changing nature of medical understanding, and the related desire to display a healthy, balanced body led to new relationships with hair and allowed for the fashion for wig wearing. Developing theories about the ability of the external environment to influence the health of the individual enabled people to have control of their own

bodies. Part of the reason for adopting a wig was as means of protection against foul airs and contagion, therefore managing one's own health rather than following the more traditional fatalistic route of inaction. Paradoxically, however, many people imbued hair with the ability to carry disease, setting the provenance of the hair as a central concern for wig makers and customers alike.

Physicians and health practitioners understood hair to be at once a body part that could suffer disease in its own right, and an emanation signifying the state of the internal body. This meant it could be used in a curative capacity to assist medicine holistically, and was also modified to perform a preventative role in maintaining good health. In contradiction to this, hair was debated in medical theory as a potential transporter of infection and connected to wider debates about contagion, which came into sharp focus in the early 1720s when the plague threatened. Microscopy and developments in knowledge of anatomy enabled a greater understanding of the structure of hair but opened new debates about its true nature, such as whether each hair was in fact a hollow tube for carrying nutrition into the body.

Likewise, this model for understanding the body meant that people understood that their morals and the way they behaved were reflected in the condition of their hair, a factor that commonly fitted in with embedded stereotypes in the social hierarchy. This belief extended to hair once it has been taken from the head: 'live' hair and 'brute' hair, anxiety around the origin of the raw material used in wig making and what morally dubious qualities it could potentially transpose onto the wearer. These symptoms were situated in choices one made about how one lived, and it was felt could therefore display personal habits that were disapproved of socially, such as heavy drinking or being excessively lustful. Chapter two looks at

the popular medical literature and self-help recipes increasingly available in the marketplace to understand how this medical understanding of hair translated into every day practice. It considers the means by which people modified their hair to fit in with the beauty aesthetic of the time, in order to give the appearance of greater youth and health.

The second part of this thesis focuses on the wig makers, barbers and hairdressers who worked on and with the human body, and how this placed them in a unique, if vulnerable, position with their customers. It explores the process of transforming hair from a part of the body into a material artefact, which could be sold for money. Chapter three discusses the raw material itself, namely the disembodied hair, where it came from and how it was procured. The unique nature of the material had implications for those engaged in making wigs, as to how they were viewed by wider society, and required to operate in order to maintain a good reputation. This was of paramount importance to ensure customers felt they were obtaining a clean, uncontaminated product. Concerns around contagion and the importance of physical appearance discussed in the first section, meant that procurement was key to the creation of a wig that displayed a full, clean head of hair. The belief that hair displayed the inner health and character of the individual meant that high calibre hair merchants and wig makers set great significance in the quality of the hair they used, and would invest a great deal of time and expense in ensuring it was from clean, unpolluted sources.

Chapter four considers how the hair trade grew and developed during the period, as a means by which to ascertain the growing popularity of the wig, and the central importance of hair to the creation of a clean, healthful appearance. This chapter also considers the growth of hairdressing as a profession, initially in parallel

to that of wig making, but gradually dominating the hair trade as the fashion for wigs declined. The language of fashion, luxury and beauty connected to hairdressing is not present in wig making, so this thesis suggests that wigs were considered more of an item of necessity and convenience rather than fashion.

The third section explores notions of ‘wearing’ hair, and the implications of the use of a part of the body as a raw material in the fashionable world. Hair was a powerful force in the forming of appearances, and wigs were therefore used as a mode of symbolic communication. Chapter Five considers the physical shape and structure of the wig as a means to discern what it communicated about social organization, sexual division, and social change. It considers the consumers of wigs, and the identity they wished to convey to wider society. Such messages can be better understood through consideration of who was buying and wearing wigs, and the physical forms and styles they took. This chapter places hair in the wider context of fashionable taste by studying the influences of contemporary modes of style on both the form and function of the wig.

As well as fashionable taste, this section discusses the links between style and morality in displaying a good head of hair. Chapter Six explores the overarching paradox of wig wearing: that hair was seen as a significant part of the body in the context of medicine and hygiene, and yet was translated by the fashionable world into a highly decorative function, at one time so extravagant it was a target for much satire and moral judgement. The implications of using hair – as a part of the body – meant the wig was viewed as at once essential and yet frivolous, and wig wearing retained a peculiarity and oddness that was never entirely accepted as completely conventional. Despite the popularity of wig wearing, this thesis shows that due to the implications of using a part of the body as a raw material, the wig retained its sense

of peculiarity throughout the period. It was not normalised enough to become invisible to contemporary eyes. The chapter explores ideas presented in both visual and written sources discussing the uneasy relationship between hair and wigs, and how wigs were viewed as disguising a person's true nature and to create a false appearance. It looks at the wider context of such attitudes, which focussed on discourses of luxury and extravagance, health and cleanliness, and the real nature of the individual. From around 1760 onwards, we can discern a decrease in the popularity of wig wearing, so the final chapter considers what changes in the medical, fashionable and moral landscape may have precipitated this gradual decline.

Material Culture Studies

This thesis draws on learning from material culture studies to place the artefact at the centre of the research process. Once disembodied, hair transforms from a part of the body into an object, open to study in the same way as many other artefacts. Study of material culture explores how objects reveal their histories and asks what we can learn about the past through the explanation of things. The study of the wig as an object in the tradition of material culture studies presents different challenges to studies tracing the development of essential, quotidian objects such as the fork, chair or shoe to tell us about the past.³ Such items remain commonplace today, which

³ Karen Harvey, 'Introduction: Practical Matters', in Karen Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London: Routledge, 2009) pp. 1-23, and Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, 'Introduction', in Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (eds), *Writing Material Culture History* (London: Bloomsbury, forthcoming 2014), pp. 1-13.

gives them an important yet different place in the study of material culture to that of objects that have since become obsolete or the uses of which have since changed.

Objects have a place in a system of use and meaning in which their value is constantly renegotiated, and the wig is a primary example of this.⁴ It fits into a category of artefacts that emerged as objects of desire, but faded from the historical record when it became considered unfashionable and archaic. However, the hair that was used to create the wig can also be studied both as a material object, and as a valuable commodity to be exchanged for money, particularly as the social value of wig wearing increased. Hair is therefore the central focus of the thesis, exploring both its physical, material form, and its value as a commodity in the traditional economic sense. Commodities are defined as things that are ‘produced, exist and can be seen to circulate through the economic system as they are being exchanged for other things, usually in exchange for money’.⁵ Hair sits outside this definition in some senses, as it is not produced in the way of manufactured goods, rather it is grown involuntarily on the head at no cost to its owner. Wigs, on the other hand, do not.

Material culture studies incorporate a wide range of documentation, surviving artefacts and representations, as well as considering the broader context of connected activities such as mercantile production, use, value and functionality to help us understand past material worlds. Common sources include diaries, account books, travel and trade journals, guild and shop records, all of which can provide

⁴ Paula Findlen, *Early Modern Things: Objects in Motion, 1500-1800*, in: Paula Findlen (ed.) *Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories 1500-1800*, (London: Routledge, 2013) p. 7.

⁵ Igor Kopytoff, ‘The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process’, in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 64.

information to help create a more dynamic account of the role of objects in lived experience.⁶ In the case of wigs, this thesis explores these ideas and sources to understand what people desired and acquired, how they first encountered the wig as an unfamiliar object, and how it became a part of everyday life.

A central problem faced here in taking a material culture approach is the lack of surviving physical examples of wigs. Methodologically speaking, however, it is useful to turn to material culture studies to consider how to address this issue by exploring this gap in material evidence, and to try understand some of the reasons behind it.⁷ Consideration of similar objects that do survive, such as the accoutrements and cosmetics connected to hair, including wig curlers, powders and the paraphernalia required to make a wig is also helpful.

The thesis draws on the visual evidence provided in the portraiture and caricature of the eighteenth century to closely examine the changing hair of men across the period. This study draws on methods taken from material and visual culture studies, rather than those of art history, to analyse images and understand the objects they depict. For the purposes of this thesis, I consider the term material culture studies to be inclusive of images, such as paintings, portraits and caricatures. As argued by Ludmilla Jordanova, most images depict material objects, and are physical objects in their own right with a dynamic life of their own.⁸ In this case, it is the human subjects and the sign of continuity and change in men's hairstyles over the eighteenth century that constitute the material evidence. Images can convey the

⁶ Ibid., p. 7.

⁷ Glenn Adamson, 'The Case of the Missing Footstool: Reading the Absent Object', in Karen Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 198.

⁸ Ludmilla Jordanova, *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 8.

materiality of an object (in this case a hair style or wig) in a way that written descriptions cannot. The physical features, such as colour, length and texture, are brought to life, and even movement can be conveyed in certain styles of painting. What may be lost is the dynamism of the object; there are limitations on images as to the information they can communicate about how a wig was worn and used. Here, however, it is possible to recreate patterns of use and wear from other sources, such as inventories, diaries and letters.

Glenn Adamson adopts the term 'register' to understand how historians might study material objects in order to understand larger concepts and phenomena in the period of study. He argues that an object registers the larger patterns around it and can be used to test the ideas used to understand past ideas and large-scale transformation.⁹ The study of material culture therefore can also help to create a more nuanced picture of history, and to incorporate multiple registers into the narratives. The wig as artefact can be viewed in this way as a detail within different yet connected ideas that were prevalent in eighteenth-century ideas about hair. It can be viewed in the context of medical theory, which saw hair as part of the body, acting as a barometer for health and character. It can be viewed in the context of being a body part that could be controlled, removed and treated as a commodity; and it can be viewed in the context of physical transformation, of both the raw material itself (hair is physically transformed into a wig), and the external appearance of the wearer.

⁹ Ibid., p. 205.

History of Medicine, History of the Body

Studies of the history of medicine focussing on the early modern period are a valuable body of work on which this thesis draws to provide context as to where hair was placed in the changing landscape of medical inquiry. Amongst such a large body of work, and for the purposes of this introduction, I categorise the historiographical fields of study in two broad areas: history of medicine and history of the body. Both are connected to the themes explored in the thesis in its exploration of ideas about hair as a part of the body, namely the relationship of hair to theoretical medical ideas of physical order and disorder, and the parallel relationship of hair to lay practice in health and beauty.

Study of the history of medicine has a long-standing corpus of work on which this thesis has drawn for a discussion on the broader context of continuity and change in medical understanding through time.¹⁰ This has provided the framework on which to base the thesis, tracing the enduring nature of humoral models and the gradual introduction of theories of air-borne contagion and individualism during the eighteenth century. The thesis suggests that it was in the long eighteenth century when the medical landscape and understanding of the body was slowly changed, which allowed for a shift in the understanding of hair and enabled the wearing of wigs to become normal practice for a number of decades.

¹⁰ For example, Peter Elmer and Ole Peter Grell, *Health, Disease and Society in Europe 1500–1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004); Roy Porter (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-industrial Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Georges Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Roger French and Andrew Wear (eds.), *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Since the last decades of the twentieth century, interest has grown amongst scholars in the history of the body, and how it was understood as a cultural artefact.¹¹ This work both supplements knowledge on the development of medical theory by exploring the experience of individual bodies, and introduces a new mechanism for historians to partition the body and trace the significance of specific body parts. More recently, study of the history of the body has taken a medical turn with a focus on themes such as contagion and experiencing illness.¹² The thesis draws these strands together through the exploration of hair and its physical relationship to the body, to produce a study of hair that cuts across historical disciplines.

This thesis incorporates material culture studies with that of the history of medicine and the body. Some studies on the history of medicine have taken a similar approach, taking artefacts into account as a primary focus through which to explore their subjects and turning to material culture as a means by which to enrich existing narratives and uncover new perspectives. Many objects relating to medical practice survive in museum collections, and have been curated for the information they can

¹¹ See for example Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation. The Body, in Theory: Histories of Cultural Materialism*, tr. Sheila Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995); Thomas Lacquer, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1990); Sander L. Gilman, *Making the Body Beautiful. A Cultural History of Aesthetic History* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999); Mark Johnson, *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); and Ted Polhemus, *The Body Reader: Social Aspects of the Human Body* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

¹² See for example Alison Bashford and Claire Hooker (eds), *Contagion: Historical and Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge, 2001); Michael Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness and the Sick Body in Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011); Deborah Lupton, *Medicine as Culture: Illness, Disease and the Body in Western Societies* (London: Sage, 1994); and Klaver, Elizabeth (ed.), *The Body in Medical Culture* (New York: SUNY Press, 2009) for recent studies.

provide both as objects in their own right and as part of the bigger picture of developments in medical knowledge, theory and practice.¹³ To date, this body of work does not include any detailed study of the physicality of hair, nor has it considered the wig as a medical artefact.

The historiography of the body includes a growing number of studies specifically focussed on hair. Largely, these are connected to the discipline of cultural anthropology and explore symbolic representations, regulations and rituals relating to hair.¹⁴ Developing from gender studies, scholars have also explored perceptions around hair and feminism, considering the social effects of women's hair colour, and the twentieth-century phenomenon of 'the blonde'.¹⁵ From a historical

¹³ See for example Ken Arnold, *Needles in Medical History: An Exhibition at the Wellcome Trust History of Medicine Gallery, April 1998* (London: Wellcome Trust, 1998); Ken Arnold, *Materia Medica: A New Cabinet of Medicine and Art, An Exhibition at the Wellcome Trust for the History of Medicine, November 1995* (London: Wellcome Trust, 1995); Jutta Schickore, *The Microscope and the Eye: A History of Reflections, 1740-1870* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Suzy Lishman, *A History of Surgery in 50 Objects* (London: Royal College of Pathologists, 2012).

¹⁴ Including Charles Berg, *The Unconscious Significance of Hair* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1951); Alf Hiltebeitel and Barbara D. Miller (eds), *Hair: Its Power and Meaning in Asian Cultures* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), and Geraldine Biddle-Perry and Sarah Cheang (eds), *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion* (Oxford: Berg, 2008).

¹⁵ Such as Thomas F Cash and Melissa K. Rich, 'The American Image of Beauty: Media Representations of Hair Color for Four Decades', *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 29:1-2 (1993), pp. 113-24; Diana J Kyle and Heike I. M. Mahler (eds), 'The Effects of Hair Color and Cosmetic Use on Perceptions of a Females Ability', *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 20:3 (1996), pp. 447-58; Barnaby Conrad, *The Blonde: A Celebration of the Golden Era from Harlowe to Monroe* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1999); Natalia Ilyin, *Blonde Like Me: The Roots of the Blonde Myth in our Culture*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000), and D.E. Clayson and M. R. Maughan, 'Redheads and Blondes: Stereotypic Images', *Psychological Reports*, 59:2 (1986), pp. 811-16.

perspective, there remains little research on hair as a physical body part, a notable exception being a chapter on hair in early modern England, “‘The Ornament of Their sex’: Hair and Gender’ (2006) by Will Fisher. Fisher explores the role of hair in materialising gender identity, with specific reference to the religiously based moralising of Puritan preachers.¹⁶ He argues that hair played a crucial role in helping to form notions of masculinity and femininity, as it was connected to the humoral make-up of the body. This thesis aims to add to this body of work, exploring moral attitudes to hair and its place as a signifier of health and beauty.

Histories of Trade and Consumption

As discussed, understanding of the significance attached to hair and its physical connection to the body in the eighteenth century is further developed by an examination of the changing ways individuals experienced hair once it was disembodied and commoditised. Hair was unique in that it was the only part of the human body used to create a luxury item, the wig. The thesis therefore draws on the historiography of trade and consumption in the eighteenth century to understand how goods were manufactured and sold, and the behaviour and motivations of the consumer.

Due to their cost and investment required for upkeep, wigs were viewed a luxury item when they first appeared but like many luxury goods, quickly became available more cheaply or on the black market. Scholars of consumption have studied hair and wigs as being something unique and out of the ordinary. Studying

¹⁶ Will Fisher, *Materializing Gender in Early Modern Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 129-58.

consumption on a personal, private level for example, Lynn Festa discusses the concept of artifice in relation to the body. Festa examines seventeenth-century texts that discussed the nature of 'self' through an exploration of false hair, and considers eighteenth-century anxieties around whether an individual could ever expect to own the false hair on their head, given its origins growing on the head of another.¹⁷ This is fundamental to the intimate nature of hair as discussed in this thesis, in that was seen to resonate characteristics of its original owner, and potentially to transpose these on to the wearer.

Consideration of those who were buying and wearing hair has been used to challenge the popular perception that luxury items were adopted by those of lower ranking in society solely as a form of emulation. Michael Kwass' article 'Big Hair' (2006) is particularly important in this regard, as he suggests that the reason the wig flourished through all levels of society was because of its success as an item of convenience, in spite of its relative expense.¹⁸ Other scholarship devoted to hair during the period discusses the depiction of hair and wigs in the theatrical world and the consumption of hair as a performance in itself.¹⁹ This thesis adds to this body of work by considering how consumers wore different styles of hair and wigs in relation to the physical nature of hair and how it was understood in relation to the body.

There is a large body of material focussing on trade and tradesmen in the eighteenth century on which this thesis draws to provide a framework by which to understand the operating context for the hair trade. Geoffrey Crossick's collection of

¹⁷ Lynn Festa, 'Personal Effects: Wigs and Possessive Individualism in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 29:2 (2005).

¹⁸ Kwass, 'Big Hair'.

¹⁹ See for instance: Margaret K. Powell and Joseph Roger Roach, 'Big Hair', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38:1 (2004) pp. 79-100.

essays *The Artisan and the European Town, 1500-1900* (1997) and Maxine Berg, Pat Hudson and Michael Sonenscher's *Manufacture in Town and Country Before the Factory* (1983) are just two examples of more general works exploring the manufacturing industry before industrialisation.²⁰ Others consider specific areas of trade, such as the organisation of the Guilds and the apprenticeship system.²¹ There are few studies focussed on the history of the hair trade specifically, particularly for England where the source material is scarce.

A small number of scholars have incorporated discussion of the hair trade in their studies. Margaret Pelling's 2006 study of the Barber-Surgeon's Company in the seventeenth century has placed it in the international context of trade networks and guilds, and considers the implications for the 1745 split between the barbers and the surgeons.²² J. Stevens Cox published on the history of hairdressing and wig making, providing a translation of the wig making section of Diderot and D'Alembert's 1776

²⁰ Including Geoffrey Crossick (ed.), *The Artisan and the European Town, 1500-1900* (Aldershot: Scholar, 1997); Maxine Berg, Pat Hudson and Michael Sonenscher (eds.), *Manufacture in Town and Country Before the Factory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Jessie Dobson and R. Miles Walker, *Barbers and Barber Surgeons on London: A History Of The Barbers' And Barber-Surgeons' Companies* (Oxford: Osney Mead, 1979); John Raymond Harris, *Essays in Industry and Technology in the Eighteenth Century: England and France* (Hampshire, Brookfield, 1992); Giorgio Riello and Prasanna Parthasarathi (eds), *The spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

²¹ See for example Joan Lane, *Apprenticeship in England 1600-1914* (London: UCL Press, 1996) and Ian A. Gadd and Patrick Wallis (eds), *Guilds and Association in Europe, 900-1900* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research, 2006).

²² Margaret Pelling, 'Corporatism or Individualism: Parliament, the Navy, and the Splitting of the London Barber-Surgeons' Company in 1745', in Gadd and Wallis (eds), *Guilds and Association in Europe*, pp. 57-82.

Encyclopédie (1980).²³ This is a valuable work, being the edition of the only known description of the process of wig making, though set in the French context the thesis has drawn widely from the *Encyclopédie* on the basis that techniques were universal. Don Herzog's article 'The Trouble With Hairdressers' (1996) explores the way in which hairdressers operated at the end of the eighteenth century. He focuses in particular on the public perception of hairdressers and the power they held as having privileged access to gossip in an increasingly politicised environment.²⁴ Mary K. Gayne investigates the wig making trade in Paris, in 'Illicit Wig Making in Eighteenth Century Paris' (2004). She traces changes in quality-control legislation, such as Guild statutes forbidding anyone but master tradesmen to take part in wig making enterprises, with the transformation of the hairdressing industry in France.²⁵

History of Dress

In view of the fact that the wig experienced great success as an item of high fashion to one of every day wear, it is important to consider this in the wider context of fashion and style during the period of study. Eighteenth-century men's fashion has been studied in some detail, though rarely incorporating hair as part of the discussion. David Kutcha's *The Three Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity* (2002) considers the impact of the three-piece suit over a three hundred year period,

²³ J. Stevens Cox (ed.), *The Wigmaker's Art in the Eighteenth Century: Translation of the section on Wigmaking in the 3rd Edition (1776) of Encyclopedie of Denis Diderot and Jean D'Alembert* (St Peter Port: Toucan, 1980).

²⁴ Don Herzog, 'The Trouble with Hairdressers', *Representations*, 53 (1996), pp. 21-43.

²⁵ Gayne, 'Illicit Wig Making'. She finds that illicit wig makers continued to operate by redefining themselves as hairdressers, thus contributing to hairdressing becoming a specialized art in Paris at this time.

examining how it was used politically and publically to display authority and standing, yet he largely overlooks hair - despite the fact that it was hugely important to the desired overall image.²⁶ Daniel Roche, in *The Culture of Clothing* (or. ed. 1991) discusses clothing as a sign for reading society, and questions ideas of function versus fashion.²⁷ This concept can certainly be developed in the study of wigs, where arguably the fashion and function form an interdependent relationship. Aileen Ribeiro has completed a large body of work on the fashion of the period, focussing on the overall image achieved by both men and women, and their changing styles displayed over time.²⁸ John Styles' *The Dress of the People* (2008) has studied the dress of those at the lower end of society to consider if and how their choices and fashions differed to the urban rich.²⁹

Hair and wigs provide a focus for art historians and work on the prints and portraiture of the period. The use of wigs to create a uniform appearance in men in the public as expressed through portraiture and satirical prints is discussed in Marcia Pointon's book on portraiture *Hanging the Head*.³⁰ The problem for the historian in studying portraits such as those discussed above is that often they are identical in form, raising the question of how much they can really tell us about fashion and trends, a useful discussion of which is presented in Cumming and Ribeiro's *The*

²⁶ David Kutcha, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England 1550-1850* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2002).

²⁷ Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Regime'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

²⁸ Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth Century Europe 1715-1789* (London: Batsford, 1984); and Id., *Dress and Morality* (London: Batsford, 1986).

²⁹ John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Yale University Press, 2008).

³⁰ Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

Visual History of Costume (1989).³¹ Clearly the most extreme elements of dress provided rich pickings for satirists. If the wig had become part of a set of symbols for masculine authority, then it was also one of the main signs used in satirical print to denote the grotesque, extreme and deviant elements of such groups in society.³² Likewise the contrast of the bewigged authority figure and the naked exposed head in graphic satire reiterates the fact that the wig was used as a signifier to represent masculine identity, as discussed by Marcia Pointon in her 1993 paper 'The Case of the Dirty Beau: Symmetry, disorder and the Politics of Masculinity'.³³

Dress history has traditionally focussed on specific sub-cultures within society to explore how certain items of apparel were subverted to convey specific meanings. The Macaroni, for example, took standard elements of fashion, such as the bagwig, and over-emphasised them to accentuate and overturn the traditional symbolism they embodied.³⁴ The fashion choices made by such highly visible, yet relatively small, groups in society are considered to extravagant fashion choices and are not seen by historians as representative of everyday society.³⁵ This invited social commentators to remark on items of dress they viewed abnormal, which provides a

³¹ Valerie Cumming and Aileen Ribeiro, *The Visual History of Costume* (London: Batsford, 1989).

³² Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

³³ Marcia Pointon, 'The Case of the Dirty Beau: Symmetry, Disorder and the Politics of Masculinity', in Adler, Katherine, and Pointon, Marcia, (eds.) *The Body Imaged: The Human Form and Visual Culture since the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 175-189.

³⁴ Amelia Rauser, 'Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38:1 (2004), pp. 101-18.

³⁵ Peter McNeil, 'Macaroni Masculinities', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* 4: 4 (2000) pp. 373-404.

useful source for historians in understanding meanings communicated through clothing.

Scope: Geography, Chronology and Gender Focus

The thesis focuses on England and pays particular attention to London. During the eighteenth century, London's economy enjoyed continued expansion, in contrast to many other urban centres, and the population grew from 50,000 at the beginning of the sixteenth century to around 675,000 by the middle of the eighteenth century.³⁶ Population expansion meant the built up area of the capital more than doubled in size and the geographical concentration of wealth saw increasing amounts of time and money spent by the wealthy in pursuit of conspicuous consumption.³⁷ This context provided new markets for luxury goods, and presented more people than ever before with the means by which to obtain them.

A gendered focus on the consumer habits of the eighteenth century has grown up in the historiography of consumption, across all ends of the social scale.³⁸ This has provided a real focus into the ownership of consumer commodities, but could

³⁶ Robert O. Bucholz and Joseph P. Ward, *London: A Social and Cultural History 1550-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) p. 7.

³⁷ Lawrence Klein, 'The Polite Town: Shifting Possibilities of Urbanness 1660-1715', in Tim Hitchcock and Heather Shore (eds), *The Streets of London: From the Great Fire to the Great Stink* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 2003) p. 39.

³⁸ See for example Beverly Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Maxine Berg, 'Women's Consumption and the Industrial Classes of Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of Social History*, 30:2 (1996), pp. 415-34; Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Margot Finn, 'Men's Things: Masculine Possession in the Consumer Revolution', *Social History*, 25:2 (2000), pp. 133-55.

benefit from further development exploring social strategies of purchase and use beyond that of gendered concerns. Women's hair has been studied in some detail for its rise and fall over time, quite literally as the high tower headdresses popular from the 1680s, shrank to much smaller, neater hairstyles by the 1720s, and then grew again from the 1760s.³⁹ These hairstyles were generally achieved with a mix of false and real hair, the full wig being not at all common for women, particularly as an item of every day wear as became the case for men.⁴⁰ For this reason, scholarship on wigs to date has maintained a gendered focus, exploring male ownership of wigs and wigs as social signifiers of masculinity.⁴¹ This thesis does not intend to add to this body of work, but to provide a new way to understand wig wearing by using hair as the central theme. The exploration of the corporeal nature of hair provides a lens through which to explore ideas of identity and self-fashioning through the ownership and wearing of wigs, without narrowing it to concerns about masculinity.

In terms of chronology, the thesis broadly covers the period 1660-1800. This use of the long eighteenth century provides a framework through which to trace the journey of the wig across its first appearance as a large, masculine artefact common to the late seventeenth century, through its growth in popularity and eventual disappearance from fashionable circles in the latter decades of the eighteenth

³⁹ Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth Century Europe 1715-1789* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 48.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ See for example McNeil, 'Macaroni Masculinities'; Lynn Festa, 'Personal Effects: Wigs and Possessive Individualism in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 29:2 (2005), pp. 47-90; Amelia Rauser, 'Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38:1 (2004), pp. 101-18; and Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

century. This thesis is concerned with the connectivity of such diverse topics as medical learning, trade, consumption, style, fashion and moral outlooks that a long view is necessary to highlight aspects of continuity and change. Particularly in the area of medical understanding, concepts of health and wellness were based on long-standing traditional models influenced by Galenic thinking, which had endured for hundreds of years. However, by the mid eighteenth century, changing scientific understanding had begun to shift these traditional ideas, which saw a gradual transformation in the way the body was conceived to work and relate to its environment.

Source Material

The source material suffers from one conspicuous absence, that being the wigs themselves. Wigs were highly susceptible to the prevailing fashions, and despite their relative expense, seem to have been commonly discarded once styles changed. Their lack of survival may also be due to the nature of the material. Although hair as a physical substance survives well in changeable environmental conditions, the net on which it was attached was more fragile and may have disintegrated, leading to hair coming loose.

Due to the personal, excretive nature of hair, a wig seems an unlikely treasured family keepsake, despite its relative value as an artefact. As such, very few survive in collections, and where they do survive, can be difficult to date precisely given their similarity to theatrical wigs. A rare exception to this are the wigs that survive with the wax funeral effigies at Westminster Abbey, which can be securely dated as contemporary with the dress on the effigies. The wig on the effigy of

Charles II was replaced in 1729, for a cost of £3 3s, so is contemporary with the period concerning this study.⁴² The wig made for the effigy of the Duke of Buckingham is original to the effigy, and dated 1735, the year of his death. Additionally, the techniques used to make a wig by hand have not changed, and useful parallels may be drawn where the practice still takes place.⁴³

Hair that does survive in collections tends to be as part of a composite object such as a mourning ring or pendant, or as a lock of hair that had been treasured as a memento. However, hairdressers and barbers accoutrements do survive, such as wig curlers, shaving bowls, combs, scissors and wig-stands and are considered here for their style, material and function. Likewise, company records do not generally survive to enable a thorough survey of the industry, reflecting the patchy nature of business records in the pre-industrial period and the relatively low status of the hair trade. This lack of artefactual evidence lends itself to the consumption approach taken within the thesis, and the strong reliance on available textual and pictorial sources to establish how wigs and hair-styles changed over time and to consider how the trade was organised and developed. In addition, such sources can be used to answer questions of how items were sold (whether bespoke, ready to wear or second hand) as well as how many wigs may be owned at any one time and what this said about the social class of the owner. The difficulty with this approach lies in the complexities inherent in interpreting visual sources, particularly caricature which was designed to convey certain political or social messages. It is possible the nuance

⁴² L.E. Tanner and J.L. Nevinson, 'On Some Later Funeral Effigies in Westminster Abbey', *Archaeologia*, 85:35, (Society of Antiquaries, 1936), p. 172.

⁴³ The National Theatre in London operates a wig making studio where wigs are made by hand from human hair. Many thanks to Louise Hoare, Deputy Head of Hair and Makeup for allowing me to observe this process.

of these messages, which would have been understood in the context of the time, may be lost to historians today. The caricature used within this thesis falls into two categories: those where the wearing of a wig is used as a primary messages to say something about the wearer, and those where the hair depicted is secondary or inconsequential to the central point being made.

The other primary material used comprises firstly advertisements found in newspapers from fashionable centres, primarily of London that provide a picture of both the sellers and the consumers, and the networks through which they communicated. Trade cards at the Guildhall Library, the Bodleian Library and the British Library, and evidence gleaned from written references such as diaries, letters and travellers accounts are also used. The thesis has relied also on printed primary sources to explore questions about medical theory as well as trade in general among which Campbell's *The London Tradesman*⁴⁴ and Defoe's *The Compleat Tradesman* have been useful. Wig makers' accounts and bills survive in various record offices, along side private family account books and administrative papers of peruke makers' guilds. These are a valuable source, as well as papers found in The National Archives' customs records. These note not only purchases of wigs or barbers services, but also any payments made to tenants for the sale of their hair, and debts owed to deceased wig makers for services already rendered. Court of Chancery papers at The National Archives have also supplied a great deal of detail concerning the movements and operating procedures of itinerant hair dealers.

Material culture studies often focus heavily on inventories, and this thesis is no exception. It is useful to briefly consider the nature and uses of inventories to

⁴⁴ R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London, 1747); Defoe, Daniel, *The Complete English Tradesman in Two Parts* (London, 1727).

reflect on their value to historical inquiry. Inventories are representations of the domestic life of an individual, the material world they inhabited and the intentions and circumstances in which they used and interacted with that world.⁴⁵ They provide unique insights on how people in the past thought about material things, addressed and assessed their value, and dealt with an increasingly complex material world. Studies by Carole Shammas, Lorna Weatherill and Annik Pardailhe-Galabrun, provide a wide range of data on variety and quantity of goods, relationship between wealth and consumption, role of new goods, differences between urban and rural consumption patterns, link between acquisition and the production of goods. Inventories (such as those in PROB 31 at the National Archives) provide economic values of demand and consumption, as well as issues of fashion and style, respectability, and innovation or conservatism in taste, all of which is useful in consideration of the central questions of this thesis.

The National Archives has a large collection of wills (PROB 11) made by hair merchants, barbers, hairdressers and wig makers which helped to paint a broader picture of the many occupations involved in creating and maintaining the hair industry. To get an idea of the scope and economic value of the hair trade, records of imports and exports in CUST 2-17 (also held at The National Archives) provide a valuable indication of the amount of raw material coming into the country. Records from the Treasury, and Parliamentary Papers have been used to establish the chronology and reasoning behind the various pieces of legislation passed in relation

⁴⁵ Giorgio Riello, 'Things Seen and Unseen: The Material Culture of Early Modern Inventories and their Representation of Domestic Interiors', in Paula Findlen (ed.), *Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories 1500-1800* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 106-25.

to hair, and supporting materials from contemporary newspaper and journal articles are useful to provide the broader, personal context of the effects and impact of such legislation.

This thesis draws on published handbooks written by contemporary hairdressers, such as Stewart's *Plocacosmos* (1792) and Garsault's *The Art of the Wigmaker* (1776).⁴⁶ As well as providing a unique insight into the practicalities of the hair trade, these works can also tell us much about its development and the wider contemporary perception of the fashion and what it communicated about the wearer to society. Sources such as Judges Reports in HO17 and records of Chancery found at The National Archives in C11, or the records of trials at The Old Bailey and local assizes provide contextual detail such as the occupation descriptions of individuals, and information as to the public perception of those in the trades.

The single most detailed source for a description of wig making remains the Diderot and D'Alembert's 1776 *Encyclopédie*, translated by Stevens J. Cox in 1980.⁴⁷ The prints contained within contain a wealth of information as to the instruments used in the process of wig making, though in a French context. Sadly, there is no English counterpart, requiring an assumption that the process of wig making was not drastically different across the channel. The diary of Edmund Harrold contains little in the way of descriptive accounts of making a wig, with the exception of a few brief sentences.

⁴⁶ James Stewart, *Plocacosmos: or the whole art of hairdressing* (London: Printed for the Author, 1782); Guernsey: Publisher?, 1991), and Stevens Cox, James, ed., *The Wigmakers' Art in the Eighteenth Century: Translation of the Section on Wig making in the 3rd Edition (1776) of the Encyclopédie of Denis Diderot And Jean d'Alembert* (St Peter Port: The Toucan Press, 1980).

⁴⁷ Stevens Cox, *Wigmakers' Art*.

Perceptions (satirical and otherwise) of visitors to the country can tell us much about the impression created by dress. The anonymously published *A Trip Through London* (1728) is one such example.⁴⁸ Writers in journals commenting on fashions of the day such as *The Spectator*, *The Tatler* and *The Gentleman's Magazine* often contain anecdotal stories or opinions about hair, hair styles and wig-wearing. This thesis has drawn on a variety of contemporary prints, drawings and portraits to trace the changing status of the wig in civilian life. Satirical depictions, which caricature the types of men recognisable in society by satirists such as Hogarth, Gillray and Cruikshank were as responsible in their way for creating the bewigged stereotype as portrait artists such as Kneller in his paintings of the great and the good.

⁴⁸ Anon., *A Trip Through London: Containing Observations on Men and Things* (London: [n.p.], 1728).

PART ONE:

The Physical Nature of Hair

PART ONE: The Physical Nature of Hair

CHAPTER ONE

Hair as a Part of the Body: Physical Order and Disorder

This chapter considers the physical nature of hair and the medical theories proposed by physicians as to the connection between hair and the body. It aims to place hair in the context of the wider eighteenth-century medical discourse and understanding of the body using the writing of European physicians. The chapter considers in particular how hair was debated in medical theory as a potential transporter of infection, and how it was connected to wider discussion on contagion, which came into especially sharp focus in the early 1720s when the plague threatened. The introduction of the microscope and developments in the understanding of anatomy enabled a greater appreciation of the structure of hair, but opened intense debates about its nature. Central to such debates was the physical structure of hair as related to the rest of the body. These issues are explored in an attempt to re-locate hair within a medical understanding of the body in the context of the changing landscape of eighteenth-century medical theories.

Medical tracts are a major source to gain an understanding of how notions of hair changed over time. Although printed books authored by physicians were not uncommon by the late seventeenth century, the available material remained relatively scarce throughout the period of study, as many writers borrowed from each other and works were commonly reprinted in the same style or plagiarised from other writers over several decades. Whilst the popularity of the compendiums and treatises examined here is undeniable, there is less for the historian in the way of original

sources than numbers of titles and authors would suggest. Such literature might also bias the evidence towards a greater focus on traditional ideas, which have an overarching prevalence in published materials, certainly during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This chapter therefore also seeks to use a wider range of materials, such as correspondence between physicians, correspondence in popular journals and lay guides to health which took their ideas from new and developing medical theories as well as those that were more established.

1.1. Hair and Medical Theory

Traditional European medicine had for centuries understood the human body to be a vessel filled with humoural fluids. Following the teachings of Hippocrates and Galen in classical and Roman times, the body was conceived as being divided into three zones - the head, torso and lower body - which were differentiated hierarchically, with the head considered the most superior zone sustaining the body's intellectual functions.⁴⁹ The 'medical gaze', the origin of which Foucault ascribed to the growth of capitalism during the latter part of the eighteenth century, brought "human existence, human behaviour and the human body ... into an increasingly dense and important network of medicalization that allowed fewer and fewer things to escape".⁵⁰ It created the body, and the diseases that affected it, as an object of medical examination and gave rise to the view (commonly held today in Western

⁴⁹ Albrecht Koschorke, 'Physiological Self-Regulation: The Eighteenth Century Modernization of the Human Body', *Modern Language Notes*, 123 (2008), p. 470.

⁵⁰ Michel Foucault, *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984* (London: Penguin, 2002), vol. 3, p. 135.

culture) of the gendered body as ‘fixed’ in nature.⁵¹ Attitudes in anatomical studies had become more accepting of dissection over the course of the eighteenth century; however, the relative lack of access to bodies to dissect meant seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century medical practice largely continued to be conducted through an opaque body, meaning that physicians were unable to easily see internal systems and mechanisms.

This difficulty in studying the inner workings of a physical human body meant that references to bodily processes were often by nature metaphoric - discussing balance and sympathetic relationships between the organs and the humours, and comparing the microcosm of the body to the macrocosm of the universe.⁵² The corporeal exterior was understood to signify the state of the interior - so the hair, skin, complexion and colouring unique to an individual was a signpost to their internal imbalances and humoral constitution. These physical characteristics were understood to reflect personality and character as well, with blemishes or defects on the external body believed to be the physical embodiment of the internal mental state. The condition and colour of the hair was deemed a signifier of character and state of health of an individual.⁵³ A common theme in medical writing centred on the effect an individual’s humoral physiology could have on the colour and state of their hair, and suggested that the effect of the humours on hair was such that,

⁵¹ Barbara Duden, *The Woman Beneath the Skin: Doctor’s Patients in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 10.

⁵² Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 16; Bryan S. Turner, *The Body and Society: Explorations in Social Theory* (London: Sage, 2008), p. 8.

⁵³ J. Mather, *A Treatise on the Nature and Preservation of the Hair, in Which the Causes of its Different Colours and Diseases are Explained* (London: Printed by A. Grant, 1795), p.

according to Scottish physician James Keil (1673-1719), “their [the hair] different Colours depend much upon the different Temperaments and Quality of the Humours that nourish them”.⁵⁴

Historians of medicine commonly see the eighteenth century as the time when academic medicine began to turn away from humoral pathology, and Cartesian ideas of mind/body dualism gained common medical currency.⁵⁵ By the mid eighteenth century Galen and Hippocrates were far from being the primary model by which physicians conducted their research; although these older, well-established paradigms were often aligned to newer beliefs.⁵⁶

Tracing changing scientific understanding of the nature of hair exemplifies shifts in broader medical thinking. New theories on the make-up of the body were introduced, although they were often set against a broader backdrop of continuity in both practice and published popular works. The language of the humours was still in place, although understanding of the very nature of ‘humours’ had shifted between the end of the seventeenth and the end of the eighteenth centuries. In later

⁵⁴ James Keill, *The Anatomy of the Human Body Abridg'd* (London: Printed for J. and F. Rivington, 1734), 9th Edition, p. 17.

⁵⁵ William Coleman, ‘Health and Hygiene in the Encyclopédie: A Medical Doctrine for the Bourgeoisie’, *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 29:4 (1974), pp. 399-421; and Joanna Geyer-Kordesch ‘Passions and the Ghost in the Machine or What Not to Ask about Science in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Germany’, in Roger French, and Andrew Wear (eds.), *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 145-64 provide detailed discussion of dualism and the acceptance of Cartesian philosophy.

⁵⁶ See Turner, *Body and Society* for a full discussion on the Enlightenment’s understanding of the external world and rational enquiry led by Hobbes, Descartes, Kant and Locke. The increasing control of the state over everyday life, the decline of magic and the secularisation of culture are commonly cited as wider social shifts enabling new variations in medical thinking.

publications, the meaning is applied in a way that reflected a newer mechanical (physical) and chemical understanding of how the body worked. Dutch physician Herman Boerhaave (1668-1738) wrote that there were “many factors which determine the nature, the impetus and direction of the humours which circulate through our vessels”.⁵⁷ In this sense, humours are described as all-encompassing internal liquids, vessels and animal juices that work in equilibrium with each other, in the same way as the classical understanding of the four humours. For Boerhaave, these humours could in fact be seen as the different components that make up blood, whilst he used ‘humour’ to describe all the blood, juices, oils and solids within the body.⁵⁸ In the earlier part of his career, Boerhaave’s ideas followed the Cartesian paradigm believing the body to be a machine, and he identified its structure and the liquids within it as the most important “factors”.⁵⁹ For Boerhaave, the structure of the tubes and vessels within the body were of crucial importance for the maintenance of life, and hair was part of this structure. Having proven that hair was a hollow vessel, Boerhaave placed it in the category of those tubes and vessels through which bodily fluids give life and motion to the body.⁶⁰

The theories and writings of physicist and mathematician Sir Isaac Newton (1643-1727) are seen as underpinning the move from humoral physiology in which

⁵⁷ Cited in A.M. Luyendijk-Elshout, and E. Kegel-Brinkgreve, *Boerhaave's Orations* (Leiden: Brill, 1983), p. 119.

⁵⁸ Herman Boerhaave, *Dr. Boerhaave's Academical Lectures on the Theory of Physic* (London: W. Innys in Pater-Noster Row, 1743), Vol. 2, p. 178-80.

⁵⁹ Luyendijk-Elshout, and Kegel-Brinkgreve, *Boerhaave's Orations*, p. 97; Lisa Shapiro, ‘The Health of the Body-Machine or Seventeenth Century Mechanism and the Concept of Health’, *Perspectives on Science*, 11:4 (2003), pp. 421-42 provides a useful discussion of complexities of these ideas.

⁶⁰ Rina Knoeff, ‘Herman Boerhaave (1668-1738), Calvinist Chemist and Physician’, *History of Science and Scholarship in the Netherlands*, 3 (2002), p. 161.

internal factors unique to individuals controlled wellbeing, towards the idea that external causes, such as the atmosphere, could have an effect on health. Writers and practitioners alike invested a great deal of time in making established concepts newly ‘scientific’, as well as building new models of medical and philosophical thought related to the human body and the human condition.⁶¹ One of the ways in which they did this was through the close study of human parts of the body such as hair, often quite literally by placing it under the microscope. Crucially the mathematical approach of Newton’s *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (1687) enabled mechanist physicians such as Archibald Pitcairne (1652-1713) to begin to use mathematical reasoning to understand sickness and health as a physical problem wherein observation and experiment could provide answers.⁶²

Largely active in the late seventeenth century and first decade of the eighteenth century, mechanists like Pitcairne believed that the body’s systems and parts interacted like those of a machine, and could therefore be affected by material causes. This development of new corporeal understanding had the effect of strengthening the growing empirical and observational hypotheses for medical study and practice, which suggested that external, natural factors could have an effect on the health of the body as well as the traditional internal humoural imbalance, and that those were both measurable and quantifiable factors.⁶³ Aligned with more traditional Hippocratic hypotheses, hair could still be a physical signifier of internal sickness or

⁶¹ Roy Porter, ‘Medicine, the Human Sciences and the Environment in the Enlightenment’, in Felix Driver, and Gillian Rose (eds.), *Nature and Science: Essays in the History of Geographical Knowledge* (London: Historical Geography Research Group, 1992), p. 27.

⁶² Anita Guerrini, ‘Isaac Newton, George Cheyne and the Principia Medicinæ’, in French, and Wear (eds.), *Medical Revolution*, p. 225.

⁶³ Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, p. 18.

health, which physicians now understood to be equally affected by external natural influences such as miasmas or atmospheric conditions.

These theories took some time to become visible in the regularly re-printed books written by many eminent physicians of the time. Humoural physiology was, it seems, so engrained in the psyche of western European scholarship that it endured as a concept throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries whilst new theories of the body were gaining momentum.⁶⁴ As such, humoural pathology remained a strong influence in understanding the nature of the human body and how it was connected to hair. In Pitcairne's case, for example, he concluded that illness could be accounted for structurally through the function of the body and that good health depended on fluids within the body not being obstructed, a view very much influenced by traditional understanding of the body.⁶⁵

Moving into the second decade of the eighteenth century, notions such as those followed by the physician George Cheyne (1671-1743) began to encourage patients to maintain a balance within the body through external factors such as diet and exercise, and underlined the importance of not over-exerting oneself. Cheyne's ideas centred on maintaining health according to the principle of the 'non-naturals': external factors considered to affect man's mental and physical well being including air, sleeping and waking, food and drink, rest and exercise, excretion and retention, and passions and emotions.⁶⁶ The prominence of these non-naturals in keeping a healthy body is referred to commonly in medical literature of the time, particularly in advice for maintaining good health through the exercise and diet regimens recommended by physicians. This understanding is based in the notion of prevention

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 13.

⁶⁵ Porter, 'Medicine, the Human Sciences and the Environment', p. 28.

⁶⁶ Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, p. 10.

rather than cure. The prominent clients that Cheyne and his peers counted as patients made following particular diet and exercise regimes very popular curative methods.⁶⁷ The affect of diet on the physical body was believed to vary according to the constitution of an individual, so some physicians varied their advice accordingly. Those who were fair skinned with fair hair for example, were advised to be less active and eat foods that could be easily digested by their delicate constitutions.⁶⁸

The idea that control of the external environment was important to internal bodily health, whilst gaining prominence in the higher social circles of George Cheyne's wealthy clients, did not gain universal popularity. An individual's experience of what constituted their external environment was very much dependent upon the constraints of gender, social status and age, and therefore differed for different groups.⁶⁹ Barbara Duden argues that whilst today everyone commonly aspires to perfect health, this aspiration is a modern day construct. For many in the eighteenth century, their immediate physical environment was not something that could be controlled by the individual, and therefore the definition of good health related to what they were directly prepared to tolerate.⁷⁰ City dwellers in particular were relatively powerless to control their own health and often felt vulnerable to contagion from proximity to other people; parts of the body that remained uncovered

⁶⁷ Anita Guerrini, *Obesity and Depression in the Enlightenment: The Life and Times of George Cheyne* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), states that Cheyne regularly weighed around 32 stone.

⁶⁸ Anon., *Letters to the Ladies in the Preservation of Health and Beauty by a Physician* (London: Printed for Robinson and Roberts, 1770), p. 91.

⁶⁹ Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, p. 12.

⁷⁰ Duden, *Woman Beneath the Skin*, p. 20.

were considered to be unprotected from infection and disease.⁷¹ Hair, as an organic material, was considered a prime transmitter of infection, and as such, longer hair was kept tucked in, tied back, or pushed under a hat, in keeping with the well-clothed nature of bodies in general, hidden and protected as they were beneath various layers of inner and outer garments.⁷²

1.2. Hair and Symptoms of Ill Health

Illustrations 1.1 and 1.2 show the difference between male dress and hair a century apart at the end of the seventeenth and the end of the eighteenth century respectively. Whilst the differences in how the two groups of men wore their hair and in the styles of wigs are apparent (and are further discussed in Chapter 5), comparisons can be drawn in the way the hair is kept away from the face. Even the longer wigs of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century served mainly to frame the face, with the longer hair falling down the shoulders and back. This is important, because popular medical understanding of the inner workings of the body believed hair long hair reflected a strong, healthy internal system. Throughout the period of study, hair was styled to highlight the face, suggesting the face was afforded equal importance in the creation of appearances, and that any attempt to hide it would suggest an untrustworthy nature. Tellingly, both illustrate groups of men from formal institutions where the striking similarity in the way the wigs and hair are worn

⁷¹ Peter Elmer, and Ole Peter Grell, *Health, Disease and Society in Europe 1500–1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 47.

⁷² Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 34.

suggest hair provided a means by which groups identified with each other through homogeneity of appearance.

Some physicians advised the cutting of hair as a preventative, and sometimes curative, approach to maintaining good health. This conforms with contemporary medical thinking in which the Galenic or humoural approach was still prevalent: the hair as an embodiment of a humoural emanation could be modified to restore balance. It is difficult to gain a clear understanding of how much the medical profession used the practical application of humoural theory from the mid eighteenth century onwards, but the continuing re-publication of material relating to it indicates it was still very much of interest in the medical profession. An imbalance of humours could lead to illness; hair was seen as a primary emanation resulting from the humoural make up of a living being. This is underlined in Linnaeus' categorization of mankind *Systema Naturae* (1735), where hair is used as major criterion in each of his five races, and is associated with the humours and their corresponding temperaments.⁷³

⁷³ Angela Rosenthal, 'Raising Hair', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 38:1 (2004), p. 2.



Illustration 1.1. *Group portrait with Anatomical Demonstrations* by Cornelis de Man (1681). Wellcome Library, London, Slide no.98



Illustration 1.2. *The Academicians of the Royal Academy* by Richard Earlom, after Johann Zoffany, (1773), Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2014, RCIN 400747.

These ideas that the individual's personal state of health was tied into their temperament suggest a certain element of fatalism remained about becoming ill. If the humoral constitution was made up of certain temperament types, that individual would be considered more susceptible to illness and little could be done about it. So ideas about redressing imbalances in the body as a cure for ill-health were one way to try to gain back some control over illness, as can be found in abundance throughout the medical literature. In relation to hair, the practice of barbers in general focussed on various methods to redress imbalances within the body, such as bleeding treatments or even cutting the hair. The cutting of hair was seen as one way to remove any acrimonious humours it may be carrying and for individuals to control the state of their health.

Advice to patients to cut their hair as a form of medical treatment can be found throughout the eighteenth century, and was very commonly advised in relation to those suffering from a cold, or for those with scorbutic constitutions considered more susceptible to catching a cold. One such individual, clearly tired of suffering with a perpetual cold, allegedly wrote to the *London Magazine* for advice and was told to cut off his hair and take a cold bath.⁷⁴ As cold water was believed to be very good for colds, so deliberately warming the head would be viewed as a mistake, and something that might even promote ill health.⁷⁵

Patients were also advised to cut their hair when suffering from a fever or headache. The Physician Richard Carr, writing in 1714, identified several types of headache and, when the pain was external, advised cutting off the hair in order to make the "little vents larger and wider to transmit any humours out by

⁷⁴ *London Magazine*, vol. 34 (1764), p. 579.

⁷⁵ John Quincy, *Dr Carr's Medicinal Epistles upon Several Occasions* (London: Printed for William Newton, 1714), p. 86 'nothing does the head so much good as cold water'.

perspiration”.⁷⁶ Headache sufferers were advised to wear their hair short to promote perspiration necessary to cure external head pain, in which case wigs were not beneficial for this purpose as they could hinder the process, though the wearing of a light wig was recommended as having the positive side effect of not having the “inconvenience and evil” of using powder directly on to the head.⁷⁷

Hairdresser James Stewart, in the hairdressing manual *Plocacosmos* (1782), highlighted the relationship between hair and headaches when he suggested that headaches were one of the most common disorders human beings could suffer from, and from which “no part [of the body] suffers more than the hair”.⁷⁸ He advised his clients to apply a soft pomatum to the hair at night to keep it clean, instead of using a comb, which would “generally be the cause of a headache the next day”.⁷⁹ Following George Cheyne’s ideas about using diet to control bodily ailments, Stewart also recommended using softening foods such as milk, spinach and barley water in the diet as a balance to the acrimonious humours, and to keep the body open.⁸⁰

For a dry cough, doctors again advised cutting the hair, in case too much hair hindered the ventilation of the brain, and prevented the perspiration of humours, which would otherwise go into the body.⁸¹ In a work so popular it was still being republished nearly a century after his death, physician Thomas Sydenham recommended shaving the head to treat symptoms of a fever, thereby refreshing the

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ A.F.M. Willich, *Lectures of Diet and Regimen Being a Systematic Enquiry into the Most Rational Means of Preserving Health* (London: Printed for T.N. Longman, 1799), p. 273.

⁷⁸ James Stewart, *Plocacosmos, or, the Whole Art of Hairdressing* (London: Printed for the Author, 1782), p. 58.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 313.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 66.

⁸¹ *British Apollo*, Issue 66, 24-29 September 1708.

brain.⁸² It is easy to see why this advice retained such popularity in both a professional and lay context, as it provided patients with a means they could control themselves their own bodies; the outward modification of the hair helped to mask fears about what was happening inside the body. Patients seemed to believe in the power of cutting their hair to restore them to good health. In a letter of 1693 to philosopher and physician John Locke (1632-1704), William Thomas remarked on the recent improvement in his father's health: "[he] coughs not soe much as he has done, tho of late more than sometime since his return to Salisbury, which he imputes either to Salisbury Air, or to the cutting of his hair..."⁸³

Despite the enduring popularity of this advice, it seems that simply wandering around with a shaved head was not to be tolerated. Anxiety about shorn or hairless heads is redressed in much of the literature where cutting or shaving the hair was advised; replacing the cut hair with a wig or warm covering was a common recommendation. David Ritchie, hairdresser, explained in his 1770 publication that "Some are under the necessity of having wigs by reason of baldness, or when physicians order the hair to be cut off on account of their health".⁸⁴ Richard Carr suggested that in the absence of hair, the head be kept warm with a covering that may "supply the place of a peruke".⁸⁵ It is unclear whether he recommended another type of covering instead of a peruke because the direct substitution of hair with hair would have been inappropriate, or if he was simply suggesting that those without a wig

⁸² Thomas Sydenham, *The Entire Works of Dr Thomas Sydenham, Newly Made English from the Originals* (London: Printed by R. Cave, 1763), p. 551.

⁸³ Bodleian Library, MS Locke c. 20, 'William Thomas to John Locke' (30 December 1693), ff. 142-143.

⁸⁴ David Ritchie, *A Treatise on the Hair* (London: Printed for the Author, 1770), p. 82.

⁸⁵ Quincy, *Dr Carr's Medicinal Epistles*, p. 86.

should find an alternate covering.⁸⁶ Notwithstanding the preferred type of covering, a covering of some description was clearly preferred.

Carr believed that many patients cut their hair “not on account of their physician’s recommendation” but because they believed that to do so meant that they could reduce the number of parts of the body in need of nourishment, and therefore those parts that were affected by disease or illness would stand a better chance of cure.⁸⁷ This was a way of redressing a physical imbalance in the body, and common to the ‘holistic’ treatment of the human body receiving nourishment as a whole entity.

According to some physicians, impeding the growth of hair and wearing a wig could be an impediment to cure. Thomas Marryat’s *The Art of Healing* (1776) mentions that reverting back to wearing one’s own hair after being used to wearing a wig could be a cure for deafness.⁸⁸ He discusses the primary cause of deafness as the secretion of too much wax in the ears, so to discard the wig would allow growth of the natural hair, which should not be impeded in case of upsetting the delicate humoural balance. Hair in this case was seen to fulfil a part in the delicate balance of bodily excrescences which, if they became unbalanced, could cause discomfort or illness. The peruke would likewise serve no useful purpose when discussing headaches that came about as a result of illness elsewhere in the body:

the head is punished for the faults of the other parts, and sympathetically suffers from the diseases of the stomach and bowels. The remedy in this case

⁸⁶ Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 120.

⁸⁷ Quincy, *Dr Carr’s Medicinal Epistles*, p. 88.

⁸⁸ Thomas Marryat, *The Art of Healing, or a New Practice of Physick* (Birmingham: Printed by M. Swinney, 1776), p. 309.

is not to apply anything to the head but to the part affected, so that a peruke here is to no purpose.⁸⁹

The head was understood to display secondary symptoms if other parts of the body were unwell, but treating the head would have no influence when the affliction was elsewhere. This is distinctive of the humoural understanding of parts of the body operating as discrete systems in their own right.

1.3 Understanding the Physical Nature of Hair

The introduction of the microscope allowed physicians to study in great detail the physical structure of hair and how it was connected to the body. Thanks to the microscope, physicians considered how the hair was nourished and whether it provided nourishment to the rest of the body. Visual study of this nature was important in an era in which empirical physicians began to distinguish themselves from the theoretical scholars of previous decades. Technological innovation and a changing set of ideas were allowing scholars to examine the body for themselves rather than continuously referring to the corpus of well-established medical understanding.⁹⁰

Using the microscope did not provide immediate, convincing results however, and practitioners and scientists continued to argue as to whether the individual hairs were in fact hollow. Clearly the visual evidence they could see under the microscope was still very much open to interpretation, with scholars unable to

⁸⁹ Quincy, *Dr Carr's Medicinal Epistles*, p. 85.

⁹⁰ Steve Shapin, 'Trusting George Cheyne: Scientific Expertise, Common Sense and moral authority in early Eighteenth Century Dietetic Medicine', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 7 (2003) p. 270.

unanimously agree on the physical nature of hair. The debate raged at the Royal Society. Correspondence from Anthony Van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723), the Delft scientist known as ‘the father of microbiology’, examined the author’s own hair under the microscope and observed that the root of the hair consisted of “veines” or vessels, which he compared to the roots of a tree. At first appearing to sit on the fence in the debate about the hollowness of hair, Leeuwenhoek conducted further experiments with pig hair and wrote that he discerned a “hollowness in the hair” made up of pipes or little strings.⁹¹ Several decades later, other well-known physicians in the field of practical medicine such as Herman Boerhaave (1668–1738) conducted experiments in an attempt to show hair was a vessel (i.e. hollow) and not a membrane. He burnt the hair and concluded that the hollow nature of individual hairs allowed it to carry nutrition into the hair - thus seeing hair as living, in the same way as other parts of the body such as skin and fingernails.⁹²

James Keill (1673–1719) a physician whose academic work focussed on secretion and blood, in his major work *Anatomy of the Human Body* (1698) used evidence from the microscope to show that hairs were nourished from the round bulbous root under the skin. Echoing the earlier work of Van Leeuwenhoek, Keill observed that one hair in reality contained five or six others wrapped in a tube, which would take nourishment from the surrounding humours and not by pulling up liquid like plants.⁹³ Robert Hooke (1635–1703), pioneering microscopist, revealed in his *Micrographica* (1660) the microscopic structures of numerous biological and

⁹¹ The Royal Society, EL/L1/37, ‘Letter from Anthony Van Leeuwenhoek’, 1678.

⁹² Herman Boerhaave, *A Method of Studying Physick. Containing What a Physician Ought to Know in Relation to the Nature of Bodies* (London: Printed by C. Rivington, 1719), p. 148.

⁹³ James Keill, *The Anatomy of the Human Body Abridg’d: or a Short and Full View of all the Parts of the Body* (London: Printed for John Clarke, 1734), p. 17.

inorganic objects and depicted his observations in detail. Following observations that he made through the careful study of hair under a microscope, Hooke came to believe that hair was not hollow and therefore could not carry anything of nutritional value.⁹⁴ Many scientists challenged this claim, and as such the prevailing view as the century progressed fell in line with that of Boerhaave. Hooke's ideas followed the older Galenic approach to medicine that human beings were the product of a supernatural or godly intelligence. To suggest that hair was an entity requiring nourishment (through its roots or through its hollow structure as Van Leeuwenhoek, Boerhaave, Keill and others asserted) was not in keeping with ancient and well established Galenic and Hippocratic ideas that hair was an embodiment of humoral physiology and grew out of the inner health and personality of an individual. New ideas such as those developed by Van Leeuwenhoek and his contemporaries connected hair to the rest of the body, whilst allowing it a natural economy of its own.

In practice many of those who worked in the hair trade selected ideas from published works regardless of their theoretical influences. In a treatise published in 1795, J. Mather, perfumer and ladies hairdresser, writes that "each [hair] has a separate life and economy, deriving its food from general stock of juice or moisture in the body".⁹⁵ This work draws heavily on an earlier book by William Moore, also perfumer and ladies hairdresser, who discussed the distinct life and economy of an

⁹⁴ Robert Hooke, *Micrographia Restaurata* (London: Printed by John Bowles, 1745), p. 6. For an overview of Hooke's work see Howard Gest, 'The Remarkable Vision of Robert Hooke (1635–1703): First Observer of the Microbial World', *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, 48:2 (2005), pp. 266-72.

⁹⁵ Mather, *Nature and Preservation*, p. 10.

individual hair and the nature of it being hollow to enable nourishment.⁹⁶ That these publications from the late eighteenth century drew on ideas from more than a century earlier shows the nature of the ideas they propagated strongly endured, despite newer medical theories taking hold.

The discussion on the structure of hair and how it was nourished is reflective of the appetite to examine and understand parts of the body as they worked together as a whole entity, as seen in the earlier work of William Harvey (1578–1657) on the circulatory system. Harvey's work *On the Motion of the Heart and Blood in Animals* (1628) arguably was influential in promoting the principle that external factors could affect the body to become more firmly entrenched, because it allowed the body to be seen as an individual discrete entity, and not one that was governed by the cosmos. Prior to this work, the standard view embraced by physicians and practitioners alike had been that vessels, veins and arteries in the body carried vital fluids through separate, autonomous systems.⁹⁷ Harvey's work showed that the blood went round the entire body and helped to discredit these earlier theories in favour of treating the body as a holistic entity. By the end of the eighteenth century, for example, bloodletting as a treatment to rebalance the humours had been disregarded by academia as an activity only the uneducated would practice.⁹⁸ Understanding that the blood circulated the entire body enabled physicians to see the body from a more

⁹⁶ William Moore, *The Art of Hairdressing and Making it Grow Fast Together with a Plain and Easy Method of Preserving it with Several Useful Recipes* (London: Printed by J. Salmon, c. 1780), p. 6.

⁹⁷ Gail Kern Paster, 'Nervous Tension: Networks of Blood and Spirit in the Early Modern Body', in David Hillman, and Carla Mazzio (eds.), *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe* (New York and London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 107-25.

⁹⁸ Koschorke 'Physiological Self-Regulation', p. 476.

connected standpoint and to place less emphasis on the balance of fluids within it. It is in this context of shifting medical paradigms that the understanding of hair as part of the body rather than a humoral emanation, became central to medical attention but also to medical practice.

Van Leeuwenhoek's observations and communication with the Royal Society must be seen in the wider context of investigation into parts of the body enabled by new technologies. In these experiments, hair was studied as integral to the body, and not simply considered as a social prosthesis or excrescence. This philosophy underpinned attitudes toward the study of hair. Comparisons with the natural world, as seen in Van Leeuwenhoek's association of the vessels in the hair as roots of a tree, were typical of enlightenment approaches which linked nature to the microcosm that was man. Nature was understood to be both divine and human, symbolising everything that was both rational and idealistic: these were the ideas that allowed man to believe he was literally part of the natural world.⁹⁹

As we have seen, hair was seen both as an indicator of the internal state of a person's health, and as a part of the body that could be afflicted by ill health in its own right. In either case, hair in the medical literature was rarely seen as a separate entity and was commonly discussed in conjunction with other parts of the body and physical conditions. Women's bodies, understood to be moist and leaky, for instance, were more likely to grow longer hair, whereas men's hot and dry bodies explained the male tendency towards losing their hair, especially as they grew older and therefore drier.¹⁰⁰ *Aristotle's New Book of Problems Set Forth By Question and*

⁹⁹ Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (New York: Norton, 2000), p. 295.

¹⁰⁰ Thomas Lacquer, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1990), discusses this in some detail.

Answer published in 1710(?), attempted to answer the question “why does hair grow on the head more than any other part?” We are told that hair is “an excrement” which provides both cover and ornament to the head; that it grows primarily on the head because of the moistness of the brain, and is therefore likely to grow longer in women who have more moist brains than men.¹⁰¹ The book also tells how baldness is a result of dryness, and those with curly hair are particularly susceptible to having the driest of heads. This is also the explanation for male pattern baldness, since the front of men’s heads is also the driest.¹⁰²

This is humoral theory written up for the lay eighteenth-century audience, despite the new academic thinking that was taking place. Hairdresser Alexander Stewart expressed the same understanding that hair was a humoral production at the end of the eighteenth century: “Hair... is produced from heat and moisture... too much heat dries up the substance... too much cold, wet or dampness will prevent growth of either”.¹⁰³

Hair therefore, was still seen in some circles as a primary marker for the humoral condition of the head, the intellectual seat of the human body. It was widely understood as a physical embodiment of the humoral fluid, externally visible, and its appearance very visibly differentiated the humoral make-up of a person, both in terms of bodily health and character. It is a paradox that hair was seen both as an indicator of the internal state of a person’s health, as well as a part of the body that could be afflicted by ill health in its own right. In either case, hair in the

¹⁰¹ Anon., *Aristotle’s New Book of Problems, Set Forth by Question and Answer, Sixth Edition* (London: Printed for John Marshall, 1725), p. 32.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 111.

¹⁰³ Alexander Stewart, *The Natural Production of Hair or its Growth and Decay, Being a Great and Correct Assistance to its Duration* (London: Printed by the Author, 1795), p. 5.

medical literature was rarely seen as a separate entity, but as has been shown above, was commonly discussed in conjunction with other parts of the body and with bodily disorders.

Practitioners and theorists alike discussed facial hair as secondary to considerations of head hair and treated it as a gendered fashion choice, not one that could be easily connected to medical matters. In general men's faces were kept clean-shaven during the eighteenth century, which immediately distinguishes the period from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, during which it was very common for men to wear neat, trimmed beards. This may be reflective of the theory discussed by historians such as Will Fisher in *Materializing Gender in Early Modern Gender and Culture*, that the gendered body became seen as more fixed in nature during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries with less need to physically differentiate between the masculine and feminine.¹⁰⁴ Long, flowing head hair had been seen as a primary feminine biological feature, which men avoided in preference of the more masculine beard, so it is not perhaps surprising that period saw the adoption of male wig wearing and simultaneous rejection of beards.¹⁰⁵ That the beard and long, unkempt hair were becoming associated with signs of insanity by the early eighteenth century has been suggested as a contributing factor in the decline of beard wearing.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Will Fisher, *Materializing Gender in Early Modern Gender and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp.129-59.

¹⁰⁵ Fisher, *Materializing Gender* contains a comprehensive discussion of hair seen as a fixed biological trait during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

¹⁰⁶ Robert Houston, 'The Face of Madness in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Scotland', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 27:2 (2003), pp. 49-66.

1.4 Disorders of the Head

The social consequences of beard wearing paled into insignificance next to the most severe of the diseases with potential to affect the hair. The most severe disorder that seemed to attract the most moralising in medical and lay circles was known as *Plica Polonica*. Chambers *Cyclopaedia* stated that “The Plica is a severe, malignant and dangerous disease wherein the hair of the head is matted and glu’d together”.¹⁰⁷ Similar to scurvy, *Plica Polonica* was an affliction where the hair was seen to literally bleed through the ends and become matted together beyond repair. A study in the *Annals of Medicine* (1796) showed that a morbid matter being deposited on the hair caused the disease which was believed to be infectious, and that this matter caused the hair to bind together so tightly it quickly became matted together beyond repair.¹⁰⁸

Often accompanied by a violent pain and sweating, there was no known cure for the Plica.¹⁰⁹ However, instances of it were apparently rarely seen in Britain as it was believed to mainly affect the poorest people in Poland whose propensity to go bare-headed and “swinish existence” led them to simply plait their hair, never washing or combing it.¹¹⁰ The *Annals of Medicine* stated that peasants, beggars and

¹⁰⁷ Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopaedia: or, an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (London: Printed for W. Strahan, 1778-88), Vol. 3, p. 836.

¹⁰⁸ Andrew Duncan, *The Annals of Medicine, for the Year 1796. Exhibiting a Concise View of the Latest and Most Important Discoveries in Medicine and Medical Philosophy* (Edinburgh: Printed by J. Pillans and Sons, 2nd edition, 1799), Vol. 1, p. 7.

¹⁰⁹ Mather, *Treatise*, p. 14.

¹¹⁰ RS, *Medical Essays and Observations Relating to the Practice of Physic and Surgery: Abridg'd from the Philosophical Transactions*, (London: Printed for S. Birt, 1745), Vol. 1, p. 256; RS, EL/S2/72, ‘Observations of the Hair Condition “Plica Polonia” in Poland from an

Jews were most at risk since two or three in every ten suffered from it, as compared to two in thirty or forty of the noble or rich citizens of Krakow.¹¹¹ Plica seems to have been referred to in the main by physicians intent on ensuring cleanliness among the populace, rather than being considered a genuine threat.

There are descriptions of a range of uncomfortable ailments affecting the head and hair in the hairdresser's manuals. James Stewart, the above mentioned London hairdresser, graphically describes one to which children were apparently prone: "large, dry scabs...full of thick foul scales, being very offensive to the smell...which covers the whole hairy scalp with an ash coloured thick crust, attended with a violent itching and grievous stench".¹¹² His suggestion for cure was to bathe in salt water, after shaving the hair and not allowing it to grow back for one year.

Children's hair was often a focus for concern in the manuals, as it was believed to be of a clammier nature than that of adults, as younger people contained more moisture than older ones. This made them susceptible to nits, which would eat away the substance of hair, unless the hair was kept clean using a potion like bear's grease.¹¹³ The implication was that if a child's hair was correctly treated, it would continue to be good, strong hair into adulthood. A child's hair was obliged to be cut regularly and kept clean so as to avoid the "pimples, vermin, scabby heads, weakened roots" that unclean hair could cause on the head.¹¹⁴ This concept of investing in the care of the hair for the future would seem to suggest hair was not understood as a bodily resource that would naturally shed and renew on a regular

Article to the Society of Breslau', n.d.

¹¹¹ Duncan, *Annals*, p. 3.

¹¹² Stewart, *Plocacosmos*, p. 54.

¹¹³ Stewart, *Natural Production*, p. 14.

¹¹⁴ Moore, *Art of Hairdressing*, p. 3.

basis. Neither is there any suggestion in the marketing of hair products that the hair could repair itself in the same way that we see in advertisements for hair products today. Though powders and pomatums were considered great nourishers, hairdressers advised them to be used with care as they had the potential to dry up the hair.¹¹⁵

Baldness was of course the main disorder of concern to men and was seen variously as an indication of bad health, an unavoidable part of getting older, or dependent on the individual in question's constitution. David Ritchie, a hairdresser and dentist practising in London in the 1770s, explicitly stated that "men with full hair are no more healthy than bald, after 30 men decrease in blood, the matter that produces hair".¹¹⁶ Clearly he did not want to risk alienating his balding customers in need of wigs by presenting baldness in a negative light; however, as the amount of advice and both preventative and curative lotions on offer suggests, baldness was far from desirable for the majority of gentlemen.¹¹⁷ Not only were there numerous ways to prevent hair loss, but as discussed in the following chapter, recipes to increase the growth and thickness of hair were also commonly featured in health and beauty manuals.

Male pattern baldness was not the only cause of hair loss. Baldness was dealt with from two different perspectives: baldness caused by illness, and baldness caused

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 17.

¹¹⁶ Ritchie, *A Treatise on the Hair*, p. 15.

¹¹⁷ Hannah Wolley, *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight* (London: Printed for B. Harrish, 1696), pp. 7–8; W. Salmon, *Polygraphice: Or, the Arts of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Vernishing, Japaning, Gilding &c.* (London: Printed for A. and J. Churchill, 1701), Vol. 1, p 396-98; Thomas Short, *Medicina Britannica: or, a Treatise on Such Physical Plants, as are Generally to be Found in the Fields or Gardens in Great-Britain* (London: Printed for R. Manby, 1746), p. 238 are just some examples.

by age. Humoural medicine explained the latter as the body, and particularly the head, drying out with age, and the cure was to replace the lost moisture by rubbing on ointment made from greasy ingredients such as bear's grease. These cures can be found in many self-help medical guides, as well as books whose primary concern is beauty, and are often replete with recipes as to how to create the potion at home.¹¹⁸ Pre-made miracle lotions could also be bought from hairdressers and apothecaries. Advertisements in newspapers show the enormous variety of products available, often promising miracle re-growth: bear's grease and similar remedies were commonly found alongside more decorative items such as combs, brushes, powders and varieties of pomatum.¹¹⁹ Pills for curing venereal disease are also commonly found together with barbers' and hairdressers' powders.¹²⁰ Fragrance is often mentioned in the advertisements to ensure the customer was aware that the tonic that would not only restore and thicken their hair, would also not offend the nose.¹²¹ If it was not too late and one still had a fine head of hair, preventative methods such as sprinkling the head with parsley seeds for three nights every year would see one never go bald according to at least one source.¹²²

¹¹⁸ Eliza Smith, *The Complete Housewife, or, Accomplished Gentlewoman's Companion* (London: Printed for J. Buckland, 1766), p. 291.

¹¹⁹ See for instance *World and Fashionable Advertiser* (London), Issue 185, 6 August 1781; *World* (London), Issue 1326, 1 April 1791.

¹²⁰ Such as *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*, 23 November 1717; *Public Advertiser*, Issue 5862, 13 August 1753.

¹²¹ Including B. Courtenay, *Courtenay, Perfumer, Opposite Somerset House in the Strand* (London, [n.p.], 1780); *Daily Advertiser*, Issue 3845, 16 May 1743.

¹²² Pierre-Joseph Buc'hoz, *The Toilet of Flora: Or a Collection of the Most Simple and Approved Methods of Preparing Baths, Essences, Pomatums* (London: Printed for W. Nicoll, 1772), p. 8.

Echoing the work of physician Richard Carr discussed earlier, which saw the hair as displaying secondary symptoms from other parts of the body, James Stewart suggested that he was able to guess at other bodily disorders by examining the hair. If the hair became grey and flat looking, or began to decay, he believed it could signify the weakening in a person's constitution and the strength of the fibres within their bodily make-up.¹²³ Stewart likewise suggests an "emollient" diet to correct the "acrimony of the humours", prescribing apples boiled in milk, spinach and turnips as well as shaving the head and bathing it in vinegar to cure a headache.¹²⁴

This would seem to reflect an understanding of the popular work and treatments of George Cheyne and his contemporaries. Drawing on Archibald Pitcairne's theories that illness could be accounted for structurally and through the function of the body, and that health depended on fluids within the body not being obstructed, Cheyne was an exponent of using diet and exercise to benefit the health of an individual.¹²⁵ He believed that the state of a person's nerves could be read in their constitution, and therefore their outward appearance: "As the hairs are in strength, bulk and elasticity, so generally the fibres of the body are".¹²⁶ The state of the internal fibres was understood to be paramount in the health and constitution of an individual, and was mirrored in the hair type of an individual. Thomas Short similarly wrote in 1728 of people with weak fibres having small, thin hair, light in

¹²³ Stewart, *Plocacosmos*, p. 167.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹²⁵ Porter, *Medicine*, p. 28.

¹²⁶ George Cheyne, *The English Malady: or, a Treatise of Nervous Diseases of all Kinds, as Spleen, Vapours, Lowness of Spirits, Hypochondrical and Hysterical Distempers* (London: Printed for G. Strahan, 1733), p. 100.

colour, and soft, yielding muscles being lazy, indolent and dull, and believed to be particularly liable to catching a cold.¹²⁷

1.5. Hair and Infection

By the middle of the eighteenth century, ideas of the effect of the external environment on health had begun to align themselves to still popular Galenic systems. Medical writers considered how physical surroundings - pollution, miasma and air - could have an effect on health and their advice began to centre around elements around which an individual had a certain amount of control, such as rest and exercise, food and drink, and (the most key element in terms of infection) the air.¹²⁸ To take an example, thin, lank hair was seen as a symptom of a person displaying a deficiency in vital heat, a traditional take on medicine, though the cure was just as likely to be a change in dietary and exercise habits, rather than more traditional humoral cures such as bleeding which “could prove injurious and perhaps (as is too often the case) fatal to the patient”.¹²⁹ The move from traditional cures of adjusting humoral imbalances is reflected in work published in the latter quarter of the eighteenth century after several influential physicians published works offering similar diet based approaches. This group have been referred to as the ‘Newton-struck physicians’ and included physicians such as George Cheyne and

¹²⁷ Thomas Short, *A Discourse Concerning the Causes and Effects of Corpulency: together with the Method for its Prevention and Cure* (London: Printed for the Author, 1728), p. 56.

¹²⁸ Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, p. 10.

¹²⁹ Marryat, *Art of Healing*, p. 313.

James Keill whose list of patients, as we have seen, comprised many wealthy and influential patrons.¹³⁰

It might be imagined that wearing a wig could also fulfil the function of protecting the body from infection and disease. In conjunction with warm clothes, the wearing of a wig was certainly recommended as protection from the cold - cold air being seen as injurious to the “bones, teeth, nerves, brain, spinal marrow, ulcers and wounds”, especially in old age.¹³¹ Removing a wig in the cold weather appears to have been regarded with the same amount of misgiving as taking off a hat: according to court proceedings during a highway robbery in 1746 when a robber demanded his victim take off his wig, the victim refused, telling the robber he did not want to catch a cold, “and anyway [the victim] did not wear costly wigs”.¹³²

It was not just the cold air that held potential risk, wigs were advised for “all sorts of men” as a “healthy and seasonable Guard for the Head”, and for those troubled with “Defluxions upon the Throat and Teeth to wear Periwigs” to save them from losing all their Teeth.¹³³ Physician John Chandler (1700 - 80) recommended the “dimensions and substance of the wig should have so much thickness and extent, as

¹³⁰ Anita Guerrini ‘James Keill, George Cheyne and Newtonian Physiology 1690–1740’, *Journal of the History of Biology*, 18:2 (1985), pp. 247-66.

¹³¹ Francis de Valangin, *A Treatise on Diet, or the Management of Human Life*, by Physicians Called the Six Non-Naturals (London: Printed for the Author, 1768), p. 37; Benjamin Rush, *Medical Inquiries and Observations* (Philadelphia: Printed by T. Dobson, 1793), p. 317.

¹³² *The Proceedings on the King’s Commissions of the Peace, Oyer and Terminer, Held for the City of London* (London: printed for J. Hinton, 1746-47), p. 102.

¹³³ Frederick Hoffman, *A Dissertation on Endemial Diseases* (London: Printed for Thomas Osborne, 1746), p. 288.

to sufficiently intercept [the wind's] chilling attacks".¹³⁴ In this sense, the wig is seen as a barrier in a different way to the natural head hair. The physical act of putting on and taking off the wig seems to place it in the category of clothing, and therefore transformed it into a material barrier to protect the body, rather than the wig being treated as a prosthesis, or extension of a part of the body for transformative or fashionable purposes.

Whilst being used as barriers to infection from the external dangers in the air, wigs were also seen as potential carriers of contagion. Unsurprisingly during a time when plague seemed ever imminent, there seems to have been a considerable amount of anxiety that the hair used to make wigs may have been contagious. This anxiety was expounded not only amongst physicians, hair merchants and those living in busy, dirty cities, but was also reflected in law. A Bill to Parliament in 1747 specifically referred to human hair as "more especially liable to retain infection, and may be brought from Places infected into other countries, and from thence imported into his Majesty's Dominions".¹³⁵ It was recommended that hair being brought in from outside Britain should be subject to an order of quarantine. Likewise John Brooks, a wig-maker who also traded hair submitted a memorial to Treasury in 1756 stated that he would like to inspect "humane and brute hair" being brought into the country for "plague and any other Contagious Distemper whatever".¹³⁶

¹³⁴ John Chandler, *A Treatise of the Disease called a Cold; Shewing its General Nature and Causes* (London: Printed for A. Millar, 1761), p. 116.

¹³⁵ British Parliamentary Papers, *A Bill to Oblige Ships more Effectually to Perform their Quarentine; and for the Better Preventing the Plague Being Brought from Foreign Parts into Great Britain, or Ireland, or the Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, Sark, or Man*. Vol. 9, (1747).

¹³⁶ TNA, T1/370/27: 'The Humble Memorial of John Brooks Peruke Maker and Dealer in Hair and Corn' (1756).

The idea of hair being somehow live, even when it been detached from the head, is also seen in image 1.3 of a barber outside his shop, with the sign in the background reading “Money for Live Hair”. Hairdressers joined the debate, recommending “washing, stewing, smoaking, staining, boiling, baking and drying” as methods with which to remove any infection that may have stayed inside the tubes of the hair following importation.¹³⁷ However, “live hair” in the context of a barber or hairdresser buying it as a product does not have these negative, medical connotations, rather it suggests that the hair was considered healthy enough to be used to make a good quality wig, such as the large, full wig the barber carries in image 1.3. It should also be noted that the barber advertises his services for bleeding and teeth drawing, another popular part of the trade, which will be discussed in chapter 2.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Stewart, *Plocascosmos*, p. 302.

¹³⁸ Margaret Pelling, ‘Appearance and Reality: Barber-Surgeons, the Body and Disease’, in A.L. Beier, and Roger Finlay (eds.), *The Making of the Metropolis: London 1500-1700* (London: Longman, 1985), pp. 82-113.



Image 1.3. *English Barber*, by P. Stevenart (1771). © Manchester City Galleries, Acc. No. 1958.148

Debates about contagion and the spread of infection in published medical works frequently referenced hair, and the hair in wigs, as being of concern. Work by physicians such as Thomas Sydenham had shown that emanations from the earth, from human, animal or inanimate matter were the phenomena common to the spread of disease.¹³⁹ He advised clothing to be worn appropriate to each season in order to afford the body as much protection as possible.¹⁴⁰ As ideas took hold that emanations from the environment could pass on, or even cause, disease organic materials such as hair, fur and even silk or feathers came under suspicion as possible conveyors of the plague. Because these materials were derived from living creatures, they were believed to still contain “animal juices” and to “keep them in, receive and communicate infection”.¹⁴¹

Physician Richard Mead (1673 - 1754), who made a study of transmissible diseases, recommended keeping such material unpacked in warehouses, and exposed to the air away from human contact for forty days following importation.¹⁴² Stories about plague and smallpox infected wigs travelling the country were repeated anecdotally, with one popular story claiming a wig passed on infection from London to Plymouth.¹⁴³ Samuel Pepys voiced similar concerns writing:

Up, and put on my...new periwig, bought a good while since, but darst not wear it because the plague was in Westminster when I bought it; and it is a

¹³⁹ James Riley, *The Eighteenth Century Campaign to Avoid Disease* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986), p. 11.

¹⁴⁰ Coleman, ‘Health and Hygiene’, p. 409.

¹⁴¹ Richard Mead, *A Short Discourse Concerning Pestilential Contagion, and the Methods to be Used to Prevent It* (London: printed by Sam. Buckley, 1722), p. 52.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁴³ John Haygarth, *An Inquiry How to Prevent the Small-Pox* (Chester: Printed by J. Monk, 1784), p. 4.

wonder what will be the fashion after the plague is done, as to periwiggs, for nobody will dare to buy any haire, for fear of the infection, that it had been cut off of the heads of people dead of the plague.¹⁴⁴

However, other physicians questioned the reality of the problem, wondering why doctors' medical wigs were not responsible for a great deal more spreading of infection than seen to be the case.¹⁴⁵

1.6. Conclusion

This chapter has traced contemporary medical understanding of the human body as it developed and changed over the course of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Humoural theory gradually moved out of fashion over the course of the eighteenth century as the body came to be seen less as a vessel for liquids and humours which emanated out of the body, and more as a protective layer to keep external ill humours out. The perception of hair as an emanation which could be used to control disease and ill health thus attempted to place it as an entity that acted alongside the skin as a barrier to disease. Medical thinkers and practitioners saw hair as a key part of the body: at once a humoural emanation and a part of the body in its own right, which could be nourished or affected by disease. Using this understanding to trace medical thinking through academic writing and medical practice, hair is seen to be a central element in contemporary understanding of the human body. This

¹⁴⁴ Henry Wheatley, ed., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys, Transcribed by the Late Rev. Mynors Bright...*, (London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1928), Vol. 5, p. 60 (3 Sept. 1665).

¹⁴⁵ John Haygarth, *A Sketch of a Plan to Exterminate the Casual Small-Pox from Great Britain, and to Introduce General Inoculation* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1793), p. 257.

vision of hair helps us in understanding the fashion for wig wearing from a medical point of view as a barrier to infection and a means of controlling the health of the individual. The following chapter will shift the focus to lay and domestic practices in an attempt to trace how far this understanding filtered into everyday practices.

PART ONE: The Physical Nature of Hair

CHAPTER TWO

Hair as a Part of the Body: Beauty and Well Being

Hair has a unique place amongst parts of the body, in that it is visible outside the body, whilst originating from within it. It was connected strongly to the overall physical appearance of health and beauty in eighteenth-century somatic theory. As discussed in chapter 1, eighteenth-century medical practitioners and theorists such as physicians and natural philosophers identified hair as a body part that could be read to indicate the internal state of a body. Hair was commonly used to indicate symptoms of disease and to give clues as to an individual's character or humoral disposition.

This chapter aims to show how this understanding filtered through into everyday practices relating to the body. It discusses why the material presentation of hair, such as whether it appeared clean, or how it was dressed, was the ultimate visual product of this understanding. In the popular domestic sphere of medical knowledge, barbers and wig makers played a central role in the modification of hair. It was therefore common for barbers and hairdressers to offer beauty and medical services in addition to simply dressing and cutting the hair, which places them as central players in the relationship of hair to health and beauty.

Popular medical literature including work published by a variety of practising medics such as surgeons, apothecaries and hair practitioners as well as unpublished domestic sources such as recipe books, letters and advertisements are key to unearthing the importance of hair to the overall health of an individual. These

sources have been used in the history of medicine, but here I aim to use them as a means of understanding the physical place of hair as connected to the body in social discourse. Published academic and theoretical works of physicians and natural philosophers seeking to understand the human body from a scientific perspective are also key to gaining a perspective on the nature of hair as understood by those in the medical profession. Even a brief survey of the most commonly re-printed materials authored by the principal medical and philosophical thinkers of western Europe reveals the frequency with which hair was studied and discussed, both in relation to the rest of the body, and in its own right.

2.1 Hair and the Appearance of Health

The study of hair reveals a guiding principle in the everyday pursuit of health: that the healthy look was commonly associated with youth and beauty. This can be seen through closer examination of lay sources to trace how medicine was practiced. There is a considerable body of literature examining the organization of what has been termed the ‘medical marketplace’, which has identified a variety of medical options for those seeking to remain healthy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁴⁶ Michel Foucault, French philosopher and sociologist, placed the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a time when the standardization of medical training in Western Europe was taking place, leading to widespread understanding of

¹⁴⁶ Bernice Hamilton, ‘The Medical Professions in the Eighteenth Century’, *Economic History Review*, 4:2 (1951), pp. 141-69; Mark Jenner, and Patrick Wallis (eds.), *Medicine and the Market in England and its Colonies, c. 1470-1850* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007); Roy Porter (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-industrial Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

the ‘doctor’ as an identifiable professional who engaged in a medical dialogue with individual patients.¹⁴⁷ For many families, however, the local doctor or physician could be some distance away or prohibitively expensive, and they had to refer to other available options for curing illness. As a result, greater emphasis was placed on maintaining and preserving good health in general.¹⁴⁸ The very poor could turn to charitable institutions that commonly provided medical assistance as part of a variety of measures to help and feed and clothe those with no means to do so themselves.¹⁴⁹

Distance and cost, however, were not necessarily the primary drivers for individuals to seek alternatives to the treatment of a physician. Historian Roy Porter argued that histories of medicine vastly underestimate the variety of medical practitioners available to those seeking treatment for their health, and have overlooked practitioners other than physicians available at a local level including herbalists, nurses, apothecaries, bonesetters, housewives, and wise women.¹⁵⁰ To this list can be added practitioners from what might be termed the beauty industry: barbers, hairdressers and perfumers, who commonly offered a variety of medical and health treatments and merchandise. Illustration 2.1 shows the wide variety of medical and cosmetic merchandise on offer at perfumers’ shops to patrons who wished to enhance or create a ‘healthy’ appearance, from powders and pomatums to soaps and oils. However, it was not just the perfumers who were concerned with medical products. In an etching (illustration 2.2) showing a country barber from 1772, the

¹⁴⁷ Michel Foucault, *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984* (London: Penguin, 2002), vol. 3, p. 140.

¹⁴⁸ Roy Porter, ‘The Patients View: Doing Medical History from Below’, *Theory and Society*, 14:2 (1985), p. 188.

¹⁴⁹ Foucault, *Power*, p. 93.

¹⁵⁰ Porter, ‘Patients View’, p. 188.

sign in the background advertising his wares includes various beauty products for hair, but also for medical treatments such as pills, powders "for the itch" and wash balls.

CUP 21 g. 41/59

COURTENAY, PERFUMER,

Opposite SOMERSET-HOUSE, in the STRAND, LONDON,
Imports, Makes, and Sells all Sorts of PERFUMERY, Wholesale and Retail,
AT THE LOWEST PRICES.

COMPEIGNOR'S Royal Compound of Violets and Jessamin, imported from Paris, which the Public may depend on for taking the desired Effect, as it will be found on Trial to be the greatest Preservative of the Hair; it not only preserves and thickens, but hinders it from turning Grey, and makes the Hair to grow, even where Baldness has been ever so long; its great Efficacy is well known in Paris, and to those who have bought it since it has been imported. Sold in Pots at 4s. each, and a smaller Size 2s.—Also, **COURTENAY'S** original Royal or British Powder, for the Teeth and Gums, sold by no other; it will preserve the Teeth in a perfect sound State, free from Rottensness or Decay; will prevent those that are already decayed, from becoming worse; will lessen such as are loose, and render the socket Teeth white and beautiful, without in the least injuring the Enamel; will perfectly cure the Scurvy in the Gums, and remove all disagreeable Smell from the Breath. Price 1s.

* * * OUDOR of ROSES.—CASKETS of ESSENCES and SWEET WATERS for the TOILET.

PERFUMES. MUSK Civet Ambergrease Pot Pourri Pocket-Books Garters Work-Bags Storax and Bergamot Fruit Italian Pastils to burn in Rooms ESSENCES. Orange flowers Marchalle Duchesse Artois Thyme Rosemary Musk Ambergrease Bergamotte Lavender Millefleurs WATERS. Double distilled Honey Hungary Jessamin Violet Artois Duchesse Franchipane Sans Pareille Cedra Citron Amber IMPROVED SOAPS. Almond Liquid Alicant Castile Joppa Purified Italian Soap Shaving Powder Improv'd shaving Cakes for Boxes WASH-BALLS. Marble Castile Grecian Camphire Bergamot Lavender Savonettes aux Herbes Variety of Travelling Cakes and Leather Pouches, containing the whole Apparatus for Shaving, &c.—Eau de Carnea, Eau de Cologne, and Levade's genuine Arquebuse Water, from Switzerland.—Great Choice of Paper and Tortoise-shell Snuff-Boxes, richly inlaid and mounted, of English and French Manufacture.	FOR THE HAIR. Compound of Jessamin and Violets Oil of Jessamin Bear's Grease Hair Water Hair Pins Nets, or Fillets Powder Knives Hair Scissors Powdering Muffs Silk Bags and Rosets Leather Powder Bags Variety of Powder Puffs Powder Engines and Soufflets Powder Boxes Tortoise-shell, Horn, Ivory, and Box Combs Comb and Hair Brushes POMATUMS. Marchalle Marquise Divine Bouquet Duchesse Vanille Millefleurs Franchipane Rose POWDERS. Poland French Grey Brown DOUBLE FRENCH PERFUMED POWDERS Musk Rose Artois Tubereuse Violet Jessamin Orange Flower Bergamot Orris VINAIGRES DE TOILET. De Turbie De Storax De Rouge De Fleurs de Citron au Sanfraille De Quatre Voleurs	FOR THE TEETH. Hemer's Essence of Pearl and Pearl Dentifrice Delefoot's Opate Ruspini's Dentifrice, &c. Greenough's Tinctures Tincture of Myrrh Dragon Roots Tooth Brushes and Sponges French, Lisbon, Ivory, Tortoise-shell, and Quil Tooth-picks Variety of Papier Maché, Tortoise-shell, Ivory, Dog-skin, Bergamot, and other Tooth-pick Cases Teeth Instruments French Rouge Carmine Spanish Wool China Wool Pearl Powder Pearl Water Eau de Fleurs de Venice Cold Cream Face Paper or French Towels Razors and Razor Strops, of the best Makers Tongue Scrapers Lip Salve Almond Paste Almond Powders Variety of Smelling Bottles Eau de Luce Smelling Salts Spirit of Hartshorn Spirit of Sal Volatile Spirit of Benjamin Spirit of Lavender Cate Bottles Wash-ball Boxes Soap Boxes Dressing Boxes Shaving Brushes Nail Brushes Tooth Brushes of all Sorts Jewel Brushes Buckle Brushes Prepared Hartshorn Plate Powder Dutch Sealing Wax	French Chalk Stone Blue Powder Ditto French Starch Syrup of Orgeat Syrup of Capillaire French Garters Bath Ditto Variety of Pocket Books and Instrument Cases Gold Purfes Silver Ditto Silk Ditto Silk and Hair Cane and Watch Strings A Powder to destroy Nits in the Hair Variety of Tin Travelling Chests for Powders, Pomatums, Combs, &c. The true Scouring Drops to take Spots out of Silks, Stuffs, &c. Andrews's Powder for cleaning Woollen Cloth Silver and Steel Knives and Scissors MEDICINES, &c. Greenough's Pectoral Lozenges of Tolu The Baume de Vie Turlington's Balm Peppermint Drops Essence of Peppermint Essence of Pennyroyal The Pomade Divine Bateman's Drops Daffy's Elixir Godfrey's Cordial Anderson's Pills, by English Hooper's Pills Kennedy's Corn Plaster Issue Plasters Orange Peas The Court, or Ladies' Black Sticking Plaster The Cephalic Snuff Rowley's British Herb Snuff and Tobacco
--	---	--	--

Illustration 2.1. An advertisement for a perfumer's shop. BL: CUP 21 g.41/59 (1780?)



Illustration 2.2. *The Village Barber. L.M.*, Coloured Etching by J. Bretherton after H.W. Bunbury (1772), Wellcome Library, ICV No. 20028.

Margaret Pelling suggests that the barber's shop was the most important locality outside the home for washing, grooming and all functions related to health and cleanliness, and it was common to find blood letting, tooth drawing, tooth scraping, nail cutting, ear syringing and plucking all on offer.¹⁵¹ An outward display of health through the parts of the body visible externally was necessary to give the impression of a healthy internal system. These shops with their emphasis on medical services, connected basic medical practices firmly with outward appearance, caring for the external parts of the body that were visible to others, such as teeth, hair and skin.

Judging from other surviving examples of barbers and perfumers advertisements, the array of goods on sale at Courtenay's perfume shop in the Strand is typical of other similar establishments in urban environments. Courtenay advertised a collection of products under the heading "medicine" which set them apart from the items related to keeping the hair clean. Essences, elixirs, drops and pills could all be purchased for pain relief, for burns and scalds and for strengthening the constitution.¹⁵² From the late seventeenth century, printed material began to be made available more readily and cheaply, enabling a wide range of practitioners to publish health advice and remedies more frequently and to a wider audience. By the first decades of the eighteenth century, these works were also available in the form of advertisements providing information cheaply and enabling the sick to treat

¹⁵¹ Margaret Pelling 'Appearance and Reality: Barber-Surgeons, the Body and Disease', in A.L. Beier, and Roger Finlay (eds.), *The Making of the Metropolis: London 1500-1700* (London: Longman, 1986), pp. 82-113.

¹⁵² BL, CUP 21 g.41/15. 'Advertisement for Richard Warren, Perfumer, Mary-le-bon, St. Alder's Sq, London', n.d.

themselves.¹⁵³ Advertisements also masqueraded as instruction manuals, published by hairdressers and barbers, ostensibly giving advice as to how to care for and dress the hair, though often accompanied by a long-winded advert for a miracle lotion produced uniquely at the author's premises.

Writers in the early seventeenth century had taken a fatalistic attitude to sickness, believing that individuals did not have control over their own health.¹⁵⁴ However, this view had begun to shift by the late seventeenth century with enlightenment thinkers such as John Locke (1632 - 1704) following a guiding principle that humankind was part of the natural world, rather than the celestial one.¹⁵⁵ In this view, individuals were granted a certain amount of control over the state of their own health. Lay individuals had at their disposal a choice of published medical advice books, which would have been a familiar source of medical information to which they could turn to make their own remedies or seek to understand how to maintain good health. Such beliefs allowed for the success of the large number of recipe books published encouraging every man, or woman, to be his or her "own physician".¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ Mary Fissell, 'The Market Place of Print', in Jenner, and Wallis (eds.) *Medicine and the Market*, p. 110.

¹⁵⁴ William Coleman, 'Health and Hygiene' in the *Encyclopédie: A Medical Doctrine for the Bourgeoise*, *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 29:4 (1974), p. 400; Ginnie Smith, 'Prescribing the Rules for Health: Self-Help and Advice in the Eighteenth Century', in Porter (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners*, pp. 249-82.

¹⁵⁵ Bryan S. Turner, *The Body and Society: Explorations in Social Theory* (London: Sage, 3rd ed. 2008), p. 189.

¹⁵⁶ Examples include Francis Fuller, *Medicina Gymnasitica: Or Every Man his Own Physician* (London: Printed for W. Norris, 1777); Robert Grubb, *A New Treatise on the Venereal Disease; or, Every Person Afflicted with the Disorder Their Own Physician* (London: Printed for the Author, 1780); A. Hume, *Every Woman Her Own Physician: or, the*

Recipe books boasted a remedy for “every disease incident to the human body with plain instructions for their common use, very necessary to be had in all families”, and commonly included various recipes pertaining to hair and skin.¹⁵⁷ Unpublished domestic recipe books also survive in archival collections, commonly compiled by women for use within the household. They tend to be of a similar structure to their published counterparts, comprising collections of recipes pertaining to both health and food (often in no particular order) and served the combined function of both practical manual and personal artefact. Many of the extant examples display at least two hands, suggesting those in the wider household network, or successive generations, also added to these books. There are also examples of published printed recipes or advertisements pasted into the pages, suggesting they were gathered from a variety of sources. Handwritten letters at the back of one example belonging to Margareta Acworth (1720) reveal correspondence between the writer and her sister, in which they swapped and specifically requested particular recipes from one another.¹⁵⁸ These requests seem to have constituted a key part of their correspondence, containing notes on published recipes and descriptions of remedies they may have recently discovered, with promises to pass them on. The letters show the sisters regularly reminded one another about promised recipes that

Lady's Medical Assistant (London: Printed for Richardson and Urquhart, 1776) and John Theobald, *Every Man his Own Physician: Being a Complete Collection of Efficacious and Approved Remedies, for Every Disease Incident to the Human Body* (London: Printed and Sold by W. Griffin, 1764).

¹⁵⁷ Isabella Moore, *The Useful and Entertaining Family Miscellany* (London: Printed for Thomas Palmer, 1766).

¹⁵⁸ TNA, C107/108, ‘Master Senior’s Exhibits containing the recipe book of Margareta Accworth’ (1720).

had not been forthcoming, suggesting a useful or effective pomatum or tonic was a valued commodity to be retained and passed on to friends and family.

These early modern domestic recipe books, both published and personal, contain a wide range of recipes pertaining to the health, or ways to feign the appearance of such, of parts of the body on show, and commonly focus on hair. Popular recipes included those to make it grow or to stop it from falling out; to make it curl or to loosen the curl; to dye it black, or to make it fair.¹⁵⁹ Early examples date back to at least the sixteenth century, including one found in the State Papers of Elizabeth I, titled “to bring hair”.¹⁶⁰

The recipes relating to hair can be grouped into two broad categories: to improve the appearance of the hair (thickening, growing, stopping it falling out) and to change the appearance of the hair (changing its colour, stopping or increasing its curl). An example from the first category is found in a recipe taken from Elizabeth Okeover’s book, entitled “To make haire grow” and suggests “yellow wax, the powder of red brick mixed with ashes or sand, heated up to make yellow oil to anoint the head or beard”.¹⁶¹ An example from the second category provides the ingredients

¹³ See for example Richard Lower, *Dr. Lower’s, and Several Other Eminent Physicians Receipts* (London: Printed for John Nutt, 1696), p. 56; Gervase Markham, *The English House-Wife, Containing the Inward and Outward Vertues... and Now the Ninth Time Much Augmented* (London: Printed for Hannah Sawbridge, 1683), pp. 17 and 42; Pierre-Joseph Buc’hoz, *The Toilet of Flora; Or, A Collection of the Most Simple and Approved Methods of Preparing Baths, Essences, Pomatums, Powders, Perfumes* (London: Printed for J. Murray, 1779), pp. 11 and 12 for receipts relating to these areas of hair care.

¹⁶⁰ TNA, SP46/26/f. 170, State Papers Misc: Supplementary (Temp. Eliz. I).

¹⁶¹ Wellcome Library, MS 3712, ‘Elizabeth Okeover’ (c. 1675-1725).

for “spirit of sack for freckles on the face and Curleye Haire”, placing the appearance of the hair directly in conjunction with that of the face.¹⁶²

Freckles were associated with country dwellers and outdoor labourers, as seen in common depictions of country trades, and therefore not considered desirable for genteel city inhabitants.¹⁶³ Popular recipes to remove or disguise freckles therefore encouraged clear skin, and these mostly comprised of applying lotions to the skin.¹⁶⁴ A fresh complexion clear of freckles was clearly associated with inner health, and hair colour was considered part of this. Advice manuals suggested, for example, that wet nurses should not be:

Red-hair’d, or full of Freckles; but of a wholesome brown Colour, which is a Sign that her natural Heat is in its full force and Vigour; that she is well able to digest her Food, and discharge the superfluous Remains.¹⁶⁵

Red hair was considered to betray the fact that the internal constitution was weak or failing, and a certain lack of trust in the individual can be detected on account of this.

Recipes for colouring the hair were commonly noted in household self-help books and hairdressers’ manuals alike, suggesting hair colour was equally important to the projection of beauty and health. Perfumer J. Mather, who published *A Treatise on the Nature and Preservation of the Hair* (c. 1795) suggested that old age was the greatest enemy to beauty, as in old age when hair was more vulnerable to changing

¹⁶² Wellcome Library, MS 2990/19, ‘Bridget Hyde’ (c. 1676-90).

¹⁶³ Emily Cockayne, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise and Stench in England* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 24.

¹⁶⁴ See for example Charles Carter, *The Compleat City and Country Cook; or, Accomplish’d Housewife* (London: Printed for A. Bettesworth, 1736), p. 281.

¹⁶⁵ Anon., *The Art of Nursing: Or the Method of Bringing up Young Children According to the Rules of Physick* (London: Printed for John Brotherton, 1733), p. 29.

colour and falling out.¹⁶⁶ To conceal and adapt the unwanted hair colour, there were many recipes for dyeing hair often to darken it. An example of one recommending hair to be transformed from red to a “beautiful brown” suggested black lead shavings boiled in water to be combed regularly through the hair.¹⁶⁷ Mather even suggests dyeing the eyebrows and eyelashes at the same time to complete the transformation.¹⁶⁸

Hair powders could disguise the colour on a temporary basis, and were often sold according to colour such as “brown” or “common black”.¹⁶⁹ Powders could be coloured in a more subtle way, to take the edge off the whiteness of pure powder, which was not a flattering colour against most complexions.¹⁷⁰ Black lead combs were sold for use on grey hair, if used regularly and evenly through the hair they would darken the hair whilst negating the need for powder.¹⁷¹ William Moore, a hairdresser and perfumer from Bath, believed it was bad management that caused hair to become white or grey, such as neglecting to get the hair cut, using bad powders or subjecting the head to intense cold.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁶ J. Mather, *A Treatise on the Nature and Preservation of the Hair, in Which the Causes of its Different Colours and Diseases are Explained* (London: Printed by A. Grant, 1795), p. 15.

¹⁶⁷ Anon., *The Frugal Housekeeper, Or, the Compleat Cook* (London: Printed for the Author, 1778), p. 196.

¹⁶⁸ Mather, *Treatise*, p. 7.

¹⁶⁹ BL, CUP 21 g. 41/12, ‘Advertisement for Arthur Rothwell, Perfumer, At the Civet-Cat and Rose in New Bond St., London’, n.d.

¹⁷⁰ John Barrell, *The Spirit Of Despotism: Invasions Of Privacy in the 1790s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 147.

¹⁷¹ William Moore, *The Art of Hair-dressing and Making it Grow Fast Together with a Plain and Easy Method of Preserving it with Several Useful Recipes* (Bath: Printed by J. Salmon, c. 1780), p. 20.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

In keeping with enduring ideas that hair was the mirror of the internal state of the body, Moore understood that internal causes such as heat and moisture were responsible for controlling the colour of hair, and any act, such as combing, that stopped respiration and dried up these emanations could cause the hair to turn grey.¹⁷³ Alexander Stewart, a London hairdresser, believed that mental processes could also affect hair colour, such as feeling sorrow or undertaking too much intense thought.¹⁷⁴ White or grey hair was associated with old age, but also with being unhealthy in both mind and body, and disguising its unhealthy nature was actively encouraged by those in the beauty trade.

2.2 Hair and the Beauty Trade

Good morals and manners were required in order for beauty to be present. *A Lecture on the Generation, Increase and Improvement of the Human Species* (1784) by Dr. James Graham (a physician who specialised in sexual reproduction) recounts the story of an Edinburgh hairdresser who described the ideal beauty of a woman whose hair he was sent to dress:

...the most perfect beauty, elegance and loveliness of person, mind and manners. Her beauty was equalled only by her spotless virtue, and by the singular sweetness of her manners.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁷⁴ Alexander Stewart, *The Natural Production of Hair or its Growth and Decay being a Great and Correct Assistance to its Duration* (London: Printed by the Author, 1795), p. 6.

¹⁷⁵ James Graham, *Dr. Graham's Famous Work! A Lecture on the Generation, Increase and Improvement of the Human Species; Interspersed with Receipts for the Preservation and Exaltation of Personal Beauty and Loveliness* (London: Printed for the Author, 1784), p. 58.

He sets the beauty ideal firmly in the context of class, claiming that Edinburgh's "highly cultivated" women were as beautiful and virtuous as the lower classes were rude, ugly and nasty.¹⁷⁶ This idea of beauty does not appear to focus particularly on the physical attributes of the individuals, but the perceptions of their class, their character and their public behaviour. The overall impression given by hair and clothing was required to be carefully constructed in order to give the impression of order, good character, taste and consequently, beauty.

The hairstyle was of course an important component in the final image, as discussed by the artist Hogarth in *The Analysis of Beauty. Written with a view of fixing the fluctuating Ideas of Taste* (1753). Hogarth believed that beauty could be encapsulated and artistically portrayed in a simple, undulating line, one example of which he illustrated using hair. Hogarth explained that his line could be represented by hair hanging in soft curls, which held even greater aesthetic value if they were loose and flowing enough to move in the breeze.¹⁷⁷ He contrasted these gently undulating lines with matted or messy hair, representative of excess and which produced "the most disagreeable figure" to the eye, which was unable to follow entangled and disorganized lines and render the onlooker confused and angry.¹⁷⁸ This also suggests that beautiful, healthy hair should be strong and thick enough to grow long and fall down the head and shoulders. The frequent examples of recipes to grow hair long, to thicken it and to cure baldness would seem to suggest that this aesthetic was upheld in every day life. Mather suggested hair should be treated if it

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 58.

¹⁷⁷ William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty. Written With a View of Fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Taste* (London: Printed by J. Reeves, 1753), p. 28.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 28.

grew weak and downy, or did not grow long enough to “frame the face”.¹⁷⁹ By the end of the century, hair that was worn loosely hanging down was seen as a return to “beautiful and elegant nature”, a theme that can be traced in late eighteenth-century understanding of beauty, as we shall see below.¹⁸⁰ This was explored in the previous chapter, which illustrates the importance of using hair to highlight the face.

City dwelling, harsh physical work, propensity to diseases which left permanent physical scarring and simply growing old, made the image of youth and beauty a hard one for many working people to cling to when teeth became blackened, or in many cases fell out altogether, and skin was left permanently pock marked and scarred. But this was not just an issue of class. People situated in higher socio-economic groups, such as the independently wealthy or those in the professions who could afford a more genteel lifestyle, were also at risk of disfiguring disease and over indulging in life’s pleasures leading to obesity and problems with joints and movement.¹⁸¹ In these cases, cosmetics were used to cover up blemishes or disfigurements, particularly in visible places such as the face or hands. Historian Robert Jones’ examination of eighteenth-century discourses on the concept of beauty uses novels and philosophical texts to understand debates on the nature of taste and beauty, and focuses on the critical way it was applied to women. He has noted that historical studies commonly relate the term ‘beauty’ to the study of women, particularly in discussions about the use of cosmetics, and that cosmetic use has too

¹⁷⁹ Mather, *Treatise*, p. 21.

¹⁸⁰ Anthony Willich, *Lectures on Diet and Regimen: Being a Systematic Inquiry into the Most Rational Means of Preserving Health and Prolonging Life* (London: Printed for A. Strahan, 1800), p. 271.

¹⁸¹ Emily Cockayne, *Hubbub* (London: Yale University Press, 2007) has a full discussion on the ideals of beauty during the eighteenth century.

often been seen as evidence of women beautifying themselves for a patriarchal society.¹⁸²

However, the word ‘cosmetic’ is understood to relate etymologically to ‘cosmos’, Greek for order and harmony, relating it to associations of order and harmony within the universe, a guiding principle of Enlightenment thought.¹⁸³ Sources such as recipe books have therefore taken on increasing importance in being understood as transferring autonomy back to the hands of women, with some historians arguing that the medical language represented in those books suggest the women who recorded them had a valued medical knowledge and broad understanding of the resources available to them.¹⁸⁴ That cosmetics (and here I include hair recipes such as powders and pomatums that were applied to the head in order to change the appearance of the hair) are found in association with medical recipes, situates them firmly in the domestic medical context, as well as in that of health and beauty.

Beautifying and health potions not only related to women; looking younger, and therefore more beautiful, was equally tied into masculinity though in the case of men ugliness did not necessarily hinder success. On the contrary, being overweight could be regarded as an advert for success, as long as it did not impede every day activities.¹⁸⁵ However, male bodies were also subject to scrutiny against a physical

¹⁸² Robert W. Jones, *Gender and the Formation of Taste in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 1. For beautification and the growing market in beauty products see Morag Martin, *Selling Beauty: Cosmetics, Commerce, and French Society, 1750-1830* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

¹⁸³ Turner, *Body and Society*, p. 171.

¹⁸⁴ Edith Snook, “‘The Beautifying Part of Physic’: Women’s Cosmetic Practices in Early Modern England’, *Journal of Women’s History*, 20:3 (2008), p. 16.

¹⁸⁵ Cockayne, *Hubbub*, p. 25.

ideal, with hair playing a big part in the overall masculine desire to look younger. In a letter to Lady Throckmorton in 1790, poet William Cowper (1731-1800), showed himself to be very happy with his new wig on account of the fact that “I shall be twenty years younger than you have ever seen me”.¹⁸⁶ Losing the hair or teeth was considered to be a visual, physical expression of the loss of sexual potency, indeed treatment for hair and teeth were often combined in the services offered by barbers.¹⁸⁷

Many of the recipes contained within self-help manuals cannot be distinguished according to masculine or feminine notions of beauty; indeed the pomatums and powders found in the recipe books would have been used by both men and women, not least of which was application on the hair.¹⁸⁸ James Stewart is quite explicit in this regard, stating that soaking the hair in oil will ensure that the hair of either sex will not turn grey.¹⁸⁹ Oil was one of his best products, and one of its selling points was that its name: ‘ericanu oil’ is Latin for ‘anti-grey’.

The ‘unisex’ nature of many of the products on the market arguably increased the market for hair products, and ensured greater commercial success. Hairstyles on the other hand, were very much delineated by gender, as discussed in Chapter 5 of the thesis. Later in the eighteenth century, hairdressers often advertised themselves as

¹⁸⁶ ‘William Cowper to Maria Catherine Throckmorton, Lady Throckmorton, 21 March 1790’, in William Hayley, *The Life and Letters of William Cowper* (London: Longman Press, 1835), p. 391.

¹⁸⁷ Kathleen Adler and Marcia Pointon, *The Body Imaged: The Human Form and Visual Culture since the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 179.

¹⁸⁸ Snook, ““Beautifying Part of Physic””, p. 14.

¹⁸⁹ James Stewart, *Plocacosmos: Or the Whole Art of Hairdressing, Wherin is Contained Ample Rules for the Young Artisan, More Particularly for the Ladies, Women* (London: Printed for the Author, 1782), p. 168.

“more particularly for ladies” but it seems the products themselves could be used by either sex.¹⁹⁰ In the same way, the scientists seeking to understand the structure of hair do not seem to have distinguished between the male and female hair of western Europeans.

Paradoxically, attempting to maintain beautiful hair could create the opposite to the desired effect. Hair could be damaged through over-processing, and that was a matter of concern to hairdressers and hair merchants alike. Hot irons, corrosive powders and astringent waters could all take their toll on the hair, as well as a less than sober lifestyle: “Ardent spirits on the human body make the hair crispy, so wig makers give less for it”.¹⁹¹ Maintaining dressed hair could be an extremely destructive process, blamed for turning hair grey and causing baldness. Destructive products were claimed by contemporaries to be the reason for powders and styling to fall out of fashion leading many men to wear their hair in a more natural style by the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁹² In an attempt to counter this problem, many products on the market were advertised specifically as non-corrosive and nourishing.¹⁹³ It was important to emphasise to customers that the products on sale had not been adulterated, a concern not unnoticed by commentators. Hair powder

¹⁹⁰ Stewart’s *Plococosmos* is a case in point.

¹⁹¹ Benjamin Rush, *Medical inquiries and Observations* (Philadelphia: Printed by T. Dobson, 1793), p. 63.

¹⁹² Anon, *Memoirs of an Old Wig* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1815), p. xv.

¹⁹³ *Post Man and the Historical Account*, Issue 1262, 13-15 April 1704; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, Issue 4327, 31 March 1783; *World*, Issue 3219 January 1788, are just some examples of the many advertisements for ‘Royal liquid’ and ‘superfine French powder’. Use of the word ‘nourishing’ does not seem to become common until the 1780s.

was often mixed with lime, and writer Godfrey Boyle even suggested mixing it with mineral salt and water to test if this was the case.¹⁹⁴

A very successful all-encompassing product for maintaining beautiful and healthy hair was bear's grease. It was sold as being restorative, preserving, strengthening, softening and thickening hair. Bear's grease was said to be suitable for men and women, as the former needed it to bestow a "majestic dignity and a certain manliness to his form" and the latter to preserve their natural "charms".¹⁹⁵ An example of the increasing propensity of hair products to imitate nature, bear's grease was proven to work because bears themselves had soft, flexible hair.¹⁹⁶ This meant that fake or manufactured varieties would not work as well.

To illustrate this point, Alexander Ross displayed a bear carcass at his Ornamental Hair and Perfumery Warehouse in Bishopsgate, London, so that customers could be sure the fat had come directly from a fresh bear.¹⁹⁷ Use of powder in the eighteenth century would have created a dull, matt effect, while pomata, oils and the popular bear's grease could make hair lank and greasy if used in high quantities. Hairdresser Alexander Stewart advised in his manual for hairdressers that "straight, lank hair...[should be treated] without any pomatum at all", but to use powder to "take off the greasy perspiration".¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴ Godfrey Boyle, *A Treasure of Useful Discoveries in Two Parts* (Dublin: Printed for the Author, 1746), p. 70.

¹⁹⁵ A. Ross, *A Treatise on Bear's Grease with Observations to Prove How Indispensible the Use of that Incomparable Substance to Preserve the Head of Hair* (London: Printed by the Author, 1795), p. 13.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁹⁷ Barrell, *Spirit Of Despotism*, p. 145.

¹⁹⁸ Alexander Stewart, *The Natural Production of Hair, or its Growth and Decay...* (London: No.12 Davies Street, Berkeley Square, 1795), p. 8.

2.3 Hair and Domestic Cleanliness

Cleaning the hair through the application of powders or pomatums, or cutting or shaving seems to have been more commonly advised than washing with water. In common with many of his contemporaries William Moore, the hairdresser from Bath, recommended pomatum at least twice a week to keep the hair (and in turn the head) clean as “dirty heads get full of pimples, vermin” which could lead to the hair falling out or becoming thin.¹⁹⁹ During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the use of water underwent a radical change from that of previous centuries. Historian Georges Vigarello argues for a conjectural understanding of water that sets it apart from the associations of cleanliness it has today. Vigarello traces the increasing belief over the course of the seventeenth century that bathing in hot water made the body more open therefore and more prone to infection.²⁰⁰

Hot water was believed to heat the body and its humours, debilitating the constitution and enabling corrupt substances to infiltrate its internal systems. This understanding seems to have contributed to the disappearance of public baths and cessation of bathing as a private practice.²⁰¹ Hot water baths, whether in public baths or private aristocratic settings, took place somewhat less frequently than they had in previous centuries and as such became associated with those in possession of loose morals, or were occasionally recommended by a doctor as a form of medical

¹⁹⁹ Moore, *Art of Hair-dressing*, p. 3.

²⁰⁰ Georges Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 11.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

treatment.²⁰² Instances of plague, or the perceived threat of the plague, seem to have strengthened the status of water and the body's immersion in it as a dangerous practice, which left it vulnerable and open to infection.²⁰³

Total immersion was not frowned upon in every case. John Locke, key enlightenment thinker and physician with a strong interest in the education of children, believed it was positively beneficial for children to swim regularly, but significantly only in cold water.²⁰⁴ This advice was connected to health rather than to keeping clean, and fits in with Vigarelo's argument that water had a different function in the early modern period, one which had not yet come to be associated with cleanliness. The primary function of bathing was in fact related to pleasure, play and status and undertaken in aristocratic or upper-class circles as a form of socialisation.²⁰⁵

The low frequency in which many people would have taken baths, or washed their bodies completely in water, should not be read as a decreased interest in cleanliness or hygiene. Indeed the meaning of the word hygiene was beginning to shift during the eighteenth century from something that had qualified health, to, by the end of the century, concerning cleanliness, as we understand it today.²⁰⁶ It is difficult to know exactly which washing practices were commonly adopted in private

²⁰² S. Matthews Grieco, 'The Body, Appearance and Sexuality', in Natalie Zemon Davis, and A. Farge (eds.), *A History of Women in the West. Vol. 3: Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes* (London: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 54. Cold water baths became increasingly advised for medical purposes after the second half of the eighteenth century.

²⁰³ Vigarelo, *Concepts of Cleanliness*, p. 14.

²⁰⁴ Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Birth of the Modern World* (London: Allen Lane, 2000), p. 341.

²⁰⁵ Vigarelo, *Concepts of Cleanliness*, p. 26.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

during the period, and certainly keeping certain areas of the body clean was considered important, particularly those areas which risked clogging from perspiration, or areas which were on daily display, such as hands, face and hair. Keith Thomas suggests this was more likely to be done through rubbing with linen or brushes than through use of water, making washing a dry rather than wet process.²⁰⁷ Indeed, rubbing the hair with a napkin to “dry it from its swettness and filth in the head” was a common element of a barber’s work.²⁰⁸

Judging from the numerous powders and varieties of pomatum available on the market, keeping the hair clean was certainly a primary concern, and powders were commonly advertised to fulfil that cleansing function. We have seen how hairdressers and perfumers sold and manufactured products for maintaining good health. Connected to these items were many more items sold to clean the hair. Perfumers advertised all the accoutrements necessary for maintaining a good head of hair, or a clean wig, including an enormous variety of powders, pomatums, soaps, oils and combs.²⁰⁹ Uses of powder in the seventeenth century seem to have been related to cleanliness, where they were used as a substitute for water to keep hair soft

²⁰⁷ Keith Thomas, ‘Cleanliness and Godliness in Early Modern England’, in Anthony John Fletcher, and Peter Roberts (eds.), *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 57.

²⁰⁸ Randle Holme, *The Academy of Armory, or, A Storehouse of Armory and Blazon, Book III* (Chester: Printed for the Author, 1688), p. 128.

²⁰⁹ BL, CUP 21g.41/12, ‘Arthur Rothwell, Perfumer “at the Civit-Cat”’; BL, CUP 21 g.41/14, ‘Raibaud et Louis, “Rue St Honore at Paris”’, also ‘Mr Bowen’s Air St, Piccadilly’; BL, CUP 21 g.41/15, ‘Richard Warren, selling the “only non counterfeit Warren’s liquid of Violets and Jessamin for preserving the hair from falling off or turning grey”’; BL, CUP 21 g.41/35, ‘Bayley “Perfumer at the Old Civit Cat”’; BL, CUP 21 g.41/59, ‘Courtney, Perfumer Opposite Somerset House in the Strand, London’.

and pleasant smelling.²¹⁰ Notions of the cleaning properties of powder were retained throughout the century in favour of washing with water, though powder took on an increasingly cosmetic function as the century progressed. The wig worn by the wax funeral effigy of the Duke of Buckingham in the Westminster Abbey collection was powdered with orris-root, commonly found in perfume for its strong flowery scent.²¹¹

The use of powder was still recommended in hairdressing manuals, such as that authored by hairdresser David Ritchie, which specifically advises applying powder every day to give hair a “new gloss”.²¹² By 1780, it was a thick film used on wigs and hair alike, to help create the artificial look and disguise the attached false hairpieces used to create the queues that were popular at the time.²¹³ Today, bouncy, shiny hair is synonymous with clean, healthy hair, which was not the case for eighteenth-century hair weighed down by powder and grease, though the significance attached to a clean appearance was no less important. The powder would have weighed the hair down and removed the shine, though its absorption properties were valuable for removing grease and thus giving the appearance of being clean to the eighteenth-century eye. Hairdressers went to great lengths to achieve the right balance of this look, and resorted to creative means when marketing their own powders, emphasising how other cheaper powders made with chalk or marble dust could clog up the hair and hinder the all important respiration.²¹⁴

²¹⁰ Ritchie, *Treatise on the Hair* p. 84.

²¹¹ L.E. Tanner, and J.L. Nevinson, ‘On Some Later Funeral Effigies in Westminster Abbey’, *Archaeologia Or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating To Antiquity*, 85/35 (1936), Second Series, p. 187.

²¹² Ritchie, *Treatise on the Hair*, p. 50.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

²¹⁴ Moore, *Art of Hair-dressing*, p. 16.

Ideas that bad smell indicated something noxious and unhealthy had taken hold with the increased understanding of the effect the external environment could have on disease and the human body. The connection between perfumers and cleaning products can be found in the understanding that perfume was believed to literally clean the air and counteract poisonous, disease-carrying vapours, including those understood to carry the plague.²¹⁵ Alain Corbin's work on the perception and analysis of smell in eighteenth-century France traces the increasing deodorisation of society and the belief that bad air was a transmitter of disease.²¹⁶ As towns and cities became increasingly populated, the presence of bad smells was believed to be a cause of illness, or at the very least was considered potentially injurious to health. From the late seventeenth century the enduring view that divine intervention and internal imbalance were primary causes of disease was beginning to be overtaken by the more fatalistic belief that nature and infected airborne vapours were responsible. Smelling good was one way to control the external environment, even if the good smell masked something dirty beneath.²¹⁷

The use of powder in such abundance to ensure sweet smelling hair suggests that powder was no longer viewed as having the potential to clog up the humours and cause physical bodily imbalances leading to illness such as headaches.²¹⁸ In fact, many powders and pomatums were sold with the promise that they were not only to keep the hair clean, but also to preserve, aid growth and to promote rather than

²¹⁵ Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness*, p. 87.

²¹⁶ Alain Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odour and the French Social Imagination* (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1986).

²¹⁷ James Riley, *The Eighteenth-Century Campaign to Avoid Disease* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987), p. 10.

²¹⁸ Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness*, p. 133.

hinder respiration.²¹⁹ The variety of scented powders and pomatums available was large, with many derived from the scent of flowers or fruits found in nature. Violet, rose, jasmine and orange, as well as “double-scented powders” and the more exotically named “My Lady” or “Pot Pourri” were all available from hairdressers and perfumers to ensure hair smelt pleasing.²²⁰

Another highly recommended way to maintain a clean head of hair without submerging it in water was through regular combing. However, there was a delicate balance between combing too much or too little. Combing everyday could have a disadvantageous effect of removing knots in the hair, which were considered necessary receptacles for nourishment, and also risk exposing it to the potentially dangerous effects of the air.²²¹ None the less, advice on combing and the best combs is not uncommon in the hairdressing literature. The best combs to use depended on the use to which the comb was being put, with tortoiseshell recommended for general maintenance, as it did not split, or ivory for dressing and styling the hair.²²² Boxwood or horn combs were not recommended because of their tendency to split and damage the hair, and capacity to accumulate dirt between the teeth.²²³ Combs in this wide variety of types and materials were available for purchase from the usual hairdressers and perfumers’ shops, along with other items to promote cleanliness such as powdering masks and bear’s grease.²²⁴

²¹⁹ Moore, *Art of Hair-dressing*, p. 3.

²²⁰ BL, CUP 21 g.41/14, ‘Advertisement for Raibaud et Louis, Perfumers of Air St, Piccadilly’.

²²¹ Moore, *Art of Hair-dressing*, p. 10.

²²² Mather, *Treatise*, p. 33.

²²³ Moore, *Art of Hair-dressing*, p. 10.

²²⁴ BL, CUP 21 g.41/59 Courtney, ‘Perfumer Opposite Somerset House in the Strand, London’.

As we have seen, it was not uncommon for hairdressers to publish their own manuals on caring for and dressing the hair, often serving the dual function of a lengthy advertisement for their products or services, and often containing information for clients on the importance of keeping their hair clean. James Stewart, who set his hairdresser's manual *Plocacosmos* around the seven ages of man, believed that every age raised different medical or hygienic issues pertaining to hair. He placed a great deal of emphasis on the importance of keeping a child's hair clean especially as he believed children to be "liable to vermin".²²⁵ Hairdressers thought it important to take care of children's hair from an early age, believing this would provide them with strong and healthy hair into adulthood. Rather than a continuous process of shedding and renewal, the hair was understood to accrue strength, which it sustained into maturity. William Moore's *The Art of Hairdressing* (1780) suggested that the chief cause of bad hair in children was the parent's fault for treating it with hot irons and drying up the juices, which stopped it from acquiring strength.²²⁶ Wig-maker and hairdresser David Ritchie in his *Treatise on the Hair* (1770) suggested combing children's hair to clean it, and keeping it moist to prevent matting and avoid "all sorts of sickness" which could affect the hair.²²⁷ Lice, particularly in children, were a cause of anxiety as they were believed to feed from the "juices or humours of human bodies" and "lay eggs, which they fasten to the hairs of the head."²²⁸

²²⁵ Stewart, *Plocacosmos*, p. 53.

²²⁶ Moore, *Art of Hair-dressing*, p. 1 states that the chief cause of bad hair is the parent's fault for treating it with hot irons and drying up the juices which stop it from acquiring strength.

²²⁷ Ritchie, *Treatise on the Hair*, p. 82.

²²⁸ Robert Hooke, *Micrographia Restaurata: or the Copper-plates of Dr. Hooke's Wonderful Discoveries* (London: Printed for John Bowles, 1745), p. 64.

Lice were considered particularly worrisome for those who suffered from the *Plica Polonica*, the so-called Polish hair disease, discussed in the previous chapter. For sufferers, apparently worse than the disease itself were the lice, which appeared on the matted hair in “such disgusting numbers”.²²⁹ Andrew Duncan, the physician who published *The Annals of Medicine* (1796) stated that there were two forms of the disease: what he termed the “real one” and the “false one”. The real Plica only affected the Polish, but the false one was a genuine threat to those living in England. He believed it arose from a lack of cleanliness, and when an individual failed to comb their hair or applied oils too regularly.²³⁰ The complicated and expensive hairstyles sported by many fashionable women during the eighteenth century meant that they were unlikely to comb their hair, sometimes leaving it untouched for months, leading one commentator to wonder if they had to apply mercury in order to keep the lice away.²³¹

Illustration 2.3 shows the detailed observations on lice made by Robert Hooke (1635–1703) through microscopic lenses. Hooke’s examination showed that a louse was able to cling on to an individual hair using its claws, which enabled it to feed from blood vessels in the head.²³² Lice of course were perfectly visible without the use of a microscope, much to the disgust of Samuel Pepys, who in 1667 describes refusing a wig from his barber, as it was “full of nits”.²³³ Pepys’ disgust highlights

²²⁹ Andrew Duncan, *Annals of Medicine, for the Year 1796. Exhibiting a Concise View of the Latest and Most Important Discoveries in Medicine and Medical Philosophy* (Edinburgh: Printed by J. Pillans and Sons, 1796), p. 9.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²³¹ Cockayne, *Hubbub*, p. 66.

²³² Hooke, *Micrographia Restaurata*, p. 64.

²³³ Robert Latham (ed.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A Selection* (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 746.

the changing attitudes to cleanliness apparent towards the end of the seventeenth century.

These changing attitudes to cleanliness can be traced through the changes in early modern understanding of lice in the hair. In the sixteenth century, when humoral understanding of the body was prominent, nits had been seen as an unavoidable aspect of daily life with hygienists attributing them to the excess of humours and uncontrolled substances emanating from within the body.²³⁴ Robert Hooke's work with the microscope was ground breaking as it showed that lice "proceed from [the eggs of] parents of their own kind, and not (as formerly was supposed) from certain juices or humours of human bodies".²³⁵ This understanding showed that the individual had some control over whether they were affected by lice, and that by maintaining certain levels of external cleanliness in their hair, skin and clothes they could control their presence. By the time Pepys was writing, he expressed the notion that dirt and filth could be controlled externally relating the concepts of dirt as a threat to decency and order. Appearance and cleanliness had become interlinked in a way not seen in earlier periods.²³⁶

Dirt had become a social concept, not just an internal, corporeal one, which gave greater importance to the appearance of cleanliness. This shift in attitude can be tied in to the increase in popularity of the wig wearing, as the need to crop or shave the head in order to accommodate a wig would have helped reduce the likelihood of lice infestation. Hairdressers could also more easily and regularly clean the false hair.²³⁷

²³⁴ Ibid., p. 42.

²³⁵ Robert Hooke, *Micrographia Restaurata*, p. 64.

²³⁶ Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness*, p. 79.

²³⁷ Cockayne, *Hubbub*, p. 67.

Public bathing practices had become increasingly common from the middle of the eighteenth century, though they remained an elite practice and retained strong medical overtones.²³⁸ By 1800, bathing was recommended for general cleanliness in the published literature, both as a place to escape to from the malicious influence of the atmosphere and as a means to preserve beauty.²³⁹ Willich's discussion of using the bath water as means of protection against the atmosphere shows the difference by 1800 to the earlier medical advice studied in detail by Vigarello.

²³⁸ Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness*, p. 94.

²³⁹ Willich, *Lectures on Diet and Regimen*, p. 70.

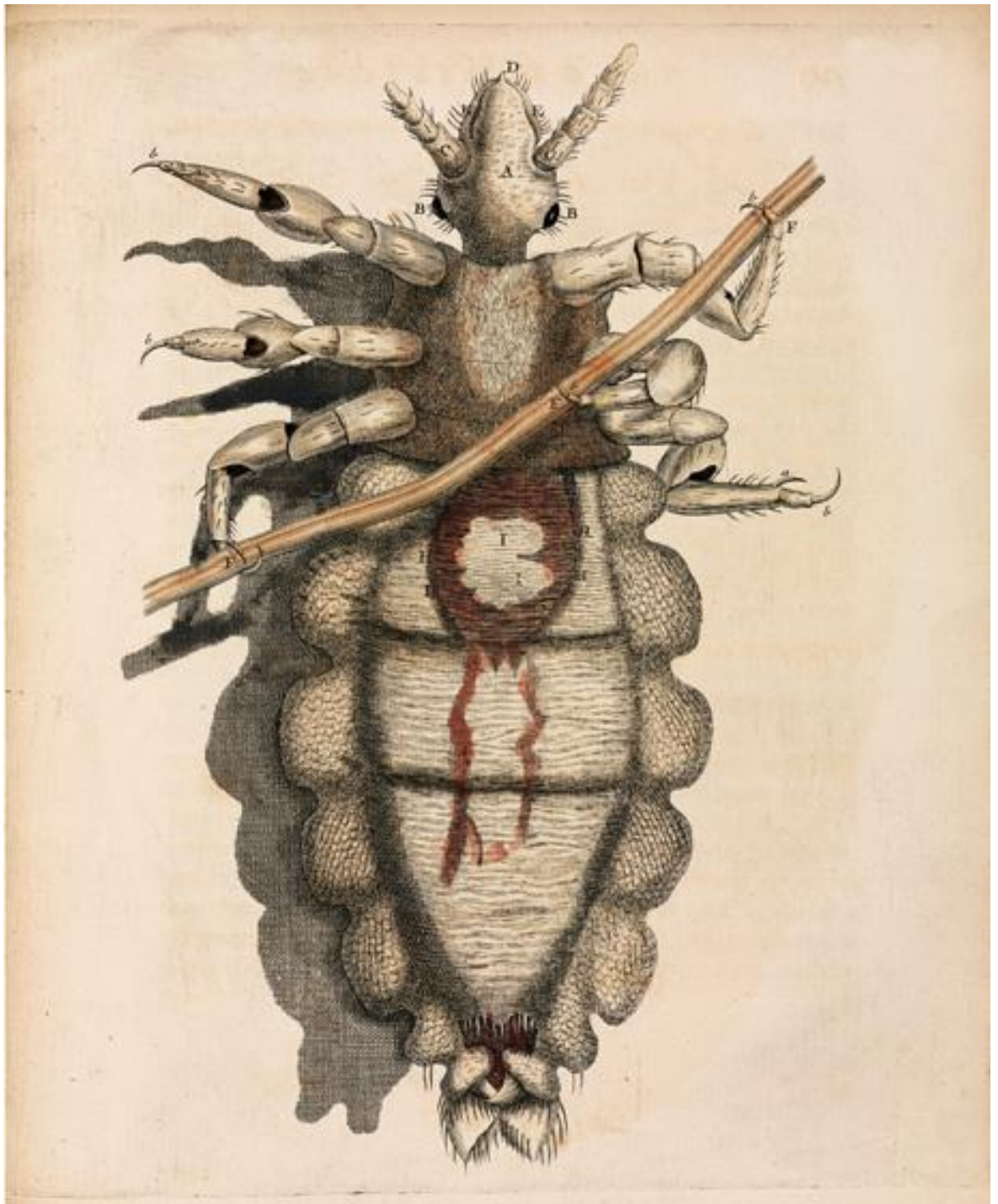


Illustration 2.3. John Carwitham, *Louse Clinging to a Human Hair* 1736. The engraving, after an illustration from Robert Hooke's 1665 *Micrographia*, appears in Eleazar Albin's 1736 book *A Natural History of Spiders, and Other Curious Insects*.
Science and Society Picture Library.

Hairdressers recommended the daily washing of hair in cold water. Mather suggests the hair should be washed daily with cold water, well rubbed with a towel to promote circulation, which in turn promotes strength in the hair.²⁴⁰ The popularity of spa waters as medical treatment in the second half of the eighteenth century saw increasing references to washing the head with water. Thomas Short, writing about the medical benefit of mineral waters in 1746, claims that “diseases of the hair” such as “corroding humours” can be remedied by washing in strong sulphurous waters.²⁴¹ Here he alludes to an understanding of the humours as all-encompassing and the mysterious forces that lead to hair falling out.

Conditions affecting the head directly were often immediately obvious to an observer, with hair loss being one of the most apparent and difficult to cure. Alopecia or other “diseases of the hair” could also be responsible for hair loss, and were understood to be caused by a bad diet or neglect of good hygiene: “Corroding humours or insects, either above or below the cuticle, eating or gnawing... or a relaxation of the membranes of the skin as is often the case after sickness” was another explanation.²⁴² Chambers dictionary supplied the definition of alopecia as “caused by defect of nutritious juice, or corrosion by its vicious quality in the roots. Correct or carry off the vicious humour, or supply the nutriment that is lacking”.²⁴³

²⁴⁰ Mather, *Treatise*, p. 29.

²⁴¹ Thomas Short, *An Essay towards a Natural Experimental and Medicinal History of the Principle Mineral Waters of Cumberland, Northumberland & Westmoreland* (Sheffield: Printed for the Author, 1740), p. 197.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 197.

²⁴³ Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopaedia, or an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (London, 1786-88), p. 145.

Rubbing the head with a raw onion until it became red and itchy was a very commonly advised cure.²⁴⁴

2.4 Health and the Artificial Appearance

For many people in the eighteenth century, the youthful look that gave one beauty and the appearance of health was only available for a fleeting period during a lifetime. Then, as now, it was common to turn to the help of artifice to maintain the aesthetic standards so commonly desired and expected. Cosmetics to disguise imperfections on the face, powders and dye to disguise the greying colour of hair, and stays and underclothes to change the silhouette were all popular and commonly used tactics. Wig wearing was an important part of building the image of youth and beauty, which could be achieved through the application of artificial body parts, such as hair, and beauty products. In this context, wigs can again be placed into the category of cosmetics, as an external accoutrement used to enhance the natural feature whilst also being obviously artificial. In the same way that stays enhanced and falsified the silhouette, and make-up concealed and exaggerated the features, so the wig assumed the same role for the hair in the formation of the artificial body.

Ideas of what constituted beauty changed over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In fact it is possible to trace a radical transformation over the period through the use of cosmetics when the art of display became increasing popular (across both genders) as seen in an increasingly exaggerated silhouette,

²⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 145; Anon., *The London Practice of Physic* (London, [n.p.], 6th edn. 1769), p. 405; John Theobald, *Every Man His Own Physician. Being a Complete Collection of Efficacious and Approved Remedies* (London: Printed for J.F. and C. Rivington, 1764), p. 5.

popular styles of hair and wigs, and the use of make-up.²⁴⁵ In the latter part of the seventeenth, and through the first decades of the eighteenth century, cosmetics were used to create a newly drawn, highly artificial face where lips and cheeks were red, and faces were painted white (see illustration 2.4).²⁴⁶ White skin, considered the beauty ideal for men and women, was achieved with thick face powder, and red lips and cheeks were painted on to accentuate them against the starkness of the white.²⁴⁷ Artificial facial adornments did not stop with cosmetics: beauty patches were common during the latter quarter of the seventeenth century, in parallel to large, artificial wigs becoming popular.²⁴⁸ Historians have argued that this use of cosmetics in conjunction with artificial-looking wigs by aristocratic and upper class men acted as an extension of their public personas, ensuring they were seen as theatrical and highly visible in public life.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁵ Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality* (London: Batsford, 1986), p. 109.

²⁴⁶ Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness*, p. 82 discusses the marketing of cosmetics increasingly ‘natural’ language, extolling the virtue of ‘vegetable’ ingredients in the popular white and red coloured cosmetics.

²⁴⁷ Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality*, p. 109.

²⁴⁸ Cockayne *Hubbub*, p. 41.

²⁴⁹ Amelia Rauser, ‘Hair, Authenticity and the Self-Made Macaroni’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38:1 (2004), p. 103.



Illustration 2.4. *John Montagu, 2nd Earl of Montagu*, Sir Godfrey Kneller, (1709)
© National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 3219.

This change can be traced through also in the gradual decline in the wig wearing, where false hair began to be abandoned in favour of maintaining the natural hair, albeit often retaining the highly complicated, exaggerated styles. At the end of the period, hairdressers were advertising themselves in relation to the natural look of the hair they made and styled: “La Croix, Ladies’ and Gentlemen’s Hair-dresser... makes all sorts of false hair, imitating nature that the greatest connoisseur may be deceived”.²⁵⁰ These hairdressers commonly claimed that their customers would be able to fool people the hair was their own, ‘natural’ hair, given the similarity of their wigs’ characteristics with real hair growing on the head.

Wigs were commonly used to hide the effects of medical procedures resulting in scars. That a ‘complete’ or unmarked body was synonymous with youth and beauty is apparent in the abundant references in the medical literature to the wearing of wigs in order to hide a disfigurement, or to give the appearance of youth and a good physical condition.

²⁵⁰ S. Hooper, *A Guide to Health, Beauty, Riches and Honour, the second edition* (London: Printed for Hooper and Wigstead, 1796), p. 63.



Illustration 2.5. *Six Stages of Mending a Face*, by Thomas Rowlandson (1792). Lewis Walpole Library, Yale, Call no. 792.05.29.02.

Wig wearing can begin to be viewed from a different perspective when attempting to understand contemporary medical and lay attitudes to hair and the body. The idea of taking the body's natural production (hair) and replacing it with processed hair that is no longer natural, seems a very peculiar one from the twenty first-century perspective. False hair today is used to embellish what hair there is already in the form of hair extensions, or to replace what has been lost through illness or nature (going bald). During the eighteenth century it was common practice, in men at least, to completely remove by shaving the hair that grew naturally, and replace it with a wig. The shifting paradigms seen in medical practice and theory can go some way to understanding such practices.

2.5 Conclusion

Examining the treatment of hair in popular medical practice establishes close connections with eighteenth-century understanding of health and beauty, concepts that were fundamentally interlinked in the contemporary consciousness. The healthy appearance of external physical signifiers such as hair was strongly connected to notions of youth and beauty. Barbers and perfumers found in urban settings commonly offered services relating to health and cleanliness as well as to beauty, whilst both published and domestic medical guides combined advice on maintaining beauty with that of maintaining good health. Numerous recipes and trade manuals provided instructions on how to adapt the appearance of hair, suggesting a desirable beauty aesthetic was thick hair, which should grow long enough to frame the face. Of course, if this could not be attained naturally it could be achieved through the use of false hair, which often had the added benefit of disguising other imperfections.

Theories of cleanliness and the transmission of disease changed over the course of the eighteenth century, which changed the nature of the products used and sold in relation to keeping hair clean. Understanding hair in everyday practice goes some way towards establishing the extent to which hair was seen as a significant body part in the maintenance of good health and why healthy, long hair was important to the overall health of an individual. Where this was not possible, the adoption of false hair or powders suggests that strong, long and fulsome hair was central to promotion and display of a healthy body.

PART TWO:
Transforming Hair

PART TWO: Transforming Hair

CHAPTER THREE

The Modification of Human Hair: From Part of the Body to Artefact

Hair was the central component of any wig maker's business, and as discussed in the previous section, it was required to be strong and long in order to fit with the beauty aesthetic of the time. As we have seen, not only was hair considered to be a visible signifier of beauty, but the material significance of hair was also an indicator of overall state of internal health. Hair was central to the creation of a healthy, youthful appearance, and a valuable commodity in the beauty trade. There was therefore, a sizeable market in the buying and selling of hair to be made into wigs. The process of wig making was transformative both in the physical sense of removing hair from the head, but also in terms of the meaning and functions assigned to hair in the eighteenth century, which were directly affected through the physical transformation of hair into wigs. This section considers both the transformative process, the modification of hair as a part of the body, and the effect this had on those who worked in the hair trade. This chapter will consider the nature of the raw material, and the implications of transforming hair into wigs.

3.1 Hair Humane or Brute Hair

It is wise to be cautious in interpreting mentions of hair amongst the records of the hair trade as it can be unclear as to the precise use of the different types of hair. Many craftsmen used hair in the manufacture of buttons, brushes, or for items of

furniture or clothing. With this in mind, this thesis only uses sources that specifically mention human hair or horsehair, the types most commonly used in wig making. While large quantities of animal hair would have been used in other processes, human hair was used almost exclusively for wigs, as the fashion for false hair normalised and became increasingly popular.

The intrinsic condition of the hair was vital for the presentation of good health and beauty. The belief that the hair was a mirror of the corporal and emotional condition of an individual had a direct impact on the circumstances from which suitable hair was sourced, in terms of the age, location and gender of the owner. The prevailing medical theory held that factors controlled by the external environmental conditions in which a person lived, and the humoral aspects of their character, affected the condition of their hair. Added to this, the commonly held view of hair as a living product meant that it was widely believed to have potential to be contagious, making it imperative that wigs were produced using hair sourced from healthy locations and healthy individuals. As the main constituent of their work, obtaining good hair was a fundamental consideration for wig makers, and ensuring it was of sufficient quality was the key to building and maintaining a good reputation amongst customers.

Human hair was the most desirable and expensive of all types of hair.²⁵¹ Advice given in manuals for wig makers often included commentaries on the necessary qualities required of good human hair for transforming into wigs. This

²⁵¹ English Periwig-Maker, *A Dissertation Upon Head Dress* (London: Printed for J. Williams, 1767), p. 5; Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth Century Europe, 1715-1789* (London: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 29; Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth Century England* (London: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 121.

advice suggests that the characteristics of hair were measured according to two main concerns: provenance and physical features such as strength and thickness.²⁵² The texture, length and colour of the hair were important factors influencing the usefulness of the hair for wig making. If the hair were too thick or too thin, it would not be able to hold a curl, or it may frizz and lose definition; and if it was too short, it could not be curled. The hair could not be too dry, as it required a high level of elasticity to provide sufficient body and shine.²⁵³

Descriptions of hair procured for the purpose of wig making as needing to be ‘nourished’, and ‘well fed’ resonated with the concept of hair as being ‘alive’, explored above.²⁵⁴ The length, strength and colour of hair was seen as dependent on the quality and quantity of nutrition it received from the body, factors which could change with age, and with lifestyle.²⁵⁵ Hair was perceived to take on the ill effects afforded by the owner’s way of life, such as overindulging in hard liquor, which could dry out the hair, as spirits were deemed to “produce a peculiar crispiness in the hair of the head, insomuch that the wig-makers in London give much less for it, than for the hair of sober people”.²⁵⁶ The quality of the hair was also important to ensure

²⁵² James Stevens Cox, (ed.), *The Wigmakers’ Art in the Eighteenth Century: Translation of the Section on Wig making in the 3rd Edition (1776) of the Encyclopedie of Denis Diderot And Jean d’Alembert* (St Peter Port: The Toucan Press, 1980), pp. 6-7; Alexander Stewart, *The Natural Production of Hair, or its Growth and Decay* (London: Berkeley Square, 1795), pp. 5-9.

²⁵³ Cox, (ed.), *Wigmakers’ Art*, pp. 6-7; Stewart, *Natural Production*, p. 8.

²⁵⁴ Anon, *Encyclopaedia Perthensis, Or Universal Dictionary of Knowledge* (Perth: C. Mitchel and Co., 1796-1806) Vol. 11, p. 19; Stewart, *Natural Production*, p. 8.

²⁵⁵ J. Mather, *A Treatise on the Nature and Preservation of the Hair...* (London: Wardour Street, 1795?), p. 11.

²⁵⁶ Benjamin Rush, *Medical Inquiries and Observations...* (London: Dilly, 1793), Vol. 2, p. 63. It should be noted that Rush was a keen observer of the temperance movement, a fact which may have affected his views on the harmful effects of liquor.

it was strong enough to withstand the number of processes required to make it suitable for a wig. Children's hair was therefore not considered suitable.²⁵⁷ However, the hair of someone aged between fifteen to twenty years old was thought particularly desirable due to the potential increase in heat from the brain. This increased heat was believed, over time, to cause the hair to dry out, with the risk of eventual baldness.²⁵⁸

Colour was another key consideration in the business of sourcing hair. Wig makers' manuals recommended shades of brown such as chestnut or auburn, as unlike blonde hair, these shades would not become discoloured and tended to be strong enough to take the heating and curling process.²⁵⁹ White or grey hair was considered unsuitable due to being from older people with "weak, tender and delicate constitutions", so that:

...those who deal in making artificial Covers for the Head of Men or Women, find that such Hair will never, with any Credit to them, serve these Purposes [wig making], and seldom honestly employ it for that End.²⁶⁰

Again, in reality it seems that hair merchants did in fact regularly procure blonde or paler coloured hair, and that it fetched high prices. A 1664 newspaper advertisement, placed by George Grey, Barber and wig maker offered:

²⁵⁷ Cox, (ed.), *Wigmakers' Art*, p. 6.

²⁵⁸ Stewart, *Natural Production*, p. 13. In reality, it seems that this upper age limit was not widely taken into account by hair merchants.

²⁵⁹ Cox, ed., *Wigmakers' Art*, p. 6.

²⁶⁰ George Cheyne, *The English Malady: or, a Treatise of Nervous Diseases of all Kinds, as Spleen, Vapours, Lowness of Spirits, Hypochondrical and Hysterical Distempers* (Dublin: George Risk, 1733), p. 101.

that anyone having long flaxen hayr to sell, may have 10s per ounce, and for other long hair at the Rate of 5, 6, or 7s per ounce, repaying to the sayd Barber at the Place abovesaid.²⁶¹

Despite its perceived inherent physical weakness, fair hair was associated with youth, a factor important in the achievement of beauty, which may explain its continual use. Alexander Stewart, a hairdresser from London who published his observations on the production of hair in 1795, noticed that hair tended to become darker over time, a result he believed to be due to the increasing heat which could eventually dry out the hair and even lead to baldness.²⁶² The “thin juice” that nourished hair in infancy caused the lighter hair of children, which was understood to remain of a very light colour in adulthood only if the person was of a more “tender constitution”.²⁶³ Despite this association, the stronger physical consistency of darker hair meant it was easier to work with, and generally preferred by wig makers.²⁶⁴ Red and black hair was believed to be the ideal hair type for withstanding the process of transforming into a wig as it was known to be thick in texture. True red or black shades were not as easily sourced and therefore difficult to obtain in sufficient quantities.²⁶⁵

There were many products available on the market enabling individuals to darken their hair themselves. Fashion also seems to have favoured the brown shades, and transforming the colour using colouring products was an option if the hair was not considered to be of a suitably fashionable shade:

²⁶¹ *Intelligencer Published for the Satisfaction and Information of the People*, Issue 29, 11 April 1664.

²⁶² Stewart, *Natural Production*, p. 6.

²⁶³ Mather, *A Treatise*, p. 11.

²⁶⁴ Cox, (ed.), *Wigmakers' Art*, p. 6.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

The Chymical Liquor for the Hair, which gradually changes red, grey or Hair of any other disagreeable colour, whether of the Head or Eye-brows, into any Degree of a Brown, or, by observing the Directions given with each Bottle, into the most beautiful Black in Nature...²⁶⁶

Though wig makers considered red hair as highly desirable, it was more generally considered an undesirable physical attribute, the roots of which idea can be traced to the early modern understanding of the body and the control of women's physical nature. A red-haired child was seen as the product of sexual intercourse during menstruation, something that was discouraged and considered with revulsion.²⁶⁷ The distaste of red hair continued to hold true in the eighteenth century. *Aristotle's book of problems* (1749) asserted that "redness is an infirmity of the hair, for it is ingendred of a weak and infirm matter; that is to say, or matter corrupted with the Flowers of Women".²⁶⁸ J. Mather, a perfumer, published a treatise on hair in 1795, devoting an entire chapter to "...changing [the hair] when red, to any shade of brown, black or auburn".²⁶⁹

Another factor considered to have an effect on hair type and colour was climate, with hot, damp areas connected to black, curly hair and temperate conditions to fair and light brown colours.²⁷⁰ The heat was understood to be the factor responsible for producing the "woolly heads on the Coast of Guinea, or the long jetty

²⁶⁶ *London Journal*, Issue 132, 3 February 1722).

²⁶⁷ Anne Lawrence, *Women in England 1500-1760: A Social History* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995), p. 62.

²⁶⁸ Anon., *Aristotle's Book of Problems, With Other Astronomers, Astrologers, Physicians and Philosophers... the Twenty-Sixth Edition* (London: [s.n.], 1749), p. 7.

²⁶⁹ Mather, *A Treatise*, pp. 24-8.

²⁷⁰ Stewart, *Natural Production*, p. 14.

tresses on the Banks of the Ganges”.²⁷¹ This was seen to be as a direct result of people from warm climates being affected by the hot, damp humours that were believed to characterise those nations, leading to differentiation in the hair of different peoples.

Whilst concerns abounded over the health and cleanliness of hair as a raw material, such anxieties did not extend to the gender of the individual from which it came. Women’s hair was considered more desirable, a fact that was commonly discussed in wig making and hairdressing manuals.²⁷² Customs books generally categorised the imported hair as “women’s hayre”, or “hair for perukes”, but by the late 1720s was more commonly referred to as “hair humane”, making it impossible to categorise by gender. The standard advice in hairdressing manuals was that women’s hair was preferable because it was commonly worn longer and less likely to be dry, while men’s hair was considered too dry and brittle from holding more heat in their heads, and always exposed to the elements.²⁷³

Not all women’s hair was equal however, and country girl’s hair was considered purer than that of city girls, as it was less likely to have been treated or powdered, and was generally worn covered and thus protected from drying by the wind and sun.²⁷⁴ Richard Murphy, a London hair merchant, travelled to Dublin in 1706 for the precise purpose of purchasing women’s hair from the Irish countryside, knowing it would fetch a good price in the capital.²⁷⁵

²⁷¹ Mather, *A Treatise*, p. 13.

²⁷² Cox (ed.), *Wigmakers’ Art*, p. 7.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁷⁵ TNA C5/257/36: ‘Murphy v. Reily’, 1713.

Goat hair and hair taken from cow's tails was a cheap alternative, the benefits being that it was thick. It was also said to hold a curl so well that it was used to make the wigs for sailors to wear in harsh maritime conditions for extended periods of time.²⁷⁶ But for a more refined wig to suit the fashionable market, animal hair had its limitations. Goat's hair in particular had a tendency to become yellow and break, so much so it was eventually discarded altogether as a legitimate material for reputable wig makers.²⁷⁷ Some wig makers also experimented with mixing the hair from a horse's mane with human hair as a way of keeping the prices down and the less scrupulous hair merchants and wig makers tried to pass off mixed human and animal hair as pure human hair and to sell it at accordingly high prices.

In an industry that depended so much on the quality of the products and the standard of the service fraud could be very bad for the reputation of the trade. Local authorities imposed harsh penalties on those discovered trying to defraud the public or wig makers with poor-quality or mixed hair. The *Daily Courant* reported one particular case in 1729 where the offending hair merchant was imprisoned and fined, and his stock burnt by the hangman, for attempting to sell "a parcel of insufficient hair mixed with Brutes hair".²⁷⁸ From an individual perspective, wig makers needed to be vigilant over the quality of the hair they bought through hair merchants if they were to get the best quality product for their wigs. In 1730, an anonymous publication on the state of the hair trade called for a tax on the use of "brute hair, such as cow and calves tails, mohair, horse, goat and camels hair" which was being

²⁷⁶ Ribeiro, *Dress*, p. 94.

²⁷⁷ Cox (ed.), *Wigmakers' Art*, p. 10.

²⁷⁸ *Daily Courant*, Issue 8685, 12 August 1729.

passed off as human hair because its use was bringing wig makers into disrepute.²⁷⁹ Poorer quality human hair could be disguised within a batch of superior hair to gain a better price. In a petition brought against two hair merchants in Edinburgh in 1725, a wig maker had been disappointed that he had been sold hair which appeared to have come from the same head from the outside, but was in fact made up of “different colours, prices and sizes”.²⁸⁰

3.2 The Geography of the Hair Trade

The trade of human hair for wigs was international, and the best human hair was considered to come from beer and cider drinking countries in northern Europe.²⁸¹ If the hair came from country girls it was considered to be pure and uncontaminated by city air.²⁸² The previous section explored anxieties around the belief that hair could be a carrier of contagion, which could then pass on to the wearer. This suggests that the provenance and cleanliness of hair was paramount, and transcended concerns about the gender, age or circumstances of the original owner of the hair.

The import of hair was large enough to be the subject of protectionist debates on the threats posed by foreign supplies, in particular hair coming from France. Attacks against the French purported that all the human hair imported into England came from France, and ‘French hair’ was therefore denounced as a threat to the

²⁷⁹ Anon., *Some Considerations on the Present State of the Hair Trade* (London: [n.p.] 1730).

²⁸⁰ Charles Holburn, *Unto the Right Honourable, the Lords of Council and Session, the Petition of Charles Holburn, Wig-Maker in Edinburgh...* (Edinburgh: [n.p.] 1725), p. 2.

²⁸¹ Cox (ed.), *Wigmakers’ Art*, p. 6. See also Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, p. 29.

²⁸² Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, p. 121; Cox, *Wigmakers’ Art*, p. 7.

domestic market. The reduced value of English hair brought about by its mixing with “brute hair” was seen by some as the weakness in the English market which allowed so-called French hair to become ubiquitous.²⁸³ In the context of on-going propaganda against the French in the first decades of the eighteenth century, the quality of French hair was called into question, accusing it to be a “very cheap Commodity” in comparison to “true English Human Hair”.²⁸⁴ Linking it to France threatened to undermine the hair import market, with some commentators implying that all hair “really and truly is of French growth”, despite purporting to be Flemish, Danish or Belgian.²⁸⁵

In reality hair was regularly coming from all over the world. Port books and customs records detail the “hair humane” that was brought into London, and where it came from. The records show that in the largest volumes, human hair was imported from northern Europe, specifically Flanders, Germany, France and Holland. Lesser quantities arrived from southern Europe, namely Italy, Spain and Portugal, and from the “East Country”, China and India.²⁸⁶

There was also a thriving domestic market in which hair was transported between England and Scotland, and between English port cities. Newcastle port books show modest amounts of human hair and related products being shipped into Newcastle from the Scottish port towns of Leith, Inverness and Aberdeen (Table 3.1). Human hair was sometimes noted with horses’ hair, and animal skins (goat, calf, hare, rabbit, camel and otter) which may have also been intended for the fashion

²⁸³ Anon., *Considerations*, p. 1.

²⁸⁴ *Daily Post*, Issue 1101, 9 April 1723.

²⁸⁵ Anon., *Considerations*, p. 1.

²⁸⁶ TNA, Ledgers of Imports and Exports, CUST 3/4 1700; CUST 3/20, 1718; CUST 3/ 28A, 1726; CUST 3/39, 1739.

market. It was also recorded alongside “wearing apparell” and linen, and one incidence of wig makers’ blocks.

Table 3.1 Quantities of Hair Imported in the Domestic Market (Newcastle)

Item	Quantity	1724-25	1736-37	1744-45	1747-48
Hair powder	Pounds	336	764		
Human hair	Pounds		436	46	20
Wig makers’ blocks	Bags		2		

Source: TNA, E190/229/9, E190/241/1, E190/245/10, E190/248/9.

There is no record of hair being exported in its raw, unprocessed form but quantities of perukes were exported to Germany, Russia, Turkey, the colonies in America (New England, New York, Carolina, Virginia) and the West Indies. Clothing and textiles predominated goods exported to the American colonies, accounting for just over half the value of exports to the West Indies and two-thirds to North America.²⁸⁷ Despite the semi-tropical conditions, the wealthier white inhabitants of the colonies were well supplied with imported English fashions from English merchants, and wigs were worn at all levels of the social hierarchy.²⁸⁸ In South Carolina and some of the British West Indian islands sumptuary law obliged slaves to dress in a simple fashion, however such was the integration of the wig into the overall masculine wardrobe, advertisements suggest runaway slaves did in fact wear wigs:

²⁸⁷ Nuala Zahedieh, ‘London and the Colonial Consumer’, *Economic History Review*, 47:2 (1994), p. 248.

²⁸⁸ Gail Gibson, ‘Costume and Fashion in Charleston’, *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 82:3 (1981), p. 227.

Run away...a Negro Man named Peter...had on when he went away, a white Negro cloth Jacket and breeches, a pretty good felt hat and an old wig.²⁸⁹

These are likely to have been second hand wigs. Further research is required to establish how commonly runaway slaves wore wigs, as discussed by Jonathan Prude in his study of runaway advertisements which argues that few did, especially after 1750.²⁹⁰

3.3 Obtaining the Raw Material

Hair was largely procured in several ways. It was often directly purchased from its owner by the wig makers themselves, travelling the country in search of the best quality material. This was common in the provinces where wig makers operated as sole traders and procured the hair themselves. Several wig makers operated on a self-sufficient basis and had built up networks to enable them to obtain the hair directly from the seller, as both Edmund Harrold, a provincial wig maker from Manchester, and Richard Arkwright, wig maker also operating in the north of England, often did.²⁹¹ Illustration 3.1 shows the variety of services offered by Richard Arkwright, as both hair cutter and wig maker for ladies and gentlemen.

²⁸⁹ From the *South Carolina and American General Gazette* (6-13 April 1770), quoted in Gibson, 'Costume', p. 233.

²⁹⁰ Jonathan Prude, 'To Look upon the "Lower Sort": Runaway Ads and the Appearance of Unfree Laborers in America, 1750-1800,' *Journal of American History*, 78 (1991), 124-159.

²⁹¹ Richard Guest, *A compendious history of the cotton-manufacture; with a disproof of the claim of Sir Richard Arkwright to the invention of its ingenious machinery* (Manchester: Printed by Joseph Pratt, 1823) p. 21.



Illustration 3.1, Trade Card of Richard Arkwright, (1755) © Trustees of the British Museum, image no AN1025672001.

Edmund Harrold, another provincial wig maker, whose diary for 1712-1715 survives, spent a high proportion of his time in the procurement of hair:

I worked a[ll] day, and at 6 at night I went 1 mile to see home hair. I bid 16s at 1 head [of hair], but came without it. [The]Y[n] I saw another but too dark to [see] so I came home.²⁹²

He certainly appreciated good quality hair, and took regular trips to the surrounding area to procure it. In a diary entry of June 24, 1712, Harrold notes the fact that he had located some good quality hair, which suggests the majority of the hair to which he had access was not always as good as required: “Remarkable [day] for 3 things: seeing fine hair, christening of aunt Berons daughter Mary, and curling Rob:[ert] Bradshaws wig of his own hair most[ly]”.²⁹³ Despite the relatively high proportion of his time finding good-quality hair would take, he could afford to be quite discerning about the hair that he purchased:

I was out 6 hours about hair this afternoon, and bought only 1 head [of hair] of carriers daughter at [the] mill at 5s 6d [for] 2oz tap[e]r flaxen. I cutt it in his house.²⁹⁴

Making good-quality wigs must have been more important in the long term to both his reputation and his business.

Alternatively, wig makers could obtain hair from a third party such as a hair merchant, or itinerant dealer.²⁹⁵ Itinerant dealers often counted hair among their stock, particularly in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries at the height

²⁹² Craig Horner (ed.), *The Diary of Edmund Harrold, Wig maker of Manchester, 1712-1715* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 2.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.7.

²⁹⁵ *Daily Advertiser*, Issue 4137, 20 April 1744); *Daily Courant*, Issue 4352, 5 October 1715.

of the wig's popularity.²⁹⁶ Records of court cases involving hair can shed some light into how they obtained the hair, and how hair was exchanged as a form of currency between seller and customer. Ann Johnson of Ackworth is recorded as having exchanged "one piece of red and white printed linen which she saith she exchanged with a Scotch man for her son's hair".²⁹⁷ In the case of Alexander Anderson, a chapman based at Morpeth, he accepted "Walter Gladstone's hair to the value of nine shillings" in part exchange for a debt of fourteen shillings.²⁹⁸

Itinerant sellers would try their luck in buying hair from people's heads as they travelled around the countryside, as described in a late seventeenth-century satirical poem about money:

[On Scotch-Pedlars.] These Circumvoraneans, Scotch-cloth cry,
Or Hollands, Muzlins, Cambricks, will ye buy,
Callicoes, Lawns, or any other ware,
If you'l buy nought then will you sell some Hair,
Thus at the doors and Windows they do call.²⁹⁹

Selling your hair, or that of your family to itinerant sellers seems to have been a common way to make some extra money or obtain other forms of goods, in the countryside at least. A travelling salesman bought the hair of several children at the lodging house where he was staying, exchanging it for gauze. When the word got around, other children from the area deliberately sought him out to sell him their hair:

²⁹⁶ Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England* (London: Hambledon, 1984), p. 50.

²⁹⁷ West Yorkshire Archive Services (Wakefield) QS 1/77/6: Quarter Sessions Roll, 1738.

²⁹⁸ TNA ASSI 45/13/3/40-41, Northern Circuit Depositions, Northumberland 1683.

²⁹⁹ L. Meriton, *Pecuniae Obediunt Omnia: Money Does Master All Things* (York: Printed for the Author, 1696), p. 81.

One Venus Batty...came and asked the man... to cut off her hair, that he told her to go and ask her mother, that she went away and returned again in a little while, and told the said man that he might cut her Hair off, that he told her that when he had cut off her Hair he could give her a Quarter of Gauze...³⁰⁰

The request by the salesman for permission to cut the hair in return for other goods suggests the selling of hair in this manner was connected with shame or discredit.

In the urban context, hair merchants are known to have employed dealers to purchase hair from around the country, and according to *The General Shop Book* (1753), to have paid “good wages”.³⁰¹ Margaret Spufford showed in her study of chapmen’s inventories that hair was one of their most valuable commodities. For example, amongst a large variety of goods, James Binges of Carlisle was found to be carrying over £20 of human and horse hair in 1738, amounting to nearly half the value of his stock.³⁰²

Hair merchants also sold their stock through advertisements aimed directly at wig makers:

At the Hand and Lock of Hair, in Blue-Ball-Ally near Cheapside in the Mind, is several sorts of white Hair, ready Curled, fit for Perriwg-makers at reasonable prices.³⁰³

³⁰⁰ TNA ASSI 45/36/3/17, Northern Circuit Depositions, Yorkshire, Summer 1789, Rv.Batty. Thanks to Professor John Styles, University of Hertfordshire, for this reference, and the references at footnotes 47 and 48.

³⁰¹ Anon., *The General Shop Book or the Tradesman’s Universal Director* (London: C. Hitch and L. Hawes, 1753), p. 223.

³⁰² Spufford, *Great Reclothing*, p. 50.

³⁰³ *Daily Courant*, Issue 924, 2 April 1705.

Another advertisement promises “Perriwig-makers may be completely fitted with all sorts of hair now in use, either curled or uncurled”.³⁰⁴ Buying ready processed hair in this way would save time, freeing up resource for making more wigs.

The potential profit to be had by travelling widely to buy hair could be more lucrative if undertaken as a joint endeavour.³⁰⁵ London hair merchant Richard Murphy formed a partnership with Charles Reily, an itinerant hair merchant from Ireland who travelled country fairs and towns for the express purpose of buying hair. This partnership exploited the best of both men’s knowledge of their respective markets. Reily had the contacts with pre-existing trade links across rural Ireland, and knew where to go to procure hair of the quality and in the quantities required. Murphy had the London contacts in order to guarantee a good profit at the point of resale. The demand on the London market was higher than that in Ireland, which would have made this a worthwhile venture for both partners. Unfortunately, the working arrangement ended badly, with Reily accusing Murphy of keeping all the profit once he had delivered the hair to London.³⁰⁶

In some cases, merchants published advertisements to reach those who wished to sell their hair. This can be seen in advertisements placed by barbers and wig makers calling for those with hair to sell from their heads, an approach that was sufficiently successful for George Grey, as he advertised for at least two consecutive years:

if any man or woman hath good hair to sell, let them repair to George Grey
Barber and Perriwig maker over against the Greyhound Tavern in

³⁰⁴ *London Journal*, Issue 342, 12 February 1726.

³⁰⁵ TNA C5/257/36 ‘Murphy v. Reily’, 1713.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

Blackfriars, London; there they shall have at least as much ready money as anybody else will give.³⁰⁷

Therefore, a certain amount of flexibility in procurement opportunities enabled practitioners to operate at the scale they could most afford. Provenance was key to the development of trade networks and relationships for the onward selling of hair or wigs.

3.4 The Value of Human Hair

The right kind of hair (long, strong and clean) commanded the highest prices. ‘Raw’, unprocessed hair fetched an average of £1 per pound, though this could fluctuate according to the quality. A 1715 advert for a lost parcel of Flanders hair weighing about 20 pounds offered £20 for its recovery.³⁰⁸ Whilst it is debatable whether the full market value would have been offered as a reward, this figure is confirmed by the prices paid by Edmund Harrold. He recorded paying £2 3s for two and a half pounds of hair, which he paid in full in gold.³⁰⁹

Prices could easily be much higher or lower than this average. On other occasions, Harrold spent relatively large sums on hair, including at one time £8 on six months’ credit.³¹⁰ The upper end of the market could reach very high prices. In a list of goods stolen from John Rodick, a wealthy hair merchant in Northampton, 36 pounds of hair is valued at £172 2s 6d showing that with the right market conditions

³⁰⁷ *Intelligencer Published for the Satisfaction and Information of the People*, Issue 13, 13 February, 1665.

³⁰⁸ *Daily Courant*, Issue 4352, 5 October 1715.

³⁰⁹ Horner, *Diary*, p. 110.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

hair could be very expensive.³¹¹ To put this in context, Rodick also lost a new Periwig worth 50s, and four pieces of gold valued at 36s each. This suggests he was a wealthy merchant who stocked good-quality hair, valued at considerably more than £1 per pound.

At the cheaper end of the spectrum, the prices paid by Charles Reily, the itinerant merchant operating in Ireland encountered earlier, are noticeably lower. He measured hair using various imprecise descriptions such as “locks”, “heads”, “long head” and “parcel”. However, occasionally pounds and ounces are used, recorded as one pound 11 ounces priced at 13s, and another instance of three pounds of hair at 16s and 4d. The largest amount, 11 pounds 14 ounces was bought from an individual named Owen McDonell for £2, 7s and 11d.³¹² Because hair was valued by weight, even the thread used to tie the hair into bundles was carefully scrutinised so as not to add too much to the price. This issue concerned hair merchants and wig makers alike, who were all concerned to achieve as fair a price as possible:

...to all Cutters of and Dealers in Human Hair...that on the 20th Instant... a meeting of Hair Merchants and Periwig-makers was held at the Cross-Keys Tavern in Cornhill, London, when and where it was resolved, that for the better preventing the Imposition of such Quantities of Thread, as are usually sold with Hair, no more than half an Ounce of Thread shall go to, or be paid for, in the binding or tying up of every 20 Ounces of Hair, and in proportion for any less Quantity.³¹³

Whilst hair commanded monetary value as a physical good that could be transformed into a wig and sold, it also commanded parallel emotional value. The

³¹¹ *London Gazette*, Issue 7614, 2 July 1737).

³¹² TNA C5/257/36 ‘Murphy v. Reily’, 1713.

³¹³ *Daily Courant*, Issue 6398, 24 April 1722.

treatment of this part of the body as a commodity could provoke an emotional response in the seller. Research into the study of the history of emotions explores how ‘passions’ and ‘affections’ of the early modern period were understood and expressed. Whilst recognising the problems with attempting to quantify such an amorphous and culturally differentiated set of attitudes characterised as feelings and emotions, cultural historians have begun to explore a framework for the study of emotional experience.³¹⁴

In relation to the parts of the body, emotion is as yet under explored. Whilst the traditional humoral model persisted, ‘passions’ were construed as analogous to and embodying the environment of which they were part. Understanding for example, that the northern Europeans were an emotional product of the cold, wet and damp environment they inhabited retained a holistic understanding of the relationship between the environment and the individual.³¹⁵ As explored above, hair was also a product of this constitutional connection to the environment. However, these ideas were beginning to shift. Philosopher Rene Descartes’ concept of mind-body dualism saw a shift towards understanding the body and soul as separate entities, and allowed recognisable physical functions to be distinct from emotional ones. Emotion could then be understood as internal and contained within the individual, and separation of mind and body allowed for a greater consciousness of parts of the body.³¹⁶ As a bodily emanation, this would include hair.

³¹⁴ Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe and Mary Floyd-Wilson, ‘Introduction: Reading the Early Modern Passions.’ in Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe and Mary Floyd-Wilson (eds.), *Reading The Early Modern Passions*, (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2004), pp. 1-20 provides a useful summary of the approaches taken.

³¹⁵ Mary Floyd-Wilson, ‘English Mettle’, in *ibid.*, p. 133.

³¹⁶ David Irons, ‘Descartes and Modern Theories of Emotion’, *Philosophical Review* 4:3 (1895), p. 295.

As a part of the body, the intrinsic value of hair was not simply economical, but emotional. The emotional attachment to one's hair and the act of selling it has not been fully explored, but certainly by the nineteenth century, references to the emotional loss of one's hair are not uncommon.³¹⁷ Louisa M. Alcott's *Little Women*, 1868 is the most famous case in point where the reaction of the family to the character Jo selling her hair is strongly negative. Hair jewellery saw a rise in popularity from the 1770s.³¹⁸ It should be seen in a different context to wigs however, as jewellery was intrinsically connected with remembrance and personal connections to the individual whose hair was contained within.

Due to its regenerative nature, hair was in many ways a perfect commodity, as it could be sold more than once during the course of its owner's lifetime. However, the fashion for long hair in women largely prevailed since the medieval period, and therefore wearing short hair may have caused a sense of loss and embarrassment in those who were compelled by poverty and hardship into selling their hair. For men, the idea of voluntarily losing their hair in order to prepare the head for a wig could provoke a sensitive reaction, such as described by Samuel Pepys:

By and by comes Chapman the periwig-maker, and on my liking it, without more ado I went up and there he cut off my haire; which went a little to my

³¹⁸ Helen Sheumaker, 'The Commodity of Self: Nineteenth Century Human Hair Jewellery', in Susan Strasser (ed.), *Commodifying Everything: Relationships Of The Market* (Routledge: New York and London, 2003), p. 71.

heart at present to part with it, but it being over and my periwig on, I paid him £3 for it; and away he went with my own hair to make up another of.³¹⁹

3.5 Transforming Hair into Wigs

Creating a good product was probably the most important element in any craftsman's business. By its nature, the product was publically displayed on the head of the wearer as a visible advertisement of the skill of the maker. As discussed above, not all hair was of sufficient quality to withstand the wig making process, and inevitably hair of varying quality was mixed to drive down the cost and ensure there was enough raw material with which to work.

In order to retain or even to find clients the wig maker needed to maintain regular communication with his customers from the outset in order to meet their requirements, in the same manner as a tailor would measure for a bespoke suit. A well-fitting wig had to be made to the exact head measurements of an individual, a factor that became increasingly important as wigs sought to emulate natural hair.³²⁰ There were many stages involved in the creation of a wig, and to ensure the quality of the final product, each stage would have to be followed precisely. The prominence of a wig on the head of the wearer was such that no self-respecting follower of fashion would want to be seen in a poor quality or badly fitted wig so it was essential that the wig be made to very precise measurements.

³¹⁹ Robert Latham and William Matthews (eds), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (London: Bell and Hyman, 1990), vol. 4, (3 November 1663), p. 362.

³²⁰ For a discussion on the importance of a natural looking fit, see Chapter 5.

English wig makers did not publish their methods, and the extant diaries do not go into detail as to the mechanics of wig making.³²¹ However, encyclopaedic works published in France contain substantial detail as to the techniques employed, and it might be assumed that the practice of wig making was similar in both countries, not least because the active movement of French wig makers to England would have ensured a certain transfer of technology and sharing of skills.³²² The two most well-known monumental French knowledge gathering projects of the eighteenth century, Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* and the Royal Academy of Science *Description des arts et métiers* have been the subject of much historical research.³²³

Diderot and d'Alambert's *Encyclopédie* (published between 1751 and 1772) contained a detailed section on the art of wig making. The second major work is Francois Alexandre Pierre de Garsault's detailed instructions on the construction of wigs in 1767 in volume 12 of *Description des arts et metiers faite ou approuve par messieurs de L'Academie Royale Des Sciences*. The descriptions of manufacturing process and practice in wig making they contain are the only such descriptions known. Both describe a process of many stages, which oblige the wig maker to engage with the hair using a variety of equipment (illustrations 3.2 and 3.3).

³²¹ Aside from Edmund Harrold, there is a Diary of an Anonymous wig maker in the Bodleian collection, MS. Rawl. C. 861, but this is religious in concern, and does not discuss any element of wig making.

³²² For a detailed exploration of the transfers of technology between England and France in the eighteenth century see John Raymond Harris, *Essays in Industry and Technology in the Eighteenth Century: England and France* (Hampshire, Brookfield, 1992).

³²³ See for example Daniel Brewer and Julie Chandler Hayes (eds), *Using the Encyclopédie: Ways of Knowing, Ways of Meaning* (Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2002).

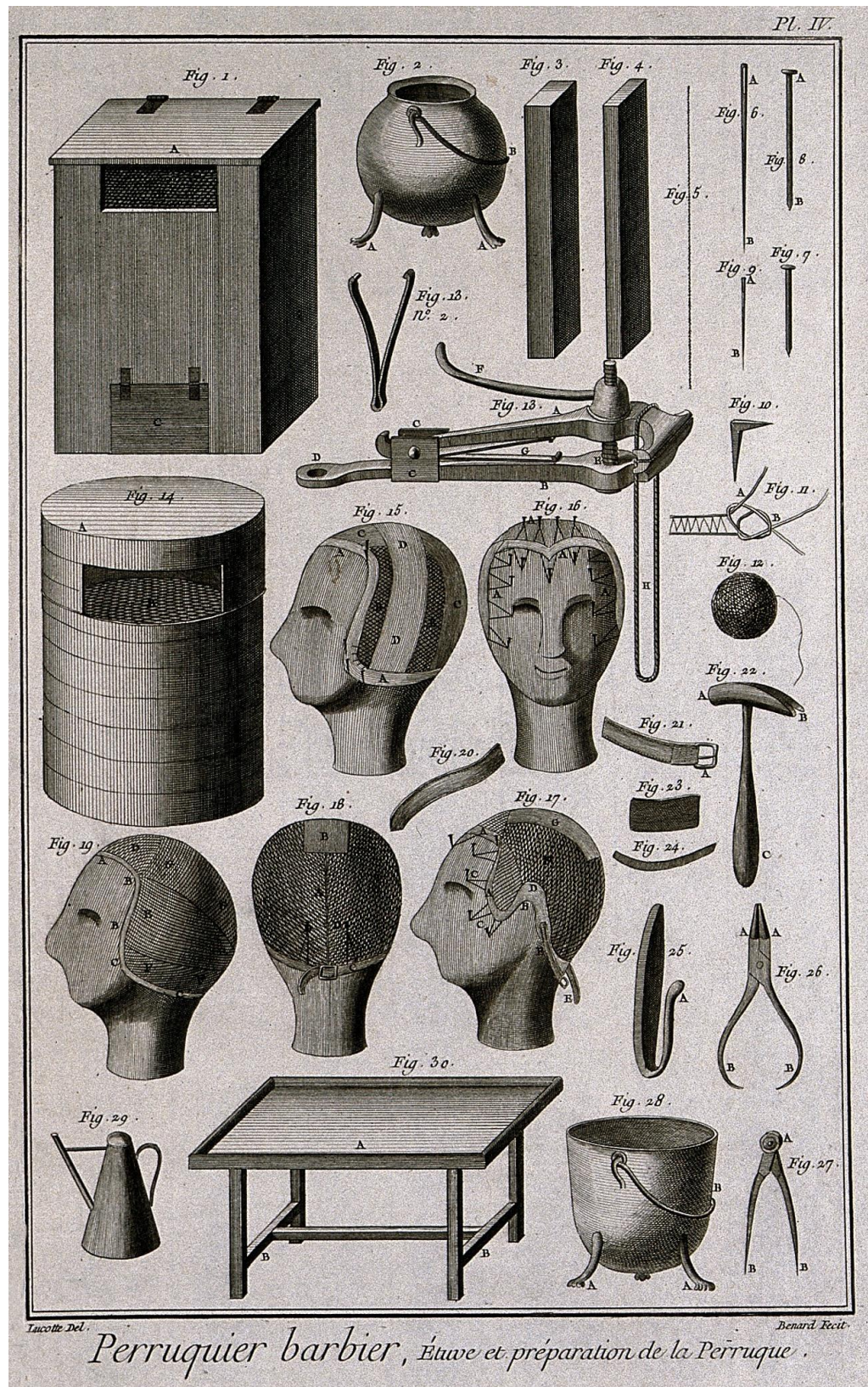


Illustration 3.2. Wig-making equipment. Engraving by R. Bénard after J.R. Lucotte, 1762. Wellcome Library, London, ICV No. 20007R.

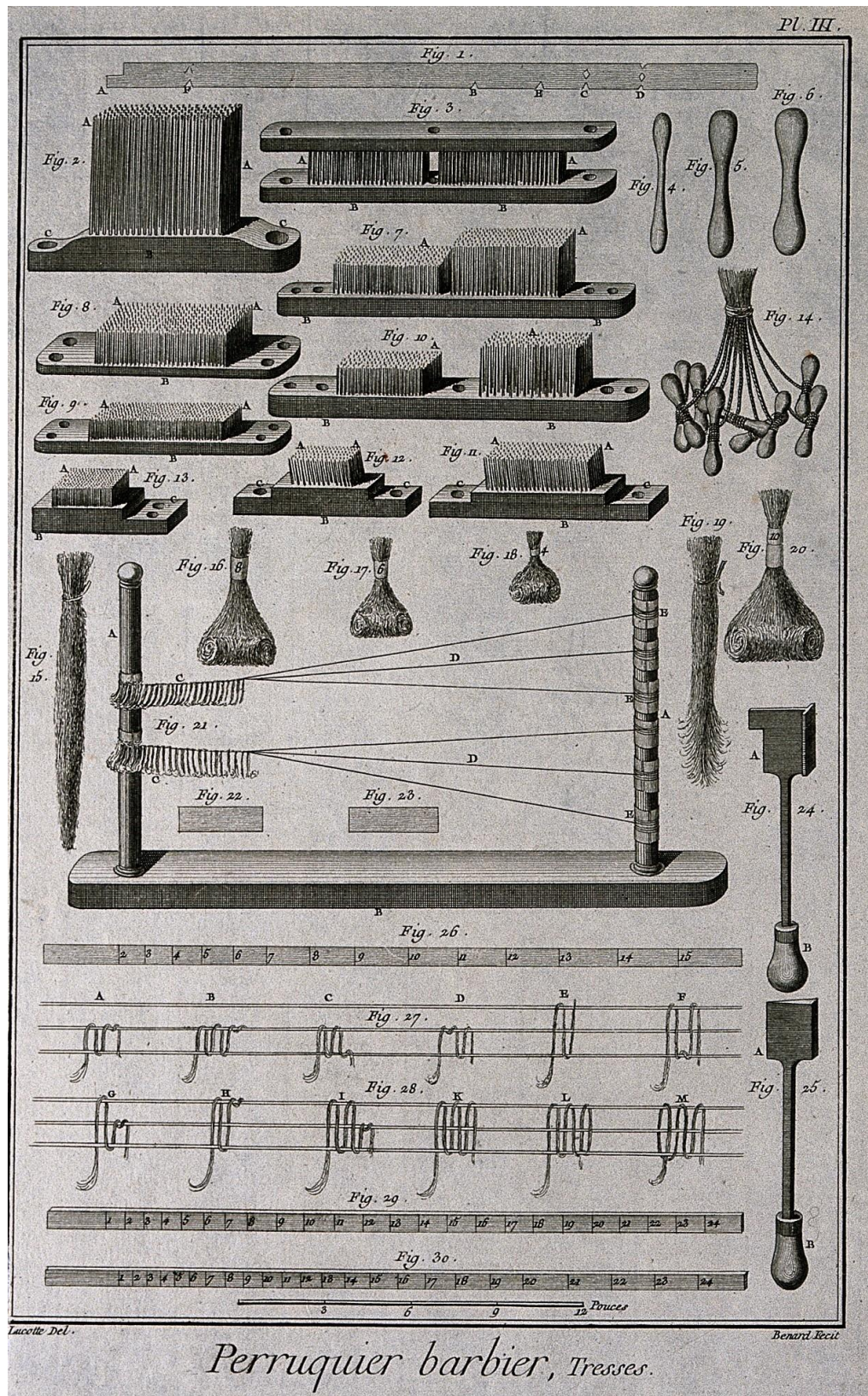


Illustration 3.3. Wig-making equipment. Engraving by R. Bénard after J.R. Lucotte, 1762. Wellcome Library, London, ICV No. 20007L.

The records show that, although a variety of equipment was required to make a wig, such equipment was relatively small scale and portable. Iron cards or combs were used for a number of purposes, such as untangling and combing the hair, and sorting it according to length.³²⁴ These would have differed in size, with fine, steel teeth for combing, and longer, thicker cards for untangling, see illustration 3.3. Wooden curlers were also used, and the *Encyclopédie* advised boxwood, because it did not absorb too much water.³²⁵ Ceramic curlers, often found in archaeological excavations, were not recommended as they could get too hot and damage the hair during the baking process.³²⁶

Some wig makers used a stove in which to bake the hair, though others would have maintained connections with bakers who did the work for a nominal fee. Mary K. Gayne shows how these partnerships became so common in Paris that bakers were required to keep hair dough records for tax purposes.³²⁷ Also required was a small vice for holding the hair in place, a loom and copper pot for boiling the hair, and differently sized wooden boxes for mounting the wig.³²⁸ Some wig makers employed net-makers to make cauls for the base of the wig, but these could also be bought directly from a haberdasher along with the ribbons, silk and pins required for mounting. Indeed, such was the demand for the ribbons and silk, haberdashers sold silk specifically for the purpose of wig making:

³²⁴ Stevens Cox (ed.), *Wigmakers' Art*, p. 7.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³²⁶ There are many examples of wig curlers found on archaeological excavations in London, which can be seen in the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre Online Catalogue. However, probably due to conditions of survival, these are all ceramic examples, made from pipe-clay.

³²⁷ Mary K. Gayne, 'Illicit Wig making in Eighteenth Century Paris', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38:4 (2004), p. 122.

³²⁸ Cox, (ed.), *Wigmakers' Art*, p. 9.

...Mr. George Cowell, Haberdasher of Small-Wares, very famous for Call and Ribbands, and Silk for Perriwig-makers, continues to be sold there by his Son-in-Law...³²⁹

Wig makers also had dealings with carpenters and turners who produced the wooden blocks required in the process of production.³³⁰

The process of making a wig involved several interactions between wig makers and customers. First the wig maker would take a set of detailed measurements of the customer's head. The manufacturing process started with the hair being cleaned (degreased) then sorted into packets according to length by drawing it through a card, and sometimes soaked in indigo to prevent discolouration. It was then placed in a vice and wound onto a curler made of clay or boxwood, thicker for men's wigs as they held a bigger curl.³³¹ The hair on curlers was then boiled for three hours (or one and a half hours for horse hair due to its coarser texture) and dried in an oven, following which the instructions state it should be baked in flour paste on a moderate heat.³³²

Advertisements of sales of goods belonging to hair merchants show that their premises were often set up to undertake this method of processing hair. John Delaporte, Hair Merchant, sold his goods and premises in advance of a move to Cambridge in 1755, and advertised "all raw and curl'd hair, and peruke making material... oven, stoves, glass cases, drawers and several useful fixtures".³³³ The

³²⁹ *London Evening Post*, Issue 1003, 23 April 1734.

³³⁰ R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London: Printed for T. Gardner, 1747), p. 206.

³³¹ Stevens Cox (ed.), *Garsault*, p. 13.

³³² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³³³ *Public Advertiser*, Issue 3685, April 1755. In fact, Mr Delaporte placed advertisements for his stock and equipment several times between 1752 and 1755, and was sent to prison in 1762 for conspiracy.

Daily Advertiser in 1752 ran an advert for Mr Croucher, Hair Merchant, whose boy had lost “2 parcels of grizzles, 2 pipe locks... and pale hairs curl’d on small wooden pipes”.³³⁴ Similarly, advertisements for hair cleaning products specifically targeted hair merchants, as well as wig makers, who would want to ensure the hair was in a sufficiently clean and ready state before selling it on:

At the Old Soap-Shop...the so much fam’d new invented LIQUID SOAP, at one Shilling the Pint, which is so greatly improv’d by the said John CARR...is lathering stronger and scouring cleaner, and is also of an ore excellent, wholesome and delightful smell...for Hair-Merchants to clean and nourish their Hair, and Perriwig-makers and other Workers in Hair, nothing can compare to it.³³⁵

It is likely that some wig makers would have obtained the hair at this stage, cleaned, processed and possibly even pre-curled.

Once prepared in this manner, the hair was then woven on a silk loom in order to bind it together (Illustration 3.3). The woven sections of hair were pinned onto a mount and attached to ribbon. De Garsault described three different types of mount (full mounts, mounts to the ear and mounts to the middle of the ear) depending on the amount of hair to be used, and the size of the final wig. This took place on a wooden head made of elm or ash, according to measurements of the customer’s head.³³⁶ To ensure the hair is fixed, de Garsault suggested rubbing candle wax along the roots of the rows, and then combing and applying powder to the

³³⁴ *Daily Advertiser*, Issue 6559, 16 January 1752). According to J. Stevens Cox, *An Illustrated Dictionary of Hairdressing and Wig making*, (London: Batsford Academic, 1966), p. 67, ‘Grizzle’ refers to grey hair.

³³⁵ *London Evening Post*, Issue 981, 19 March 1734.

³³⁶ Stevens Cox (ed.), *Garsault*, p. 22.

finished wig.³³⁷ The wig worn by the wax funeral effigy of Charles II at Westminster Abbey was replaced in 1729, and that wig is described as having “long tresses [about 20 inches]... attached to the corded foundation, which is partly lined with pink silk”.³³⁸

The campaign wig worn by the effigy of the Duke of Buckingham dated 1735 (the year of the Duke’s death) was attached to a net foundation and strengthened with linen at the sides and back (Illustration 3.4).³³⁹ It was made by knotting hair between three threads, which were in turn stitched to a net coif with green silk. The coif was made of silk knotted with square mesh gathered at the crown to fit the head of the effigy. A strip of white linen was stitched from the forehead to the nape of the neck, on top of the coif, and a silk ribbon stitched on top and above the linen strip at the centre front of each side, going round the side of the head to the centre back. A narrow pink and white silk ribbon was used inside the edge of the coif round the face to keep it in place, folded and darted to mould the net to the shape of the head. The strips of hair were mounted on top of the linen strip and net, with rows of green silk stitching on the inside of the coif, and the curls hid the rows of stitching on the right side. A short, twisted queue hanging down the back of the neck and two large hanging curls framed the face, and were doubled up and knotted at the ends. The wig has a small round paper label was stuck inside the crown of the wig with the maker’s details: “Francis Caraffa Peruke Maker next door to the Rummer Tavern in Gerrard Street St Ann’s, Soho, London”, and dated 1735.

³³⁷ Ibid., p. 27.

³³⁸ L.E. Tanner and J.L. Nevinson, ‘On Some Later Funeral Effigies in Westminster Abbey’, *Archaeologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity*, 85:2 (1936), p. 175.

³³⁹ Ibid., p. 187.



Illustration 3.4. Wig from the funeral effigy of Edmund, Duke of Buckingham, (1735), Victoria and Albert Museum, Ref 2011FD3351.

Using this method to make the wig shows wig making in the context of weaving, and invites comparisons with the textile industry. Drawing the hair through cards to separate it into the correct length and thickness has parallels with the methods used in cotton weaving, which used similar processes to separate cotton.³⁴⁰ Some of the skills and processes required for wig making were shared with those of cotton weaving, such as fixing the warp onto a wooden frame and threading the weft through (Illustration 3.4).

Edmund Harrold did not detail the processes he used for making his wigs. However, the manner in which he procured the hair, usually directly from individuals, including the hair of the customer themselves on some occasions, would seem to suggest he was adept at the elements of the process described above and did not simply buy it ready prepared from a hair merchant. Occasional references to his work would support this, such as the entry for one day when feeling depressed about his drinking the night before, he finds that he cannot weave the hair: “I’ve drawn my wig but cannot weav[e] [it]”.³⁴¹

3.6 Strategies of Buying and Selling Hair

Wig making and hairdressing were creative, intimate trades whose craftsmen dealt with what was effectively a part of the body, and were reliant on reputation to be successful. If a hairdresser was believed to have trained in London, the most fashionable city in the country, he enhanced his reputation amongst the customer

³⁴⁰ R. S. Fitton, *The Arkwrights, Spinners Of Fortune* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p. 13.

³⁴¹ Horner, *Diary*, p. 17.

base. Hairdressers recognised this fact and used it to their advantage, often publicising their metropolitan connections:

... he is by trade a barber and peruke maker, but would take it as an affront to be called by that name... he therefore stiles himself a hair-cutter from London.³⁴²

To achieve respectability, it was advisable for London based hairdressers to be seen to have a connection with Paris, and therefore exposure to the cutting edge of fashion, something that was made as explicit as possible in advertising and dealings with customers. In his advertisement, Leece, a London hairdresser who prided himself on dressing women's hair in eighteen different fashions, ensured his Parisian connections were known:

...he has at home, and when at Paris, made it his chief study to complete himself in every Branch that concerns his business, and thro' the Correspondence that he has established there, receives from thence Patterns and full Information of every Improvement made in Dress.³⁴³

In this way, he was appealing to customers for whom it was important to keep up to date with fashions in both hairstyles and dress.

Examination of advertisements by both hairdressers and wig makers suggests that hairdressers were more likely than wig makers to present themselves as arbiters of fashion and style. Advertisements for hairdressers commonly used words like 'elegance' and explicitly identified themselves as providing services for ladies

³⁴² *Hoey's Dublin Mercury*, Issue 609, 15 September 1770.

³⁴³ *Lloyd's Evening Post*, Issue 1159, 12 December 1764).

(sometimes exclusively), or for ladies and gentlemen.³⁴⁴ Illustration 3.5 is an advertisement that consciously disconnects those services offered to men and those to women, placing more emphasis on the fashionable element of style for women, than for men. The advertisement suggests that women would be enticed to visit for a fashionable hairstyle, while the primary consideration for men was to cover baldness.

TO Gentlemen whose Hair has fallen off any part of the Head, and wish for something to supply the defect, and keep the part warm, ROBINSON, Hair-Dresser, No. 8, Edward-street, Portman square, begs leave to recommend his new-invented Scalps, that come the nearest to the Natural Hair of any thing that has ever been made. The Hair comes through the silk in the same manner as it grows through the skin; is much thinner and lighter than any other, and may be put on without trouble.

All kind of Ladies' Hair made in the neatest and most fashionable manner, at the shortest notice.

N. B. It is at a Toy Shop.

Illustration 3.5, *Morning Post and Fashionable World*, 14 January, (London, 1796); Issue 7458.

For wig makers, lack of knowledge of the latest fashion was not an impediment to doing business, at least with male buyers. Edmund Harrold, a provincial Manchester wig maker, makes no reference to the need to keep up with fashion in his diary. His customers were exclusively male, suggesting women went elsewhere to get their hair styled, or had hairdressers visit their homes. Despite his apparent lack of knowledge or interest in the latest fashions, Harrold did produce different styles and types of wig, made to order for his customers. However, it is

³⁴⁴*World* (1787), Issue 763, 11 June 1789); *Bath Chronicle*, Issue 1465, 25 December 1788; *World* (1787) Issue 1299, 1 March 1791; *Oracle*, Issue 710, 6 September 1791; *Morning Post and Fashionable World*, Issue 7458, 14 January 1796.

likely that he decided on the style of the wig verbally with his customers at the time the order was placed, as there is no mention of this stage of the process elsewhere. This suggests that his customers were less interested in following the latest fashion, but wore wigs to express something about their social standing, or as protection from the elements or illness.

The experience of purchasing a wig differed also according to which end of the social spectrum the customer inhabited, and the part of the country in which they lived. It was common for Edmund Harrold's customers to place orders or collect their wigs from him in the alehouse through transactions generally undertaken by credit arrangement.³⁴⁵ On 23rd November 1712, for example, Harrold records that he "Went to [the Black?] Swan...delivered to Mr. Groves etc his bu[c]keled [curled] wig. [He] p[ai]d us in full, wee [were] merry".³⁴⁶ The fact that Harrold makes a specific diary note that he was paid upfront in full, reflected the least common circumstance in which he was paid.³⁴⁷ Generally speaking credit arrangements were a more common way to procure goods at this time, as there was limited cash available.³⁴⁸ Harrold also operated a barter system, accepting either hair or wigs in payment for his services.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁵ Horner, *Diary*, p. 91 "...yn I b[ough]t of him 8li worth of hair [on] 6 months cr[e]d[it] [and] 12s a week cre[dit] of Alex Cockram".

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 42, Harrold similarly notes on 28th October 1712: 'I finish Jon Dickenson Wig. He paid me in full and I him for b[oo]ks.

³⁴⁸ See Beverly Lemire, 'Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England: The Trade in Secondhand Clothes', *Journal of British Studies*, 27:1 (1988), pp. 1-24; Helen Berry, 'Polite Consumption: Shopping in Eighteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6:12 (2002), pp. 375-94.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 63, 'Finished ye 2d wig by Charles help. S[o]ld 1st in swap to Hulme for hair, given 4s [to] boot'.

In towns outside London and other major urban centres, wig shops were not uncommon. Lynne Festa's work on wigs and possession shows that moderately-sized market towns such as Northampton supported at least one wig maker, and that if there was a market for false hair, the local village barbers were likely to make wigs.³⁵⁰ The proprietor would have needed to convey the idea of fashionability in both appearance and outlet to entice equally fashionable customers. Joseph Collyer's trade directory notes that for barbers and wig makers "a good set of acquaintances and... a shop advantageously situated" were very important for business.³⁵¹ Despite this, however, Edmund Harrold makes no reference to his shop as being particularly important for attracting custom. His visibility in the local community and the fact that his customer base was mainly men buying wigs for everyday wear, suggest the element of fashion was less important to the market he served.

In the more competitive urban context however, a clean, well-appointed shop would have been vital for those engaged in this branch of the beauty industry. It was an unstable industry for the majority of small traders, being so dependent on the unpredictable nature of fashion, particularly as the trend for wigs began to decline from the middle of the century.³⁵² Many larger towns had distinct areas where specific types of trade were clustered, well known to discerning customers. Goods could be displayed in the shop window to attract customers inside, as described in this 1717 account from the Proceedings of the Old Bailey:

... August last: the Prosecutor's Servant deposed the Wig was on a block in

³⁵⁰ Lynn Festa, 'Personal Effects: Wigs and Possessive Individualism in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth Century Life*, 29:2 (2005), p. 52.

³⁵¹ Joseph Collyer, *Parent's and Guardian's Directory* (London, Printed for R. Griffiths, 1761), p. 59.

³⁵² *Guardian*, Issue 4, 16 March 1713; *London Evening Post*, Issue 4252, 8 February 1755.

the Window, and that he saw the Prisoner catch it off from the Block and go off, that he followed him and apprehended him.³⁵³

For the London wig makers, the West End and the Strand seem to have been popular, situated in the centre of what was an important area for textile and clothing retail.³⁵⁴ These were also the most fashionable areas in the metropolis, well-known places important for public entertainment, where members of high society would go to see and be seen.³⁵⁵

As well as taking the opportunity to enjoy the retail experience, it was common to get hair dressed or heads measured at home, and house visits by hairdressers and wig makers were usual.³⁵⁶ Advertisements suggest that hairdressers and wig makers splitting their time according to demand, and spending three days in the shop and three days making visits.³⁵⁷ The presence of powder rooms in some country houses suggests that wig makers regularly visited wealthier customers at home.³⁵⁸ The implications of this arrangement for wig makers and hairdressers, and how it could affect their trade, are explored below.

³⁵³ Proceedings of the Old Bailey Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 05 July 2013), September 1717, trial of James Ellikar (t17170911-35).

³⁵⁴ Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life In London 1660-1730* (London: Methuen, 1989), p. 275.

³⁵⁵ Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 10.

³⁵⁶ See chapter 4.

³⁵⁷ *Guardian*, Issue 4, March 16 1713; *London Evening Post*, Issue 4252, February 8 1755).

³⁵⁸ For example, Ampthill Park House in Bedfordshire, records a 'powdering room' in an inventory of 1737. *Inventories of Bedfordshire Country Houses 1714-1830*, ed. James Collett-White (Bedfordshire: Historical Record Society, 1995), p. 21.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the modification of human hair, and how working with a material that was essentially a part of the human body affected the business of wig making. The provenance of the hair was paramount for wig makers to ensure they maintained a good reputation, and could attract and retain customers. Human hair for making wigs was expensive, but it was worth the time and expense of finding the strongest and thickest hair from sources that were clean living and unpolluted. Good-quality hair was vital as an indicator of good health, and that displaying a clean head of thick hair corresponded with eighteenth-century ideals of youth and beauty. It was common for travelling hair merchants to buy hair directly from the head of those needy enough to sell it, and many would travel large distances in the pursuit of good hair. References to making wigs from the hair of the individual for whom the wig was made are rare, likely because of the length of time it took to grow, and because men's hair tended to be less desirable due to a lack of thickness and substantial length. Making a wig involved multiple detailed processes, for which a certain amount of skill and experience was required in order to become truly proficient, but which could be undertaken on a small, individual scale. This allowed wig makers to build relationships with their customers in order to understand their needs, which was vital to their continued survival in this intimate trade. The following chapter also demonstrates this by focussing the organisation of the hair trade.

PART TWO: Transforming Hair

CHAPTER FOUR

The Commodification of Human Hair: The Business of Hair

This chapter brings into focus those at the end of the trading chain: the wig makers, barbers and hairdressers who made their living from the importance attached to the display of a full head of hair. It aims to understand how the business of transforming hair, through cutting or styling the hair on the head, or by manufacturing a new head of hair, operated as a trade. It will explore the involvement in such a trade of a series of economic actors ranging from the merchants who dealt in human hair to the wig makers and hairdressers who designed, cut and styled hair.

Barbers, wig makers and hairdressers commonly operated as small businesses, leaving little in the way of records.³⁵⁹ The source material available for the study of such small-scale trades primarily includes trade manuals written as guidance for apprentices, and trade cards and newspaper advertisements which provide an indication as to the number of hair traders present, especially in fashionable urban centres such as London, which had the biggest concentration of hair practitioners. This chapter pays particular attention to the language used to describe those who worked in the field, and the services they provided. The changing language used to describe the trade is indicative of the adaptive nature of trades in meeting the changing need of customers over time. New products specifically aimed at beautification of hair entering the market, developments in wig making technology and changing hairstyles will also be explored through advertisements and trade cards.

³⁵⁹ Apprenticeship indentures regularly feature wig makers.

These provide a further indication of how the hair trade operated in what had become a highly competitive market by the first decades of the eighteenth century.

The hair trade was relatively complex in terms of organisation, comprising a variety of overlapping and interconnected functions, including those of the barbers, hairdressers and wig makers. As a trade, hair was removed from other trades connected to fashion and the body, due to the nature of its raw material, which made it unique. To better understand this framework, and how the various traders operated, this chapter will analyse the organisation of the hair trade by deconstructing the functions undertaken within it. The physical process of making a wig is broken into two broad areas: the procurers of the raw material, the dealers and merchants who were responsible for sourcing, sorting and selling human or animal hair; and the artisans or craftsmen involved in the fine work of making wigs, or crafting hairstyles.

4.1 Defining Relationships in the Hair Trade

In the context of trades in general during the period of study, the hair trade was unique. Scholars have shown that work was commonly outsourced in a piecemeal manner.³⁶⁰ Subcontracting in this way had taken place before the eighteenth century, particularly in the luxury trades such as gold-smithing and artistic production, but evidence suggests it was practiced with greater frequency during the eighteenth century across a broader spectrum of trades and in particular in the

³⁶⁰ See Giorgio Riello, 'The Leather Industry in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France', *Historical Research*, 81:211 (2008), pp. 75-99. Giorgio Riello's study 'Strategies and Boundaries: Subcontracting and the London Trades in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Enterprise and Society*, 9:2 (2008), pp. 243-280 shows how important subcontracting was across a range of sectors in the production of commodities.

production of consumer goods.³⁶¹ A more efficient way to articulate production, some economic historians have viewed subcontracting as undermining the traditional control exercised by the livery companies which demanded the permanent engagement of workers regardless of the scale of demand.³⁶²

Wig making and hairdressing by its nature required an intimate relationship with customers and a strong sense of their needs and physical contact with their person, and as such did not lend itself to subcontracting in this way. This was arguably the same for other makers of apparel, such as tailors and stay makers, but the multiple steps involved in measuring, cutting and sewing a jacket or pair of stays meant that help was often sought and work ‘put-out’ to seamsters or needle-women.³⁶³ Wig making and hairdressing required one person to bring together the end product with an understanding of the precise measurements, head shape and style preferences of the individual. It was even common for small-scale wig makers to procure the hair themselves for use as needed, thus cutting out hair merchants. Unlike other makers of items of apparel, the chain from raw materials to final product could be very short indeed. This can be seen in the case of Edmund Harrold, a provincial wig maker operating in the Manchester area, who conducted all aspects of his business (from procuring the hair and making wigs to dealing with his customers) alone or with the help of his brother.³⁶⁴

³⁶¹ Matthew Craske, ‘Plan and Control: Design and the Competitive Spirit in Early and Mid-Eighteenth-Century England’, *Journal of Design History*, 12:3 (1999), p. 206.

³⁶² Geoffrey Crossick, *The Artisan and the European Town* (Aldershot: Scholar, 1997), p. 77; Craske, ‘Plan and Control’, p. 206.

³⁶³ Lynn Sorge-English, *Stays And Body Image In London: The Staymaking Trade, 1680-1810* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2011), p. 23.

³⁶⁴ See Craig Horner (ed.), *The Diary of Edmund Harrold, Wig maker of Manchester, 1712-1715* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

Despite the possibilities this model offered for working in a self-sufficient way, operating entirely in isolation was not always advantageous in a market that required networks built on reputation and the credit system in order to be economically sustainable. There is evidence that wig makers shared work when business was slow. Ede and Ravenscroft, the robe maker and the only major firm with origins in wig making still operating in England today, began as a small family business founded by wig maker Thomas Ravenscroft in 1726 and survived by going into partnership with a robe maker to manufacture high status ceremonial wigs and robes.³⁶⁵ On a smaller scale Edmund Harrold certainly had a very good relationship with at least one fellow wig maker to whom he would turn for work when necessary.³⁶⁶

Trade guides, written primarily for apprentices, are a useful source to view definitions of various trades through eighteenth-century eyes. Commonly the trade directories place the various branches of the hair trade within a hierarchical structure, according to the potential for earning afforded by each line of work.³⁶⁷ Advertisements, probate and other records show that this strict hierarchy was much more complex in reality, revealing an overlap between the different types of practitioners involved in the hair trade, with barbers, hairdressers and wig makers providing similar services, and supplementing their incomes through a diverse range of additional, unconnected trades.

³⁶⁵ Thomas Woodcock, *Legal Habits: A Brief Sartorial History of the Wig, Robe and Gown*, (London: GB Publications, 2003), p. 7.

³⁶⁶ Horner (ed.), *Diary*, p. xviii.

³⁶⁷ George Kearsley, *Kearsley's Table of Trades* (London: Printed for George Kearsley, 1786); Joseph Collyer, *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory* (London: Printed for R. Griffiths, 1769); T. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London: Printed for T. Gardner, 1747).

The trade directories examined here were published around the mid eighteenth century and defined three major types of hair practitioners: hair merchants, hair cutters and barbers. This is a utilitarian division based on economic value, and does not specifically encompass those who dealt in the more decorative aspect of the trade such as hairdressers and wig makers. The lack of reference to hairdressers and wig makers is perhaps a reflection of the traditional nature of the trade directories and relative speed with which wig making arrived in the marketplace and became a common occupation by the early decades of the eighteenth century, certainly in London.

Barbers were the most well-defined, established and organised of those working with hair, and had their own guilds in many large urban centres in England, going back to the fourteenth century.³⁶⁸ In London, guilds had been the primary way through which craftsmen were organised into groups and their production, distribution and supply controlled within the confines of the City and a radius of a couple of miles around it.³⁶⁹ The Worshipful Company of Barber-Surgeons of London was one such livery company, with roots going back to the fourteenth century. It was formally founded by agreement to amalgamate the Barbers Company and the Surgeons Guild in 1540, officially creating the Worshipful Company of

³⁶⁸ TNA C47/41/151, 'Lincoln Guild of Barbers' (1388); Bodleian Library, Western Manuscripts, MSS 31110-27, 'Oxford Company of Barbers' (1675-1859); Cheshire and Chester Archives, ZA/F/48e/24, 'Company of Barbers, Chirurgeons, and Tallow Chandlers of Chester' (1707); Shropshire Archives GB/NNAF/C17573, 'Shrewsbury Barber Chirurgeons and Chandlers Guild' (1440-1792); Tyne and Wear Archives, GU.BS, 31 Series, 'Incorporated Company of Barber Surgeons, Wax and Tallow Chandlers and Periwig Makers, Newcastle' (1616-1940s).

³⁶⁹ Crossick, *Artisan*, p.75.

Barber-Surgeons. The Act of Parliament that set out the terms of the amalgamation specifically addressed the activities a barber could legally undertake within the City:

no maner person within the citie of London suburbes of the same and one miles compasse of the sayde citie of London... or one myle circuite of the same citie of London he nor they nor none other for these to his or other use shall occupy any surgery letting of bloud, or any other thyng belonging to surgery drawing of teeth only excepte. And further more in lyke maner who so ever that useth the mistery or crafte of surgery within the circuit aforesaid, as long as he shall fortune to use the sayde maystery or crafte of surgerie shall in no wyse occupie nor exercise the feat or crafte of barbarie or shaving neither by hym selfe nor by non other for him to his or their use.³⁷⁰

This connection was not formally severed until 1745 when the barbers and surgeons parted company, not entirely happily for the barbers who had less financial resource and a lower social standing than the surgeons.³⁷¹

4.2 Organisation of the Hair Trade

As wig wearing began to gain popularity from the late 1660s, and wig makers began to increase in number, so the barbers began to find their control of the hair trade was no longer dominant. In this new, more competitive market, barbers needed to diversify and to demonstrate flexibility and willingness to learn new skills in

³⁷⁰ Sidney Young, *Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London* (London: Blades, East and Blades, 1890) p. 589.

³⁷¹ Jessie Dobson, and R. Miles Walker, *Barbers and Barber Surgeons on London: A History Of The Barbers' And Barber-Surgeons' Companies* (Oxford: Osney Mead, 1979) p. 60.

adopting this new branch of their trade. This is demonstrated in the newspapers and other forms of advertising material, which set out clearly their line of work and the skills they offered. Many styled themselves as both barbers and wig makers and appear to have operated interchangeably in both areas.³⁷² It is likely the precise apportionment of time would have been dictated by customers' requirements, though without detailed account books or other precise means by which to judge how they spent their time, we cannot know for sure how the work was divided on a daily basis. Edmund Harrold's diary shows that though he described himself as a barber, wig making was in fact his main occupation, and he was not engaged in other activities more commonly associated with a barber, such as blood-letting and shaving.³⁷³ It is likely that this was due to the high levels of competition for those services in his area. In some urban centres there were occurrences of wig makers joining up with other trades, which dealt with the by-products of living creatures. The Incorporated Company of Barber Surgeons, Wax and Tallow Chandlers and Periwig Makers of Newcastle - which might strike as an odd combination - gathered artisans dealing with human and animal bodily excrescences.³⁷⁴ Similar collaborations can be found elsewhere in England, such as the Company of Barber Surgeons and Tallow-Candlers in Chester.³⁷⁵

In London, the largest centre of fashion in England, the need to regulate the trade was perhaps greatest because of high competition. In 1709 the Worshipful

³⁷² See for example, *London Gazette*, Issue 6398, 14 August 1725; *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, Issue 1075, 10 April 1738; *London Evening Post*, Issue 2094, 11 April 1741.

³⁷³ Horner (ed.), *Diary*, p. xviii.

³⁷⁴ Tyne and Wear Archives, GU.BS, 31 Series, 'Incorporated Company of Barber Surgeons, Wax and Tallow Chandlers and Periwig Makers, Newcastle' (1616-1940s).

³⁷⁵ Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service, ZA/F/48b/43, 1704/5.

Company of Barber-Surgeons agreed to allow a petition to go to parliament asking for approval for the wig makers to be incorporated into the Company, an action that would require an Act of Parliament.³⁷⁶ The Company set up a Committee for Managing the Perukemakers Act of Parliament, comprising several members of the Company and two “on the perukemakers side”.³⁷⁷ The Committee sent a petition requesting the act of parliament to be drawn up, based on the understanding that wig making was an “encroachment upon the art of Barbery”, and describing the wig makers as being “of the other end of town”, and therefore to be kept as a distinct occupation.³⁷⁸ The petition asked that those who exercised “the art of Peruke making out of the Liberties of the City of London are not a corporate Body, nor under Order or Regulation... to bring in a Bill, whereby... the Peruke makers, within and without the Liberties of the City of London, may be incorporated with the said Company of Barbers and Surgeons of London”.³⁷⁹

The Company viewed wig making very much as a separate trade to that of barbers, without their long and established history. However, the agreement to go ahead with the petition suggests wig makers were seen as strong competition as they undertook a sufficient amount of business in the hair trade. The minutes of the committee meeting which made the decision to send the petition record a desire that the wig makers “might be brought under some government”.³⁸⁰ Incorporation would have had some benefit to both branches of the trade. Partnership would have formalised the activities that each was allowed to undertake, reducing the tension and

³⁷⁶ Worshipful Company of Barbers, B/1/7, (1707-1731), p. 47.

³⁷⁷ WCB, B/1/7, (1707-1731), p. 47.

³⁷⁸ Young, *Annals*, p. 151.

³⁷⁹ BPP, *Journals of the House of Commons*, 16 (16 November 1708-9 October 1711), 23 January 1709, Second Parliament of Great Britain: First Session, p. 273.

³⁸⁰ WCB, B/1/7 (1707-1731), p. 47.

allowing wig makers to gain the freedom of the City of London. Despite this, however, the Act did not pass a second reading in Parliament.³⁸¹ The reasons for this are not recorded, though it is likely Parliament did not consider the issue to be of sufficient economic importance to the national economy.

In Edinburgh, another fashionable centre, wig makers and barbers experienced similar difficulties in formalising their relationship and their place in the market. Tensions emerged around which activities each branch of the trade was permitted to undertake. The problems were framed around disagreement over who should maintain the rights to cut hair, and expressed through discussion as to the nature of hair. Ultimately, barbers achieved exclusive rights to cut hair on the basis that it was an extension of beard cutting, and well within their “particular province of the Human Body”.³⁸² As a result, wig makers could be fined £6 each time they were discovered cutting hair.

The wig makers countered the argument by suggesting that the hair of the head was quite a different substance to the beard, and that customers would not want to visit more than one establishment each time they wanted their hair dressed, or a wig fitted:

[if anyone] was whimsical enough to have a barber to cut his hair, and [a wig maker] to dress it, the consequence would be, that, what with cutting to spoil the dressing, and dressing to shape the cutting the poor patient would ... look like one of the mathematical inhabitants of Laputa [from Jonathan Swift's

³⁸¹ BPP, *Journals of the House of Commons*, 16 (16 November 1708-9 October 1711), p. 273.

³⁸² Hew Dalrymple, *Information for Hairdressers in Edinburgh against the Incorporation of Barbers* (Edinburgh: Printed for the Author, 1758), p. 1.

Gulliver's Travels], with the hair on the one side of his Head three inches shorter than that on the other.³⁸³

Barbers and wig makers, though connected through the overall purpose of their work, were very much divided by their understanding of the nature of hair. This tactic of dividing the human body into sections allowed them to assert ownership of these parts through the control of their distinctive occupations. The barbers referred to their customers as 'patients' throughout the debate, a notable reference to the holistic aspects of bodily interaction commonly undertaken by barbers. The discussion of the physical substance of hair resonates with the explanations of hair as being a humoural emanation and physical indicator of the internal bodily form, as discussed above. This understanding filtered from medical theory and practice to the corporeal act of cutting hair.

Unlike the barbers, the wig makers were able to organise their activities in close alignment with hair merchants, to the best advantage of each when necessary. In London, evidence suggests unofficial groups, representing both branches of the trade were organised to examine issues that affected both areas of the trade. There was a need to ensure that good practice was followed in the manner of binding hair for selling, to avoid adding weight through the use of too much thread. A "second general meeting of Hair-Sellers and Perriwig-makers... unanimously agreed that half an Ounce of Thread is sufficient to tie up 20 Ounces of Hair".³⁸⁴ This shows that partnerships formed when necessary between those operating distinctly as hair merchants, and as wig makers. This is perhaps not surprising considering both were

³⁸³ Ibid., p. 6.

³⁸⁴ *Evening Post*, Issue 2001, 24 May 1722.

part of the same spectrum in the selling and processing hair, and depended on each other for their livelihoods.

4.3 The Worshipful Company of Barber-Surgeons

The Worshipful Company of Barber-Surgeons is a useful example by which to further explore the development of barbers and wig makers, and how they operated in the English economy. Wig makers could join a livery company or guild if they were prepared to follow one of the three established channels: servitude (taking up a seven-year apprenticeship), patrimony (if their father was Free of the Company) or redemption (paying a fee in order to circumvent the first two options).³⁸⁵ Prior to the split with the surgeons in 1745, new members were recorded as either surgeons or barbers, with ‘barber’ being the default term for almost any non-surgical occupation, which could include an unknown number of wig makers.³⁸⁶ After 1745, a variety of other occupations are specified, though the continued absence of reference to wig maker suggests that ‘barber’ remained the default term for both.³⁸⁷ This means that it is not possible to assess the ratios of wig makers to barbers who were Free of the Company.

Whilst ‘barber’ makes up the majority of entries, entries for new members suggest they came from a spectrum of trades and levels of society, from those connected directly with wig making and fashion trade more generally, to those who

³⁸⁵ For a review of London Livery Companies from a variety of perspectives see Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis (eds), *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002).

³⁸⁶ WCB, C/9/1720-21, C/9/1739, ‘Quarterage Books’.

³⁸⁷ Thanks to Joy Thomas, Archivist at the Worshipful Company of Barbers for this information.

were distinct from both. The entries include hair merchants, perfumers, bleeders and instrument makers, as well as woollen drapers, haberdashers, silk weavers and milliners. Non-related professions included butchers, labourers, victuallers, watchmakers, chemists and apothecaries.³⁸⁸ This shows that the range of members was broad and certainly not confined to those in the hair trade, or indeed any aspect of the fashion trade.

There is a large body of research on the subject of early eighteenth-century trade organisation, which shows that the traditional model of apprentices, journeymen and masters as controlled by guilds was slowly undermined over the century and increasing numbers of tradesmen and artisans were working within the City, yet outside the remit of the guilds.³⁸⁹ Changes in the urban economy, new forms of labour organisation, and the increased social functions of the livery companies saw some of their control over the apprenticeship system decline.³⁹⁰

Evidence for the Barbers however, does not totally support this view. Records of the company show that the number of freemen and apprentices admitted increased over the course of the eighteenth century from an average of 48 freemen and 133 apprentices per year admitted between 1603 and 1674, to 75 freemen and

³⁸⁸ WCB, C/9/1748, C/9/1760, 'Quarterage Books'.

³⁸⁹ See for example Peter Earle, *A City Full of People: Men and Women of London 1650-1750* (London: Methuen, 1994); Gadd and Wallis, *Guilds, Society*; S.R. Epstein and Maarten Prak (eds), *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy, 1400-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) and Joan Lane, *Apprenticeship in England 1600-1914* (London: Routledge, 1995).

³⁹⁰ This somewhat narrow and often perpetuated history of the decline of Guilds has been questioned by some historians, notably in Cissie Fairchild, 'Three Views on the Guilds', *French Historical Studies*, 15 (1988), pp 688-92. See also Epstein and Prak (eds), *Guilds, Innovation*.

162 apprentices between 1674 and 1745.³⁹¹ Even after the split, we see an average of 40 freemen and 60 apprentices per year. Whilst these numbers are very small in comparison with those of the large livery companies such as the Mercers, Drapers or Clothworkers, they do point to a steady flow of indentured apprentices in the hair trade.³⁹²

The Company also had a controlling gaze on the activities of barbers within the City in the first decades of the eighteenth century. Certainly they actively pursued a considerable number of barbers working within the City, for not being free of the City, or for working on a Sunday.³⁹³ Court minutes show that the Company adopted different approaches to the perpetrators depending on the circumstances of the individual case. The Company minutes show many such cases, such as that of Anthony Harris, who was found keeping a barber's shop whilst not being free of the Company. He was fined six guineas, having claimed he had already served a seven-year apprenticeship in Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire.³⁹⁴ The fine would likely have been larger, but as he had previously undertaken an apprenticeship outside the City, he could be admitted as a Foreign Brother. If no apprenticeship had been served the penalties were much harsher, such as in the case of Henry Drudge who was discovered keeping a shop in Blackfriars: payment of a fine was demanded, and the barber was ordered to cease operating in the City. Three months after his initial warning, Drudge was fined, having continued to operate in Blackfriars.³⁹⁵ Individual details of these cases are not recorded, however, the mention of "a complaint being

³⁹¹ Young, *Annals*, p. 259.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 259.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

³⁹⁴ WCB, B/1/7, (1707-1731), p. 30.

³⁹⁵ WCB, B/1/7, (1707-1731), p. 48.

made to this court against Henry Drudge...” suggests that barbers who were free of the City took an active part in monitoring their fellow traders, at least in part.³⁹⁶

4.4 The Growth of the Hair Trade

Daniel Defoe asserted in 1727 that there were 30,000 barbers and wig makers based in London alone.³⁹⁷ This figure may not be such an exaggeration, especially considering that population estimates indicate that c. 87,000 people lived within the city walls, but over half a million in the entire metropolis in the mid eighteenth century.³⁹⁸ The figure also reflects the growth of the more decorative aspects of the hair trade during this time. Certainly studies show the same visible growth in France, where the profession was regulated, enabling more accurate record keeping.³⁹⁹ Despite this increase in visibility of wig makers, however, they are notably absent from trade manuals, which commonly discussed three categories of hair traders: barbers, hair-cutters and hair merchants.

Barbers had been familiar figures in trade since before the formation of the Company of Barber-Surgeons in 1540, and continued to be so after the company split to become the Worshipful Company of Barbers in 1745. According to Campbell in *The London Tradesman*, “as a barber, he reckons himself of an old profession,

³⁹⁶ WCB, B/1/7, (1707-1731), p. 48.

³⁹⁷ Daniel Defoe, *The Compleat English Tradesman* (London: Printed for Charles Rivington, 1727), p. 165.

³⁹⁸ Dorothy M. George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Kegan Paul & Co., 1925), p. 319; Crossick, *Artisan*, p. 77.

³⁹⁹ Michael Kwass, ‘A Wig History of Consumption’, *American Historical Review*, 111:3 (2006), p. 635 suggests the number of master wig makers grew more than four times over between 1673 and 1765.

though I cannot justly settle his Chronology”.⁴⁰⁰ Despite this, many barbers must have been adaptive enough to take on new skills or at least to see a commercial opportunity when it presented itself, since many barbers included wig maker in their occupation.⁴⁰¹ The fact that hairdressers are not mentioned as a separate occupation in trade directories, despite the numerous guides and treatises written for and by hairdressers in the eighteenth century, suggests that hairdressing did not come to be seen as a profession in its own right until the decline of the wig, when wig makers moved on to dressing real hair for a larger proportion of their time.

The increase in the popularity of the wig provided sufficient market for barbers to diversify into wig making, and for the emergence of large numbers of wig makers. This connection of the role of barber and wig maker was less apparent in Paris, where wig makers were obliged to enrol in the Guild of Barber-Wig makers (created in 1673), and largely operated within a very defined role.⁴⁰² They were ordered to use a ‘marmot’ as their shop sign - an old wig nailed to a wooden-head, not the traditional basin sign which could only be used by a barber.⁴⁰³

In London, wig makers (in common with other trades), tended to group in particular areas of the town. In *The Compleat Tradesman* (1727), Daniel Defoe complains that various types of traders had taken over areas of town, and that Cornhill was filled with the “meanest trades such as coffee houses, Perriwig makers,

⁴⁰⁰ R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London: T. Gardner, 1747), p. 204.

⁴⁰¹ See for example: TNA PROB 11/651/204, ‘Will of John Crouch, Barber and Periwig Maker of Bath, Somerset’ (1732), and other similarly cited; TNA PROB 11/623/213, ‘Will of William Darling, Barber and Periwig Maker of Potten, Bedfordshire’ (1728); TNA PROB 11/825/339, ‘Will of Peter Ellames, Barber and Periwig Maker, City of London’ (1756).

⁴⁰² Kwass, ‘Big Hair’, p. 635.

⁴⁰³ Stevens Cox (ed.), *Garsault*, p. 32 shows that wig makers in France did not have traditional barbers’ basins over their shops to show beard cutting was not part of their work.

pattern-shops and pastry cooks”.⁴⁰⁴ High demand was likely to have been seasonal, as it was common for the higher social classes, who would have employed servants to dress their hair or make their wigs, to leave the city during the summer.⁴⁰⁵

4.5 Diversification of the hair trade

The high prices fetched for human hair suggests that there were good business opportunities available to a small number of hair merchants, though the hair trade in general was not particularly affluent. Wig makers often resorted to supplementing their incomes through trading in other materials, as can be seen from probate accounts and documents describing occupation such as judges’ reports and Home Office correspondence. Small-scale wig makers are referred to variously as “Peruke maker and dealer in Hair and Corn” (1756), “peruke maker, baker and keeper of a public house” (1743) and “barber, peruke maker and public house keeper” (1745).⁴⁰⁶ The Manchester wig maker Edmund Harrold details how he supplemented his wig making work with that of book-selling.⁴⁰⁷

It was considered less acceptable for a city wig maker to become known for more than one specialism. A comment in the *Morning Post* suggests those who claimed more than one profession were viewed with a level of mistrust:

⁴⁰⁴ Defoe, *Tradesman*, p. 165.

⁴⁰⁵ Earle, *City*, p. 13; Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde; Fashionable Society in Georgian London*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 65.

⁴⁰⁶ TNA, T1/370/27, ‘Memorial of John Brooks, Peruke Maker and Dealer in Hair and Corn’, 1756; PROB 31/237/475, ‘Isaac Dod, of Camberwell Surrey, Baker and Peruke Maker and Keeper of a Public House’, 1743; PROB 31/260/412, ‘Edmund Foley, Barber, Peruke Maker and Public House Keeper’, 1745.

⁴⁰⁷ Horner (ed.), *Diary*, p. xxiii.

Many remarks are made of men assuming a variety of callings in places remote from the capital, but if such things be at all worthy of observation, they are surely more remarkable when in the vicinage of the metropolis, and there can be few more peculiarly observable than one within a hundred yards of Blackfriars Bridge whose shew-board has the inscriptions of Grocer, Tea-man, Cheesemonger, Oil and Pickle-man, Hardware Seller, Dentist, Phlebotomist, Hairdresser, Peruke maker and Perfumer.⁴⁰⁸

This may be an exaggerated account, but it highlights the risks to a good reputation of maximising output through offering a plurality of services.

Entrepreneur Richard Arkwright (1732 - 92) began his career as a peruke maker in Bolton, and experienced a modest amount of success, though he also chose to diversify. In 1762 he applied for a licence to run an inn, at the same time as operating his peruke making service.⁴⁰⁹ He is documented as spending time in the 1760s travelling the country buying human hair to sell to wig makers, as well as developing a “chemical” method of dyeing hair that made it “the best in the country”.⁴¹⁰

There were also a great many wig makers who stayed strictly within the hair industry but practised more than one branch of the trade. It is common to find those advertising themselves in almost any conceivable combination of peruke maker, hair cutter, hairdresser and barber, and very often selling the accoutrements of the trade

⁴⁰⁸ *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, Issue 2458, 9 September 1780.

⁴⁰⁹ R. S. Fitton, *The Arkwrights, Spinners Of Fortune*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989) p. 9.

⁴¹⁰ Richard Guest, *A Compendious History of the Cotton-Manufacture; with a Disproval of the Claim of Sir Richard Arkwright to the Invention of its Ingenious Machinery* (Manchester: Printed by Joseph Pratt, 1823) p. 21.

alongside.⁴¹¹ Less common, but still visible, were those describing themselves as hair merchants and peruke makers. This need to advertise suggests a buoyant market for the services of hair practitioners and associated hair products, certainly within the London market.

Whilst a fairly clear picture exists for London, more provincial practitioners such as Edmund Harrold in Manchester (who undertook activities of both a hair merchant and a wig maker) would have had less scope to advertise their services. There were no local newspapers, and little survives of the printed material from the period. Harrold operated within a smaller community in which he established a network of customers from across the spectrum of Manchester society.⁴¹² As long as he maintained a good reputation, the work came to him via word-of-mouth and networks of customers (who were largely local friends or acquaintances) that he built up through his life in the town, and travelling relatively large distances to procure hair. He described himself primarily as a barber, though in addition to shaving he also cut hair and made wigs. He also undertook some duties more commonly associated with barber-surgeons.⁴¹³

Many wig makers and barbers diversified their trade by cutting and sourcing hair. Others managed to stay in production by complementing wig making with other avenues of business altogether. In his diary Edmund Harrold discusses travelling in the regions to collect hair, thus fulfilling the role of barber, wig maker and small-scale merchant. Undoubtedly, travelling to procure hair would have broadened his trading networks, increasing the opportunity to buy and sell books, and helped him to

⁴¹¹ See for example *General Advertiser*, Issue 5236, 1 August 1751.

⁴¹² Horner (ed.), *Diary*, p. xix.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, see pp. 9, 37 and 63 for references to Edmund Harrold undertaking this type of work.

maintain good lines of credit. The diary of Joseph Hill, a Stratford-Upon-Avon wig maker operating in the early eighteenth century, shows that he maintained a smallholding and sold pigs and produce to supplement his income.⁴¹⁴ It is unknown how this division of labour was organised in terms of time and expenditure, but it is likely that from the middle of the eighteenth century many wig makers would have needed supplementary forms of income, particularly those who had not previously traded as barbers.

4.6 The Emergence of the Hairdresser

No variation on the word 'hairdressing' is used in the trade directories, even those published in the middle of the eighteenth century, suggesting it was not sufficiently recognisable as an occupation in the form we would recognise today. Possibly the nearest in function would be the 'hair cutter', which is rated as a trade by the directories within both an urban and rural context. There is a category for 'hair cutter' in *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory* (1761) where Joseph Collyer rates hair cutters as the lowest in the hierarchy of the hair trade since they require "almost no education but compliant and insinuating behaviour".⁴¹⁵ *Kearsley's Table of Trades* (1753) gives the figure of £2-£5 for the apprentice fee and £10-£50 to "set up in business".⁴¹⁶ Whilst these figures are fairly broad, they are lower in range than the figures given for barbers and hair merchants, suggesting those branches of the trade were less likely to command a high income throughout their working life.

⁴¹⁴ Joseph Palmer, 'Joseph Hill: The Diary of a Stratford Upon Avon Wig Maker', *Warwickshire History*, 6:6 (1980-81), p. 192.

⁴¹⁵ Collyer, *Parent and Guardian's Directory*, p. 159.

⁴¹⁶ Kearsley, *Table of Trades*, p. 9.

According to Collyer, a hair cutter could charge between 6*d* and one shilling for cutting and curling at the customer's home, but between one shilling and half a crown within his own premises.⁴¹⁷ Joseph Hill noted prices for a hair cut at his customer's home, and how he regularly travelled into the surrounding villages to perform his services.⁴¹⁸ In the urban context, hair cutters had access to premises in which to undertake their trade, as seen in an advertisement for a hair cutter who "cuts hair on Monday, Wednesdays and Saturdays, at his House the Sign of the Three Pidgeons, over-against Norfolk street in the Strand".⁴¹⁹ Whilst trade manuals placed hair cutting in a category distinct from barbers and wig makers, and the low set-up costs suggest cheap and unskilled work, there were those calling themselves hair cutters who offered a more accomplished, artful service:

... John Townsend who served his Apprenticeship with Mr. William Bumstead, late Hair-cutter on Dowgate-Hill, hath taken the said Mr. Bumstead's shop where he follows the said Art of Hair-Cutting, any ladies may have their hair cut, or their Childrens, after the best Manner, either at their own houses or at his shop at very reasonable prices.⁴²⁰

Illustration 4.1 shows the trade card of Thomas Brown, a hair cutter who operated out of fixed premises and offered fashionable hair cuts and wig making. His card suggests a sophisticated service, which would have appealed to those of both sexes who wanted to look fashionable and refined. The circular labels at the bottom would

⁴¹⁷ Collyer, *Parent's and Guardian's Directory*, p. 159.

⁴¹⁸ Palmer, 'Joseph Hill', p. 192.

⁴¹⁹ *London Journal*, Issue 146, 26 May 1722.

⁴²⁰ *Daily Post*, Issue 1909, 6 November 1725; LMA SC/GL/TCC/BRI/-BUT, 'Trade Card of Thomas Brown, Peruke Maker and Hair Cutter, Bearbinder Lane, London', c. 1720.

have been cut out and fixed inside his wigs to ensure his name was recognisable to his customers, and to act as a constant reminder of his service.

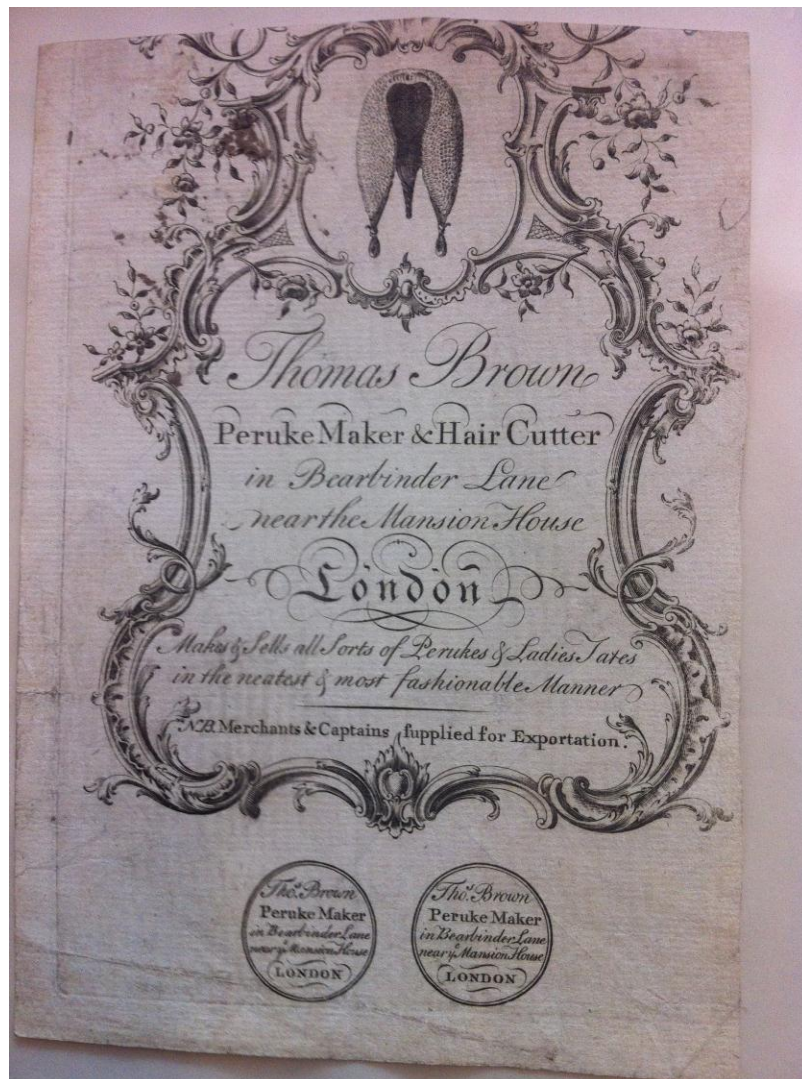


Illustration 4.1. Trade Card of Thomas Brown, Peruke Maker and Hair Cutter, Bearbinder Lane, London, (c. 1720). LMA, SC/GL/TCC/BRI

John Townsend highlighting his apprenticeship and the ‘art of hair cutting’ suggests a certain skill that had been learned over a period of time, and that hair cutters saw their profession as a creative craft at the centre of the fashionable world, and took an active role in keeping up to date with the latest fashions in hairstyles. High society was a common source of inspiration, and they could keep up with the latest styles exhibited at society functions, as can be seen in the case of George

Wakeman, a hairdresser indicted for pick pocketing at the Old Bailey in 1790, who claimed:

...that he was (as is customary for hairdressers) going to see the present fashions, it being the queen's birthday.⁴²¹

A search of newspaper advertisements and probate records shows that the term hairdresser was not used commonly until the 1780s. The database of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century newspapers in the Burney Collection at the British Library provides less than 50 unique mentions of hairdressers until 1779, leaping to nearly 700 in the last two decades of the eighteenth century. This clearly reflects the changing fashions as wig-wearing was very much on the wane.⁴²² The same pattern had been followed in France a couple of decades before. By the 1760s, it is estimated that 1,200 male hairdressers operated in Paris and the wig makers, who were constrained by the guilds, felt that the hairdressers were evading such restrictions and taking all the business.⁴²³

By 1780, adverts for hairdressers in London newspapers were regularly posted by individuals seeking a valet with the ability to dress hair or wigs, and by individuals advertising themselves as valets offering such skills. The ability to dress ladies or gentleman's hair is mentioned regularly in such advertisements for valets or butlers.⁴²⁴ This shows how important well-dressed hair was within the section of

⁴²¹ TNA HO 47/12/63. 'Report of John William Rose, Recorder of London, on 1 Individual Petition...', 1790.

⁴²² *Public Advertiser*, Issue 10979, 18 January 1770; *Daily Advertiser*, Issue 13758, 24 January 1775; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, Issue 16715, 9 July 1782).

⁴²³ Jennifer Jones, *Sexing La Mode: Gender, Fashion And Commercial Culture In Old Regime France* (Berg: Oxford, 2004), p. 89.

⁴²⁴ *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, Issue 86, 8 February 1781; *World and Fashionable Advertiser*, Issue 56, 6 March 1787; *World*, Issue 745, 21 May 1787).

society that could afford to employ at least one member of staff. It suggests also that at that level there was still a market for dressing hair within the home, rather than making a visit to a hairdresser's shop, and that hairdressers were common enough as peripheral members of a household to come and go with relative freedom. Indeed, in 1788 hairdresser John Miller was convicted for stealing a waistcoat and a pair of stockings from a house after he had been let in as a hairdresser.⁴²⁵

4.7 How Lucrative was the Hair Trade?

Hair merchants undertook the biggest breadth of work, and as such maintained the widest trading networks and were often the largest employers of all the hair related occupations. However, they could have supplied other trades as well as wig makers, such as button makers, furniture makers and manufacturers of household goods. The larger merchants employed 'pickers' to sort through the hair and select the best quality, arrange it into colours and wind it onto rollers for curling.⁴²⁶ Some merchants were wholesalers who sold the hair untreated, creating therefore a crossover between wig makers and barbers undertaking the preparation of the raw material for themselves.⁴²⁷

Manuals concerned with the physical process of wig making describe a process that could be undertaken on a very small scale, bringing together elements (such as the net caul, combs and pipe-clay curlers) produced and supplied

⁴²⁵ TNA HO 47/9/13, 'Thomas Grose, Convicted at December Sessions', 1789.

⁴²⁶ Campbell, *London Tradesman*, p. 206.

⁴²⁷ Collyer, *Parent's and Guardian's Directory*, p. 159.

externally.⁴²⁸ This fits in with the model of the barber and hairdresser as an ‘intimate’ profession. Therefore a wig maker needed to be small scale to attract customers, yet maintain broad communication and credit networks with other trades to enable continued production. Even when the wig maker processed the hair himself, he still only required a cooking pot and a stove, and a small vice and some iron cards.⁴²⁹ Wig making lent itself perfectly to small-scale production. A larger scale of manufacture presumably took place in certain cases - such as supplying the military with wigs, though even that practice had been largely abolished by 1808.⁴³⁰

Wig making was not a lucrative line of business for many, hence the need to practice alternative trades as discussed above. Peter Earle’s study of individual wealth as declared in court depositions, found that two barbers and peruke makers fell within the category of those claiming to be worth £100 (a range which included other trades such as book-keeper, coachman, sailor, shoemaker and tobacconist), two appearing in the £1,000 bracket.⁴³¹ Comparative data for other occupations shows the barber to be near the bottom in terms of the value of his assets, with only the poulterer, cutler and apothecary below.⁴³² Clearly the numbers of individuals here are too small to make any broad judgements about the wealth of wig makers or barbers, but it is significant that there seems to be a broad range of personal wealth, suggesting that wig making did not have to be a lowly occupation.

⁴²⁸ Stevens Cox (ed.), *Garsault; James Stewart, Plocacosmos: or, The Whole Art of Hairdressing* (London: Printed for the Author, 1782).

⁴²⁹ Stevens Cox (ed.), *Wigmakers’ Art*, p. 8.

⁴³⁰ Penelope Byrde, *The Male Image: Men’s Fashion in Britain 1300-1970* (London: Batsford 1979), p. 167.

⁴³¹ Earle, *City*, p. 106.

⁴³² Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life In London 1660-1730* (London: Methuen, 1989), p.109.

Trade directories supply information as to the cost of establishing oneself within particular professions. All trades in the directories are given standard and broad costs and are therefore only really useful as general comparisons. However, the directories suggest that hair merchants had the potential to be the most lucrative branch of the hair trade (and therefore the most expensive in which to become established). *Kearsleys' Table of Trades* quotes £100- £1,000 to start trading, whilst Campbell goes as high as £2,000.⁴³³ Even the latter figure is not at the high end of start-up costs, with drapers, hosiers, brewers and mercers all expecting to pay more than double that sum.⁴³⁴ Those looking to set themselves as hair merchants would find themselves in the same league as a haberdasher, coachmaker or grocer. It is likely that sums in this league would have been difficult for many to procure, and a combination of parental support, a marriage dowry and a partnership arrangement may have been the means by which the necessary sums could be raised.⁴³⁵

There is an obvious discrepancy between the top and bottom figures, perhaps reflecting the fact that the title of hair merchant could equally apply to anyone from country chapmen to affluent London traders, and to the difference in fortunes that this suggests.⁴³⁶ Certainly hair merchants could operate on a very large-scale, as in the example of John Brooks of Holborn who in 1756 records dealing in parcels of

⁴³³ Kearsley, *Table of Trades*, p. 9; Campbell, *London Tradesman*, p. 333.

⁴³⁴ Earle, *Making of the English Middle Class*, p. 107.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁴³⁶ It should be noted all trades in the directories are given standard and broad costs and are therefore only really useful as general comparisons. Those for barbers and wig makers are broadly the same as the majority of trades, while hair merchants rank among the most expensive.

French hair worth £90,000.⁴³⁷ Harvey Spragge, recorded as a Hair and Silk Merchant, was said to have died leaving a fortune of £30,000 in 1733.⁴³⁸ Again, however, it is worth noting that Brooks and Spragge may have been supplying manufacturers of many different products including buttons, brushes and material for clothes or mattresses.

Richard Arkwright was a well-known example of success in the trade. An account given in 1799 by a contemporary of Arkwright's in Bolton suggests that he had made a success of the trade, though on a far more modest scale than later success would bring:

...he might now be considered in a comfortable situation; he had a decent House... and his friends and acquaintance... were persons of no mean consideration in the town, but such a were in Superior Stations to himself...he was always thought clever in his peruke making business and very capital in Bleeding and toothdrawing...⁴³⁹

Arguably, Arkwright's later success may have coloured this account somewhat, but it is clear that he maintained a good living from the business for some years.

Not all those who operated in the hair trade experienced such success. An example of which can be found in the case of William Bond, a peruke maker and barber executed in 1721 for returning illegally after being transported for stealing books. The Ordinary's accounts say:

he quickly perceiv'd that it would not be in his power to procure a maintenance from it [his profession]: that no body that had not felt the sorrow

⁴³⁷ TNA T1/370/27, 'Memorial of John Brooks, Peruke Maker and Dealer in Hair and Corn...', (1756).

⁴³⁸ *St James Evening Post*, Issue 2752, 16 January (1733).

⁴³⁹ Quoted in Fitton, *Arkwrights*, p.7.

could guess at the dismal uneasiness and distraction of mind that tortures a man who has a wife and children he loves like himself and finds he shall nothing wherewith to make them happy; but must be deaf to them when they urge him for victuals and cloaths and the common necessities of life.⁴⁴⁰

The potential productivity of an individual wig maker operating a small-scale business is another useful indication of how feasible it was to make a living from the hair trade. It is difficult to get a clear picture of the output of a typical practitioner, especially as it seems they seem to have operated under quite different circumstances, and in this sense there is no 'typical' eighteenth-century wig maker. Edmund Harrold often recorded when he started and finished a wig in any given month, which provides an idea as to what might be his typical levels of production. In June and July 1712 he recorded having made five wigs each month, as well as travelling the countryside to examine (yet not always buy) hair. He also used his time buying hair and wigs, curling wigs, cutting hair and shaving heads, as well as buying and selling books.⁴⁴¹ However, on other occasions he may have produced even more: "Finished ye 2d wigg this w[ee]k and opened 2 more".⁴⁴² Of course, Harrold does not describe every action pertaining to his business so we cannot be sure about his total output that would have largely been driven by the orders he received from customers.

⁴⁴⁰ Old Bailey Online, 'Ordinary's Account', 8 February (1721).

⁴⁴¹ Horner (ed.), *Diary*, pp. 1-24 Harrold describes buying 6 wigs in the June, and 1 in the July.

⁴⁴² Horner (ed.), *Diary*, p. 89.

4.8 The Politics of Hair

Concerns about the provenance of hair, rapidly changing fashions and making a living were not the only factors that had an impact upon the life of those in the hair trade. Hair was also affected by politics, and as such it is useful to consider the implications of government action on the commodification of hair.

The view is commonly held amongst fashion historians that the hair powder tax of 1795 was the pivotal cause for the decline of wig wearing.⁴⁴³ However, the evidence set out in this thesis suggests that wig wearing had not been popular for several decades leading up to the new tax, and that the market for wig makers had been reducing for some time. From the late 1760s, an increasing number of men were wearing their own hair tied back and powdered, or augmenting with hairpieces. This thesis therefore suggests that concerns about the nature and provenance of hair, as well shifts in style brought about by changing attitudes to the natural world, were more important factors in the decline of the wig. However, the use of hair powder remained popular to the end of the eighteenth century, which explains the interest of the state in realising that there could be significant taxes to be levied at those who wore it. Legislation played a part in bringing about the ultimate demise of powdered hair, in a market that was vulnerable to the prevailing economic and legal status to which hair and its various accoutrements were subjected.

As the main component of hair powder, starch was imported and exported frequently. Hair powder is recorded separately in port books, often alongside larger quantities of starch, because it was often transported ready made to avoid the higher

⁴⁴³ See: Lynn Festa, 'Personal Effects: Wigs and Possessive Individualism in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth Century Life*, 29:2 (2005), p. 79.

duties levied on starch. It was important to obtain the right weight and consistency in starch, and as such quality was important. ‘Poland Starch’, originally from Hamburg but latterly manufactured in England, was a by-word for quality in starch due to its “fine, clear quality”.⁴⁴⁴ Duties on starch were therefore increased, so transporting it ready made would disguise the proportions of starch and avoid additional duties. This ruse did not go unnoticed however:

...Starch made in this Kingdom is liable to the Payment of several Duties by way of Excise, to evade the Payment whereof, several considerable Quantities of Starch, ground into Powder, have of late been fraudulently imported from beyond Sea, under the Denomination of Hair-Powder, to the Prejudice of the Revenue and Ruin of the Starch-Makers.⁴⁴⁵

Purity was a common theme around which legislation related to hair and hair powder was based, as seen in the penalties levied against the mixing of hair discussed above. This theme was picked up again in a 1753 petition to the Treasury, *Barbers Peruke Makers of the Cities of London and Westminster, Borough of Southwark and Places adjacent*, a request that the duty on starch should be reduced.⁴⁴⁶ Starch was a key component in the production of hair powder, and thus its price was a significant issue for all branches of the hair trade. The Act of Parliament against which the petition protested was to “prevent Frauds in the Revenue of Excise with respect to Starch, Coffee, Tea and Chocolate, The Makers and Sellers of Hair-Powder who make any

⁴⁴⁴ Charles Lillie, *The British Perfumer* (London: George Routledge, 1822), p. 9.

⁴⁴⁵ Anon., *An Abridgment of Such Statutes Now in Force, Relating to His Majesty's Customs* (Edinburgh: James Watson, 1718), p. 196.

⁴⁴⁶ TNA, T1/349/53, ‘Papers from the Excise Office: Report of the Commissioners for Excise on the Memorial of the Barbers Peruke Makers of London Requesting that the Duty on Starch, Used in the Manufacture of Hair Powder, be Reduced’ (1753).

such Powder with other Materials than Starch or Powder of Starch”.⁴⁴⁷ Those found using or selling starch powder would pay a penalty of £20, and forfeit their stock.

Starch was subjected to a duty of two pence per pound, more than double its intrinsic value, and the Act sought to protect this revenue and the interests of farmers by reducing the amount of wheat used to make starch. The Memorial to the Treasury suggests that the high cost of the duty encouraged the making, selling and use of the prohibited materials, and that wheat was commonly exported, used to make starch more cheaply abroad, and smuggled back into England to avoid the duty. The rhetoric of those against the tax followed the usual lines, attacking the rigorous way in which the penalties had been imposed and ruined families at a time when trade was suffering:

the general decay of the Barber’s Trade and the Poverty of the Traders render[s] it impossible for the greater part of them to comply with the Intention of the said Act.⁴⁴⁸

The petitioners requested the duty was lowered by a quarter, to half a penny per pound in order to stimulate the market for pure starch, and also suggested that the same duty be levied on “whiting” (chalk), which was a primary component of “sophisticated hair powder”.⁴⁴⁹ The matter was referred to His Majesty’s Committee of Excise with the recommendation that the duty was lowered to one pence per pound for hair powder, but that no duty be levied on whiting since:

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

the Makers of Whiting are persons of low and narrow circumstances, their whole stock and utensils being of very little Value, that many of them work in the Chalk pits under Ground.⁴⁵⁰

The price of whiting was so low that the suggested tax would be likely to encourage yet more fraud in adulterating its purity.

Legislation could be used both ways, and the wig makers themselves attempted to use it for their own purposes in the mid eighteenth century when wigs were beginning to disappear from fashionable use and their livelihood was under threat. Fashion was fundamental to wig makers and they were particularly vulnerable to changes in taste, style and custom. The 1764 petition presented to the government, was deeply concerned that the fashion for false hair was on the wane, a group of wig makers presented a petition to the King expressing concerns that the once flourishing trade had reduced thousands of barbers and wig makers to “a truly deplorable condition” and “wishing perukes may soon be as much a fashion as the wearing of hair is at present”.⁴⁵¹ An account in the *Gentleman's Magazine* supports this account, telling that the “master peruke makers” presented the petition in February 1765 on the basis that:

...the French hairdressers continually pouring in upon this nation...which the British people are inclined to prefer French skill and taste in every article of dress.⁴⁵²

Despite their protestation that wearing one's own hair was ruining their profession, the wig makers were accused of hypocrisy in not wearing wigs themselves. This incensed observers to such a degree a story was told many decades later of how the

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁵¹ Worshipful Company of Barbers, ‘Court Minutes’, B/1/10 1764-1778, p.30.

⁴⁵² *Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1765, p. 95.

crowd had forcefully cut off the wig makers' hair during the march to Parliament to present the petition.⁴⁵³ Regardless of the reliability of this account, it is clear that sympathy was distinctly lacking in other quarters also, notably the Worshipful Company of Barbers, which though claiming to observe with concern the "decay of the peruke making trade as it is connected by usage to that of barbery", ultimately refused assistance to the wig makers on the grounds that "the charter of this company do not extend to the peruke making business" and refused the wig makers any support.⁴⁵⁴

The issue of hair powder and its intrinsic value was a significant one, which did not disappear. Because it was used in almost all aspects of the hairdressing ritual, whether false hair or real, it was possible to use at least a pound of hair powder on a single hairstyle.⁴⁵⁵ The law stated that hair powder had to be made from starch, so there was a great deal of revenue to be made. The issue next arose in William Pitt's 'Hair powder tax' of 1795. At a time when England had suffered recent defeat in war with the Low Countries, and was seeking to raise significant revenue to maintain the army, a tax on hair powder was considered a useful means by which to raise an estimated £210,000 a year.⁴⁵⁶

Debates following the introduction of the Hair Powder tax refer to the wearing of powder on one's own hair, and not to wig wearing. However, there is some evidence the legislation may have led to a brief resurgence in wig wearing, at

⁴⁵³ Edward Walford, 'St James St And Neighbourhood', *Old and New London: Volume 4* (1878), pp. 165-81.

⁴⁵⁴ Worshipful Company of Barbers, 'Court Minutes', B/1/10 (1764-1778), p. 38.

⁴⁵⁵ John Barrell, *The Spirit Of Despotism: Invasions Of Privacy In The 1790s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 148.

⁴⁵⁶ Barrell, *Despotism*, p. 147.

least amongst the servant classes. In 1795, the *Morning Post* made the following announcement:

The Duke of Norfolk, the Premier Duke of England, has set an example which we hope will be universally adopted. His Grace has relinquished hair powder on the principle that its use contributes to the means of prosecuting a destructive and ruinous War, and he has actually given directions, last week, to an eminent Wig-maker to provide thirty of his servants with two wigs each, which he gives them as a present, as he is determined not to suffer any person in his suit or family, to subscribe to a War which his Grace, with every rational man in the Country, reprobates.⁴⁵⁷

Returning to wigs was clearly a cheaper alternative to using hair powder, and as one of the few remaining social groups to be visibly wearing them, wigs retained a useful function as part of a uniform.

4.9 Conclusion

The hair trade was officially made up of three primary branches: hair cutter, barber and hair merchant, all of which profited from the use of human hair as a commodity. Wig making on such a scale was a new phenomenon, and as such wig makers were never formally incorporated into the Worshipful Company of Barbers in London, though they were recognised as a branch of the trade in their own right by the barbers, as seen by their attempts at incorporation. Such was the importance of hair as a raw material, and the creation of appearances, many hundreds of wig makers

⁴⁵⁷ *Morning Post and Fashionable World*, Issue 7250, 27 April 1795.

came into operation throughout England, either independently or through the apprenticeship system. Many were involved in more than one aspect of the trade, and often combined it with entirely different professions. Hair was a valuable commodity, and as such was a subject of interest to the government throughout the course of the eighteenth century. Those working in the trade were therefore frequently affected by government action.

Hairdressing developed as a profession alongside wig making, eventually taking over dominance of the trade when wig wearing declined in the latter decades of the eighteenth century. Hairdressing seems to have been more closely associated with the beauty trade, while wig making considered more of a necessity. The two trades differed in one key aspect: that of their approach to hair as a commodity. Hairdressing was the act of transforming, and perhaps adding some embellishment, to hair that remained on the head. As such, hairdressers did not use hair in quite the same way as those who bought and sold disembodied hair as a commodity to make wigs.

The next section will explore the place of hair in a society that enabled wig wearing to rise to fashionable prominence in the eighteenth century. It will shift the focus from those who were sourcing hair and making wigs to the people who were buying and wearing wigs, during a period when attitudes towards hair were fundamentally connected to those of body, health and medicine.

PART THREE:

Consuming Hair

PART THREE: Consuming Hair

CHAPTER FIVE

Wearing Hair: Strategies of Use

This section considers the implications of wearing false hair. Turning from the practitioners to the consumers, it explores the variety of uses for wigs in order to explore the cultural place of hair within eighteenth century society. Hair played a central role in the eighteenth-century, signalling cultural and gender difference, and the “staging of the self” through fashionable styling.⁴⁵⁸ The eighteenth century is seen by some scholars as an important period for the development of what came to be recognised in western society as the notion of identity and ‘self’. Historians have explored the idea of the ‘self’ as both a philosophical concept, and regarding the construction of identity and creation of a public persona.⁴⁵⁹ Contemporary understanding of the physical nature of hair had a strong influence on the creation of the self, as the colour, length and provenance of hair were all understood to convey meaning about the wearer. This chapter explores the shapes and styles of wigs, and the parallel fashion of elaborate hairstyles (defined here as the forming of natural hair into a stylised construction to achieve a desired image) to discern what they tell us about the display of the self in eighteenth-century England.

⁴⁵⁸ Angela Rosenthal, ‘Raising Hair’, *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 38:1 (2004), pp. 1-16.

⁴⁵⁹ On the development of the self see for example: Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Raymond Martin, and John Barresi (eds), *Naturalisation of the Soul: Self and Personal Identity in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Routledge, 2000); Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

5.1 Health and the Maintenance of Cleanliness

The need to display healthy looking, long hair to appear fashionable and young was embedded in a society that understood hair to reflect the inner health and regime of its owner. An important part of this was looking neat and clean, a quality wearing a wig could help achieve, as advised in this 1731 instructive poem *Servitude*:

Tis true, internal Qualities conduce
To greater Ends, and are of greater Use
Than those which only serve for outward Show
As powder'd Wiggs, clean Shirts, and such like do:
Yet these are necessary, and 'tis fit,
That those, whom Time and Business will permit,
Appear before their Masters always clean and neat.⁴⁶⁰

Though acknowledging that superficial items such as wigs and clean shirts do not change the essential nature of a person, the writer recognises them as vital in their capacity to give the appearance of being neat and dirt-free. As discussed above, powders and pomata were commonly used as part of the cleaning regime, both to protect the hair from damage and to maintain the health of the individual, though ensuring one appeared to be clean was equally, if not more, important. The advice in the poem about also presenting a clean appearance may have been particularly significant for the serving classes, for whom a clean appearance was required by their employers.

⁴⁶⁰ Robert Dodsley, *The Footman's Friendly Advice To his Brethren of the Livery; and to all Servants in General* (London: T. Worrall, 1731), p. 21.

Wearing a wig for the purposes of cleanliness did not necessarily address the inconvenience of keeping one's own hair sufficiently short or shaved. This could be a weekly, or indeed daily, commitment as regrowth was itchy and uncomfortable. This practice of keeping a regularly shaved head may have taken over from the requirement to maintain a neat, trimmed beard of the previous century. The diary of Roger Whitley (1617-97), a Cheshire MP and deputy postmaster general, records visits to the barber for "trimming" every three to four days.⁴⁶¹ It is unclear whether this relates to his face, his head, or both, but it represents a considerable investment in time. Similarly, shaving two to three times a week was not unusual according to evidence from a court deposition in 1722:

I was Mr Powell's barber and went to shave him and cut his corns and wash his feet... I have shaved him sometimes thrice, sometimes twice and at other times but once in a week and at different times of the day and he paid me six pence each time according to an agreement made by him with me.⁴⁶²

Though shaving this often represented a commitment in time, there was an increasingly popular view that warm water could lead to infection and that cleaning with powders or oils was instead more hygienic.⁴⁶³ So the opportunity to shave or crop the hair close to the head in order to wear a wig must have been appealing, and a great deal more comfortable than keeping long unclean or greasy hair. This was

⁴⁶¹ Bodleian Library MS Eng Hist C.711, 'Roger Whitley's Diary 1684-1697' (December 1685- July 1686).

⁴⁶² TNA PROB 24/60 ff.82, 84v: 'Evidence of Robert Phillips, Barber and Peruke-Maker of St Margaret Westminster' (1722-24).

⁴⁶³ S. Matthews Grieco, 'The Body, Appearance and Sexuality', in Natalie Zemon Davis, and A Farge (eds.), *A History of Women in the West. Vol. 3: Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Belknap Press, 1993), p. 48.

also noted as the more comfortable option in the summer, as observed by Pepys three years after he first got used to cutting his hair short:

I mighty weary to bed, after having my hair of my head cut shorter, even close to my skull, for coolness, it being mighty hot weather.⁴⁶⁴

If the hair itself was believed to be the source of a health problem, cutting it off and wearing a wig could serve as a means to improvement and greater well being, as described by William Thomas in his letter of 1693 to John Locke, about his father's improved health:

...[he] coughs not soe much as he has done, tho of late more than sometime since his return to Salisbury, which he imputes either to Salisbury Air, or to the cutting of his hair, and wearing a Perewig.⁴⁶⁵

If a person claimed to wear a wig for reasons of protecting their health, or for curative purposes, this was considered more respectable than those who chose to wear one to appear fashionable, which was considered frivolous and vain. The place of hair in the creation of appearances was so fundamental however, that wigs was commonly viewed as a purely fashionable item and even those purporting to wear one for their health were open to criticism if the choice of wig were considered too extravagant. According to Physician John Bockett:

... some Men, not esteeming a good *Head of Hair* (that God by his Providence hath bestow'd upon them) *fashionable* enough, will cut it off,

⁴⁶⁴ Robert Latham (ed.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A Selection* (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 611.

⁴⁶⁵ William Thomas to John Locke, 30 December 1693: *Electronic Enlightenments online database*, Oxford University Press.

under pretence to cure the *Head-ache*, when sometimes twice as much of *another Colour* is worn in the room of it, and at an extravagant length too.⁴⁶⁶

Even as they advocated the cutting of hair for health purposes, Bockett and some of his contemporaries were contemptuous of the ornamental nature of wigs, which they perceived as a danger to reputation, and a symbol of extravagance and wastefulness. Within medical literature, these concerns stemmed again from humoural theory, which could be presented in a highly moralistic way. Contrast this to the description given of Anglican Cleric and Theologian John Wesley (1703 - 91) by an American loyalist, Samuel Curwen in 1777:

He wears his own gray hair, or a wig so very like that my eye could not distinguish... He wears an Oxford masters gown; his attention seemingly not directed to manner and behaviour, not rude, but negligent, dress cleanly, not neat.⁴⁶⁷

Onlookers read Wesley's lack of attention to his own appearance as a sign of modesty, as illustrated through his hair, his dress and his lack of conspicuous or mannered style.

5.2 Wigs for Transformation and Gender Differentiation

At the most basic level, hair is used in society to construct gender difference. In many cultures, historical and contemporary, men's hair tends to be worn short and cropped close to the head whilst women's was more likely longer and more flowing

⁴⁶⁶ John Bockett, *Pride Expos'd, and Oppos'd; or the Root, Branches and Fruit Thereof, Briefly Discovered* (London: J. Swolcl in White-Hart-Court, 1710), p. 5.

⁴⁶⁷ Samuel Curwen, *Journal and Letters of the Late Samuel Curwen, Judge of Admiralty*, (London: Wiley and Putnam, 1844), p. 155 (14 September 1777).

though often covered for religious or practical purposes. Eighteenth-century men's fashion is illustrative of a trend towards longer hair and a clean-shaven face. Despite this apparent exception, hair was still a very discernible marker of gender. In the early part of the period here considered, men's wigs had the effect of making the hair bigger and longer, while women's hair was generally worn closer to the head, with loose hair gathered down the back or side (Illustrations 5.1 and 5.2). The wig, therefore, emphasised a structured, symmetrical shape that added stature and a sense of prominence to the masculine image.

The femininity or masculinity of certain styles and objects became a cliché of satirical images, and objects were alluded to as shorthand for effeminacy.⁴⁶⁸ Men had been traditionally associated with classical geometry and women with the flowing and asymmetrical alternatives. Marcia Pointon, in her analysis of mid eighteenth-century portraiture, notes that men are routinely portrayed as wearing a wig to completely replace their own hair (except where deliberately pictured in an informal or 'undressed' state when they tended to have a night cap or covering), while the false hair depicted on women's heads was likely to be supplementary to their own.⁴⁶⁹ Whilst the Countess of Sunderland's hair (Illustration 5.2) is not dressed to be a prominent part of the image, and may be augmented with false hair, the hair of one of her contemporaries, the politician Alexander Luttrell (Illustration 5.1), is very much a focal point. It forms a symmetrical frame to his face, giving the overall appearance as one of strength and solidity.

⁴⁶⁸ Amanda Vickery, 'Fashioning Difference in Georgian England: Furniture for Him and for Her', in Paula Findlen (ed.) *Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories 1500-1800*, (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 345.

⁴⁶⁹ Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth Century England* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 107.



Illustration 5.1. Portrait of Colonel Alexander Luttrell by Unknown artist, *c.* 1700, ©National Trust Images/John Hammond, Image no. 104166.



Illustration 5.2. Portrait of Anne Spencer (nee Churchill) Countess of Sunderland, by Sir Godfrey Kneller, c. 1710. © National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 803.

Some commentators considered the vanity exhibited by men wearing their hair big and long as damaging to masculinity. The time taken to create and maintain such hair, which may be “double to what a Lady’s Head-Dress requires”, left men vulnerable to emasculation and questions about their role in society.⁴⁷⁰ A wig would reduce on the time required for daily dressing of the hair, though it still represented vanity and unseemly concern over one’s appearance. One publication asked in what category such vain men should be placed, “if not Women...at least Hermaphrodites, in their very Souls”.⁴⁷¹ It was the process of playing with the body, through changing the shape of the hair or wearing a wig, that was so mistrusted. This feminisation of men was traced through all aspects of clothing, as the introduction of longer, looser coats had the effect of hiding the leg, which had been emphasised as a key masculine attribute through the fashion for breeches worn to the knee.

While well coiffed hair was frowned upon for men, that is not to suggest that hair was to be left unmanaged, as comment was also passed upon those with unkempt or unclean hair. As discussed above, physiognomy and hair type were closely bound in the popular imagination, and were considered important ways of judging a person’s character. So thin, greasy hair did not achieve the correct look for someone who wanted to maintain a position in society. This description from the *London Magazine* of an individual in a position of responsibility describes the importance attached to appearance:

⁴⁷⁰ *London Magazine*, Vol. 5, 1735, p. 365.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*

His meagre Countenance, lank Hair, Puritanical Behaviour and that Stock of Spiritual Pride which domineer'd in every Look of him, gave me the utmost Horror...⁴⁷²

Although the fashion for big, excessive hairstyles was on the decline in men from the middle of the eighteenth century, there was still a competitive element to big hair among some of the women at court:

...my Lady Hertford's friend, Lady Harriot Vernon, has quarrelled with me for smiling at the enormous headgear of her daughter, Lady Grosvenor. She came one night to Northumberland House with such display of friz that it literally spread beyond her shoulders. I happened to say it looked as if her parents had stinted to indulge her fancy now.⁴⁷³

Such a histrionic style could be taken to further extremes, with one hairdresser offering to change the hair to blue, crimson or green and to make the head appear like the head of a lion, a wolf, a tiger, a bear, a fox or any exotic beast or bird, such as a peacock, swan or goose.⁴⁷⁴

As wigs became smaller, cheaper and more accessible in the early decades of the eighteenth century, men were empowered to transform their public identity through their hair in a way that was closed to women. For the ordinary male customer, such as those using the services of provincial Manchester wig maker Edmund Harrold, a wig enabled the wearer to present different versions of themselves quickly and easily, though not necessarily cheaply. Gentlemen, as

⁴⁷² *London Magazine*, Vol. 8, 1739, p. 239.

⁴⁷³ Paget Toynbee (ed.), *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl Of Orford In Sixteen Volumes With Portraits And Facsimilies, Vol. VI: 1764-1766* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904), p. 188.

⁴⁷⁴ Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb, *Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialisation of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Hutchinson, 1983) p. 64.

defined below, were the largest and most varied category of wig wearers. Those with wide-reaching status and power through political, mercantile or administrative roles remain the most visible in the historical record, as they are more likely to have left behind account books, wills and inventories, or had their portraits painted. This however, is not to ignore the entire spectrum of other men, the country doctors, lawyers or clergy who provided a living for small scale, country wig makers.

If the wearer could ‘consciously’ construct their hair to fashion the appearance of status, wealth or power, so conversely hair could be ‘unconsciously’ controlled to establish group identity. Control of hair by cutting, shaving or by using it to create a uniform, indicated an individual’s participation in social structures within publicly defined roles.⁴⁷⁵ When worn at formal occasions, or as part of a social role, wearing wigs of the same style created the sense of homogeneity amongst groups of certain professionals, politicians or tradesmen. This had the advantage of identifying them with a particular group, and enabling the group to present an image of strength and unity. The full-bottomed periwig on the heads of the traditional, ruling elite was a powerful example of this, which is striking in its depiction of members of parliament wearing identical wigs (Illustration 5.3). The significance of this homogeneity is unlikely to have been lost on the artist and satirist, William Hogarth, who may have deliberately emphasised this feature through his use of light. The prominence of the wig in the clothing worn by men at this level of society was potent enough to have this effect. The uniformity created by wig wearing served a purpose, however, in bringing a sense of symmetry and order to society. The figure in the foreground, a prisoner who is naked from the waist up, is marked out through a

⁴⁷⁵ Elizabeth Bartman, ‘Hair and the artifice of Roman Female Adornment’, *Archaeological Institute of America*, 105:1 (2001), p 5.

lack of sartorial similarity. The symmetry of appearance provided a reassurance that those who were clean, well dressed and obvious by their resemblance to each other, were distinguished as respectable members of society.

5.3 Wigs as Fashionable Attire

Hair was an essential component of self-presentation, a fact that is born out by the visibility of the hair trade in social and cultural life. High numbers of wig makers and hairdressers operated, as discussed above, with thousands of barbers, hairdressers and wig makers working in London alone by the 1720s.⁴⁷⁶ The importance of hair in connection to the rest of the body can clearly be seen in the source material relating to health, beauty and the creation of appearances using artificial hair, explored above. Wig wearing was also a popular idiom in printed satirical images used to mock the rich and powerful, particularly as a feature of caricature.

⁴⁷⁶ Daniel Defoe, *The Compleat English Tradesman* (London: Printed for Charles Rivington, 1727), p. 165.



Illustration 5.3. *The Gaols Committee of the House of Commons*, William Hogarth, c. 1729, © National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 926.

Given this prominence as part of the image an individual presented to society, hair and wig wearing as a social phenomenon should be explored in connection to the fashionable world. Individual garments can be read as artefacts providing evidence about changes in fashion, and the self-proclaimed identity of the wearer.⁴⁷⁷ Clothing has long been seen as a mechanism by which social distinctions are enhanced and through which individuals or groups identified with a particular profession, class or subculture. In the eighteenth century, the concept of fashion was defined by its affiliation to particular groups, and aligned to their social position, rather than for the material characteristics that made a garment unique.⁴⁷⁸ The status of the individual who owned the fashionable item was deemed to be the defining factor that made fashion. It was not, therefore, understood to be transferrable between classes.

Dress historians commonly use material culture-based approaches to study changes in clothing in detail and to explore what this tells us about change over time, while social and economic historians by contrast have studied dress to explore the impact of cultural and social change on the cycle of innovation and obsolescence, consumer demand, taste and the manufacturing process.⁴⁷⁹ Of equal interest in the study of hair and wigs is the body of work on the movement of individual garments through formal and informal markets, and global trade and its influence on taste and style.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁷ Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) and John Harvey, *Men in Black* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

⁴⁷⁸ Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 33.

⁴⁷⁹ Christopher Breward, *Fashion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 21.

⁴⁸⁰ John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England*

Despite this body of work, the contribution of hair as a physical commodity is not addressed in relation to fashion, trade or the emerging ownership of fashionable goods. Likewise, fashion histories commonly explore the phenomenon of wigs and wig wearing only briefly in more broad ranging studies of fashionable dress, but do not consider the relevance of the raw material from which the wig was made.⁴⁸¹ This presents an opportunity to understand how hair, and the place of hair in the context of the body, influenced both the buying and selling of wigs, and the way in which they were worn.

To get a full picture of the many and varied types of wigs in the absence of surviving physical evidence of the objects themselves, it is necessary to turn to descriptions found in written sources such as accounts, inventories and correspondence, as well as the pictorial evidence of paintings, caricatures and portraits. Methodologically this is not without its shortcomings, as written descriptions are often lacking the level of detail required to provide a full understanding of stylistic differences. Inventories and account books from the late seventeenth to the late eighteenth century give a sense of how the descriptions of wigs changed over time. However, as they record only goods over a certain value,

(London: Yale University Press, 2007); Lemire, Beverly, 'Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England: The Trade in Second Hand Clothes', *Journal of British Studies*, 27:1 (1988), pp. 1-24; Miles Lambert, "'Cast-Off Wearing Apparell': The Consumption and Distribution of Second-Hand Clothing in Northern England During the Long Eighteenth Century', *Textile History*, 35:1 (2004), pp. 1-26; Glenn Adamson, Giorgio Riello and Sarah Teasley (eds), *Global Design History* (London: Routledge, 2011); Giorgio Riello and Prasannan Parthasarathi (eds), *The spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200-1850*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁴⁸¹ Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality* (London: Batsford, 1986), pp. 86-100; *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38/1 Special issue on 'Hair' (2004); Geraldine Biddle-Perry, and Sarah Cheang (eds), *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion* (Oxford: Berg, 2008).

they tend to reflect ownership of goods of the upper and middling classes. Portraits and other pictorial sources may contain more detail but also have shortcomings in providing an accurate picture of how items of clothing were worn in the past.

Portraits were frequently created to present the subject in a particular, often favourable way, and objects including items of clothing were included for their symbolic meaning, or because the sitter was wearing their best clothes.⁴⁸² Portraits were also commissioned by wealthier parts of society; so, regardless of whether they offer reliable evidence as to why or when people wore wigs, they are far from being representative of society as a whole. Notwithstanding these caveats, they might be used to illustrate the style and shape of wigs, taking into account the over-exaggeration found in satirical and comical caricature, and to set wigs in the wider context of both fashion in clothing and style in general.⁴⁸³

Using the sources described above to explore the varying styles represented in wigs and hairstyles, we can begin to build a picture of the functions fulfilled by wearing hair, both through wig wearing and embellishment of the natural hair. The key focus will be on the masculine image, as the largest proportion of consumers of wigs was male.⁴⁸⁴

Whilst the focus of this study is essentially English, the broader European context was also highly influential when taking into account developments in

⁴⁸² Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Use of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2001), p. 25. See also Kate Retford, *The Art of Domestic life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), and Ludmilla Jordanova, *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

⁴⁸³ Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Valerie Cumming and Aileen Ribiero, *The Visual History of Costume* (London: Batsford, 1989).

⁴⁸⁴ Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, p. 107.

fashion. Popular features in stylistic devices seen in the context of art, fashion and material culture during this period should not be disconnected from major changes taking place on a European scale.⁴⁸⁵ Of the stylistic influences coming from Europe at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the most dominant was baroque, which originated in seventeenth-century Italy and was linked with a decorative, overpowering grandeur.⁴⁸⁶ Baroque, with its heavy stylised architecture, interiors and objects was first seen in England in the 1680s and continued into the 1730s.⁴⁸⁷ This heavy, formal and lavish baroque style can be seen in the styles of wigs popular at the end of the seventeenth century. For men, dense, weighty wigs continued to be worn in conjunction with the formal three-piece suit, comprising coat, waistcoat and breeches.⁴⁸⁸ Unlike most fashion, which had little bearing on architecture, the heavy triangular structure of the wig lent itself well to the heavy baroque style.

The newer, more fluid Rococo, however, reacted against the strict symmetry of baroque and was based on gentle, undulating lines, exemplified by William Hogarth in *Analysis of Beauty* (1753). Hogarth identifies the waving “line of beauty” and the serpentine “line of grace” as being the most precise, elegant and pleasing of lines, and the basis for grace and beauty.⁴⁸⁹ This shift towards greater simplicity and fluidity in art emphasised how unfashionable the heavy baroque style had become.

⁴⁸⁵ Jeremy Black, *Culture in Eighteenth-Century England: A Subject for Taste* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2005), p. 173.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁷ Michael Snodin and John Styles (eds.), *Design and the Decorative Arts: Britain 1500-1900* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2001) p. 188.

⁴⁸⁸ Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell, ‘From Baroque Elegance to the French Revolution 1700-1790’, in Linda Welters and Abbey Lillethun (eds.), *The Fashion Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2007) p. 7.

⁴⁸⁹ William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty, Written with a View of Fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Taste, a New Edition* (London: Printed for Mrs Hogarth, 1772), p. 39.

The ostentatious, inflexible styles of wigs seen in Hogarth's *Five Orders of Periwigs* (1761) highlight this clearly (Illustration 5.4). This was a satire undermining the grandiose and old-fashioned style of wigs and those who wore them by directly comparing them to the grandiose classical orders of architectural styles, *Five Orders of Periwigs* mocks both wig-wearing and classical architecture in parallel. Published shortly after the coronation of George III and Queen Charlotte, *Five Orders of Periwigs* was inspired by the large, heavy campaign and bob wigs worn to the event. Hogarth's print satirised the heaviness of the styles, which represented a level of solemnity and gravity fitting for the ruling elite. These styles were a symbol of authority, but they were also a costly and exclusive bodily adornment, the finishing touch to an outfit of great ceremony and indulgence.



Illustration 5.4. *The Five Orders of Periwigs*, Print by William Hogarth, London, (1761). ©National Trust Images, Image No. 1420603.

By its nature, a wig is a highly stylised object whether worn to be conspicuously false, or to give the appearance of natural hair. In the eighteenth century clothing was used to create an over-emphasised silhouette, and wigs were no exception. Despite this, a notable shift can be detected in the shape and style of wigs between around 1700 and 1720, from a flamboyant, grandiose style in obvious defiance of nature, towards a more natural fit. Large full-bottomed periwigs, epitomized by those introduced to England at the court of Charles II, were worn by the conspicuously fashionable, and those who wanted to make an impression at court. The diarist Samuel Pepys is an example of this; his interest in trying out a wig was sparked after he saw the Duke of York first wear one, and despite thinking that “his haircut short in order thereto [wear the wig] did look very prettily of itself, before he put on his periwig”.⁴⁹⁰

Fashion changed continuously over time for a great many reasons, and was influenced by politics and changes in ideology, as by the overarching impact of art and style. David Kuchta examines the development of the three-piece suit as a lens through which to explore the influence of the Whigs following the Glorious Revolution in 1688, for example.⁴⁹¹ Kuchta discusses how the change in government from the Catholic absolutist, courtly culture of James II to the new definitions of masculinity found in the Whig political culture brought an end to the age of effeminacy and luxury.⁴⁹² The fashion for wigs changed too, albeit not for about two decades. In 1700 wigs remained high, parted in the middle and heavy with the

⁴⁹⁰ Henry B. Wheatley (ed.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: Transcribed by the Late Rev. Mynors Bright...*, (London: G.Bell and Sons Ltd., 1928), vol. IV, p.40, 15 February 1663.

⁴⁹¹ David Kuchta, *The Three Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England 1550-1850*, (London: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 91-133.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 93.

amount of hair used at the top and back (Illustration 5.1).⁴⁹³ The maximum length of the wig was also reached at this time, in the most extreme cases reaching the elbow, and so large that special spectacles with extending arms could be found to fit over them.⁴⁹⁴ Hats became almost an afterthought, and were often carried under the arm to show off the wig to its full advantage.⁴⁹⁵ However, by the early 1720s both the height and length of the full-bottomed wig was worn lower, creating a wider over all shape.⁴⁹⁶ This change in shape mirrored that of the female silhouette, as from 1710, hoops began to be worn in women's skirts, growing in size until the 1730s when they were extremely wide and square-shaped.⁴⁹⁷

5.4 Ownership of Wigs

This chapter has so far explored the various motivations individuals could have for choosing to wear a wig. In order to further understand the fundamental importance of hair in the creation of appearances at all levels of society, this chapter now turns to an examination of the key consumers of wigs, their patterns of ownership, and how these changed over the course of the period of study. The conspicuously dressed and stylised hair displayed by the full-bottom periwig wearing male of the upper classes during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was key to what historians have termed “the social performance of everyday life”, at least within elite groups of

⁴⁹³ Janet Arnold, *Perukes and Periwigs* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1970), p. 15.

⁴⁹⁴ Stevens-Cox (ed.), *Garsault*, p. 167.

⁴⁹⁵ Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe, 1715-1789* (London: Batsford, 1984), p. 31.

⁴⁹⁶ Arnold, *Perukes*, p. 19.

⁴⁹⁷ Ribeiro, *Morality*, p. 97.

men.⁴⁹⁸ Historical sources reflecting the life of the elite - from caricatures to aristocratic account books and formal portraits - give the wig a central place in the fashioning of the upper classes, exemplified by the large, full-bottomed periwigs and campaign wigs, which can be traced through portraits until the 1730s.

As the century progressed, so wig wearing came to represent convenience, utility, and respectability over power, wealth and prestige. Growing levels of cleanliness in cities, along with increasingly popular urban leisure activities such as theatre, shopping and drinking in coffee houses, meant an increasing number of gentlemen, or those styling themselves as gentlemen, in the urban environment. Towns were becoming increasingly polite spaces, distinct and independent from the court, with many public activities providing opportunities for conversation and sociability.⁴⁹⁹ With this came the opportunity to more closely examine the appearance of others and consequently, the necessity to construct a public image to withstand the judgemental gaze of others.

In the letters to his family discussing his impressions of England, Cesar de Saussure (1705-83) described an urban walk in London as having precisely this purpose, “to see and be seen”.⁵⁰⁰ The city came to be regarded as the main area of competition among those with social aspirations, with London pre-eminent as a focus

⁴⁹⁸ Margaret K. Powell and Joseph Roger Roach, 'Big Hair', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 38:1 (2004), p. 81.

⁴⁹⁹ Lawrence Klein, 'The Polite Town: Shifting Possibilities of Urbanness 1660-1715', in Tim Hitchcock, and Heather Shore (eds.), *The Streets of London: From the Great Fire to the Great Stink* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 2003) p. 39.

⁵⁰⁰ Cited in Penelope J. Corfield, 'Walking the City Streets: The Urban Odyssey in Eighteenth Century England', *Journal of Urban History*, 16 (1990) p. 134.

for the flamboyant fashions on display.⁵⁰¹ Historians have tended to see the public sphere as essentially masculine, with the growing popularity of the coffee house in the social space of the eighteenth century.⁵⁰²

A wig could be one of the most expensive items in a wealthy gentleman's wardrobe, and those who could afford it would own more than one, for use on different occasions. The 1698 inventory of Montague Drake (1673 - 98), Member of Parliament for Amersham, records nine periwigs amongst his wearing apparel when he died aged 25.⁵⁰³ In 1701, William III (1650 - 1702) ordered twelve wigs from his wig maker William Winder at a cost of £215, and regularly ordered six or more annually.⁵⁰⁴ The household accounts of the Duke of Marlborough show that he had 19 wigs made between 1724 and 1729 of varying styles: bobs, bags and a number of references to putting a "wigg in pigtell with long hair and reaban."⁵⁰⁵ It is not clear which wigs he used for what occasions, though likely with these high numbers and styles the order is likely to have been for his servants.

It was not just royalty and aristocracy who enjoyed the privilege of such expensive apparel, though records for the 'middling sort' do not survive in any great

⁵⁰¹ Margaret Pelling, 'Appearance and Reality: Barber Surgeons, the Body and Disease', in A.L. Beier, and Roger Finlay (eds.), *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (London: Longman, 1986), p. 89.

⁵⁰² Markman Ellis, *Eighteenth-Century Coffee House Culture, Volumes 1-4* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006) argues that the coffee house brought about social change in society.

⁵⁰³ Michael Reed (ed.), *Buckinghamshire Probate Inventories 1661-1714* (Buckinghamshire Record Society no. 24, 1988), p. 259.

⁵⁰⁴ Patricia Wardle, *For Our Royal Person: Master of the Robes Bills of King-Stadholder William III, The Great Parchment Warrant of 1700-1701* (Apeldoorn: Paleis Het Loo National Museum, 2002), p. 45.

⁵⁰⁵ BL, Add Mss 61445 Blenheim Papers, Vol. 345 (1) 'Correspondence with John Spencer and Humphrey Fish', ff. 113-114.

number, making the information harder to access. Gregory King (1648 - 1712), statistician, surveyor and herald, calculated in 1688 that c. ten and a half million pounds was spent on clothing in England, which he estimated at around a quarter of total national expenditure.⁵⁰⁶ King's figures show that one hundred thousand "perruques" were consumed in 1688 at an average value of 20 shillings each.⁵⁰⁷ King's figures are estimates, and can only be used as a reference point in consideration of the value of clothing though records pertaining to individuals from the early eighteenth century, would support the notion that wigs were available widely across the social spectrum at this time, and the prices therefore not necessarily prohibitive. The 1706 account book of Squire Payne, fellow and tutor at Magdalene College, records purchases of wigs every two to three years, which provides a useful guide as to ownership in the middling ranks of society. At £3 10s, the wigs were by far the most expensive purchase he made, even more so than a riding coat which was made in London, though despite his relative lack of wealth it was a price the Squire was willing to pay.⁵⁰⁸

Despite this however, the wealthy and fashionable did not necessarily disregard the high price of wigs. Wigs account for one of the most expensive items in Jonathan Swift's wardrobe, although he did not part with the money easily:

...it has cost me three guineas today for a periwig. I am undone! It was made by a Leicester lad, who married Mr. Worrall's daughter, where my mother

⁵⁰⁶ Negley Harte, 'The Economics of Clothing in the Late Seventeenth Century', *Textile History*, 22:2 (1991) p. 278.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

⁵⁰⁸ Arthur Tindal Hart, *Country Counting House: The Story of Two Eighteenth-Century Clerical Account Books, Part 1, Squire Payne's Memorandum and Account Books* (London: Phoenix House, 1962) p. 53.

lodged, so I thought it would be cheap, and especially since he lives in the city. Well, London lick-penny: I find it true.⁵⁰⁹

The 1692 account book of Sir Thomas Seyliard (1648-92), second Baronet of Delaware, details the types of his wigs to be worn on different occasions: "... Four new wigs viz 1 long, 1 campaign, 1 Spanish made of his own hair, and 1 bob".⁵¹⁰ Matching the style of the wig to the occasion was not uncommon. Though shorter wigs, such as the bob, were commonly associated with specific professions like doctors or parsons, they were also convenient head coverings for undertaking physical activities such as travelling or riding. William III bills from his Master of the Robes detail the wigs bought for the monarch on an annual basis, specifying "seven long Perriwigs and two Hunting Perriwiges".⁵¹¹ Later in the period, when wigs had become cheaper and more readily available, they were advertised as being specifically made for such activities. For example, The *Daily Advertiser* in 1743 contained an advertisement selling wigs "for Travelling, Hunting, Shooting, &c. any sort of Bob or Natural Wig, of entire clean natural-curl'd Hair, such as will stand any Wind or Weather".⁵¹² Campaign wigs and those similarly styled with long hair, were more likely to be worn for ceremonial or formal occasions, as discussed below.

It is notable that Thomas Seyliard had at least one wig made from his own hair.⁵¹³ Having a wig made from your own hair may have been less costly, and would also address the unsettling question of provenance. Samuel Pepys also recorded having wigs made from his own hair, and is surprised to find it costs more

⁵⁰⁹ Harold Williams (ed.), *Jonathan Swift: Journal to Stella* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), p. 165.

⁵¹⁰ BL Add. Mss 34784, 'Account book of Thomas Seyliard' (1687-92).

⁵¹¹ Wardle, *Royal Person*, p. 45.

⁵¹² *Daily Advertiser*, Issue 3789, 24 June 1743.

⁵¹³ BL Add. Mss 34784, 'Account book of Thomas Seyliard' (1687-92).

than the value of his hair.⁵¹⁴ As discussed earlier, the provenance of hair was the single most important aspect of a wig maker's reputation. Fears around contagion and the ability of hair to reflect the original owner's health and lifestyle, caused great interest in the person or place of origin. Notwithstanding such visceral fears, it may have been a disconcerting experience for those who knew an individual well to suddenly encounter them in a substitute version of their own hair, as noted by John Gabriel Stedman, British-Dutch soldier and author (1744 - 97) in his journal following a long illness:

I now cut out my fine chestnut hair, of which is made a *scratch-wig*, in imitation of that of General Stuart. I look frightful. My mother arrives at Steenbergen. Is alarmed at my appearance...⁵¹⁵

This uncomfortable prospect of being confronted by something as familiar as the hair on one's own head rendered unfamiliar through the process of being turned into an artefact, was clearly one that did not go unnoticed.

Despite this, the accessibility of wig makers in London and the provinces, meant there were options for obtaining cheap wigs, if not purchasing a bespoke product directly from the wig maker. Miles Lambert provides a detailed survey of the various available options for procuring second-hand goods, using trade directories, newspaper advertisements and court records.⁵¹⁶ John Styles' study of inventories from late eighteenth-century northern England suggests that the 'artisan-shopkeeper' remained a common model for the small-scale dissemination of apparel even late

⁵¹⁴ Wheatley (ed.), *Diary* 12 November, 1663, vol. III, p. 320.

⁵¹⁵ Stanbury Thompson (ed.), *The Journal of John Gabriel Stedman 1744-1797, Soldier and Author* (London: Mitre Press, 1962), p. 58. Stedman had joined General John Stuart's regiment in the Scots brigade in 1760.

⁵¹⁶ See Lambert, 'Cast-Off'.

into the century.⁵¹⁷ Many wig makers and barbers worked on this basis, as discussed above, and produced bespoke wigs directly for their customers. This opened up opportunities for wig ownership to anyone considering themselves a ‘gentleman’, or who wanted to be perceived as such. The definition of a gentleman was not confined to a single social class, rather one that could be related across several types of male stereotypes. There was no definition in law of what constituted a gentleman, and as such the status could be ascribed according to specific, fixed classifications like occupation, to more fluid, subjective ones like status and sensibility.⁵¹⁸

The term gentleman was not, therefore, confined to those with access to money and power. Indeed the contemporary eighteenth-century view of what constituted a gentleman primarily related to sensibility, “a man completely qualified as well for the service and good as for the ornament and delight of society”.⁵¹⁹ There was nothing to stop those with generosity, bravery and an entrepreneurial spirit from attaining the status of gentleman, though confidence to display these attributes socially was also required.⁵²⁰ Whether someone was from town or country, and the nature of their profession played a role as to the type of gentlemanly status they could attain. Wearing apparel was strongly connected to gentlemanliness, and was seen as a way to potentially deceive observers over true intentions and status, as seen in the 1727 novel by Mary Davys, *The Accomplished Rake*:

...the Town is so stock’d with Rakes and Coxcombes, who wisely imagine
all Merit is wrapt up in fine Clothes and Blasphemy; and that a Bag-Wig and

⁵¹⁷ John Styles, ‘Clothing the North’, *Textile History*, 25:2 (1994), p. 144.

⁵¹⁸ Penelope J. Corfield, ‘The Rivals: Landed and Other Gentlemen’, in Negley Harte, and Roland Quinault (eds.), *Land and Society in Britain, 1700-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 12.

⁵¹⁹ *Guardian*, Issue 146, vol. 1, 20 April 1713.

⁵²⁰ Corfield, ‘Rivals’, p. 12.

a Sword, qualify a man for a fine Gentleman, and if he can but whore, swear, and renounce his Maker, his is a modern fine Gentleman indeed.⁵²¹

Wigs were, therefore, an important part of creating the look of a gentleman, and the increasing accessibility of the wig meant that more men were able to dress in such a way.

The second-hand market was a common way for the less wealthy to buy articles of clothing cheaply.⁵²² Carpenter William Buckland from Sunbury, Middlesex, owned “two old wigs” according to his inventory of 1718, which may refer to a wig that was not new when first purchased.⁵²³ However, second-hand wigs were not appealing to many as the fashionable styles changed rapidly. Moreover, because of the physical nature of the hair and continuous processing required, a wig may not have lasted for longer than a year or two. The provenance of the hair was also difficult to establish on the second-hand market: not only would the origin of the original hair not be clear, a second-hand wig would raise additional anxiety around the identity of recent owners. Samuel Pepys illustrates the importance of clean, healthy looking hair when he records his distaste at seeing a wig in a shop window that appeared to have been made from “greazy and old woman’s haire”.⁵²⁴

Advertisements for auctions of goods seized by customs officials suggest another potential avenue to access wigs cheaply as they were often auctioned publicly alongside other miscellaneous goods. However, the quantities are such that they are likely to have been bought wholesale by wig sellers, rather than by

⁵²¹ Mary Davys, *The Accomplished Rake: Or, The Modern Fine Gentleman* (London: Printed for A. Stephens, 1756), p. 7.

⁵²² See Lemire, ‘Consumerism’, pp. 1-24.

⁵²³ Kenneth Y. Heselton, (ed.), *Sunbury Household Effects, 1673-1724* (Sunbury-on-Thames: Sunbury & Shepperton Local History Society, 1976), p. 11.

⁵²⁴ Wheatley (ed.), *Diary*, vol. III, p. 295, (26 October 1663).

individual customers: “800 pieces brown Linnen... 2000 dyed Linnen... 90 printed Linnen... Wigs, Hair, Lace, Melting pots for Goldsmiths 46000”.⁵²⁵

The value of wigs meant that they also changed hands through other informal markets, creating ownership opportunities for those who could never afford the full price. References can be found in the Proceedings of the Old Bailey to the “3d wig shop in Middle-Row in Holbourn” or the “old wig shops” of Rag-fair.⁵²⁶ In both cases, the defendants were accused of stealing wigs for onward sale in the shop, so it is clear from where at least some of the stock was sourced. Stolen wigs must have accounted for a high proportion of those to be found in such establishments, and there are many accounts in the records of the Old Bailey of wigs being stolen directly from the owner or from wig makers’ premises. Wigs were such a target for theft that there are even reports of victims having the wig plucked audaciously from their heads as they walked the streets, such as Thomas Page in 1749, victim of highway robbery who described “going along the Strand...[and] felt my periwig going from my head”.⁵²⁷ There are also several mentions in the popular literature of the latter part of the eighteenth century of the phenomenon known as “dipping for wigs”, where the customer could pay a small sum, usually around 6d, to pull a wig at random from a bag and hope it fitted.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁵ *Daily Post*, Issue 1440, 8 May 1724).

⁵²⁶ The Proceedings of the Old Bailey Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 12 April 2014), October 1732, trial of William Sherrington (t17321011-3); The Proceedings of the Old Bailey Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 12 April 2014), May 1782, trial of Andrew Gifford (t17820515-25).

⁵²⁷ The Proceedings of the Old Bailey Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 12 April 2014), July 1749, trial of James Hill (t17490705-14).

⁵²⁸ Tobias Smollett, *The Critical Review, or, Annals of Literature* (London: Printed for A. Hamilton, 1770), vol. 30, p. 464; Edward Nairne, *Poems, Miscellaneous and Humorous*, (Canterbury: Printed by Simmons and Kirkby, 1791), p. 35.

Adding to the status of wig ownership, expenditure did not stop once the wig had been made and purchased. Human hair was not very strong in comparison to that of horses, and had to be cleaned and dressed frequently. Since a gentleman could not be without a wig outside the privacy of his own home, it was common to ensure that at least one wig was with a barber for dressing.⁵²⁹ This increased the prestige, and cost, of human hair wigs, making aftercare an important aspect of the wig-makers' trade. The need to maintain the wig and, therefore, continue the service even after the sale had been made was important to those who desired their wig to look clean and retain their style. The extent to which this acted as a formal contract and guaranteed further source of income is unclear, but it is likely that if a good relationship was maintained, customers would go back to the original wig maker for re-curling and cleaning of their wig.

In 1668, Samuel Pepys came to an arrangement with his barber "to keep my periwigs in good order at 20s. a year, I am like to go very spruce, more then I used to do".⁵³⁰ This is an example of a relatively wealthy, fashionable individual investing in several expensive wigs. However, lower down the social scale, Edmund Harrold frequently mentions curling or dressing wigs of his provincial customers, such as when he records "Shaved 3 heads, drest 9 wigs and worked close".⁵³¹ Several entries of author Jonathan Swift's account books record the costs of mending wigs, though

⁵²⁹ Ribeiro, *Dress*, p. 94.

⁵³⁰ Wheatley (ed.), *Diary*, vol. VIII, p. 31, (30 May, 1668).

⁵³¹ Horner, Craig (ed.), *The Diary of Edmund Harrold, Wig maker of Manchester, 1712-1715* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 63.

servants would also keep them presentable through the use of powder, which appears frequently as an item of expenditure.⁵³²

As the connection of hair with health and beauty held strong, the role of the wig maker and barber was greater than simply dealing with the hair. The model of the beauty salon (a shop employing several barbers or hairdressers in one place) was not an unknown feature in the urban environment of the eighteenth century, as larger barbers' shops employed journeymen to make and fit wigs, as well as barbers to shave customers and sometimes undertake other work such as teeth pulling and bleeding. It was certainly possible for customers to visit establishments offering a multiplicity of services to improve the appearance of the face, as well as the hair:

...at the Green Ball...where may be had a most incomparable Wash to beautify the Face: all Freckles, Tan, Morpheus, Pimples and Redness, and prevents Flushing...she hath a most excellent Secret to prevent Hair from falling off, causing it to grow wherever 'tis wanting; and alters red and grey Hair to a dark or light brown, which will never change. She shapes the Eye Brows, making them very beautiful and takes all superfluous Hair from the Face. She cutteth Hair very fine, after the Newest Mode.⁵³³

If the busy shop was an unappealing or costly option, it was common in many households for hair to have been cut by the mistress of the family, as stated in *Information for Hairdressers in Edinburgh* (1758).⁵³⁴ However, the diversifying fashions in hairstyles meant hairdressing itself became more central to fashionable

⁵³² Paul V. Thompson and Dorothy Jay Thompson, *The Account Books of Jonathan Swift*, (London: Scholar Press, 1984), p. 1.

⁵³³ *British Journal*, Issue 6, 27 October 1722).

⁵³⁴ Hew Dalrymple, *Information for the Hairdressers of Edinburgh; Against the Incorporation of Barbers* (Edinburgh: Printed for the Author, 1758), p. 12.

practices, and only an accomplished hairdresser could undertake the increasingly complex styles.⁵³⁵ The increase in newspaper advertisements of those defining themselves as hairdressers (as opposed to barber or wig maker) suggests that these were growing in popularity.

5.5 Shape and Style

The shape and style of the wig provides further evidence as to who was wearing them and why. Style was the central attribute through which the wig could communicate its purpose and function. Grand, extravagant styles popular at the court of Charles II made from large quantities of hair, were affordable by a small minority of wealthy court officials and noblemen. This began to change however, with the new, more subtle style exemplified by the popular ‘campaign wig’, which though highly ceremonial, was shorter and used less hair than the huge courtly periwigs, and appeared less frivolous when paired with the less ornate suit of the rococo. The campaign wig also had military connotations, imbuing it with a sense of gravitas and domineering power. Illustrations 5.5 and 5.6 clearly show this distinction when compared. Illustration 5.5, a portrait of Charles II from *c.* 1675, shows both the length and width of the thick, dense curls required for his courtly wig. This is something of a contrast to the shorter, narrower campaign wig worn by the Marquess of Wharton in a portrait from the early eighteenth century in illustration 5.6. Though the latter wig too required a large amount of hair, it was certainly smaller and less cumbersome in comparison with a court wig, and reflects the simpler fabrics of the coat and cravat.

⁵³⁵ Ibid., p. 13.



Illustration 5.5. *King Charles II*, after Sir Peter Lely, (c. 1675). © National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 153.



Illustration 5.6. Thomas Wharton, First Marquess of Wharton, by Sir Godfrey Kneller (1710-15), NPG 3233. © National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 3233.

This increasing flexibility in style and shape generated by the relevance of the wig as an item of fashion and of necessity began to allow for increased ownership across all levels of society. It enabled the diversification of wigs to fulfil a multitude of functions, and for prices to be more varied. Though the full-bottomed wig remained popular at court for the first two decades of the eighteenth century, a list of wigs stolen from a shop published in the *Daily Courant* in 1714 gives some idea of the range of shapes and colour on offer to the rest of society:

...a new flaxen half natural Wig, a lightish brown bob Wig, a brown half natural Wig, a flaxen half natural thin bottom Wig, brown colour'd, about 11 inches long, with two other Wigs the Colour not known.⁵³⁶

The descriptions given in this list illustrate the diversity of shape, style, length and colour available, and the wide choice available to customers wanting to create a distinct look according to their own shape, size and complexion. There would even have been variation even between shades of the same colour, as seen by the use of the term 'lightish brown'. Despite their relatively high value in comparison with other items of wearing apparel, wigs recorded in inventories and accounts are not highlighted as special goods; rather they tend to be referred to in general terms as "periwig", "peruke" or "wig". Where fuller descriptions do exist, they still tend to be fairly uniform: "bob", "grizzle", "tye", and "scratch" are the most commonly used names for wigs, though the descriptions might occasionally contain the colour, length and type of hair used. A bob refers to a short wig with the curls turned up at the end and the grizzle was of grey, or partly grey hair (Illustration 5.7). A tye wig

⁵³⁶ *Daily Courant*, Issue 3693, 14 August 1713.

was worn longer down the back and tied with a ribbon, whilst a scratch wig referred to a small, short wig. This description from an inventory of John Layton, peruke maker in Foulsham, Norfolk listing the stock lost through fire in 1760 is typical of descriptions given: “two new wigs... curled white goat's hair... curled white and grizzled horse hair...other stock of hair curled and uncurled...”.⁵³⁷ Similarly, the 1753 inventory of Thomas Newnam, Periwig Maker of Middlesex, records “brown crowns, brown bobs, tyes and a grizzle bob”.⁵³⁸

For more formal occasions, a bag-wig was worn with a silk bag at the back to hold the loose hair. According to the *Encyclopédie*, bag-wigs were “the most modern” kind of wig.⁵³⁹ In late 1785, William Cowper wrote that he was pleased with his new bag-wig, and the affect it had on his appearance:

I appear if you see me in an afternoon, to have a very decent headdress, not easily distinguished from my natural growth; which being worn with a small bag and a black-ribband about my neck, continues to me the charms of my youth, even on the verge of age.⁵⁴⁰

Scented oil was commonly applied to a wig before powdering, in order to keep them smelling fresh and to help fix the powder. The bag had the practical purpose of stopping the oiled hair from spoiling the clothes.⁵⁴¹ It also sheltered the hair from the

⁵³⁷ Thomas Quarles, *The History and Antiquities of Foulsham in Norfolk* (London: Joseph Cundall, 1842), p. 111-12.

⁵³⁸ TNA PROB31, 358/536, ‘Exhibit 1753/536 Thomas Newnam, Bachelor, Peruke Maker of the Liberty of the Rolls, Middlesex’ (July 1753).

⁵³⁹ Michael Kwass, ‘Big Hair: A Wig History of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century France’, *American Historical Review*, 111:3 (2006) p. 648.

⁵⁴⁰ From William Cowper to Lady Hesketh, 9 November, 1785 in William Hayley, *The Life and Letters of William Cowper* (London: Longman Press, 1835), p. 261.

⁵⁴¹ Lynn Festa, ‘Personal Effects: Wigs and Possessive Individualism in the Long Eighteenth Century’, *Eighteenth Century Life*, 29:2 (2005), p. 54.

air, which could dry it out. An anonymous periwig-maker advised that:

Was a gentleman going on a journey, then to put this hair in a bag, would be prudent, because by that means it would be preserved from the injuries it might otherwise sustain, either by the sun's heat, or the inclemency of the weather.⁵⁴²

Alexander Stewart, hairdresser, set out the view that heat and moisture could dry up the humours that caused hair to grow, while cold, wet or damp would prevent its growth.⁵⁴³ This echoes the medical thinking that understood hair as a part of the body reflecting both the internal state of an individual's health, but also being affected by external elements.

The less expensive bags and queues became popular in France from 1715, when the inconvenient full-bottomed wig had fallen out of popular use.⁵⁴⁴ A 'queue' (French) was the tail or small plait, which held the hair back neatly, working in a similar way to a bag but displaying, rather than hiding, the hair. The trend appears to have followed suit in England, and by the late 1720s wig makers commonly advertise the "tye wigs...cues and horse-hair tyes", priced according to the type of hair used.⁵⁴⁵ This opened up the market and allowed many more people to own and wear wigs than had been possible when the expensive, full-bottomed and campaign wigs were popular. Probate records recording debts owed to the deceased can indicate the numbers of non-elite customers purchasing wigs. An example from the 1743 probate inventory of Isaac Dod, peruke maker of Surrey, lists at least fourteen

⁵⁴² English Periwig-Maker, *A Dissertation Upon Head Dress; Together With A Brief Vindication of High Coloured Hair* (London: Printed for J. Williams, 1767), p. 16.

⁵⁴³ Alexander Stewart, *The Natural Production of Hair, or its Growth and Decay* (London: Printed for the Author, 1795), p. 5.

⁵⁴⁴ Kwass, 'Big Hair', p. 645.

⁵⁴⁵ *Daily Post*, Issue 3018, 23 May 1729.

names of customers, owing at least one or two pounds each for wigs.⁵⁴⁶

Bobs quickly became associated with professions and trades, to the extent they were considered unacceptable in certain social circles. A 1776 satirical account describes a bachelor whose proposal of marriage was refused on the following grounds:

... she objected to some few articles in his dress, which he smilingly told her, was the uniform of a Tradesman, and could not with propriety be laid aside...he was in a short time told in so many words “that unless he would exchange his bob wig for a queue, he must lose the lady”. He stuck to the bob and is still a Batchelor.⁵⁴⁷

As well as the standard descriptive names associated with the style of the wig they were also linked to celebrated or notorious places, or explicitly connected to military triumphs. The ‘campaign’ wig, which appeared during the early eighteenth century, was the most popular of these. Campaign wigs were worn long, in three sections of twisted hair, two of which would hang over the shoulders and the third, down the back. The sections were commonly knotted at the end, which would create weight to aid the way the hair would fall (Illustration 5.8). The ‘Ramillies wig’, specifically named after a 1706 campaign as part of the War of the Spanish Succession, which had a plait hanging down the back of the head, was considered neat and economical

⁵⁴⁶ TNA, PROB 31/237/475, ‘Exhibit 1743/475, ‘Isaac Dod of Camberwell, Surrey, Baker and Puke Maker, Keeper of a Public House’, (June 1743). The range of debt owed starts at 15s, and goes as high as £9.

⁵⁴⁷ *The Westminster Magazine or the Pantheon of Taste...* (London: Printed for T. Wright, 1776), vol. 6, p. 351.

in appearance and the amount of hair used and popular among the military of all European nations.⁵⁴⁸

The wig worn by the effigy of the Duke of Buckingham in Westminster Abbey is a rare survival of a campaign wig, with a short, twisted queue at the back and two large knotted curls at either side (Illustration 3.4, p. 135). The ceremonial aspect of wig wearing appealed in a military context, and it was common for high-ranking, aristocratic military commanders to have their portrait painted in ceremonial armour complete with a full wig (Illustration 5.9). Despite the impracticalities of wearing the full-bottomed wig in battle, the addition of the wig is to symbolise power, stature and authority in command.

⁵⁴⁸ Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress*, p. 29.



Illustration 5.7. Portrait of Henry Fownes Luttrell, by Unknown Artist, (1730-40), ©National Trust Images/John Hammond, Image No. 104182.



Illustration 5.8. Portrait of Francis Luttrell, by John Vanderbank, (1729),
©National Trust Images/John Hammond, Image no. 104179



Illustration 5.9. Portrait of Prince James Francis Edward Stuart, c. 1712, by Alexis Simon Belle © National Portrait Gallery, London. NPG 348.

A further style taking inspiration from current events, was the ‘tyburn top’, identified in the Oxford English Dictionary as a “wig with the foretop combed over the eyes in a knowing style”.⁵⁴⁹ A macabre example connecting wig styles to popular events or places, the ‘tyburn top’ was not always a complete wig but a hair piece, as described in *Sir John Fielding’s Hue and Cry* for Bow-Street, London: “Richard Martin... wears his own Hair, light brown, with Tyburn Top, and a false Tail”.⁵⁵⁰ As is to be expected from the name, it is largely connected in popular literature to the criminal classes, or those whose behaviour could not be trusted, such as in the poem (1765?) *The Wig. A Burlesque-Satirical Poem by the Author of More Fun*, in which “...by the Tyburn top of modern make, that so distinguishes the city rake!”⁵⁵¹ The tyburn top was as likely to be used in popular literature as a symbol to destabilise and undermine the authority of the traditional elite with which wigs were associated, as it was to be a commonly worn hairpiece.

5.6 Conclusion

The many styles and shapes of wigs grew and developed throughout the period as the market for wigs became more diverse, with certain styles increasingly associated with certain professions or levels of social status. This presented an opportunity to use the wig to project an image that could either directly conform with or contradict common standards of dress and behaviour. Whilst this is true to an extent of all fashion, the wig and hairstyle was particularly key in this regard as it was seen as an

⁵⁴⁹ "Tyburn, n.". OED Online. June 2013, Oxford University Press.

⁵⁵⁰ *The Manchester Mercury and Harrop’s General Advertiser*, 2 March 1722.

⁵⁵¹ Anon., *The Wig. A Burlesque-satirical Poem, By the Author of More Fun* (London: Printed for the Author, 1765), p. 6.

indicator of the internal state of the body and mind, which enabled moral judgements to be made on the individual. Wigs offered the opportunity to display a healthy head of hair, and therefore a youthful appearance. A well-kept, powdered wig was associated with a clean, neat appearance, though, as some commentators were aware, this did not necessarily indicate intrinsic cleanliness on the part of the wearer. Men were willing to commit a significant amount of time to maintaining a shaved head in order to wear a wig, and those who could afford it would spend large sums of money on purchasing and maintaining them. They were used consciously by individuals to project a certain self-image, and acted on a larger scale as a means for individuals to publicly associate themselves with specific groups. The use and function of wigs discussed in this chapter, and the unique meanings ascribed to them due to their connection to a part of the body, is further explored in the following chapter, which considers eighteenth-century ideas about the morality of wearing hair.

PART THREE: Consuming Hair

CHAPTER SIX

Wearing Hair: The Morality of Physical Transformation

Wigs and real hair alike were worn to physically demonstrate health, youth and beauty. As discussed above, the style of hair or type of wig could communicate the place of the wearer in the social order. Whether decorative or practical, the wig acted as a symbol of profession or status, and as a marker of class. This chapter explores the eighteenth-century understanding of the physical relationship of hair to the character of the individual, and how this was translated, interpreted and understood in a moral context. It seeks to understand how, through control of the hair, it was possible to transform the body and present a self other than the ‘true self’ to the wider world. The idea that head hair could communicate usually hidden, internal qualities about a person, from the state of their health to the state of their inner thoughts and behaviour, provided a way by which people could establish levels of reliability and respectability in those with whom they came into contact. This understanding that malign thoughts or actions could not be hidden, and that people’s looks were an indication as to whether they were trustworthy, placed a high premium on physical identity.

6.1 The Physical Nature of Hair: Judging Character, Behaviour and Identity

The corporeal exterior was believed to be a window into the state of the corporeal interior - so the skin, limbs, face, complexion and colouring unique to an individual

were signposts to their internal physical imbalances and humoural constitution. This thesis has largely focussed on the ‘physical’ understanding of the nature of hair and its relationship to the body. However, in a medical landscape that traditionally understood the mind and body as one entity, ‘character’ was also understood to relate to the bodily state, and physical hair-type was also seen as the physical embodiment of the mental make-up.

Swiss physiognomist Johann Kasper Lavater (1741 - 1801), in line with many of his near contemporaries including Thomas Short (1690? - 1772) and Theophilus Lobb (1678 - 1763), believed that individuals’ character was fixed and expressed by their constitution, and that their constitution was in turn reflected in their physical make up.⁵⁵² This view was based on the traditional humoural system of four constitutions: melancholic, phlegmatic, choleric and sanguine (illustrated by Lavater in order left to right in Illustration 6.1). It described those with a ‘sanguine’, or hot and dry constitution as more likely to have curly red or black hair, while those with a ‘lymphatic’ (phlegmatic) or cold and dry constitution had straight or soft hair.⁵⁵³

⁵⁵² Martina Reuter, ‘Physiognomy as Science and Art’, in Sara Heinamaa, and Martina Reuter (eds.), *Psychology and Philosophy: Inquiries into the Soul from Late Scholasticism to Contemporary Thought* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2009), p. 173.

⁵⁵³ See for example Theophilus Lobb, *The Practice of Physic in General, as Delivered in a Course of Lectures on the Theory of Diseases* (London: Printed for the Author, 1771), pp. 28-30.

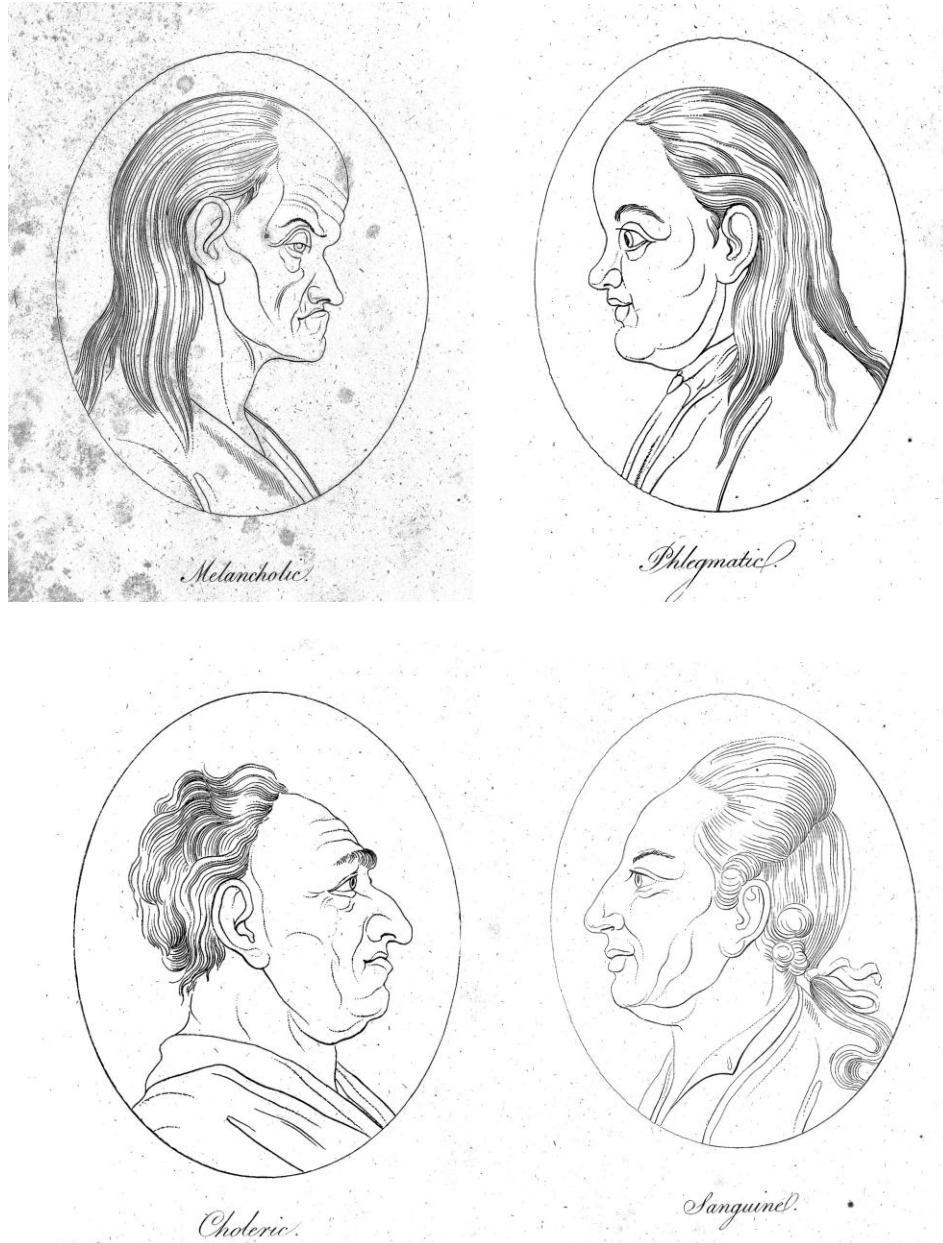


Illustration 6.1. *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe* (1775-1778) by Johann Kaspar Lavater Wellcome Library, (London, H.D. Symonds, 1804), 14849639.

The individual's constitutional type could also affect how much hair they may have, so that those with hot, sanguine constitutions were more likely to have hair in great quantity all over their body, while at the other end of the scale, cold, phlegmatic types would have fair, thin hair in less plentiful quantities.⁵⁵⁴ Straight, flat hair was seen to signify a cold, dry constitution, while curly hair corresponded to a person with more heat and very thick hair was a sign of too many "excrementitious parts", suggestive of excess heat.⁵⁵⁵ Lavater described how an examination of length, thickness and texture of hair could enable a greater understanding of the relationship between the brain and the body.⁵⁵⁶ Illustration 6.1, from this work, connects the four key constitutional types directly with their physical attributes such as facial features, posture and hair. It shows clearly the relationship between the hair thickness, length and texture with the countenance of the individual, when the hair is left in its natural state.

These concepts signified an important shift in understanding of individual health and behaviour. Ideas of excessive behaviour as linked to excess of fluids and juices within the body gave rise to the belief that individual control over one's health was possible. If an individual deliberately acted to disrupt the balance of their internal fluids, through indulgences such as heavy drinking, they could make themselves ill.⁵⁵⁷ Those who chose to eat or drink to excess were therefore deemed responsible for their own bad condition. This introduced the possibility of moral

⁵⁵⁴ Thomas Short, *A Rational Discourse on the Inward Uses of Water Showing its Nature, Choice and Agreeableness to the Blood* (London: Printed for the Author, 1725), p. 19.

⁵⁵⁵ David Abercromby, *A Discourse of Wit* (London: Printed for John Weld, 1686), p. 76.

⁵⁵⁶ Johann Caspar Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy, Designed to Promote the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind* (London: John Murray, 1789), Vol. 3, p. 47.

⁵⁵⁷ Ulinka Rublack, and Pamela Selwyn, 'Fluxes: The Early Modern Body and the Emotions', *History Workshop Journal*, 53:1 (2002), p. 5.

judgement being applied as to an individual's behaviours based on their outward physical appearance.

Hair was also seen to give away certain undesirable behaviours, such as lust or over-indulgence. In the traditional humoural understanding of medicine, as discussed in the first part of the thesis, heat was seen to be vital for life and an excess of heat seen as an explanation for various character or behaviour defects. Hair was believed to grow in those with a moist humoural disposition, and to fall out as the natural heat was lost. "Excess in carnal pleasure" was one way in which moisture was understood to be lost, leaving those with balding or thinning hair vulnerable to being considered lecherous.⁵⁵⁸ Bald men were also thought to be deceitful, as a result of their hot and dry, choleric complexion.⁵⁵⁹ Men who regularly visited prostitutes or took part in any sort of debauchery were considered likely to find their hair had less vigour.⁵⁶⁰ Drinking too much alcohol could also be detected through the hair, according to physician and clergy man, Stephen Hales (1677 - 1761):

It is the known Observation of Dealers in Hair for Wigs, that they can distinguish the Dram-drinker's Hair by the Touch, finding it dry, harsh, dead-ended, and unfit for Use.⁵⁶¹

Interest in hair as a raw material extended beyond moralising about lifestyle or potentially malevolent characteristics to hair no longer on the head of the natural owner. Provenance was a key concern here, as we have seen. Hair was imported

⁵⁵⁸ William Salmon, *The Works of Aristotle, Complete in Four Parts* (London, Printed for L. Hawes and Co., 1776) p. 12.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁵⁶⁰ J. Stevens Cox (ed.), *The Wig Maker's Art in the Eighteenth Century. A Translation of the Section of Wig Making in the Third Edition, 1776, of the Encyclopedie, of Denis Diderot and Jean D'Alembert*, (Beaminster: Toucan Press, 1965), p. 7.

⁵⁶¹ Stephen Hales, *A treatise on Ventilators... Part second* (London: Richard Manby, 1758), p. 196.

from abroad in great quantities though was often treated with suspicion. Attacks against French hair were common as part of on going anti-Gallic propaganda. Anxiety around the physical nature of hair from countries considered unclean or with poor hygiene practices was also common. This mistrust over the cleanliness of foreign hair is likely to have been used as a reason to protect the domestic market, as much as genuine fear around provenance, but manifested itself as a fear and abhorrence of other nations.

6.2 The Morality of Long Hair

The physicality of hair was at its most evident when worn long. Long hair on men in particular attracted much debate throughout the early modern period. Described by Lavater as “always an indication of weakness, and the mark of a feminine character...”, long hair was commonly associated with uncontrolled sexuality, explained by the heat and moisture needed to make it grow, and the connection to women’s constitutionally moist bodies.⁵⁶² Short, cropped hair, in contrast commonly associated with the celibacy of monks, was connected with control and restraint. Long hair as a potent symbol has led to some societies trying to control hair through cutting, as a means of social, political and religious control.⁵⁶³ This enforced cutting of the hair suggests that long hair, especially when worn by men, was considered to represent deviance in some societies, and worn as a physical expression of association with groups or belief systems considered to undermine the status quo.

⁵⁶² Johann Caspar Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy, Designed to Promote the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind* (London: John Murray, 1789), p. 416.

⁵⁶³ C.R. Hallpike, ‘Social Hair’, *Man*, 4 (1969), p. 141.

For those who believed hair could be a transporter of infection, anyone wearing a long wig was a potential risk. One eighteenth-century commentator suggested that that long wigs were possibly dirtier than kennels or streets, and that “ambition would still court dangerous wearing whatever plague were in it”.⁵⁶⁴ Again, it is possible to trace an underlying concern that it was vanity that drew men to wig wearing, regardless of the potential dangers to their health and that of those around them.

During the Interregnum, when puritan ideals of respectability were in focus, the modesty of personal attire such as recommendations as to the length of the hair, was of great interest to the clergy who saw their role as offering guidance to their congregations in matters of decency and morally acceptable clothing.⁵⁶⁵ It is in this context that Thomas Hall published *The Loathsomenesse of Long Haire* (1654). Thomas Hall was a pastor at Kings Norton in the Midlands. Hall refers in his text to several similar diatribes by religious men, so it is likely that when he published his sermon on the destructive nature of long hair in 1654, many people would have heard other sermons like it. The publication serves as an indication of the strong feelings seen in a theological context for the masculine wearing of long hair. His argument is based around the biblical notion from Corinthians that “...if a man hath long haire, it is a shame unto him, but if a woman hath long haire, it is a praise unto her; for her haire is given her for a covering”.⁵⁶⁶ He upheld the popular fear that:

⁵⁶⁴ Mr. Place, *An Hypothetical Notion of the Plague; and Some Out-of-the-Way Thoughts About It* (London: Printed for the Author, 1721) p. 26.

⁵⁶⁵ Diana De Marly, *Fashion for Men: An Illustrated History* (London: Batsford, 1985), p. 51.

⁵⁶⁶ Hall, *Long Haire*, p. 22.

to correct Gods handy-work, and in the pride of their heart to think they can make themselves better than God hath made them, and can correct his creation was not only unnatural but would incur the wrath of God.⁵⁶⁷

This mirrors the words of another prolific puritan, judge Samuel Sewall (1652 - 1730), who moved from England to the north American colony of Newbury, Massachusetts and made several notes in his diary as to his displeasure at various acquaintances taking up the fashion of wig-wearing, seeing it as a symbol of vanity and unwillingness to accept God's ordinance.⁵⁶⁸

A man with long hair could be viewed as unmanly, effeminate and lacking in dignity. This blurring of gender distinctions was viewed with suspicion by certain religious and moral commentators, acting as defenders of masculinity who complained about "how unmanly do they [those wearing long hair of wigs] look... how do they deface Manhood, and ridiculously depart from the Dignity of the Sex".⁵⁶⁹

Pastor Thomas Hall associated long hair with violent men, "ragged rascals, nasty varlets, raggimuffin souldiers, tinkers, crate-carriers [and] jayle-birds".⁵⁷⁰ The artifice and "unnatural" power of long hair and wig wearing that he preached against was seen as a sign of social decay and corruption.⁵⁷¹ Concepts of natural and unnatural are a continuous concern in the context of hair as we have seen, and the large full-bottomed periwigs popular towards the end of the seventeenth century would have given the religiously conservative such as Pastor Hall cause for unease.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 16.

⁵⁶⁸ See Samuel Sewall, *The Diary and Life of Samuel Sewall* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1988).

⁵⁶⁹ Country Clergyman, *Of Luxury, More Particularly with Respect to Apparel* (London: T. Green, 1736), p. 11.

⁵⁷⁰ Hall, *Long Haire*, p. 69.

⁵⁷¹ Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, p. 123.

Hall believed that the fashion for long hair in men was on the increase during his lifetime as “all the reign of Queen Elizabeth, King James and the beginning of the late Kings [Charles I] reign was short haire”, and the fact that he published his sermon in the 1650s would seem to indicate that the fashion was already growing.⁵⁷² The fashion for huge French periwigs had certainly become visible with the return of Charles II, so that within a decade of Hall’s publication, his preaching that “these periwigs of false-coloured haire (which begin to be rife even amongst scholars in the universities) are utterly unlawful and are condemned by Christ himself”, was clearly not a sentiment shared by the elite.⁵⁷³ *The Loathsomeness of Long Haire* does however offer a valuable indication of the underlying feelings held in certain corners of society and the ingrained symbolism of hair in religious dogma.

Religious commentators continued to condemn fashions in hair as the century progressed. Cutting off one’s own hair in order to replace it with a wig was considered to be wasteful of the natural resources given by God, as described by the Earl of Clarendon in the late seventeenth century:

Men who are plentifully adorned with Hair of their own Growth should so much affect Baldness which hath somewhat of Shame in it, though produced by Nature and Infirmitie, as to cut off and deprive themselves of what is their own, only that they may be at the Charge of Perriwig of a better Colour, and the Hair better and handsomer planted than God and Nature chose to give them.⁵⁷⁴

To actively remove all the hair growing on one’s head, and to do so for reasons of pride in trying to improve one’s natural hair was seen as seeking to control God and

⁵⁷² Hall, *Long Haire*, p. 14.

⁵⁷³ Ibid., p. 15.

⁵⁷⁴ Clarendon, *Compleat Collection*, p. 299.

nature. Pride is a common theme in the religious writings of the time, which focussed on extremes in fashion as an outward display of a lack of morals. Why change what God had provided, if it was sufficient for basic bodily needs such as keeping warm? At best, wigs were considered unnecessary, at worst they were deemed to undervalue and slight the divine wisdom of God.⁵⁷⁵ Hercules Collins (*d.* 1702), Baptist Minister, believed that powdering the hair was unworthy of all age groups, the young for wasting their youth by pretending to be “gray, hoary and white” and the old for attempting to “exceed nature”.⁵⁷⁶ Particularly for the clergy, Collins stated in his instruction for ministers, that the wearing of powder could undermine the “Carriage, Habit and Deportment”, which should be the primary way for a good minister to convey closeness to God.⁵⁷⁷

The length of hair caused problems within religious and moralistic commentary primarily in respect to gender, as discussed above. As the eighteenth century progressed there was a sense that long hair for men was acceptable insofar as it could designate an individual’s participation in social structures within a publicly defined role.⁵⁷⁸ In the context of a respectable, public role, long hair came to be considered acceptable, if not appropriate, though it had to be structured, symmetrical and dressed. It could be worn in such a way at formal occasions, or as part of a social role, to create the sense of homogeneity amongst groups of professionals, politicians or tradesmen. This had the advantage of identifying them with a particular group, and enabling the group to appear more visible and potent. It provided a sense of

⁵⁷⁵ Bockett, *Pride Expos’d*, p. 98.

⁵⁷⁶ Hercules Collins, *The Temple Repair’d: Or, an Essay to Revive the Long-Neglected Ordinances* (London: William and Joseph Marshall, 1702), p. 30.

⁵⁷⁷ Collins, *Temple Repair’d*, p. 30.

⁵⁷⁸ Elizabeth Bartman, ‘Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment’, *Archaeological Institute of America*, 105:1 (2001), p. 5.

structure and orderliness that came from everyone knowing their place, and knowing the place of everyone else.

In order for a man to strike the right moral tone with his hair, the ideal was to find the right balance between not wasting what nature or God had provided, and yet not wearing it so long as to appear uncontrolled or unclean. As medical theory believed the length of the hair was connected to the quality and quantity of the humour from which it was nourished, so the health and character of the individual would also affect the length.⁵⁷⁹ To cut the hair too short, or to hide it with a wig, would disguise any signs of disease that could be judged from the state of the hair. Venereal disease in particular was considered to be detectable through the quality of the hair. Some physicians, including John Astruc (1684 - 1766), physician to the King of France, believed that the “infectious matter” created by venereal disease could corrode individual hairs, and even the roots in very acrimonious cases.⁵⁸⁰

6.3 Hair and Identity: To Conceal, Disguise and Control

As well as scrutinising the length, the colour of the hair was also a subject for anxiety and suspicion because it was seen as a fixed feature. To deliberately seek to change the natural hair colour was to seek to change the nature of the person. The theory that hair was formed according to internal humoral make-up (as with length, texture and thickness) allowed for it to be a permanent feature upon which individuals could be judged for their behaviours. According to Edmund Gayton (1608 - 66), beadle in arts and medicine at St. John's College, Oxford:

⁵⁷⁹ Moore, *Art of Hair-dressing*, p. 5.

⁵⁸⁰ John Astruc, *A Treatise of the Venereal Disease in 6 Books* (London: W. Innys and R. Manby, 1737), vol. 2, p. 21.

A man may have a very goodly Beard and yet be a Pimpe: and a man may have never a haire on his head, and be a Whoremaster; and a man may have ne'r a hair on his face, and be an Eunuch...beards of all fashions are nought; and you need not so precisely keep your wife from [men with] Black-beard... Browne is as dangerous; Yellow worst and Red worst of all.⁵⁸¹

As discussed above, red hair was something of a cause for concern, bringing with it associations of menstrual blood and the moist, leaky nature of women's bodies.⁵⁸² Red hair in women was taken as an indication of unpleasant internal physicality:

...Directions for chusing a Nurse...she must not be red-hair'd...as usually red-hair'd have, and sometimes also those that are very black-hair'd and white skins; for their Milk is hot, sharp and stinking, and also of an ill Taste⁵⁸³

This belief was possible in a medical system that understood qualities such as strength and vitality to come from the inner being. According to George Cheyne, these qualities could be strengthened through diet and exercise, and were therefore in the control of the individual.⁵⁸⁴ Even those considered to be more genteel were at risk from going grey prematurely, since they were considered too obsessed with cleanliness and washing.⁵⁸⁵ This view represents a major shift from the traditional

⁵⁸¹ Edmund Gayton, *Pleasant Notes Upon Don Quixot* (London: Printed by William Hunt, 1654), p. 120.

⁵⁸² Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990) discusses in detail perceptions of male and female bodies.

⁵⁸³ Francois Mauriceau, *The Diseases of Women with Child, and in Child-bed* (London: Andrew Bell, at the Cross-Keys and Bible in Cornhill, 1710), p. 371.

⁵⁸⁴ Cheyne, *English Malady*, p. 305.

⁵⁸⁵ William Moore, *The Art of Hair-Dressing and Making it Grow Fast, Together with a Plain and Easy Method of Preserving It* (Bath: Printed by J. Salmon, 1780), p. 12.

humoural understanding which saw such attributes as imposed from a higher power, and placed them in the control of the individual.

Colour could be disguised and changed of course, as discussed above. Hair was seen as central to the display of youth and beauty, and hair dyes were employed to hide or change a colour that exposed unhealthy constitutional tendencies or poor moral fibre. Changing the hair, or wearing a wig, had the effect of transforming an individual's physical appearance, or at least of enhancing it, and this led to the suspicion that the wearer may also have disguised or somehow transformed their inner being. This type of transformation was looked on with mistrust, as the reasons someone might wish to change their appearance were unlikely to be honest or straightforward. Those seeking to conceal for what were considered illegal or immoral reasons, often with criminal intent, commonly used wigs to deliberately disguise their physical appearance. In one such example, an account of the trial of William Brodie in 1788 describes how Brodie, the perpetrator, was in possession of a:

wig of Brodie's father's in his pocket, in order to disguise himself: That the wig and scarf...were left in the second arch from the south of the North Bridge: That the scarf was within the wig.⁵⁸⁶

Newspapers also carried stories of those who had deliberately disguised themselves to commit crimes or to escape from custody, such as in *The Times* from 1785:

He left the prison disguised as a physician, having shaved his head and eye - brows, put on a bag wig, and painted his face, so that the turnkeys had not the slightest suspicion.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁶ William Brodie, *Extract from the Accounts of the Trial of William Brodie and George Smith, Before the High Court of Justiciary*, (Edinburgh, A. Robertson, 1788), p. 37.

This emphasises the extent to which certain styles of wig had become entwined with particular professions, as discussed previously, as a mere glance at the wig satisfied the observer as to the wearer's place in society.

If wigs could be used to disguise appearances, and appearance was considered a mirror for the hidden inner nature, there was anxiety as to whether the wig could be used to disguise, or transform, the character itself. This was a particular danger for seventeenth-century pastor Thomas Hall, who feared that if the hair “may be of some harlot, who is now in Hell, lamenting there the abuse of that excrement” then it was impossible to know the true nature of that person:

They can make that white which was black... can make themselves black or white even what please themselves.⁵⁸⁸

Thomas Tryon (1634 - 1703), a merchant with an interest in health, took this a stage further stating that objects were also imbued with a spirituality, which could be transferred upon the person who owned or wore the object. He believed that the light-coloured wigs and powder that were in fashion not only gave the wearer the appearance of being healthy, but also held the potential to impose health upon a person.⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸⁷ *The Times*, Issue 150, 20 June 1785, p. 3, col. A.

⁵⁸⁸ Thomas Hall, *Comarum Akosmia, The Loathsomnesse of Long Haire* (London: J.G. for Nathaniel Webb and William Grantham, 1654), p. 15.

⁵⁸⁹ Thomas Tryon, *The Knowledge of a Man's Self the surest guide to the true worship of God and good government of the mind and body* (London, 1704), p. 311.

6.4 Transforming Hair into Fashion: Profiting from the Body

Those who made their living dressing and powdering the hair or fitting wigs were equally under scrutiny for propagating these immoral practices. This judgement was exacerbated since those working in the hair trade were required to become physically close to their clients, and to build what were perceived as intimate relationships. This placed a high value on the way in which society in general perceived the occupation and those who participated in the business of hair. The decline of the traditional fair and the rise of fixed retail establishments meant that customers were required to enter the premises from which the service was offered, or the goods were sold, in order to peruse the selection on offer.⁵⁹⁰ This required greater contact with the customer and enabled scrutiny of the shop and its levels of cleanliness.

If respectability and a trustworthy reputation were essential to those who made a living from hair, the intimate nature of the work, and the unnatural, excessive nature of the wigs and hairstyles produced, gave rise to a particular scrutiny of the hair trade in the popular imagination. As discussed in section two of the thesis, the barber's trade had been considered a respectable, ancient profession thanks to its long-established guild and historical connections to the surgeons. However, being a barber did not command such a reputation throughout the eighteenth century. Seen as a trade of servitude, the attributes required to become a barber were described in the trade directories as "genteel, active, obliging, have sweet breath and a light hand".⁵⁹¹ The introduction of wig making, commonly undertaken by barbers, could have

⁵⁹⁰ Christina Fowler, 'Changes in Provincial Retail Practice During the Eighteenth Century, with Particular Reference to Central-Southern England', *Business History*, 40:4 (1998), p. 38.

⁵⁹¹ Collyer, *Parent's and Guardian's Directory*, p. 9.

contributed to this change in status, as agents of creating what some believed to be false, deviant wigs.

As discussed throughout the thesis, provenance was possibly the single most significant factor in relation to the purchase of a wig. This concern related to the nature of the person from whom the hair had originated, and whether they were respectable, clean and in good health. Knowing and trusting the source of the hair was the key to maintaining good business for the wig maker, whose customers above all things required hair from uncontaminated sources, in both a moral and physical sense. For the customer who would be wearing the hair, and wanted to ensure it came from a respectable source, trusting the reputation of the barber or wig maker was of paramount importance. When it came to the buying and selling of hair as a human commodity, there was a moral concern about the ability for disreputable people to make a profit by selling their hair, as discussed here by the Earl of Clarendon:

that the buying of Hair, for the Supply of Men and Women who have store enough, should become a Trade to grow rich by; and that those Merchants should have Factors over the whole Kingdom, to purchase the Hair of Beggars, Thieves and Drabs, to adorn the empty and light Heads of Lords and Ladies.⁵⁹²

The Earl of Clarendon (1609-74) understood the irony that hair from squalid or criminal classes was being worn by the vacuous upper classes, but treated all who profited from hair with the same disdain, regardless of their social status. In this consideration of the commodification of hair as a part of the body, the writer

⁵⁹² Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *A Compleat Collection of Tracts by that Eminent Statesman The Right Honourable Edward, Earl of Clarendon* (London: C. Davis in Holbourn, 1747), p. 299.

(notably an aristocrat himself) makes social status irrelevant as he considers all participants in the buying, selling and wearing of hair as equally deserving of contempt.

Wig makers and, in particular, hairdressers were connected to the fashionable world in a way barbers had not previously been, and fashion was a subject for comment and moral examination. The increasing business from the 'middling sort', who as we have seen, brought a fashionable respectability to wig wearing, had thrust the profession into this new world of fashion. Barbers may have avoided moral questions as to the nature of their work for centuries, but the growth of wig makers and hairdressers provided a new motivation for scrutinising the profession.



Illustration 6.2, *A Barbers Shop*, after Thomas Rowlandson, Wellcome Library (London, Late Eighteenth Century, 31566i)

This scrutiny started with the physical spaces in which barbers and wig makers operated. Through their shops they could demonstrate their levels of cleanliness and respectability, yet their premises were often depicted in popular caricature as frenetic and chaotic places attracting a range of unwholesome customers. Illustration 6.2 shows a satirical portrayal of the wig makers and barbers in a greedy light, with a dog causing chaos in the foreground. The corpulent barber mirrors the corpulent customer depicted in the image, with the size of their stomachs impeding the business of fitting wigs.

The other centre for business was at the house of the customer. Unlike many other tradesmen, who would deal primarily with servants, wig makers and hairdressers required direct physical contact with the customers who were likely to hold higher social status. This made qualities such as a trustworthy nature, presentable appearance and good manners especially important to business. The direct meeting of higher and lower orders would have left hairdressers vulnerable to the prevailing public impression of the trade and its practitioners. As with all occupations, a small number of hairdressers were unscrupulous or opportunistic, and hairdressers were occasionally convicted of crimes brought about through exploiting their intimate connection to wealthy customers. John Miller, convicted in 1788 for stealing a waistcoat and a pair of stockings, was noted in the judge's report as having been able to commit the crime after "being let into the house as a hairdresser".⁵⁹³ As well as gaining access to private spaces such as homes, hair practitioners were known for a semi-itinerant lifestyle, frequently travelling to buy hair, visiting fashionable centres during the season for work, or accompanying wealthy customers on their travels.

⁵⁹³ TNA, HO 47/9/13 'Judges Reports on Criminals', 24 June 1789.

This expectation of a peripatetic life could provide a cover for criminal activity, as it would have been possible to disappear from a place relatively quickly. In the example of Thomas Abley, peruke maker and hairdresser, who was convicted at Gloucestershire Assizes in 1792 for stealing banknotes, it was noted in the judge's report that he frequented "public places of resort" and lodged at an inn from where he had stolen the notes.⁵⁹⁴ As discussed above, though a few individuals made a very good living from hair, it was not generally a lucrative form of work and as such relative poverty was not uncommon.

Fashion had long been a subject of interest for moral commentators, and the wig was no exception, particularly in regard to its ability to transform or disguise the true nature. The varied forms and styles of wigs were considered by some commentators to be unnatural, and Richard Campbell in his 1747 *The London Tradesman* remarked disparagingly on those wearing wigs as to who can "deviate most from nature" in appearance. Whilst directing the remark towards the consumers of such fashions, he also observed that those engaged in this branch of trade were equally responsible for propagating the "perpetual masquerade" that was false hair.⁵⁹⁵ Campbell did concede that wig makers needed to exhibit a certain amount of ingenuity to keep up with the "continual Flux and Reflux of Fashions, obliging him to learn something new almost every Day".⁵⁹⁶

The physical similarity between silhouettes created by wigs of the same style was also apparent in an everyday context. This was noted by commentators, particularly in consideration of the artificial nature wigs, and that "one man's Hair is

⁵⁹⁴ TNA, HO 47/14/46, 'Report of Richard Perryn on One Individual Petition...', 8 September 1792.

⁵⁹⁵ R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London: T. Gardner, 1747), p. 204.

⁵⁹⁶ Campbell, *Tradesman*, p. 204.

as like that of another as two Drops of Water”.⁵⁹⁷ Richard Campbell similarly observed in 1747:

There are numbers of beings in about this metropolis who have no other identical existence than what the taylor, milliner and periwig maker bestow upon them: strip them of these distinctions and they are quite a different species of beings, have no more relation to their dressed selves than they have to the great mogul, and are as insignificant in society as Punch, deprived of his moving wires and hung up upon a peg.⁵⁹⁸

Campbell recognises throughout his survey that an awareness of fashion is a factor of some significance for many of the trades in London. However, he expressed a key concern about the facility of fashionable clothing, such as hats and wigs, to standardise the appearance to such an extent that they threatened to remove individual agency, and turn consumers into puppets. The image of the vacant clothing as an empty shell is a powerful expression of the moral questions focussing on wig wearing, and fashionable dress in general, at the time. By this reading, fashion was seen as a meaningless frivolity, which highlighted the moral vacuum religious commentators perceived to exist in society at large.

⁵⁹⁷ *London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer* (London: Printed by C. Ackers, 1736), vol. 5, p. 365.

⁵⁹⁸ Campbell, *London Tradesman*, p. 191.

6.5 The Construction and Deconstruction of Social Order

However mistrusted in moral terms, dress fulfilled an important social function in that it was considered to be an important signifier of social status. Sumptuary laws had existed in England from the fourteenth century until the early seventeenth century and focussed on enforcing class distinctions through control of dress, albeit with limited success.⁵⁹⁹ In reality, access to more fashionable clothing greatly increased during the period. The eighteenth century also saw a simplification in style, which further blurred the class distinctions through clothing, and enabled new styles to be produced in more affordable versions.⁶⁰⁰

Wigs seem to have become fundamental to the male image within a decade of making their first appearance. By the late seventeenth century it was considered a social *faux pas* for a gentleman to be seen outside without wearing his wig. *The Rules of Civility* (1678), published with the subtitle “certain ways of deportment observed amongst all persons of quality upon several occasions” stated:

It is indecent, in the company of Ladies, or any other serious persons, to pull off your cloak, to pull off your Periwig or doublet, to pick your teeth, to scratch your head... It would be as ridiculous as for a horse Officer to appear before his General at a muster, in his shoes instead of his boots.⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁹ Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality* (London: Batsford, 1987), p. 14.

⁶⁰⁰ Lawrence E. Klein, ‘Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century’, *The Historical Journal*, 45:4 (2002), p. 883. See also for France: Cissie Fairchild, ‘The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth Century Paris’, in Roy Porter and John Brewer (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 228-249.

⁶⁰¹ Antoine de Courtin, *The Rules of Civility: or, the Maxims of Genteel Behaviour* (London: Printed for R. Scott, 1703). p. 32.

Within certain circles, the wig retained its fundamental place as a part of dress for almost one hundred years. In 1789, when James Boswell found his wig missing after sharing a room in an inn, he felt unable to join a party later that day having had to keep his nightcap on, and is said to have travelled twenty-five miles to purchase a new wig.⁶⁰² Despite falling out of fashion in many quarters, the wig still added an extra layer of formality in public and was clearly considered by some to remain an essential element of social order.

The risk of using artefacts such as wigs in this way to establish social order, was that it was becoming easier for all levels of society to procure and wear false hair, alongside the other accoutrements required for the display of high status. The ability of the lower classes to procure clothing previously perceived beyond their status, gave rise to anxiety that individuals had the power to deliberately challenge class divisions. This had the potential to disrupt carefully constructed social ranks as delineated by the wearing of wigs in the late seventeenth century. The upper classes were concerned that by wearing hair and clothes once considered unavailable to them, those lower down the social spectrum would be able to project an image that could mask their real place in society. The *London Magazine* for 1772 reported that the classes were imitating one another so closely that “the lower orders of the people (if there are any, for distinctions are now confounded) are equally immersed in their fashionable vices”.⁶⁰³

⁶⁰² Kathleen Adler, and Marcia Pointon (eds.) *The Body Imaged: The Human Form and Visual Culture since the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) p. 120.

⁶⁰³ Cited in Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialisation of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Hutchinson, 1983), p. 53.

The association of certain styles of hair to particular professions was deeply engrained in public life, as discussed above. However, the increase in both availability and accessibility to wigs as they became cheaper, smaller and more convenient threatened to undermine this system, and made it difficult to equate the type of wig a person wore to class or profession. The wig's ability to bring order and rank to society was certainly a recognised and valued function of wig wearing. In a society that relied on many markers of class to people according to social status, the functions of the wig as a symbol of class were well rehearsed. *The St James's Chronicle* (1765) printed a letter allegedly from a wig maker arguing that without the wig it was hard to distinguish the role of the individual in society:

[the difficulty of distinguishing] the Servant from the Master, or the Peer from the Mechanick...a Quarter of a Yard of Ribbon behind at once dubs a Man a Gentleman; whereas formerly the Quality of the Wearer was measured by the Length, and computed by the Fullness of his Peruke.⁶⁰⁴

In an attempt to prove such associations, a Doctor Somerville deliberately appeared among his colleagues with his footman wearing his traditional doctor's tye wig. The purpose of the experiment was to illustrate that simply wearing the wig did not turn the wearer into a doctor.⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰⁴ *The St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* Issue 616, 12 February – 14 February 1765.

⁶⁰⁵ Robert John Thornton, *The Philosophy of Medicine* (London: Printed by C. Whittingham, 1799), Vol. 2, p. 43.

6.6 Wigs in the Popular Imagination

One way to understand contemporary perceptions of different styles of wig is through depictions by well-known artists and satirists of the time. Portraits from the early eighteenth century regularly featured members of the aristocratic, political and professional worlds in an identical array of wigs. A well-known example of these are the portraits by artist Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646 - 1723) depicting members of the 'Kit-Kat' club. The 'Kit-Kat' club was a group of influential, foremost Whigs who gathered together regularly as part of a literary and political club, and emphasise the subjects' place as the embodiment of educated cultured society. They were designed to show these men as part of the powerful political, urban class (Illustration 6.3). It is striking that every sitter is wearing a large, curly wig, dominating the portrait and acting as a material embodiment of their masculine power and elevated social position.⁶⁰⁶

Caricaturists and social commentators seeking to undermine the traditional social order easily subverted this view of the wig as a stabilising display of status. Satirical depictions, which caricature the types of men recognisable in society by satirists such as Hogarth, Gillray and Cruikshank were as responsible in their way for creating the bewigged stereotype as portrait artists such as Kneller in his paintings of the social elites. Exaggerated wigs and hairstyles worn by wealthy men and women were often made to appear ridiculous and inappropriate. Illustration 6.4, a caricature

⁶⁰⁶ Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), and Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997) both discuss the Kit-Kat Club portraits in relation to the wigs worn by the sitters.

from 1776, portrays a fat man, with his wig turned upside down asleep in his chair. The evidence of his over-indulgence is on the table next to him, and his small companions, balanced on his stomach, serve to emphasise his vast girth. The man appears greedy, foolish and grotesque, accentuated by the illustration of the misplaced wig, showing he has lost control of his body.



Illustration 6.3. A selection of portraits by Godfrey Kneller (1710 – 1715)
© National Portrait Gallery, London
(NPG 3231/ NPG 3220/ NPG 3193)



Illustration 6.4. *A New Mode of Digestion from a Drawing of Mr. Grims*, by J. Lockington (1776, Lewis Walpole Library), no. lwlpr03997.

Graphic satire was another popular means by which many people would have seen and consumed ideas about wig wearing. Recognised as a branch of art in its own right, particularly with bold new techniques developed by engravers such as Hogarth and Bickham, satirical cartoons would have been highly visible to all classes and social groups.⁶⁰⁷ Essentially an urban phenomenon, they were distributed liberally through coffee houses, shop windows and counters, and hung in public places like alehouses and street windows.⁶⁰⁸ Even those who could not afford to buy the prints had easy access to view them as a form of entertainment.

The artists who worked in this genre saw their job to expose and denounce the foolishness, abuse and exploitation, which they saw as rife in society. It has to be taken into account, therefore, that it is likely to be the most extreme aspects of fashion that are caricatured with a healthy amount of artistic licence thrown in for good measure.⁶⁰⁹ In the early eighteenth century wigs had become physically very high and by the last third of that century they had become so extreme in some social groups that they were indeed rich pickings for satirists. If the wig had become part of a set of symbols for masculine authority as we have seen, then it was also one of the main signs used in satirical print to denote the grotesque, extreme and deviant elements of such groups in society.⁶¹⁰ Likewise, the contrast of the bewigged authority figure and the naked exposed head in graphic satire reiterates the fact that the wig was used as a signifier to represent masculine identity.⁶¹¹

⁶⁰⁷ Roy Porter, 'Seeing the Past', *Past and Present*, 118 (1988), p. 192.

⁶⁰⁸ Hallett, *Spectacle*, p. 1.

⁶⁰⁹ Cecil W. and Phillis Cunningham, *Handbook of English Costume in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), p. 32.

⁶¹⁰ Hallett, *Spectacle*, 2002, p. 31.

⁶¹¹ Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, p. 111.

William Hogarth is the satirist who plays most on the popularisation of the wig. In his pictures, the act of the wig slipping off can show a loss of dignity or the protagonist in the act of doing something he should not. One well-known example is the 1755 *An Election Entertainment*, the first of a series of four paintings illustrating an election in Oxfordshire, which had become notorious for unprecedented amounts of bribery and corruption (Illustration 6.5). The scene shows a chaotic image of the Whig candidates entertaining the voters prior to the election, in which several of the subjects in various states of sobriety have lost their wigs.

Of course the reverse of this is that the wearing of wigs denoted orderliness and respectability, with certain fashions for wigs commonly denoting rank.⁶¹² The man who kept his wig intact and straight believed himself to be on the moral high ground, as seen in the depictions of members of the ‘Kit-Kat’ club. This shows the contrasting functions of wigs in society: on the one hand a signifier of masculinity, power and authority, and on the other as a ridiculous over-blown fashion that could make those wearing it appear ludicrous at best.

⁶¹² Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe 1715-1795* (London: Batsford, 1984), p. 116.



Illustration 6.5. *An Election Entertainment*, by William Hogarth (1755), Sir John Soane's Museum (Creative Commons CCBY)

The fashion towards the large size in hairstyles and wigs was a particular concern for those with a moral interest in such matters. Hair held a prominent position on the body, and for getting noticed on the busy city streets, size mattered.⁶¹³ But big hair was connected to pomposity and pride in the popular imagination. French naturalist, George-Louis Leclerc, the Comte de Buffon (1707 - 88) felt that displaying big hair was analogous to showing off the size of the intellect through deliberately enlarged dimensions.⁶¹⁴

Even a relatively modest wig could attract negative comment. As discussed in the first part of the thesis, physicians commonly advised removing the hair on the head to improve health, and in order to avoid exposure of the naked head to the elements, a wig was recommended. Physician Richard Carr claimed some of his patients pretended to suffer from a “disorder of the head in order to procure the Ornament of a peruke” so as to “get into the Fashions of Court”.⁶¹⁵

6.7 Conclusion

The belief in the power of hair and wigs to transform not only appearance of the individual, but their character created questions and anxiety about the morality of hair and false hair. This chapter has explored attitudes to hair and wig wearing, from Puritan fears about vanity leading to ungodliness, to anxiety that artifice had the

⁶¹³ Carol Houlihan Flynn, *The Body in Swift and Defoe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 33.

⁶¹⁴ Georges Louis Leclerc (Comte de Buffon), *Barr's Buffon: Buffon's Natural History*, (London: Printed by JS Barr, 1792), vol. 4, p. 77.

⁶¹⁵ Richard Carr, *Dr. Carr's Medicinal Epistles Upon Several Occasions* (London: Printed by W. Newton and J. Phillips, 1714), p. 87.

ability to change the nature of a person. Connections with the luxury and fashion industry put wigs at the forefront of moral scrutiny, famously exemplified in the writings of Samuel Sewall and other puritans. However, hair itself had long been a focus for moralising and many contemporary writers concerned over the dangers to fabric of society that could be found in men and women choosing to treat their hair as an item of fashion.

The examination of wigs and wig wearing through the lens of social critique highlights the contrasting functions of wigs in society: on the one hand a signifier of masculinity, power and authority, and on the other a histrionic fashion statement that could undermine those wearing them, making them appear ludicrous or effeminate. The lampooning of wigs and those who wore them suggests that wig wearing was increasingly seen as a reflection of the pomposity that could be found at the highest levels of society. The following chapter looks at how this perception, combined with shifts in fashionable taste and changing ideas about the physicality of hair brought about the demise of the wig as an item of popular apparel.

PART THREE: Consuming Hair

CHAPTER 7

Towards a More Naturalistic Style: The Decline of Wig Wearing

This thesis has shown wig wearing to have become popular from the late seventeenth century due to the medical understanding of hair and its connection to the body, moral attitudes and fashionable taste. To fully understand the reasons for the later decline of the wig, this chapter will reassess those key themes to explore how and why wig wearing came to an end in popular fashion. The portraiture examined in the previous section clearly demonstrates the changes taking place in wearing hair over the course of the eighteenth century. It shows that, for the masculine image at least, there was a move towards a plainer, simpler look that was achievable with one's own hair. The poet William Cowper (1731 - 1800) understood this, and writing to the Reverend William Unwin in February 1781, commented:

I give you joy of your own hair. No doubt you are a considerable gainer in your appearance by being disperiwigged. The best wig is that which most resembles the natural hair, why then should he that has hair enough of his own, have recourse to imitation?⁶¹⁶

Cowper's understanding that the wig was undesirable for those with a good head of natural hair shows the transformation wig wearing had undergone from an item of fashionable necessity in the early decades of the eighteenth century, to one that appeared unnatural and unnecessary by the 1780s. The exceptions to this,

⁶¹⁶ James King, and Charles Ryskamp, *The Letters and Prose Writings of William Cowper: Adelpi and Letters, 1750-1781* (London: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 14.

exemplified by the Macaroni (discussed below) were conspicuous due to their continued, subversive use of a deliberately overstated, exaggerated wig at a time when many others were discarding false hair altogether.

It is difficult to ascertain precisely when men commonly discarded their wigs. In the account of his visit to England in 1748, the Swedish botanist Pehr Kalm reports that:

Farm-servants, clodhoppers, day-labourers, Farmers, in a word, all labouring-folk go through their usual every-day duties with all Peruques on the head. Few, yea, very few, were those who only wore their own hair.⁶¹⁷

In 1762, the *London Chronicle* reported that wigs were “essential to every person’s head, as lace is to their cloathes”.⁶¹⁸ However, this picture would seem to be in direct opposition to the evidence suggested by the petitioning wig makers in 1765, which detailed that “the present mode of men in all stations [were] wearing their own hair”.⁶¹⁹ A 1772 edition of *Town and Country Magazine* supports this, stating: “... most gentlemen now wear their own hair”.⁶²⁰ The presence of wig makers still advertising their services late into the century makes it clear that there was still a market for wigs, though it was apparently not as large and universal as it had been in the first decades of the eighteenth century. This also suggests that Kalm’s observations should not necessarily be taken to literally refer to all labouring folk, but as an expression of his surprise that numbers of people among the lower orders were wearing wigs.

⁶¹⁷ Pehr Kalm, *Kalm’s Account of his Visit to England on his Way to America, Translated by Joseph Lucas* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1892), p. 52.

⁶¹⁸ Ribeiro, *Dress*, p. 128.

⁶¹⁹ *Gentleman’s Magazine*, February 1765, p. 95.

⁶²⁰ *Town and Country Magazine*, Vol. 4, 1772, p. 376.

In an examination of the runaway advertisements found in newspapers, dating largely after 1740, John Styles' findings support the view that wigs had broadly fallen out of use by the 1760s. Of the garments described as being worn by runaway men, wigs had appeared frequently in the mid century, with nearly a quarter of the men in the Midlands and a third in Yorkshire described with a wig. By 1770, these descriptions had all but disappeared to less than five per cent in each county, and by the end of 1780s wigs were not mentioned at all.⁶²¹

7.1 Changing Perceptions of the Physical Nature of Hair

Changes to the understanding of the physical nature of hair, a key theme of this thesis, played a central role in the decline of wig wearing. The belief in the link between hair and bodily health was still prevalent at the end of the eighteenth century, with each hair still understood to have its own independent economy, receiving nutrition from the body and reflecting the internal constitution.⁶²² However, these views were not uncontested. Following the notions of John Locke and his contemporaries that social disorders were born from ills of the mind, rather than those of the body, new ideas were beginning to take hold, teaching that man had some control over his own physicality and was not governed by original sin.⁶²³ The popularity of the ideas advocated by George Cheyne and others, who taught that it was possible to maintain good health through exercise and diet regimens, gained

⁶²¹ Styles, *Dress of the People*, p. 86.

⁶²² Georges Louis Leclerc, (Comte de Buffon), *Barr's Buffon. Buffon's Natural History* (London: Printed for the Proprietor, 1797), Vol. 4, p. 69.

⁶²³ Bryan S Turner, *The Body and Society: Explorations in Social Theory* (London: Sage, 3rd ed. 2008), p. 191.

currency in popular practice. Cheyne's *The English Malady* (1733) also gained popularity with the upper classes, embedding approaches to preventative medicine and self-awareness.

The idea of the skin as a porous substance that enabled the rebalancing of the humours through inhalation and exhalation only gave way fully to the view of it as a protective barrier towards the end of the eighteenth century.⁶²⁴ People were beginning to conceive of their bodies as independent, protected units and their physical state of health controllable, to an extent, through diet and exercise. In medicine, less emphasis was placed on maintaining the internal rhythms and balances of the body. Arguably the conception of hair as a protective barrier to the dangers that could be absorbed into the body through the air became less meaningful. Likewise, the prerequisite to judge an individual on the state of their hair as an indicator of their God-given internal make-up was also less valid, though of course a person could still be considered immoral if they were affected by bad health on account of over indulgence.

Despite these shifts, the continued importance of hair in the display of youth and good health remained paramount. This is clear from the fact that wigs still had a place on balding heads.⁶²⁵ Baldness was in part believed to come from the weakness and drying out brought by age, and in part through disease or a poor dietary regime. The view still held strong at the end of the eighteenth century. As considered above, baldness was equated with ugliness, disease and old age. As shown in Amanda Vickery's study of fashion and age, baldness in women was particularly vilified for

⁶²⁴ Albrecht Koschorke, 'Physiological Self-Regulation: The Eighteenth-Century Modernization of the Human Body', *Modern Language Notes*, 123 (2008), p. 475.

⁶²⁵ William Cowper, *The Private Correspondence of William Cowper, Esq. With Several of his Most Intimate Friends* (London: H. Colburn, 1824), Vol. 2, p. 75.

the perceived ugliness that came with growing old.⁶²⁶ The continued use of wigs to cover baldness in men would suggest that baldness in masculinity was viewed in the same way. Certainly, disguising baldness and a lack of youth remained acceptable with the older generation, as William Cowper suggested in 1790 when expressing his joy at his new wig making him look decades younger.⁶²⁷

By the end of the eighteenth century, the traditional advice of physicians to patients that they cover their heads on medical grounds, as a measure to prevent colds or headaches, was increasingly replaced with advice relating to keeping the head well ventilated and allowing it to perspire. The physician Anthony Willich (d. 1804) firmly believed that any covering was bad for the head, as it encouraged too much heat, arguing that in temperate European climates the head should remain uncovered, and to use the natural hair as nature intended.⁶²⁸ Willich was convinced that the best way to maintain good health was to keep the head cool and the feet warm. Another recommendation was to bathe the feet in warm water as a cure for headaches and colds, as it was believed to draw the blood away from the head towards the extremities.⁶²⁹

Cultivating the amount of hair required for the longer, curled styles that remained popular with men was not easy. Either it was impossible for men to grow

⁶²⁶ Amanda Vickery, 'Mutton Dressed as Lamb? Fashioning Age in Georgian England, *Journal of British Studies*, 52:4 (2013), pp. 858-86.

⁶²⁷ 'William Cowper to Maria Catherine Throckmorton, Lady Throckmorton, 21 March 1790', in William Hayley, *The Life and Letters of William Cowper* (London: Longman Press, 1835), p. 391.

⁶²⁸ Anthony Willich, *Lectures on Diet and Regimen: Being a Systematic Inquiry into the Most Rational Means of Preserving Health and Prolonging Life* (London, printed for A. Strahan, 1800), p. 271.

⁶²⁹ Anon., *The Restorer of Health and Physician of Nature* (London, printed by E. Hodson, 1792), p. 31.

their hair sufficiently long, or if they could produce the length and volume required, it still represented a significant commitment of time to keep it clean and styled appropriately. Even the more ‘natural’ styles required neat rows of curls at the sides of the head and sufficient length for a bag or tail. At the same time as a naturalistic appearance was growing in popularity, so the emphasis also turned towards convenience and easiness. With the introduction of new styles, wigs were purposely made and advertised so as not to require a lengthy dressing process, and had the advantage of being a ready-made head of hair.

The increased durability of the new styles had the added advantage that the wig was suitable for all weather, as seen in illustration 7.1.⁶³⁰ In this advertisement, the many different styles of wig are sold to look natural, be easy to comb and to stay on the head. The reference to the use of wigs for hunting and travelling suggests that wearing a wig was popular during leisure occasions as it acted both as a barrier to the elements and as a means to keep the head warm. However, these more hardy types of wig would have also had the less welcome effect for wig makers of reducing the requirements for maintenance, undermining this potentially profitable provision of aftercare from the wig maker’s business.

⁶³⁰ *Public Advertiser*, Issue 11068, 25 May 1770.

PERUKES to imitate Gentlemens own Hair. **GUILLAUME**, Perukemaker and Ladies and Gentlemens Hair-Dresser, opposite the Bull in Swallow-street, near Piccadilly, takes this Method of acquainting the Nobility, Gentry and others, that he makes various Sorts of natural Wigs, that cannot be discerned from Gentlemen's own, viz. Bags, Queues, Curls and Scratches, with Roman Denmark, Italian, and French Tops, with wave Crowns, on a Construction peculiar to himself, being so contrived as never to fly from the Ear, with the best Materials and natural curled Hair, being easily combed, and better adapted for Hunting or Travelling, than any Wigs before invented.

He likewise maketh Clergymen's and all Sorts of dress and undress Wigs, with Ladies Tees, in the newest Fashion likewise all Manner of false Hair.

WIGS to imitate NATURE.

WHEREAS some Gentlemen are yet induced to let their Hair grow while many others are still constrained to wear it, seeing they cannot get Wigs made to appear as Natural: In order therefore to remove this Objection, the following Method is taken, to acquaint the Public, that **COURTIER**, Perukier, and Gentlemen's measured Block-maker, No. 4, Stationers Court, Ludgate-street, two Doors from the Sun Tavern, makes different Kinds of natural Wigs, made of real natural-curved Hair, viz. Bags, Queues, Curls, and Scratches, with Roman, Nazareen, French Tops, &c. and wave Crowns upon an entire new Construction, so as to stand all Weather, and to imitate Nature to such Perfection as not to be discernable from a Person's own Hair. They set light and easy to the Head, and never fly off the Ears, and equal the best Heads of Hair for Beauty and Elegance of Taste, and prove fitter for travelling than any Kind of Wig ever before invented. as they need no more dressing than a Comb run thro' them.

Counsellors and Physicians Ties, and Clergymens Bobs, made in the Parisian Taste, "avec un Air bien degage." Also all other Kinds of Wigs, "La dernier gout."

Illustration 7.1. Advertisements in *Public Advertiser*, London, 25 May 1770, Issue 11068.

The idea of 'convenience' had particular resonance in the eighteenth-century culture of consumption. Michael Kwass considers the concept of convenience as being central to debates around French luxury and new consumer goods, including new styles of wigs.⁶³¹ Convenience as an idea was actively used to reduce fears of society losing control and gathering an unseemly taste for expensive new goods. The

⁶³¹ Kwass, 'Big Hair', p. 645.

smaller, tied back bag-wig popular in the middle of the eighteenth century was certainly cheaper and easier to wear than the enormous periwigs of the late seventeenth century. 'Convenience' introduced the notion that if a material object could save its purchaser time or effort, it should not be seen as a threat to the moral fabric of society.⁶³² The justification for buying and wearing a wig, according to the *Encyclopédie methodique* (1783 - 90), was in its capacity to "relieve men of daily cares".⁶³³ Indeed, the cumbersome, almost deliberately inconvenient nature of the fashionable full-bottomed wigs popular at the end of the seventeenth century, did not go unnoticed by contemporaries as a reason to avoid them. As Sir Daniel Fleming wrote to his son George Fleming (age 25), in October 1692:

I am sorry to hear of your wearing a Perriwig, since it will be inconvenient both unto you and me; and I think there was no great need thereof.⁶³⁴

Fleming could not conceive of the need for a wig, and recognised that it would be a great deal less convenient than keeping one's own hair. For the wearer, however, any functional purpose attached to this item was a secondary consideration in comparison to the lure of fashion.

Wig makers attempted to produce and sell wigs as items of convenience, but ultimately, men discarded false hair in favour of their own. The shift in understanding of the importance of hair in relation to the rest of the body helped to bring about this change. Precisely because hair was regenerative, it was accorded less significance in the hierarchy of bodily components. In 1781, William Cowper wrote

⁶³² Kwass, 'Big Hair', p. 645.

⁶³³ Ibid.

⁶³⁴ Ann Galbraith, *The Fleming family of Rydal Hall* (London: Shoes With Rockets, 2006), p. 90.

to the Rev. William Unwin, that parts of the body could be placed into a hierarchy of categories according to whether or not they were disposable:

Have little doubt, that if an arm, or a leg, could have been taken off with as little pain as attends the amputation of a curl, or a lock of hair, the natural limb would have been thought less becoming, or less convenient, by some men, than a wooden one, and been disposed of accordingly.⁶³⁵

Because hair could be easily removed without severe, long-term consequence, it was viewed as a separate entity, which could be disposed of at will. This statement reflects the understanding that a man could exert some control over his own body, and that the body existed in a hierarchy of parts, of which hair was not considered important. Ideas about hair as being a mirror to the internal bodily state, or a reflection of the humoral make-up of an individual, are no longer reflected in this context. The intrinsic value of hair was seen in its ability to display youth and beauty, or to cover baldness, but as an aspect of health, hair was ultimately inconsequential, and therefore considered a disposal commodity.

7.2 A New Look for a New Century

Alongside considerations of the materiality of the raw material, it is important to consider changing aspects of fashionable taste over the course of the eighteenth century. As discussed earlier in the thesis, changes to the male silhouette had a dramatic influence over the individual items that made up a gentleman's wardrobe. In the case of false hair, these changes eventually negated the need for a wig altogether. As we have seen, attitudes towards style and fashion significantly

⁶³⁵ William Cowper, *Private Correspondence*, p. 75.

changed through the course of the period of study, mirroring the move from the rigid symmetry and grandeur of baroque to the more yielding, lighter means of expression allowed by rococo. Male dress followed this pattern, from the elaborate, grand and ornamental style of the late seventeenth century to a slimmer silhouette in the early decades of the eighteenth century.⁶³⁶ This changed again in the 1750s, with the emergence of New-classicism, which saw a move to a plainer, modern look mixed with elements from the classical past.⁶³⁷

For men, the main focus of discussion here, this change in style can be traced through a shift from the symmetrical, geometric, heavy cuts of the early eighteenth century to the shortening of the coat and waistcoat and use of tighter breeches and smaller cuffs to create a narrower shape.⁶³⁸ As silhouettes changed, so wigs adapted to complement the popular style at the time. The large, extravagantly curled periwigs and campaign wigs popular from the 1660s were a flamboyant match for fashionable large sleeves, lace and ruffles (Illustration 7.2). From about 1720, a popular style for wigs was to be worn tightly curled at the side and pulled back into a bag, or short and bobbed above the neck (Illustration 7.3).

⁶³⁶ See Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (London: Batsford, 1984); Amanda Vickery, 'Fashioning Difference in Georgian England: Furniture for Him and for Her', in Paula Findlen, (ed.) *Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories 1500-1800* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 342-59; and Jane Ashelford, *The Art of Dress: Clothes and Society 1500-1914* (London: The National Trust, 1996).

⁶³⁷ Michael Snodin, and John Styles (eds.), *Design and the Decorative Arts: Britain 1500-1900* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2001), p.200.

⁶³⁸ Ribeiro, *Dress*, p. 122.



Illustration 7.2. *The Honourable Robert Boyle (1627-91), Irish Natural Philosopher*, by J. Smith, London 1689. Wellcome Library, Iconographic Collection 400.3.



Image 7.3 John Theophilus Desaguliers by Peter Pelham, after Hans Hysing, 1725.
© National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG D10562.

One notable difference is in the amount of hair required to achieve the style. The increasing popularity of styles more closely suited to the growth and volume of natural hair meant that male hairstyles began to appear less prominent and consciously false. Images and wig maker's advertisements alike suggest that the fashion for wearing hair, whether in the form of a wig, or one's own hair, was simplified. Whilst still highly stylised, hair moved towards emulating less complicated, cleaner lines, which might be more commonly expected among poor classes of rural workers. This meant that the desired appearance could be created without the need to embellish one's own hair. Parallels can be seen in women's hair as hats became smaller, bonnets became popular and fashionable clothing took inspiration from simple fabrics and styles worn by country residents during the 1770s.⁶³⁹ By the 1780s, men's breeches were higher at the waist, worn long over the knees, tight around the legs and complemented by a very short waistcoat.⁶⁴⁰ This simpler look displayed a longer, leaner silhouette and gave the overall appearance of plainness and unadorned modesty.

Historians have long debated that changes in fashionable dress reflected changes in social and political philosophies.⁶⁴¹ The simplification of style over the course of the eighteenth century has been connected to the liberal political climate in England, which was notably more informal in terms of both dress and constitution

⁶³⁹ For a comprehensive collection of French fashion plates, see: Doris Langley Moore, *Fashion Through Plates 1771-1970* (London: Ward Dock Limited, 1971).

⁶⁴⁰ Ribeiro, *Dress*, p. 211.

⁶⁴¹ David Kuchta, *The Three Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity, 1550-1850* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2002); Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); George Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

than that of France.⁶⁴² French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712 - 88) noted this from a contemporary perspective. His formulation of a “state of nature” philosophy considered the notion that people had the freedom to do as they wished without the constraints of society, could only discover true happiness by being in close contact with nature, and by adopting simple manners and modesty in dress.⁶⁴³ This challenged the traditional view held by the French aristocracy who preferred the excessive artifice and splendour of court. It was not just key thinkers in the French enlightenment who advocated this re-examination and newly invigorated relationship with nature. Nature was the key concept in the English enlightenment also.⁶⁴⁴ This manifested itself in the growing simplicity seen in mid-to-late eighteenth-century aesthetics, which appeared in the clothing of the fashionable classes. Looking to what was ‘natural’ in dress equated with giving the appearance of reality, so that hair could no longer look deliberately exaggerated and man-made.⁶⁴⁵ Plebeian clothing certainly influenced changes in high fashion in this way, as clothing worn by working people was often required to be simple and functional.

When Samuel Curwent, an American loyalist, visited the House of Lords in 1783, he was surprised to note that Lord Effingham:

had the appearance both in his person and dress of a Common Country

Farmer, a green frock coat with brass buttons, his hair short, straight and to

⁶⁴² Ashelford, *Art of Dress*, p. 173.

⁶⁴³ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract: and, The first and Second Discourses*; Edited and With an Introduction by Susan Dunn (New Haven: London: Yale University Press, 2002).

⁶⁴⁴ Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London: Penguin Press, 2000), p. 295.

⁶⁴⁵ Michael Kwass, ‘Big Hair: A Wig History of Consumption in France’, *American Historical Review*, 111: 3 (2006), p. 652.

appearance uncombed, his face rough, vulgar and brown, as also his hands. In short he had the look of a labouring farmer or grazier.⁶⁴⁶

Similarly, a French visitor to England in 1784 remarked:

The men's dress is very simple... In order to be something quite out of the common, a man may go wearing his cravat and hair in a pigtail with his ordinary clothes.⁶⁴⁷

The new less formal style was seen across the aesthetic sphere and continued to develop through the course of the eighteenth century, stripping away the complex lines of rococo. Artists and philosophers drew on ideas about the natural world as their inspiration. A notable example can be seen in the work of landscape architect Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (1716 - 83). Brown introduced a new style of naturalistic garden, where once they had been formal, symmetrical and manicured, Brown's style was to highlight a sense of the wildness of nature.⁶⁴⁸ Though in its way as stylised as the more formal fashion of the previous decades, the influence of wildness was intended to appear as though man had some control over his environment. Imported Indian chintzes often reflected the natural world through botanical patterns, and these had become more affordable as English printers mastered colour application techniques over the course of the early eighteenth

⁶⁴⁶ Samuel Curwen, *Journal and Letters of the Late Samuel Curwen, Judge of Admiralty etc: An American-Loyalist Refugee in England...* (New York: C.S. Francis, 1842), Letter of July 9 1783, p. 379.

⁶⁴⁷ Francois de la Rochefoucauld, *A Frenchman in England 1784: Being the M'elanges Sur L'Angleterre of Francois de la Rochefoucauld (translated by S.C. Roberts)*, ed. Jean Marchand (London: Caliban, 1995), p. 57.

⁶⁴⁸ Diana De Marly, *Fashion for Men: An Illustrated History* (London: Batsford, 1985), p. 312.

century.⁶⁴⁹ The increase in availability of this cheaper material gave rise to the less structured, simpler form of dress with which the great periwigs of the early eighteenth century no longer accorded. The increasing control of natural resources through technology meant that nature was no longer considered to be a mysterious and powerful force, but a resource that could be organised by man to meet all his needs.⁶⁵⁰ If the external environment was subject to a certain amount of control, it chimed with the growing sense of the need for individual responsibility for the state of one's health, one's behaviour and control of one's bodily appetites, discussed earlier in this thesis.

7.3 Politeness, Convenience and the Changing Aesthetic of Masculinity

The physicality of large, extravagant wigs and hairstyles were, as we have seen, a key signifier of a certain type of public, masculine figure in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. Even as wig styles reduced in both size and lavish excess, the focus on vanity and fashion remained a subject for satirists as the century progressed. The point of attack, in the case of men in particular, was the perceived lack of masculinity that went with such profligate fashions, and the pompous nature of those who sported them. The growth in popularity of this type of satire is in no way indicative that the traditional, patriarchal image of the ruling classes was newly vulnerable to lampooning. It confirms instead a trend that it was becoming more acceptable to do so to widely and to increasingly diverse audiences. It should also be

⁶⁴⁹ John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth Century England* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 112.

⁶⁵⁰ Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3rd ed. 2013), p. 5.

noted that fashion was increasingly seen as a feminine domain, and as a result it was women's hair and fashionable excesses that drew the most criticism in satirical caricature.⁶⁵¹

This ideological and fashionable shift away from patriarchal excess was reflected in hairdressers and wig makers' designs. In his manual for wig-makers published in 1767, M. de Garsault, French wig maker, stated that wigs are a "matter of imitating beautiful nature".⁶⁵² He also provided instructions for creating a close fitting wig by ensuring measurements were taken from the back of the head to the nape of neck to prevent the movement of the head pushing the wig forward on the head.⁶⁵³ He advised the use of a small steel spring in the temple area of the wig to push the wig into the hollow of the temple, thus achieving a more natural-looking fit.⁶⁵⁴ Wig makers were keen to prove their innovative approach, such as the use of mechanical technology to give a new fresh feel:

Just bought from Paris... an engine curiously contrived for Powdering Perriwigs and Lady's Hair, by throwing only the finest of the Powder and dispersing it perfectly equal, far beyond any Thing yet invented...⁶⁵⁵

This more scientific approach mirrors an overarching mechanisation of the beauty trade, in which newspapers advertised machines that were able to manufacture hair, and innovations using "mechanism and springs" in the making of false teeth.⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵¹ Mark Bills, *The Art of Satire: London in Caricature* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2006), p. 88.

⁶⁵² J. Stevens Cox (ed.), *Francois de Garsault, The Art of the Wigmaker, first published in 1767: Comprising the shaping of the beard, the Cutting of Hair, the Construction of Wigs For Ladies and Gentlemen* (London: Hairdressers Registration Council, 1961), p. 9.

⁶⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁶⁵⁵ *Daily Post* Issue 1071, 5 March 1723.

From the 1720s when the simplified hairstyles and wigs had begun to take hold, advertisements for wig makers commonly made reference to the natural style of the wig or hairpiece, and sold their products on the basis of how difficult it was to discern false hair from that of real hair. Courtier, a perruquier and dealer in hair based in Long Acre in London was keen in his advertisements to reassure his customers that his wigs “imitate Nature so exactly, as not to be distinguished from it”.⁶⁵⁷ These changes in style clearly had an effect on the market for wigs, and the increased advertising of wigs which were reflective of natural hair can be read as an attempt by the wig makers to ensure continued trade in a changing fashion landscape. References to wigs as being easy to keep on the head, and easy to comb, suggest that such matters had been a recognised problem with wig wearing, and could therefore have contributed to the decreasing popularity of wigs. Keeping hair clean and in good order was key to the display of both a healthy body and mind, as discussed throughout the thesis, and remained a guiding principle in the understanding of the beauty ideal. If the wig became easily dishevelled or unkempt looking it would have defeated the purpose of wearing one.

Whilst men’s hair was becoming less extravagant, there was one obvious target for continuing the trend for big hair in the masculine subculture, known as the Macaroni.⁶⁵⁸ The Macaroni have typically been understood as a group of high-class young men who had adopted foreign fashions while on grand tours of the Continent,

⁶⁵⁶ *Public Advertiser* Issue 10491, 14 June 1768; Stephens Cox, (ed.) *Garsault*, p. 12; and *Morning Post and Fashionable World* Issue 7400, 27 October 1795.

⁶⁵⁷ *Lloyds Evening Post* Issue 3309, September 1775.

⁶⁵⁸ See Peter McNeil, ‘Macaroni Masculinities’, *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture*, 4:4 (2000), pp. 373-404 for a detailed discussion of aspects of Macaroni fashion.

and who stood out from the crowd with their preference for artifice and over-emphasised high wigs, at a time when men's fashion was becoming increasingly demure.⁶⁵⁹ As *Town and Country Magazine* remarked in 1772, The Macaroni:

make a most ridiculous figure with hats an inch in the brim that do not cover but lie upon the head, with about two pounds of fictitious hair formed into what is called a "club" hanging down their shoulders as white as a bakers sack.⁶⁶⁰

Illustration 7.4 depicts a typical caricatured image of the Macaroni. The image is not designed to be a realistic representation, but deliberately over-emphasises the least desirable features of the individual it depicts. A common theme in English caricature was the perceived threat of the urban fashionable world to the masculine image, and the extreme fashions of the Macaroni exemplified this.⁶⁶¹ The man on the right would have been distinctly recognisable to a contemporary audience as a Macaroni, bearing the usual hallmarks of exaggerated hair with a long queue, the small hat balanced on top of his head and carrying a sword. The implication that those who associated with this sub culture were viewed as outlandish and effeminate is indicated through the horrified reaction on the face of the father, contrastingly depicted in the more sober, dignified clothing of a country farmer.

⁶⁵⁹ Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality*, p. 72.

⁶⁶⁰ *Town and Country Magazine*, Vol. 4, 1772, p. 243.

⁶⁶¹ Bills, *The Art of Satire*, p. 88.



Image 7.4 *What Is This My Son Tom*, Satirical Print by R. Sayer & J. Bennett, (1774).
© Trustees of the British Museum, image no. 01448937001.

The move towards simpler forms of dress was clearly apparent in the aristocratic and upper levels of English society, as observed by Rousseau and contemporary commentators in the 1760s, and discussed above. It reflected a changing attitude to masculinity, in which the Macaroni stood out as inappropriately interested in fashion and style. David Kuchta argues that an ideology of modesty began to develop more particularly in masculinity as part of a shift in aristocratic culture after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, making the luxurious and extravagant dress of the Stuart court seem vulgar and effeminate.⁶⁶² As we have seen, from the early decades of the eighteenth century wigs became more manageable in response to this ‘softening’ of the overall look.

The overarching sense of elegant, symmetrical masculinity achieved by the shape of the wig was retained throughout changes to male clothing during the eighteenth century. Though in the course of the century wigs became smaller, the neat curls and tied back style with no loose ends, remained paramount to produce a smart and controlled image as can be seen in Tobias Smollett’s portrait dated c. 1770 (Illustration 7.5). New shapes and styles were able to portray masculine restraint and to complement the new, sleeker masculine silhouette, seen with the rise of the bag and bob wigs. The association of bob wigs with the clergy and respectable, middle class professions such as doctors gave the wig a sense of gravitas and learning, over that of perceived superficial concerns such as fashion and conspicuous display. Bob wigs in particular created a look that could be just as easily achieved using the natural hair on the head, or with the addition of hairpieces rather than necessarily a complete wig. This removed the need for a wig, and the consequent judgements about vanity

⁶⁶² Kuchta, *Three Piece Suit*, p. 124.



Illustration 7.5. *Tobias George Smollett (1721-71), Novelist*, by unknown artist, c. 1770. © National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 1110.

In a critique of the history of masculinity, Karen Harvey brings together four broad categories of hegemonic manhood identified in the historiography for closer examination.⁶⁶³ The ‘libertines and fops’ who appeared in the late seventeenth century were exemplified by the post-restoration period when effeminacy, vanity and self-obsession were dominant. The ‘polite gentleman’ emerged in direct opposition to this, after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, and continued to be considered the distinctive type of the first half of the eighteenth century. Not only was this a category into which the ‘middling sort’ could comfortably fit, it was indeed born from that social class.⁶⁶⁴ This categorisation, though necessarily broad and lacking in any individual focus, presents a clear picture in that it sees aristocratic notions of honour and reputation making way for the more universal characteristics of sensibility, gentility and compassion, considered obtainable by men from all levels of society.⁶⁶⁵ The changing fashions in wigs support this view, as they became more affordable, manageable and respectable.

The shift in masculine style towards a more restrained, sober image meant less focus on the male hairstyle in the satirical imagery of the later part of the eighteenth century, the Regency period. By the end of the century, when wigs had fallen out of use almost completely, and certainly as an overarching fashion, hats were used as a marker of social respectability and signifier of inclusion within a particular group. Illustration 7.6 depicts a group that is almost entirely male at a formal, public gathering, is striking in that almost all of the men are wearing black, medium brimmed tall hats. The hats have very visibly taken place of the wig in that

⁶⁶³ Karen Harvey, ‘The History of Masculinity, circa 1650-1800’, *Journal of British Studies*, 44:2 (2005), pp. 296-311.

⁶⁶⁴ Harvey, ‘Masculinity’, p. 301.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

they are ubiquitous, and provide an overall homogeneity to the group. The hair underneath appears to be largely worn short, or bobbed, and almost all are grey, an effect likely to have been achieved through the use of powder.



Illustration 7.6 *Westminster Election Scene Outside St. Paul's, Convent Garden*, Robert Dighton, London, 1796. ©Museum of London, London.

Despite the drawbacks to defining hegemonic types of masculinity, in that the agency of less dominant groups and the circumstances of individual actors is lost, there are some advantages to considering the broader picture when seeking causes for the fall in popularity of wig wearing. The role of the body as connected to the concept of 'politeness' must also be considered in order to understand changing social attitudes to wig wearing. Politeness is a key concept debated by historians of eighteenth-century England, and has been used as a way to categorise behaviour such as bodily comportment and use of domestic and public spaces throughout the eighteenth century. Those of a higher social standing considered themselves to be by nature more refined than workers and tradespeople, though even the lower orders were understood to have the ability to gain some pretensions to politeness, given sufficient exposure to those of the polite, gentlemen class.⁶⁶⁶ Arguably, this did not allow for a very fluid movement of people through the social classes, and the focus on categorising individuals according to their social class remained, and was supported through signifiers such as the type of wig one could afford.

This changed in the final decades of the eighteenth century, when wigs had all but fallen out of popular use. Social and political qualities began to be replaced by the concept of 'manliness', which was based on the presence of universal good manners, and therefore attainable at all levels of society.⁶⁶⁷ All men, from doctors and lawyers to tradespeople and shopkeepers, were understood to have the capacity

⁶⁶⁶ Lawrence E. Klein, 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century', *Historical Journal*, 45:4 (2002), pp. 869-98; John Tosh, 'English Politeness: Conduct, Social Rank and Moral Virtue, c. 1400-1900', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (Sixth Series)*, 12 (2002), pp. 261-266.

⁶⁶⁷ Michele Cohen, 'Manners Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry and the Construction of Masculinity', *Journal of British Studies*, 44:2 (2005), pp. 314.

to embody etiquette and decorum through their performance and behaviour.⁶⁶⁸ This indicates a more open view to the demonstration of status and the place of an individual in the hierarchical ordering of society, and reduced the need to visibly embody one's class or occupation through carefully created hairstyles or wigs.

7.4 Conclusion

Wigs fell out of popular fashion earlier than traditional historical narratives have suggested. This was due to a complex multiplicity of influences, as explored in the themes discussed in this thesis. A shift in understanding of the individual's relationship to the body that took place slowly over the course of the eighteenth century meant that hair was seen as less important to the overall health of the body, and no longer considered necessary as a means of protection from the elements. The idea that hair was a regenerative part of the body devalued it as a commodity, placing it lower down the hierarchy of bodily functions and making it less important in the creation of appearances. The new simplicity seen in men's fashion from the 1740s was moving towards the notion that short and neat wigs were a more convenient way of dealing with hair. Shorter shapes and styles meant that less hair was required to produce a wig, enabling a similar appearance to be achieved by using one's own hair. A new definition of masculinity removed the need for a wig as a signifier of wealth and status in a society that increasingly sought to judge people by their behaviour rather than their position in society.

⁶⁶⁸ Vickery, 'Fashioning Difference', p. 344.

CONCLUSION

This thesis represents the first in-depth study of the physicality of hair in the eighteenth century. It has shown the centrality of hair to eighteenth-century medical understanding of the body and the maintenance and display of good health, and the extent to which hair was considered a significant part of the body in the world of medicine and hygiene. It has shown that the display of a healthy head of hair was a necessity as well as being a fashionable ornament throughout the eighteenth century. This thesis fills a significant gap in the existing historiography on wig wearing as it considers a variety of themes in order to explain both the emergence of wigs as a form of social statement, and their change in meaning and function over time. It contributes to scholarship through its innovative approach of examining the cultural and medical significance placed on hair as a physical part of the body in both theory and practice, and the social attitudes and moral judgments to which this gave rise. It explores the concept of hair as a commodity, and how the buying and selling of a part of the body affected those who worked within the hair trade, as well as those who participated in the buying and wearing of wigs. Differently from other work on the subject of wigs, this thesis set out to understand wig wearing using the materiality of hair as a starting point through which to explore both the popularity and decline of wigs in the eighteenth century. This approach shifts the attention away from gender and fashion, two of the most common focuses of narratives of the 'ascent' and 'decline' of wigs.

Wig wearing was a highly visible fashion from the Restoration through to the third quarter of the eighteenth century. This thesis was initially scoped as a cultural history of wigs and wig makers, exploring the organisation, development and

organisation of the hair trade over this period. However, it quickly became apparent that in order to understand the circumstances under which wig wearing became ‘normalised’, it was necessary to first consider the significance attached to hair as a raw material. Despite the relative success and longevity of the wig as an artefact, this thesis has shown that the significance of wig wearing underwent a fundamental shift in its primary purpose over the course of the eighteenth century.

The Physical Nature of Hair

Hair emanates from within the body, rather than being a fixed part of it, and is not vital to the body’s fundamental ability to live. This separates it from other body parts such as limbs, skin or organs, and gives it a distinctively character through its changing nature and lack of permanence. That hair changes colour, texture and thickness throughout the course of a person’s life, and is likely to fall out altogether, makes it a focus for understanding the state of the rest of the body. This thesis has focussed on the ways in which this was understood in the eighteenth century, how it translated to create certain appearances, and how these were viewed and judged by society. The fundamental problem the thesis had to overcome in looking at the physicality of hair was the lack of surviving artefactual evidence. Very few wigs survive in museum collections, other than theatrical or legal wigs, and as such had to think creatively about the source material. It has therefore drawn on visual and documentary evidence, including published medical tracts, to recreate the view of hair from a physical perspective.

The fundamental position of hair as both a mirror to the essence of a person and a mechanism for cure and control of the body suggests that hair has always held

a prominent role in the physical and mental human experience. Throughout the long eighteenth century, physicians saw hair as an integral part of the body, with Swiss physiognomist Johann Casper Lavater (1741 - 1801) describing it as something that ‘if it is not to be admitted to rank with the members of the human body, is at least a part adherent to it’.⁶⁶⁹ As discussed within the thesis, it is through examining how people reacted to hair once it has become disembodied which indicates the strong meanings and attachments placed upon hair. Those forced to sell their hair often found it a sensitive undertaking, and were emotionally affected by the process of losing it. The practice of turning locks of hair into a memento of the owner, for safekeeping in an item of jewellery, suggests hair had a deep and emotional relationship with the human psyche, being understood not as a separate entity but as a part of the whole body and mind.

As physicians investigated the structure of hair under the microscope, they were seeking to understand the very nature of its connection to the body. Despite some debate over the precise mechanism through which hair was nourished, or provided nourishment to the body, there was an overarching belief that hair was an important part of the body in its own right. It was seen to be ‘live’ and affected by ill health and disease, and poor diet or lack of exercise could have an effect on the condition of the hair. In line with broader changes in medical theory, thinking shifted over the course of the period from reading hair as a humoral emanation that could reveal the state of an individual’s inner condition, to a protective barrier from contagion and disease that could be manipulated to control the state of their health. The evidence set out in this thesis suggests there was a strong belief in the capacity of hair as an indicator of a healthy (or otherwise) appearance. This belief elevated the

⁶⁶⁹ Lavater, *Physiognomy*, p. 416.

status of hair to a physical feature that could enhance knowledge of the workings of the body.

The importance of hair in the medical world was not simply theoretical. This belief in the relationship of hair to the rest of the body translated into everyday medical practice, as is clear from the research undertaken within this thesis. In the context of a diminishing belief that the state of the human condition was governed by fatalistic, godly powers, and an emerging view that individuals had an element of control over the state of their own body, this thesis has shown that hair was considered an important instrument through which to monitor and achieve health. It was common for medical advice to take hair into account, suggesting it was cut or shaved to attain a cure for a variety of illnesses ranging from colds to headaches and fevers.

This thesis has also shown that understanding of hair as an indicator of the inner humoral condition made it an important signifier of youth and beauty. Numerous self-help recipes incorporated hair, suggesting ways it could be coloured, curled, straightened and thickened. This shows it was popular practice for individuals to attempt to change the texture, colour and length of their own hair, and that baldness was considered an undesirable attribute. It was common for perfumers' shops to sell numerous products to achieve these results, and to keep the hair clean. Wigs were also used to disguise imperfections, such as covering a scar or hearing aid, and in some cases used to reduce the appearance of wrinkles by pulling up the temples. The desirable beauty aesthetic was to have thick hair, long enough to frame the face, and this could be achieved through the wearing of a wig if the natural hair did not live up to expectations. Through consideration of the personal practices involving hair in the eighteenth century, this thesis has shown that hair was central to

creating the appearance of youth and health, and wigs were a vital element in the construction of this image.

The Value of Hair as a Commodity

From the outset, this thesis intended to create a greater understanding of both the buyers and sellers of hair in eighteenth-century England. Continuing with the theme of the physical nature of hair, it considered the implications inherent in using a part of the body as a raw material to create an artefact. The nature of the raw material, and the significance ascribed to it in eighteenth-century England, made the buying, selling and making of a wig a very different experience to those of other consumer goods popular at the time. The thesis explored the impact of the raw material on the physical transformation of hair into wigs, exploring the medical understanding of the transmission of disease, which required hair to originate from a clean, unpolluted source. The evidence presented in this thesis suggests that the provenance of the hair was therefore of paramount importance to the wig makers in order for their business to continue to exist. Hair was sourced in a number of ways, from high-profile, wealthy hair merchants through to itinerant chapmen selling hair amongst many other goods and wig makers purchasing it directly from the vendor. Regardless of the method of procurement, the hair had to be of good quality, and respectable wig makers were known to invest a significant proportion of time and money in the process of sourcing the right sort of hair. Such was the anxiety that hair may have been infected with disease, there were harsh penalties for those discovered to be

dishonest about its type and provenance, and a government bill imposed a quarantine on hair imported from countries affected by the plague.⁶⁷⁰

This approach has highlighted a fundamental idea about the eighteenth-century beauty aesthetic: that the reflection of youth and health was key, and that hair was a central component in the creation of a healthy, youthful appearance. As this thesis has shown, this look was achieved with strong, thick hair worn to frame the face. In order to achieve this, the quality of the hair was of fundamental importance and affected its value as a commodity. Wigs themselves could also be very expensive, and it was not uncommon for thieves to take them directly from the heads of their owners in the street, or to steal them from the windows of shops. This again shows the value placed on human hair, even when it had become disembodied from the head and was no longer a living part of the body. The thesis has traced the value of hair as a commodity through to the necessarily intimate relationship between wig makers and their customers, which involved a series of interactions in order to create a good quality, bespoke wig.

An examination of the advertisements placed by wig makers has shown that there was a connection between hair dressing and a desire to be fashionable. This meant that those working as hairdressers were required to have some knowledge of the latest shapes and styles, and to explicitly identify themselves as being stylish and fashionable. The thesis has shown however, that this was not necessarily the case for wigs. Provincial wig makers serving the traditional country gentleman did not appear to place any significance on fashion, or keeping up with the latest styles, but

⁶⁷⁰ British Parliamentary Papers, *A Bill to Oblige Ships more Effectually to Perform their Quarentine; and for the Better Preventing the Plague Being Brought from Foreign Parts into Great Britain, or Ireland, or the Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, Sark, or Man*. Vol. 9, (1747).

produced wigs to highlight their customers' profession and social standing, or to protect them from the cold. Provincial wig makers were more likely to operate from a workshop in their home, and to visit their clients in public houses, than to run smart premises for the purpose of impressing customers. The thesis has also brought to light the connection between hairdressers and wig makers, and the differing trajectories of the relative professions. Mention of hairdressers in advertisements grows sharply in the latter decades of the eighteenth century, at the same time as wig wearing was on the wane and numbers of wig makers were declining. These were therefore very different professions, serving very different customers, brought about as a result of the contrasting functions of hair in society.

Morality and the Creation of Appearances

This thesis considered the implications of using a part of the body as a raw material in the creation of a fashionable appearance, and how this affected the consumer and popular views of wig wearing. The large, flamboyant periwig worn by the male social elite at the end of the seventeenth century was anything but an attempt to create the appearance of natural hair as part of an understated image. Wearing a wig of this nature was a conspicuous action to demonstrate wealth and influence, or at least access to such. Wig wearing was a deliberately public undertaking, for the benefit of impressing both peers and subordinates, and sending signals of power. This changed in the late seventeenth century: as wigs began to be more commonplace across society, they came to embody respectability, gentlemanliness and middle class solidity. Where they had been an expression of high status and

ostentation, they were transformed into items of convenience and utility by the mid-eighteenth century.⁶⁷¹

This thesis reveals further motivations for wig wearing that go beyond a desire to appear wealthy or powerful. Evidence presented here has shown that wigs were unique in the fashionable world, laced as they were with layers of meaning derived from the nature of the raw material from which they were made. The hypothesis that a man could use his own hair to control his physical well being created a dilemma for those with an interest in appearing young and healthy. Physicians' advice to cut or shave the hair resulted in a bare head, or unfashionably short hair, which were read to indicate undesirable personality traits, old age or ill health. The hair was therefore likely to be exchanged for false hair to replace what was lost, and to ensure continued protection against the elements. However, by the very nature of showing concern and awareness of one's own appearance, wearing a wig could suggest vanity and what was considered by some as effeminacy. It was a fine line however, as whilst paying too much attention to the hair was frowned upon for men, an unmanaged head was considered equally inappropriate. Hair was required to be clean and well kept to be respectable.

In the early decades of the eighteenth century wigs became smaller, cheaper and more accessible, which provided them with a greater acceptance in society and allowed men from all social groups to achieve a level of respectability and gentlemanliness. Wigs created a sense of homogeneity within certain groups of professionals or tradesmen, and allowed men to identify publically with those groups. However, they also allowed those who were not part of those groups to

⁶⁷¹ See Michael Kwass, 'Big Hair: A Wig History of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century France', *American Historical Review*, 111:3 (2006).

create a false appearance of belonging, either for ambitious or nefarious purposes. This created a sense of mistrust in the wig and its ability to transform people into something they were not. The understanding of the intrinsic nature of hair to act as a mirror to the inner being, not just on a physical level but that of character, is revealed in this lack of trust. By changing their hair, a man could disguise his very nature and fool those around him into believing him to be something he was not.

The perceived ability of hair to reflect the inner bodily workings, also led to moral judgements made on the nature and type of a person's hair. For example, the thesis has shown that excessive behaviour, such as drinking too much alcohol, or indulging in excessive carnal activity, was believed to lead to a loss of vital bodily heat, which in turn could cause the hair to dry up and fall out. Men with thinning or balding hair could be perceived as overindulgent, and might turn to a wig in order to disguise their lack of hair. New theories about the body emerging during the eighteenth century suggested that physical strength and vitality could be increased through diet and exercise, and were therefore under the control of the individual, giving rise to greater judgement of those perceived to overindulge.

Long hair in men had also been the subject of moral and religious scrutiny since the mid seventeenth century, with the understanding that it was a biological characteristic of femininity, and associated with weakness.⁶⁷² Seen as a humoral emanation requiring heat and moisture to make it grow long and abundant, it was considered to blur the gender distinctions if men were to display on their heads something constitutionally more natural to women, as designed by God.⁶⁷³ However,

⁶⁷² Thomas Hall, *Comarum Akosmia, The Loathsomnesse of Long Haire* (London: J.G. for Nathaniel Webb and William Grantham, 1654), p. 22.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

this thesis has shown that although this view endured in print form by exponents of the humoral model, such as Lavater, the reality was quite different by the eighteenth century.⁶⁷⁴ Within the confines of a structured appearance, the moral view of the eighteenth century was more tolerant, and as long as the hair was clean, structured and well dressed it was permissible to be worn long in men. This is in part explained by the shift in medical thinking as Enlightenment ideas took hold, which allowed for a greater control by the individual over their own physical condition. With the understanding that outside environmental factors could influence physical health, hair therefore became less important as a signifier of the internal condition, and factors such as its length could be seen as able to be controlled by the individual and not pre-ordained. It also explains the decline of beard wearing during this time, as hair became less important as a marker of gender.

If men were permitted to wear their hair longer, this did not mean that long wigs went without moral comment, as discussed in this thesis. Wigs of the style and shape seen most to 'deviate from nature' attracted a fair amount of disapproval, due to the vain and unseemly focus on appearance they were considered to display.⁶⁷⁵ This was exemplified by the Macaroni, but attracted comment in less extravagant circles as well. Despite this, when worn as part of a social role and identified as part of a particular group, even larger wigs were acceptable as long as they were controlled and clean as seen in the example of the Kit-Kat club.

This thesis suggests that wigs fell out of popular fashion as a result of changes in the understanding of hair in relation to the body. This diverges from the

⁶⁷⁴ Johann Caspar Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy, Designed to Promote the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind* (London: John Murray, 1789), p. 416.

⁶⁷⁵ R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, (London: T. Gardner, 1747), p. 204.

traditional narrative of dress history, which sees wig wearing as declining on economic grounds, with the introduction of the hair powder tax in 1795. As this thesis has shown, wigs had fallen out of the popular fashion several decades before the introduction of this tax, as men strove to make the most of what nature had given them. Many powdered their own hair in an effort to improve on its appearance, and to keep it clean and controlled. However, the shift from large, extravagant wigs to smaller, neater styles, and eventually to powdering one's own hair, suggests a change in association of the significance of wig wearing, from the superficial, conspicuous display of the aristocracy and gentlemen of the court, to the more respectable, learned professions of the middling sort. This change in style reflected a greater shift in thinking, which had begun with the philosophers of the Enlightenment, and saw fashion turn towards the natural world for inspiration. Whilst hair was still a central manifestation in fashioning the self-image, it was no longer considered central to the maintenance of health or the display of good character, and as such wig wearing became less important in the creation of appearances.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript Sources

British Library, London:

- Add. Mss 34784, 'Account Book of Thomas Seyliard' (1687-92).
- Add Mss 61445, Blenheim Papers, Vol. 345 (1): 'Correspondence with John Spencer and Humphrey Fish', ff. 113-114.
- CUP 21 g. 41/12: 'Advertisement for Arthur Rothwell, Perfumer, At the Civet-Cat and Rose in New Bond St., London'.
- CUP 21 g.41/14: 'Advertisement for Raibaud et Louis, Perfumers of Air St, Piccadilly'.
- CUP 21 g.41/14: 'Raibaud et Louis, 'Rue St Honore at Paris, also Mr Bowen's Air St, Piccadilly'.
- CUP 21 g.41/15: 'Richard Warren, selling the 'only non counterfeit Warren's liquid of Violets and Jessamin for preserving the hair from falling off or turning grey'.
- CUP 21 g.41/15: 'Advertisement for Richard Warren, Perfumer, Mary-le-bon, St. Alder's Sq, London'.
- CUP 21 g.41/35: 'Advertisement for Bayley, 'Perfumer at the Old Civit Cat'.
- CUP 21 g.41/59: 'Advertisement for Courtney, 'Perfumer Opposite Somerset House in the Strand, London'.

Bodleian Library, Oxford:

- MS Eng Hist c.711: 'Roger Whitley's Diary 1684-1697' (December 1685- July 1686).
- MS Locke c. 20: 'William Thomas to John Locke' (30 December 1693), ff. 142-143.
- Western Manuscripts, MSS 31110-27: 'Oxford Company of Barbers' (1675-1859).

Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service, Chester:

- ZA/F/48b/43, (1704/5): 'Counter-petition of the Company of Barber-Surgeons and Tallow Chandlers against the petition of Jacob Clews to be admitted to the freedom, stating that he could practice as a surgeon with the Bishop's licence, but that there was already enough barbers'.
- ZA/F/48e/24, (1707): 'Company of Barbers, Chirurgeons, and Tallow Chandlers of Chester'.

London Metropolitan Archives, London:

- SC/GL/TCC/BRI/-BUT (c. 1720): 'Trade Card of Thomas Brown, Peruke Maker and Hair Cutter, Bearbinder Lane, London'.

Shropshire Archives, Shrewsbury:

- GB/NNAF/C17573: 'Shrewsbury Barber Chirurgeons and Chandlers Guild (1440-1792)'.

The Royal Society, London:

- EL/S2/72 [n.d.]: ‘Observations of the Hair Condition “Plica Poloni” in Poland from an Article to the Society of Breslau’.
- EL/L1/37, (1678): ‘Letter from Anthony Van Leeuwenhoek’.

The National Archives, Kew:

- ASSI 45/13/3/40-41 (1683): ‘Northern and North-Eastern Circuit Depositions, Northumberland’.
- ASSI 45/36/3/17 (1789): ‘Northern and North-Eastern Circuit Depositions, Yorkshire’.
- C 5/257/36 (1713): ‘Murphy v. Reily’.
- C 47/41/151 (1388): ‘Lincoln Guild of Barbers’.
- C 107/108 (1720): ‘Master Senior’s Exhibits containing the recipe book of Margareta Accworth’.
- CUST 3/4 (1700): Ledgers of Imports and Exports.
- CUST 3/20, (1718): Ledgers of Imports and Exports.
- CUST 3/ 28A, (1726): Ledgers of Imports and Exports.
- CUST 3/39, (1739): Ledgers of Imports and Exports.
- E190/229/9, (1724- 1725): ‘The Port of Newcastle. Port: Newcastle with Blythe, Stockton and Sunderland Official’.

- E190/241/1, (1736-1737): 'The Port of Newcastle. Port: Newcastle with Blythe, Stockton and Sunderland Official'.

- E190/245/10, (1744-1745): 'The Port of Newcastle. Port: Newcastle with Blythe, Stockton and Sunderland Official'.

- E190/248/9, (1747-1748): 'The Port of Newcastle. Port: Newcastle with Blythe, Stockton and Sunderland Official'.

- HO 47/9/13 (1789): 'Judges Reports on Criminals: Thomas Grose, Convicted at December Sessions'.

- HO 47/12/63 (1790): 'Judges Reports on Criminals: Report of John William Rose, Recorder of London, on 1 Individual Petition...'

- HO 47/14/46 (1792): 'Judges Reports on Criminals: Report of Richard Perryn on One Individual Petition...'

- PROB 11/623/213 (1728): 'Will of William Darling, Barber and Periwig Maker of Potton, Bedfordshire'.

- PROB 11/651/204 (1732): 'Will of John Crouch, Barber and Periwig Maker of Bath, Somerset'.

- PROB 11/825/339 (1756): 'Will of Peter Ellames, Barber and Periwig Maker, City of London'.

- PROB 24/60 (1722-24): ff.82, 84v 'Evidence of Robert Phillips, Barber and Peruke-Maker of St Margaret Westminster'.

- PROB 31/237/475 (1743): 'Exhibit 1743/475, Isaac Dod of Camberwell, Surrey, Baker and Peruke Maker, Keeper of a Public House', June 1743.

- PROB 31/260/412 (1745): 'Edmund Foley, Barber, Peruke Maker and Public House Keeper'.
- PROB 31, 358/536 (July 1753): 'Exhibit 1753/536 Thomas Newnam, Bachelor, Peruke Maker of the Liberty of the Rolls, Middlesex'.
- SP 46/26/f. 170: State Papers Misc: Supplementary (Temp. Eliz. I).
- T1/349/53 (1753): 'Papers from the Excise Office: Report of the Commissioners for Excise on the Memorial of the Barbers Peruke Makers of London Requesting that the Duty on Starch, Used in the Manufacture of Hair Powder, be Reduced'.
- T1/370/27 (1756): 'The Humble Memorial of John Brooks, Peruke Maker and Dealer in Hair and Corn'.

Tyne and Wear Archives, Newcastle:

- GU.BS, 31 Series (1616-1940): 'Incorporated Company of Barber Surgeons, Wax and Tallow Chandlers and Periwig Makers, Newcastle'.

Wellcome Library, London:

- MS 2990/19 (c. 1676-90): 'Bridget Hyde'.
- MS 3712 (c. 1675-1725): 'Elizabeth Okeover'.

West Yorkshire Archive Services, Wakefield:

- QS 1/77/6 (1738): 'Quarter Sessions Roll'.

The Worshipful Company of Barbers, London:

- B/1/7 (1707-1731): 'Court Minutes'.
- B/1/10 (1764-1778): 'Court Minutes'.
- C/9/1720-21, C/9/1739 (1739): 'Quarterage Books'.
- C/9/1748, C/9/1760 (1760): 'Quarterage Books'.

Printed Primary Material

Abercromby, David, *A Discourse of Wit* (London: Printed for John Weld, 1686).

Anon., *A Trip Through London: Containing Observations on Men and Things* (London: [n.p.], 1728).

Anon., *An Abridgment of Such Statutes Now in Force, Relating to His Majesty's Customs* (Edinburgh: Printed for James Watson, 1718).

Anon., *Aristotle's Book of Problems, With Other Astronomers, Astrologers, Physicians and Philosophers... the Twenty-Sixth Edition* (London: [s.n.], 1749).

Anon., *Aristotle's New Book of Problems, Set Forth by Way of Question and Answer, the Sixth Edition* (London: Printed for John Marshall, 1725).

Anon., *Encyclopaedia Perthensis, Or Universal Dictionary of Knowledge* (Perth: C. Mitchel and Co., 1796-1806).

Anon., *Letters to the Ladies in the Preservation of Health and Beauty by a Physician* (London: Printed for Robinson and Roberts, 1770).

Anon., *Memoirs of an Old Wig* (London, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1815).

Anon., *Some Considerations on the Present State of the Hair Trade* (London: [n.a.], 1730).

Anon., *The Art of Nursing: Or the Method of Bringing up Young Children According to the Rules of Physick* (London: Printed for John Brotherton, 1733).

Anon., *The Frugal Housekeeper, Or, the Compleat Cook* (London: Printed for the Author, 1778).

Anon., *The General Shop Book or the Tradesman's Universal Director* (London: C. Hitch and L. Hawes, 1753).

Anon., *The London Practice of Physic* (London, [n.p.], 6th edn. 1769).

Anon., *The Proceedings on the King's Commissions of the Peace, Oyer and Terminer, Held for the City of London* (London: printed for J. Hinton, 1746-47).

Anon., *The Wig. A Burlesque-satirical Poem, By the Author of More Fun* (London: Printed for the Author, 1765).

Astruc, John, *A Treatise of the Venereal Disease in 6 Books* (London: W. Innys and R. Manby, 1737).

Bockett, John, *Pride Expos'd, and Oppos'd; or the Root, Branches and Fruit Thereof, Briefly Discovered* (London: J. Swolel in White-Hart-Court, 1710).

Boerhaave, Herman, *A Method of Studying Physick. Containing What a Physician Ought to Know in Relation to the Nature of Bodies* (London: Printed by C. Rivington, 1719).

Boerhaave, Herman, *Dr. Boerhaave's Academical Lectures on the Theory of Physic* (London: W. Innys in Pater-Noster Row, 1743). [ECCO].

Boyle, Godfrey, *A Treasure of Useful Discoveries in Two Parts* (Dublin: Printed for the Author, 1746).

Brodie, William, *Extract from the Accounts of the Trial of William Brodie and George Smith, Before the High Court of Justiciary* (Edinburgh, A. Robertson, 1788).

Buc'hoz, Pierre-Joseph, *The Toilet of Flora: Or a Collection of the Most Simple and Approved Methods of Preparing Baths, Essences, Pomatums* (London: Printed for W. Nicoll, 1772).

Buc'hoz, Pierre-Joseph, *The Toilet of Flora; Or, A Collection of the Most Simple and Approved Methods of Preparing Baths, Essences, Pomatums, Powders, Perfumes* (London: Printed for J. Murray, 1779).

Campbell, R., *The London Tradesman* (London: Printed for T. Gardner, 1747).

Carr, Richard, *Dr. Carr's Medicinal Epistles Upon Several Occasions* (London: Printed by W. Newton and J. Phillips, 1714).

Carter, Charles, *The Compleat City and Country Cook; or, Accomplish'd Housewife* (London: Printed for A. Bettesworth, 1736).

Chambers, Ephraim, *Cyclopaedia: or, an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (London: Printed for W. Strahan, 1778-88).

Chandler, John, *A Treatise of the Disease called a Cold; Shewing its General Nature and Causes* (London: Printed for A. Millar, 1761).

Charles Holburn, *Unto the Right Honourable, the Lords of Council and Session, the Petition of Charles Holburn, Wig-Maker in Edinburgh...* (Edinburgh: [n.a.], 1725).

Cheyne, George, *The English Malady: or, a Treatise of Nervous Diseases of all Kinds, as Spleen, Vapours, Lowness of Spirits, Hypochondrical and Hysterical Distempers* (London: Printed for G. Strahan, 1733).

Collins, Hercules, *The Temple Repair'd: Or, an Essay to Revive the Long-Neglected Ordinances* (London: William and Joseph Marshall, 1702).

Collyer, Joseph, *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory* (London, Printed for R. Griffiths, 1761).

Country Clergyman, *Of Luxury, More Particularly with Respect to Apparel* (London: T. Green, 1736).

Courtenay, B., *Courtenay, Perfumer, Opposite Somerset House in the Strand* (London, 1780).

Cowper, William, *The Private Correspondence of William Cowper, Esq. With Several of his Most Intimate Friends* (London: H. Colburn, 1824), vol. 2.

Curwen, Samuel, *Journal and Letters of the Late Samuel Curwen, Judge of Admiralty*, (London: Wiley and Putnam, 1844).

Dalrymple, Hew, *Information for Hairdressers in Edinburgh against the Incorporation of Barbers* (Edinburgh: Printed for the Author, 1758).

Davys, Mary, *The Accomplished Rake: Or, The Modern Fine Gentleman* (London: Printed for A. Stephens, 1756).

De Bois-Regard, Andry, *Orthopaedia: or the Art of Correcting and Preventing Deformities in Children* (London: Printed for A. Millar, 1743).

De Courtin, Antoine, *The Rules of Civility: or, the Maxims of Genteel Behaviour* (London: Printed for R. Scott, 1703).

De Valangin, Francis, *A Treatise on Diet, or the Management of Human Life, by Physicians Called the Six Non-Naturals* (London: Printed for the Author, 1768).

Defoe, Daniel, *The Compleat English Tradesman* (London: Printed for Charles Rivington, 1727).

Dionis, Pierre, *A Course of Chircugical Operations Demonstrated in the Royal Gardens at Paris* (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, 1719).

Dodsley, Robert, *The Footman's Friendly Advice To his Brethren of the Livery; and to all Servants in General* (London: T. Worrall, 1731).

Duncan, Andrew, *Annals of Medicine, for the Year 1796. Exhibiting a Concise View of the Latest and Most Important Discoveries in Medicine and Medical Philosophy* (Edinburgh: Printed by J. Pillans and Sons, 1796).

Duncan, Andrew, *The Annals of Medicine, for the Year 1796. Exhibiting a Concise View of the Latest and Most Important Discoveries in Medicine and Medical Philosophy* (Edinburgh: Printed by J. Pillans and Sons, 2nd edition, 1799).

English Periwig-Maker, *A Dissertation Upon Head Dress; Together With A Brief Vindication of High Coloured Hair* (London: Printed for J. Williams, 1767).

Fuller, Francis, *Medicina Gymnasitica: Or Every Man his Own Physician* (London: Printed for W. Norris, 1777).

Gayton, Edmund, *Pleasant Notes Upon Don Quixot* (London: Printed by William Hunt, 1654).

Graham, James, *Dr. Graham's Famous Work! A Lecture on the Generation, Increase and Improvement of the Human Species; Interspersed with Receipts for the Preservation and Exaltation of Personal Beauty and Loveliness* (London: Printed for the Author, 1784).

Grubb, Robert, *A New Treatise on the Venereal Disease; or, Every Person Afflicted with the Disorder Their Own Physician* (London: Printed for the Author, 1780).

Guest, Richard, *A compendious history of the cotton-manufacture; with a disproof of the claim of Sir Richard Arkwright to the invention of its ingenious machinery* (Manchester: Printed by Joseph Pratt, 1823).

Hales, Stephen, *A treatise on Ventilators... Part second* (London: Richard Manby, 1758).

Hall, Thomas, *Comarum Akosmia, The Loathsomnesse of Long Haire* (London: J.G. for Nathaniel Webb and William Grantham, 1654).

Hart, John, *An Address To The Public On The Subject Of The Starch And Hair-Powder Manufactories*, (London: [n.p.], 1795).

Haygarth, John, *A Sketch of a Plan to Exterminate the Casual Small-Pox from Great Britain, and to Introduce General Inoculation* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1793).

Haygarth, John, *An Inquiry How to Prevent the Small-Pox* (Chester: Printed by J. Monk, 1784).

Hayley, William, *The Life and Letters of William Cowper* (London: Longman Press, 1835).

Heister, Lorenz, *A General System of Surgery in 3 Parts* (London: Printed for W. Innys, 1743).

Hoffman, Frederick, *A Dissertation on Endemial Diseases* (London: Printed for Thomas Osborne, 1746).

Hogarth, William, *The Analysis of Beauty, Written with a View of Fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Taste, a New Edition*, (London: Printed for Mrs Hogarth, 1772).

Hogarth, William, *The Analysis of Beauty. Written With a View of Fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Taste* (London: Printed by J. Reeves, 1753).

Holme, Randle, *The Academy of Armory, or, A Storehouse of Armory and Blazon, Book III* (Chester: Printed for the Author, 1688).

Hooke, Robert, *Micrographia Restaurata: or the copper-plates of Dr. Hooke's Wonderful Discoveries*, (London: Printed for John Bowles, 1745). [

Hooper, S., *A Guide to Health, Beauty, Riches and Honour, the second edition* (London: Printed for Hooper and Wigstead, 1796).

Hume, A., M.D., *Every Woman Her Own Physician: or, the Lady's Medical Assistant* (London: Printed for Richardson and Urquhart, 1776).

Hyde, Edward, Earl of Clarendon, *A Compleat Collection of Tracts by that Eminent Statesman The Right Honourable Edward, Earl of Clarendon* (London: C. Davis in Holbourn, 1747).

Kearsley, George, *Kearsley's Table of Trades* (London: Printed for George Kearsley, 1786).

Keill, James, *The Anatomy of the Human Body Abridg'd: or a Short and Full View of all the Parts of the Body* (London: Printed for John Clarke, 1734).

Kearsley, George, *Kearsley's Table of Trades* (London: Printed for George Kearsley, 1786).

Keill, James, *The Anatomy of the Human Body Abridg'd: or a Short and Full View of all the Parts of the Body* (London: Printed for John Clarke, 1734).

Journals of the House of Commons, 16 (16 November 1708-9 October 1711), 23 January 1709, Second Parliament of Great Britain: First Session.

Lavater, Johann Caspar, *Essays on Physiognomy, Designed to Promote the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind* (London: John Murray, 1789).

Le Clerc, Charles Gabriel, *The Compleat Surgeon: or the Whole Art of Surgery Explained, the fifth edition* (London: Printed for R. Bonwicke, 1714).

Le Clerc, Georges Louis, Comte de Buffon, *Barr's Buffon. Buffon's Natural History* (London: Printed for the Proprietor, 1797), Vol. 4.

Lillie, Charles, *The British Perfumer* (London: George Routledge, 1822).

Lobb, Theophilus, *The Practice of Physic in General, as Delivered in a Course of Lectures on the Theory of Diseases* (London: Printed for the Author, 1771).

Louis Leclerc, Georges, Comte de Buffon, *Barr's Buffon: Buffon's Natural History*, (London: Printed by JS Barr, 1792).

Lower, Richard, *Dr. Lower's, and Several Other Eminent Physicians Receipts* (London: Printed for John Nutt, 1696).

Markham, Gervase, *The English House-Wife, Containing the Inward and Outward Vertues...and Now the Ninth Time Much Augmented* (London: Printed for Hannah Sawbridge, 1683).

Marryat, Thomas, *The Art of Healing, or a New Practice of Physick* (Birmingham: Printed by M. Swinney, 1776).

Mather, J., *A Treatise on the Nature and Preservation of the Hair, in Which the Causes of its Different Colours and Diseases are Explained* (London: Printed by A. Grant, 1795).

Mauriceau, Francois, *The Diseases of Women with Child, and in Child-bed* (London: Andrew Bell, at the Cross-Keys and Bible in Cornhill, 1710).

Mead, Richard, *A Short Discourse Concerning Pestilential Contagion, and the Methods to be Used to Prevent It* (London: printed by Sam. Buckley, 1722).

Meriton, L., *Pecuniae Obediunt Omnia: Money Does Master All Things* (York: Printed for the Author, 1696).

Moore, Isabella, *The Useful and Entertaining Family Miscellany* (London: Printed for Thomas Palmer, 1766).

Mihles, S., *Medical Essays and Observations Relating to the Practice of Physic and Surgery: Abridg'd from the Philosophical Transactions*, (London: Printed for S. Birt, 1745).

Moore, William, *The Art of Hairdressing and Making it Grow Fast Together with a Plain and Easy Method of Preserving it with Several Useful Recipes* (London: Printed by J. Salmon, c. 1780).

Nairne, Edward, *Poems, Miscellaneous and Humorous* (Canterbury: Printed by Simmons and Kirkby, 1791).

Place, Mr., *An Hypothetical Notion of the Plague; and Some Out-of-the-Way Thoughts About It* (London: Printed for the Author, 1721).

Quarles, Thomas, *The History and Antiquities of Foulsham in Norfolk* (London: Joseph Cundall, 1842).

Quincy, John, *Dr Carr's Medicinal Epistles upon Several Occasions* (London: Printed for William Newton, 1714).

Ritchie, David, *A Treatise on the Hair* (London, Printed for the Author, 1770).

Ross, A., *A Treatise on Bear's Grease with Observations to Prove How Indispensible the Use of that Incomparable Substance to Preserve the Head of Hair* (London: Printed by the Author, 1795).

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *The Social Contract: and, The first and Second Discourses; Edited and With an Introduction by Susan Dunn* (New Haven: London: Yale University Press, 2002).

Rush, Benjamin, *Medical Inquiries and Observations...* (Philadelphia: Printed by T. Dobson, 1793).

Salmon, W., *Polygraphice: Or, the Arts of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Vernishing, Japaning, Gilding &c.* (London: Printed for A. and J. Churchill, 1701).

Salmon, William, *The Works of Aristotle, Complete in Four Parts* (London, Printed for J. Urquhart, 1776).

Rowley, William, *The Rational Practice of Physic* (London: Printed for the Author, 1793).

Short, Thomas, *A Discourse Concerning the Causes and Effects of Corpulency: Together with the Method for its Prevention and Cure* (London: Printed for the Author, 1728).

Short, Thomas, *A Rational Discourse on the Inward Uses of Water Showing its Nature, Choice and Agreeableness to the Blood* (London: Printed for the Author, 1725).

Short, Thomas, *An Essay towards a Natural Experimental and Medicinal History of the Principle Mineral Waters of Cumberland, Northumberland & Westmoreland* (Sheffield: Printed for the Author, 1740).

Short, Thomas, *Medicina Britannica: or, a Treatise on Such Physical Plants, as are Generally to be Found in the Fields or Gardens in Great-Britain* (London: Printed for R. Manby, 1746).

Smith, Eliza, *The Complete Housewife, or, Accomplished Gentlewoman's Companion* (London: Printed for J. Buckland, 1766).

Smollett, Tobias, *The Critical Review, or, Annals of Literature* (London: Printed for A. Hamilton, 1770).

Stewart, Alexander, *The Natural Production of Hair or its Growth and Decay, Being a Great and Correct Assistance to its Duration* (London: Printed by the Author, 1795).

Stewart, James, *Plocacosmos: Or the Whole Art of Hairdressing, Wherin is Contained Ample Rules for the Young Artisan, More Particularly for the Ladies, Women* (London: Printed for the Author, 1782).

Sydenham, Thomas, *The Entire Works of Dr Thomas Sydenham, Newly Made English from the Originals* (London: Printed by R. Cave, 1763).

Theobald, John, *Every Man his Own Physician: Being a Complete Collection of Efficacious and Approved Remedies, for Every Disease Incident to the Human Body* (London: Printed and Sold by W. Griffin, 1764).

Thornton, Robert John, *The Philosophy of Medicine* (London: Printed by C. Whittingham, 1799).

Tryon, Thomas, *The Knowledge of a Man's Self the Surest Guide to the True Worship of God and Good Government of the Mind and Body* (London: n.a., 1704).

Willich, A.F.M., *Lectures of Diet and Regimen Being a Systematic Enquiry into the Most Rational Means of Preserving Health* (London: Printed for T.N. Longman, 1799).

Willich, Anthony, *Lectures on Diet and Regimen: Being a Systematic Inquiry into the Most Rational Means of Preserving Health and Prolonging Life* (London: Printed for A. Strahan, 1800).

Wiseman, Richard, *Eight Chirurgical Treatises, on these Following Heads* (London: Printed for Benjamin Tooke, 1705).

Wolley, Hannah, *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight* (London: Printed for B. Harrish, 1696).

Newspapers and Periodicals

Bath Chronicle, Issue 1465, 25 December 1788.

British Apollo, Issue 66, 24-29 September 1708.

British Journal, Issue 6, 27 October 1722.

Daily Advertiser, Issue 3845, 16 May 1743.

Daily Advertiser, Issue 3789, 24 June 1743.

Daily Advertiser, Issue 4137, 20 April 1744.

Daily Advertiser, Issue 6559, 16 January 1752.

Daily Advertiser, Issue 13758, 24 January, 1775.

Daily Courant, Issue 924, 2 April 1705.

Daily Courant, Issue 3693, 14 August 1713.

Daily Courant, Issue 4352, 5 October 1715.

Daily Courant, Issue 6398, 24 April 1722.

Daily Courant, Issue 8685, 12 August 1729.

Daily Post, Issue 1071, 5 March 1723.

Daily Post, Issue 1101, 9 April 1723.

Daily Post, Issue 1440, 8 May 1724.

Daily Post, Issue 1909, 6 November 1725.

Daily Post, Issue 3018, 23 May 1729.

Evening Post, Issue 2001, 24 May 1722.

Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, Issue 16715, 9 July 1782.

General Advertiser, Issue 5236, 1 August 1751.

Gentleman's Magazine, February 1765.

Guardian, Vol. 4, 16 March 1713.

Hoey's Dublin Mercury, Issue 609, 15 September 1770.

Lloyd's Evening Post, Issue 1159, 12 December 1764.

Lloyds Evening Post, Issue 3309, September 1775.

London Daily Post and General Advertiser, Issue 1075, 10 April 1738.

London Evening Post, Issue 981, 19 March 1734.

London Evening Post, Issue 2094, 11 April 1741.

London Evening Post, Issue 4252, 8 February 1755.

London Gazette, Issue 6398, 14 August 1725.

London Gazette, Issue 7614, 2 July 1737.

London Journal, Issue 132, 3 February 1722.

London Journal, Issue 146, 26 May 1722.

London Journal, Issue 342, 12 February 1726.

London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer, Vol. 5, 1736.

London Magazine, Vol. 34, 1764.

London Magazine, Vol. 5, 1735.

London Magazine, Vol. 8, 1739.

Intelligencer Published for the Satisfaction and Information of the People, Issue 29, 11 April 1664.

Intelligencer Published for the Satisfaction and Information of the People, Issue 13, 13 February 1665.

Manchester Mercury and Harrop's General Advertiser, Issue 2 March 1722.

Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, Issue 4327, 31 March 1783.

Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser, Issue 86, 8 February 1781.

Morning Post and Daily Advertiser, Issue 2458, 9 September 1780.

Morning Post and Fashionable World, Issue 7400, 27 October 1795.

Morning Post and Fashionable World, Issue 7250, 27 April 1795.

Morning Post and Fashionable World, Issue 7458, 14 January 1796.

Oracle, Issue 710, 6 September 1791.

Post Man and the Historical Account, Issue 1262, 13-15 April 1704.

Public Advertiser, Issue 5862, 13 August 1753.

Public Advertiser, Issue 3685, April 1755.

Public Advertiser, Issue 10491, 14 June 1768.

Public Advertiser, Issue 11068, 25 May 1770.

Public Advertiser, Issue 10979, 18 January 1770.

St James Evening Post, Issue 2752, 16 January 1733.

St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post, Issue 616, 12-14 February 1765.

The Times, Issue 150, 20 June 1785.

The Weekly Entertainer, Or the Agreeable and Instructive Repository, Vol. 47, 1783.

The Westminster Magazine or the Pantheon of Taste..., Vol. 6, 1776.

Town and Country Magazine, Vol. 4, 1772.

Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer, 23 November 1717.

World, Issue 745, 21 May 1787.

World, Issue 321, 9 January 1788.

World, Issue 1326, 1 April 1791.

World 1787, Issue 763, 11 June 1789.

World 1787, Issue 1299, 1 March 1791.

World and Fashionable Advertiser, Issue 185, 6 August 1781.

World and Fashionable Advertiser, Issue 56, 6 March 1787.

Secondary Sources

Books

Adamson, Glenn, Riello, Giorgio and Teasley, Sarah, (eds), *Global Design History* (London: Routledge, 2011).

Adler, Kathleen, and Pointon, Marcia, (eds.) *The Body Imaged: The Human Form and Visual Culture since the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Appadurai, Arjun, (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Arnold, Janet, *Perukes and Periwigs* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1970).

Arnold, Ken, *Needles in Medical History: An Exhibition at the Wellcome Trust History of Medicine Gallery, April 1998* (London: Wellcome Trust, 1998).

Arnold, Ken, *Materia Medica: A New Cabinet of Medicine and Art, An Exhibition at the Wellcome Trust for the History of Medicine, November 1995* (London: Wellcome Trust, 1995).

Ashelford, Jane, *The Art of Dress: Clothes and Society, 1500-1914* (London: The National Trust, 1996).

Barrell, John, *The Spirit Of Despotism: Invasions Of Privacy In The 1790s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Baudrillard, Jean, 1995. *Simulacra and Simulation. The Body, in Theory: Histories of Cultural Materialism*, tr. Sheila Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).

Berg, Charles, *The Unconscious Significance of Hair* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1951).

Berg, Maxine, Hudson, Pat, and Sonenscher, Michael (eds.), *Manufacture in Town and Country Before the Factory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Biddle-Perry, Geraldine and Cheang, Sarah (eds), *Hair: Styling, Culture and Fashion* (Oxford: Berg, 2008).

Bills, Mark, *The Art of Satire: London in Caricature* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2006).

Black, Jeremy, *Culture in Eighteenth-Century England: A Subject for Taste* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2005).

Breward, Christopher, *Fashion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Brewer, Daniel, and Julie Chandler Hayes (eds), *Using the Encyclopédie: Ways of Knowing, Ways of Meaning* (Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2002).

Bucholz, Robert. O., and Ward, Joseph, P., *London: A Social and Cultural History 1550-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Burke, Peter, *Eyewitnessing: The Use of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2001).

Byrde, Penelope, *The Male Image: Men's Fashion in Britain 1300-1970* (London: Batsford 1979).

Chrisman-Campbell, Kimberly, 'From Baroque Elegance to the French Revolution 1700-1790', in Welters, Linda, and Lillethun, Abbey (eds.), *The Fashion Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), pp. 6-19.

Cockayne, Emily, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise and Stench in England* (London: Yale University Press, 2007).

Collett-White, James (ed.), *Inventories of Bedfordshire Country Houses 1714-1830* (Bedfordshire: Historical Record Society, 1995).

Conrad, Barnaby, *The Blonde: A Celebration of the Golden Era from Harlowe to Monroe* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1999).

Corbin, Alain, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odour and the French Social Imagination* (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1986).

Corfield, Penelope J., 'The Rivals: Landed and Other Gentlemen', in Negley Harte and Roland Quinault (eds.), *Land and Society in Britain, 1700-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 1-33.

Crossick, Geoffrey, *The Artisan and the European Town* (Aldershot: Scholar, 1997).

Cumming, Valerie and Ribiero, Aileen, *The Visual History of Costume* (London: Batsford, 1989).

Cunnington, Cecil W. and Cunnington, Phillis, *Handbook of English Costume in the eighteenth century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972).

De Marly, Diana, *Fashion for Men: An Illustrated History* (London: Batsford, 1985).

Dobson, Jessie, and Walker, R. Miles, *Barbers and Barbers Surgeons on London: A History Of The Barbers' and Barber-Surgeons' Companies* (Oxford: Osney Mead, 1979).

Driver, Felix, and Rose, Gillian (eds.), *Nature and Science: Essays in the History of Geographical Knowledge* (London: Historical Geography Research Group, 1992).

Duden, Barbara, *The Woman Beneath the Skin: Doctor's Patients in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1991).

Earle, Peter, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London 1660-1730* (London: Methuen, 1989).

Earle, Peter *A City Full of People: Men and Women of London 1650-1750* (London: Methuen, 1994).

Ellis, Markman, *Eighteenth-Century Coffee House Culture, Volumes 1-4* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006).

Elmer, Peter, and Grell, Ole Peter, *Health, Disease and Society in Europe 1500–1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

Epstein, S.R. and Prak, Maarten (eds), *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy, 1400-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Fairchilds, Cissie, 'The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris', in Porter, Roy, and Brewer, John, (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 228-249.

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

Fissell, Mary, 'The Market Place of Print', in Jenner, Mark, and Wallis, Patrick, (eds), *Medicine and the Market in England and its Colonies, c. 1470-1850* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007), pp. 108-132.

Fitton, R. S., *The Arkwrights, Spinners Of Fortune* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989).

Floyd-Wilson, Mary, 'English Mettle', in Kern Paster, Gail, Rowe, Katherine, and Floyd-Wilson, Mary (eds.), *Reading The Early Modern Passions* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2004), pp. 130-147.

Foucault, Michel, *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984* (London: Penguin, 2002).

French, Roger, and Wear, Andrew (eds.), *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Gadd, I.A. and Wallis, P. (eds), *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002).

Gadd, I.A. and Wallis, P. (eds), *Guilds and Association in Europe 900-1900* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research, 2006).

Galbraith, Ann, *The Fleming family of Rydal Hall* (London: Shoes With Rockets, 2006).

George, Dorothy M., *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Kegan Paul & Co, 1925).

Gerritsen, Anne, and Riello, Giorgio (eds), *Writing Material Culture History* (London: Bloomsbury, forthcoming 2014).

Geyer-Kordesch, Joanna, 'Passions and the Ghost in the Machine or What Not to Ask about Science in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Germany', in French, Roger, and Wear, Andrew (eds.), *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 145-164.

Gilman, Sander L., *Making the Body Beautiful. A Cultural History of Aesthetic History* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Gowing, Laura, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

Greig, Hannah, *The Beau Monde; Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Guerrini, Anita, 'Isaac Newton, George Cheyne and the Principia Medicinæ', in French, Roger, and Wear, Andrew (eds.), *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 222-245.

Guerrini, Anita, *Obesity and Depression in the Enlightenment: The Life and Times of George Cheyne* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000).

Hallett, Mark, *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999).

Harris, John Raymond, *Essays in Industry and Technology in the Eighteenth Century: England and France* (Hampshire, Brookfield, 1992).

Harte, Negley, and Quinault, Roland, (eds.), *Land and Society in Britain, 1700-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

Harvey, John, *Men in Black* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

Harvey, Karen, (ed.), *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London: Routledge, 2009).

Heinamaa, Sara and Reuter, Martina (eds), *Psychology and Philosophy: Inquiries into the Soul from Late Scholasticism to Contemporary Thought*, (Dordrecht: Springer, 2009).

Heselton, Kenneth Y. (ed.), *Sunbury Household Effects, 1673-1724* (Sunbury-on-Thames: Sunbury & Shepperton Local History Society, 1976).

Hiltebeitel, Alf and Miller, Barbara D. (eds), *Hair: Its Power and Meaning in Asian Cultures* (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 1998).

Hitchcock, Tim and Shore, Heather (eds), *The Streets of London: From the Great Fire to the Great Stink* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 2003).

Horner, Craig (ed.), *The Diary of Edmund Harrold, Wig maker of Manchester, 1712-1715* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

Houlihan Flynn, Carol, *The Body in Swift and Defoe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Ilyin, Natalia, *Blonde Like Me: The Roots of the Blonde Myth in our Culture* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000).

Jenner, Mark, and Wallis, Patrick, (eds.), *Medicine and the Market in England and its Colonies, c. 1470-1850* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007).

Johnson, Mark, *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

Jones, Jennifer, *Sexing La Mode: Gender, Fashion And Commercial Culture In Old Regime France* (Berg: Oxford, 2004).

Jones, Robert W., *Gender and the Formation of Taste in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Jordanova, Ludmilla, *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Kalm, Pehr, *Kalm's Account of his Visit to England on his Way to America*,
Translated by Joseph Lucas (London: Macmillan and Co., 1892).

Kern Paster, Gail, 'Nervous Tension: Networks of Blood and Spirit in the Early Modern Body', in David Hillman, and Carla Mazzio (eds), *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe* (New York and London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 107-125.

Kern Paster, Gail, Rowe, Katherine and Floyd-Wilson, Mary, 'Introduction: Reading the Early Modern Passions.', in Kern Paster, Gail, Rowe, Katherine, and Floyd-Wilson, Mary (eds.), *Reading The Early Modern Passions* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2004), pp. 1-20.

King, James and Ryskamp, Charles, *The Letters and Prose Writings of William Cowper: Adelpi and Letters, 1750-1781* (London: Clarendon Press, 1979).

Klein, Lawrence E., 'The Polite Town: Shifting Possibilities of Urbanness 1660-1715', in Tim Hitchcock and Heather Shore (eds.), *The Streets of London: From the Great Fire to the Great Stink* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 2003), pp. 27-39.

Knoeff, Rina, *Herman Boerhaave (1668-1738), Calvinist Chemist and Physician*, vol. 3: *History of Science and Scholarship in the Netherlands*, (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 2002).

Kopytoff, Igor 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in Appadurai, Arjun (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 64-92.

Kuchta, David, *The Three Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England 1550-1850* (London: University of California Press, 2002).

- Lacquer, Thomas, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1990).
- Lane, Joan, *Apprenticeship in England 1600-1914* (London: Routledge, 1995).
- Langley Moore, Doris, *Fashion Through Plates 1771-1970* (London: Ward Dock Limited, 1971).
- Latham, Robert, (ed.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A Selection* (London: Penguin, 2003).
- Latham, Robert, and Matthews, William (eds), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (London: Bell and Hyman, 1990).
- Lawrence, Anne, *Women in England 1500-1760: A Social History* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995).
- Lindemann, Mary, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Lishman, Suzy, *A History of Surgery in 50 Objects* (London: Royal College of Pathologists, 2012).
- Lupton, Deborah, *Medicine as Culture: Illness, Disease and the Body in Western Societies* (London: Sage, 1994).
- Luyendijk-Elshout, A.M., and Kegel-Brinkgreve, E., *Boerhaave's Orations* (Leiden: Brill, 1983).
- Martin, Morag, *Selling Beauty: Cosmetics, Commerce, and French Society, 1750-1830* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

Martin, Raymond and Barresi, John (eds), *Naturalisation of the Soul: Self and Personal Identity in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Routledge, 2000).

Matthews Grieco, S., 'The Body, Appearance and Sexuality', in Zemon Davis, Natalie, and Farge A. (eds), *A History of Women in the West. Vol. 3: Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes* (London: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 46-84.

McKendrick, Neil, Brewer, John and Plumb, J.H, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialisation of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Hutchinson, 1983).

Mosse, George, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Outram, Dorinda, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3rd ed. 2013).

Pelling, Margaret, 'Corporatism or Individualism: Parliament, the Navy, and the Splitting of the London Barber-Surgeons' Company in 1745', in Gadd, Ian A. and Wallis, Patrick (eds), *Guilds and Association in Europe 900-1900* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research, 2006), pp. 57-82.

Pelling, Margaret, 'Appearance and Reality: Barber-Surgeons, the Body and Disease', in Beier, A.L. and Finlay, Roger (eds.), *The Making of the Metropolis: London 1500-1700* (London: Longman, 1985), pp. 82-113.

Pointon, Marcia, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth Century England* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

Polhemus, Ted, *The Body Reader: Social Aspects of the Human Body* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

Porter, Roy, 'Medicine, the Human Sciences and the Environment in the Enlightenment', in Driver, Felix, and Rose, Gillian (eds), *Nature and Science:*

Essays in the History of Geographical Knowledge (London: Historical Geography Research Group, 1992), pp. 27-36.

Porter, Roy (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-industrial Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

Porter, Roy, and Brewer, John, (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993).

Porter, Roy, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Birth of the Modern World* (London: Allen Lane, 2000).

Reed, Michael (ed.), *Buckinghamshire Probate Inventories 1661-1714* (Buckinghamshire Record Society no. 24, 1988).

Retford, Kate, *The Art of Domestic life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006).

Reuter, Martina, 'Physiognomy as Science and Art', in Heinamaa, Sara and Reuter, Martina (eds), *Psychology and Philosophy: Inquiries into the Soul from Late Scholasticism to Contemporary Thought* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2009), p. 159-179.

Ribeiro, Aileen, *Dress and Morality* (London: Batsford, 1986).

Ribeiro, Aileen, *Dress in Eighteenth Century Europe 1715-1789* (London: Batsford, 1984).

Riello, Giorgio, and Parthasarathi, Prasannan, (eds), *The spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Riley, James, *The Eighteenth-Century Campaign to Avoid Disease* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987).

Roche, Daniel, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Rochefoucauld, François, de la, *A Frenchman in England 1784: Being the M'elanges Sur L'Angleterre of Francois de la Rochefoucauld* (translated by S.C. Roberts), ed. Marchand, Jean, (London: Caliban, 1995).

Schickore, Jutta, *The Microscope and the Eye: A History of Reflections, 1740-1870* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

Sewall, Samuel, *The Diary and Life of Samuel Sewall* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1988).

Sheumaker, Helen, 'The Commodity of Self: Nineteenth Century Human Hair Jewellery', in Strasser, Susan, ed., *Commodifying Everything: Relationships Of The Market* (Routledge: New York and London, 2003), pp. 71-97.

Smith, Ginnie, 'Prescribing the Rules for Health: Self-Help and Advice in the Eighteenth Century', in Porter, Roy, (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-industrial Society*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 249-282.

Snodin, Michael, and Styles, John (eds.), *Design and the Decorative Arts: Britain 1500-1900* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2001).

Sorge-English, Lynn, *Stays And Body Image In London: The Staymaking Trade, 1680-1810* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2011).

Spufford, Margaret, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England* (London: Hambledon, 1984).

Stevens Cox, James, *An Illustrated Dictionary of Hairdressing and Wig making* (London: Batsford Academic, 1966).

Stevens Cox, James, ed., *The Wigmakers' Art in the Eighteenth Century: Translation of the Section on Wig making in the 3rd Edition (1776) of the Encyclopédie of Denis Diderot And Jean d'Alembert* (St Peter Port: The Toucan Press, 1980).

Styles, John, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Yale University Press, 2007).

Thomas, Keith, 'Cleanliness and Godliness in Early Modern England', in Fletcher, Anthony John and Roberts, Peter (eds), *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 56-83.

Thompson, Paul V., and Thompson, Dorothy Jay (eds), *The Account Books of Jonathan Swift*, (London: Scholar Press, 1984).

Thompson, Stanbury (ed.), *The Journal of John Gabriel Stedman 1744-1797, Solider and Author* (London: Mitre Press, 1962).

Tindal Hart, Arthur, *Country Counting House: The Story of Two Eighteenth-Century Clerical Account Book, Part I, Squire Payne's Memorandum and Account Books* (London: Phoenix House, 1962).

Toynbee, Paget (ed.), *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl Of Orford In Sixteen Volumes With Portraits And Facsimilies, Vol. VI: 1764-1766* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904).

Turner, Bryan S, *The Body and Society: Explorations in Social Theory* (London: Sage, 3rd ed. 2008).

Vickery, Amanda, 'Fashioning Difference in Georgian England: Furniture for Him and for Her', in Findlen, Paula (ed.), *Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories 1500-1800* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 342-366.

Vigarelo, Georges, *Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Wahrman, Dror, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

Walford, Edward, 'St James St And Neighbourhood', *Old and New London*, 4 (1878), pp. 165-81.

Wardle, Patricia, *For Our Royal Person: Master of the Robes Bills of King-Stadholder William III, The Great Parchment Warrant of 1700-1701* (Apeldoorn: Paleis Het Loo National Museum, 2002).

Wheatley, Henry B. (ed.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: Transcribed by the Late Rev. Mynors Bright...* (London: G.Bell and Sons Ltd., 1928).

Williams, Harold (ed.), *Jonathan Swift: Journal to Stella* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948).

Woodcock, Thomas, *Legal Habits: A Brief Sartorial History of the Wig, Robe and Gown*, (London: GB Publications, 2003).

Young, Sidney, *Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London* (London: Blades, East and Blades, 1890).

Articles

Bartman, Elizabeth, 'Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment', *Archaeological Institute of America*, 105:1 (2001), pp. 1-25.

Berry, Helen, 'Polite Consumption: Shopping in Eighteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6:12 (2002), pp. 375-394.

Casey, Christopher, “‘Grecian Grandeurs and the Rude Wasting of Old Time’: Britain, The Elgin Marbles, and Post-Revolutionary Hellenism’, *Foundations*, 3:1 (2008), pp. 31-65.

Cash, Thomas F. and Rich, Melissa K., ‘The American Image of Beauty: Media Representations of Hair Color for Four Decades’, *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 29:1-2 (1993), pp. 113-124.

Clayson, D.E. and Maughan, M.R., ‘Redheads and Blondes: Stereotypic Images’, *Psychological Reports*, 59:2 (1986), pp. 811-816.

Cohen, Michele, ‘Manners Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry and the Construction of Masculinity’, *Journal of British Studies*, 44:2 (2005), pp. 312-329.

Coleman, William, ‘Health and Hygiene in the Encyclopédie: A Medical Doctrine for the Bourgeoise’, *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 29:4 (1974), pp. 399-421.

Corfield, Penelope J., ‘Walking the City Streets: The Urban Odyssey in Eighteenth Century England’ *Journal of Urban History*, 16 (1990), pp. 132-74.

Craske, Matthew, ‘Plan and Control: Design and the Competitive Spirit in Early and Mid-Eighteenth-Century England’, *Journal of Design History*, 12:3 (1999).

Eighteenth Century Studies 38/1 (2004), Special Issue on ‘Hair’.

Fairchilds, Cissie, ‘Three Views on the Guilds’, *French Historical Studies*, 15 (1988), pp 688-92.

Festa, Lynn, ‘Personal Effects: Wigs and Possessive Individualism in the Long Eighteenth Century’, *Eighteenth Century Life*, 29:2 (2005), pp. 47-90.

Fowler, Christina, 'Changes in Provincial Retail Practice During the Eighteenth Century, with Particular Reference to Central-Southern England', *Business History*, 40:4 (1998).

Gayne, Mary K., 'Illicit Wig making in Eighteenth Century Paris', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38:4 (2004), pp. 119-137.

Gest, Howard, 'The Remarkable Vision of Robert Hooke (1635–1703): First Observer of the Microbial World', *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, 48:2 (2005), pp. 266-72.

Gibson, Gail, 'Costume and Fashion in Charleston', *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 82:3 (1981), pp. 225-247.

Guerrini, Anita, 'James Keill, George Cheyne and Newtonian Physiology 1690–1740', *Journal of the History of Biology*, 18:2 (1985), pp. 247-266.

Hallpike, C.R., 'Social Hair', *Man*, 4 (1969), pp. 256-264.

Hamilton, Bernice, 'The Medical Professions in the Eighteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, 4:2 (1951), pp. 141-69.

Harte, Negley, 'The Economics of Clothing in the Late Seventeenth Century', *Textile History*, 22:2 (1991), pp. 277-296.

Harvey, Karen, 'The History of Masculinity, circa 1650-1800', *Journal of British Studies*, 44:2 (2005), pp. 296-311.

Herzog, Don, 'The Trouble With Hairdressers', *Representations*, 53 (1996), pp. 21-43.

Houston, Robert, 'The Face of Madness in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Scotland', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 27:2 (2003), pp. 49-66.

Irons, David, 'Descartes and Modern Theories of Emotion', *Philosophical Review* 4:3, (1895), pp. 291-302.

Klein, Lawrence E., 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century', *Historical Journal*, 45:4 (2002), pp.869-898.

Koschorke, Albrecht, 'Physiological Self-Regulation: The Eighteenth Century Modernization of the Human Body', *Modern Language Notes*, 123 (2008), pp. 469-484.

Kwass, Michael, 'Big Hair: A Wig History of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century France', *American Historical Review*, 111:3 (2006), pp.631-659.

Kyle, Diana J and Mahler, Heike I. M., (eds), 'The Effects of Hair Color and Cosmetic Use on Perceptions of a Females Ability', *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 20:3 (1996), pp. 447-458.

Lambert, Miles, "'Cast-Off Wearing Apparell': The Consumption and Distribution of Second-Hand Clothing in Northern England During the Long Eighteenth Century', *Textile History*, 35:1 (2004), pp. 1-26.

Lemire, Beverly, 'Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England: The Trade in Second Hand Clothes', *Journal of British Studies*, 27:1 (1988), pp. 1-24.

Lutz, Deborah, 'The Dead Still Among Us: Victorian Secular Relics, Hair Jewelry and Death Culture', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 39:1 (2011), pp. 127-142.

McNeil, Peter, 'Macaroni Masculinities', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture*, 4:4 (2000), pp. 373-404.

Palmer, Joseph, 'Joseph Hill: The Diary of a Stratford Upon Avon Wig Maker', *Warwickshire History*, 6:6 (1980-81), pp. 192-202.

Porter, Roy, 'Seeing the Past', *Past and Present*, 118 (1988), pp. 186-205.

Porter, Roy, 'The Patient's View: Doing Medical History from Below', *Theory and Society*, 14:2 (1985), pp. 175-198.

Powell, Margaret K., and Roach, Joseph Roger, 'Big Hair', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38:1 (2004), pp. 79-99.

Prude, Jonathan, 'To Look upon the "Lower Sort": Runaway Ads and the Appearance of Unfree Laborers in America, 1750-1800,' *Journal of American History*, 78 (1991), 124-159.

Rauser, Amelia, 'Hair, Authenticity and the Self-Made Macaroni', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38:1 (2004), pp. 101-118.

Riello, Giorgio, 'Strategies and Boundaries: Subcontracting and the London Trades in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Enterprise and Society*, 9:2 (2008), pp. 243-280.

Riello, Giorgio, 'The Leather Industry in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France', *Historical Research*, 81:211 (2008), pp. 75-99.

Rosenthal, Angela, 'Raising Hair', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38:1 (2004), pp. 1-16.

Rublack, Ulinka, and Selwyn, Pamela, 'Fluxes: The Early Modern Body and the Emotions', *History Workshop Journal*, 53:1 (2002), pp. 1-16.

Shapin, Steve, 'Trusting George Cheyne: Scientific Expertise, Common Sense and moral authority in early Eighteenth Century Dietetic Medicine', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 7 (2003), pp. 263-297.

Shapiro, Lisa, 'The Health of the Body-Machine or Seventeenth Century Mechanism and the Concept of Health', *Perspectives on Science*, 11:4 (2003), pp. 421-442.

Snook, Edith, “‘The Beautifying Part of Physic’: Women’s Cosmetic Practices in Early Modern England’, *Journal of Women’s History*, 20:3 (2008), pp. 10-33.

Styles, John, ‘Clothing the North: The Supply of Non-elite Clothing in the Eighteenth-Century North of England’, *Textile History*, 25:2 (1994), pp. 139-166.

Tanner, L.E., and Nevinson, J.L., ‘On Some Later Funeral Effigies in Westminster Abbey’, *Archaeologia Or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating To Antiquity*, 85:35 (1936), Second Series, pp. 169-202.

Tosh, John, ‘English Politeness: Conduct, Social Rank and Moral Virtue, c. 1400-1900’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (Sixth Series)*, 12 (2002), pp. 261-266.

Vickery, Amanda, ‘Mutton Dressed as Lamb? Fashioning Age in Georgian England’, *Journal of British Studies*, 52:4 (2013), pp. 858-886.

Online Databases

British Parliamentary Papers, 1747, Vol. 9, *A Bill to Oblige Ships more Effectually to Perform their Quarentine; and for the Better Preventing the Plague Being Brought from Foreign Parts into Great Britain, or Ireland, or the Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, Sark, or Man.* http://0-gateway.proquest.com.pugwash.lib.warwick.ac.uk/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:hcpp&rft_dat=xri:hcpp:rec:hcsp-000241.

British Parliamentary Papers, Journals of the House of Commons, vol. 16 (16 November 1708-9 October 1711), 23 January 1709, Second Parliament of Great Britain: First Session.

OED Online. June 2013, Oxford University Press. <http://0-www.oed.com.pugwash.lib.warwick.ac.uk/view/Entry/208266?redirectedFrom=tyburn+top> (accessed July 01, 2013).

The Proceedings of the Old Bailey Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 05 July 2013), September 1717, trial of James Ellikar, (t17170911-35).

The Proceedings of the Old Bailey Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 12 April 2014), October 1732, trial of William Sherrington, (t17321011-3).

The Proceedings of the Old Bailey Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 12 April 2014), May 1782, trial of Andrew Gifford, (t17820515-25).

The Proceedings of the Old Bailey Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 12 April 2014), July 1749, trial of James Hill, (t17490705-14).

The Proceedings of the Old Bailey Online, *Ordinary's Account*, 8th February (1721).