

‘THE HAIR AS REMEMBRANCER’:
HAIRWORK AND THE TECHNOLOGY OF MEMORY

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department

of Art History

University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Art History

By

Rachel Robertson Harmeyer

May, 2013

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Rachel Robertson Harmeyer

APPROVED:

ARTH H. Rodney Nevitt Jr., Ph.D.
Committee Chair

ARTH Jessica Locheed, Ph.D.

ARTH Jennifer Sorkin, PhD.

ARTH David L. Jacobs, PhD.

John W. Roberts, Ph.D.
Dean, College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences
Department of English

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ABSTRACT

Sentimental hairwork, especially popular in Europe and the United States during the nineteenth century, is an understudied subject for art history, and need to be considered beyond its connection to the painted portrait miniature or the mourning jewel. Hair had meaning as a fragment because of its connection to the individual from whom the hair was taken, and functioned for the original viewer as an embodiment of that individual: it served as a part that implied the whole, and connected its owner to the absent or deceased body of their loved one. This thesis places hair and hairwork in the context of its social use and argues that hairwork functioned as a technology of memory. In some cases, hair and hairwork were used interchangeably with photography to record and memorialize the individual, and hairwork was eventually supplanted by photography as a vehicle for memory by the end of the nineteenth century.

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Introduction

I'll weave a bracelet of this hair,--
 Although these locks so hallowed are,
 It seems like sacrilege to wear
 Such relics of the dead.

I've seen them clust'ring 'round a brow
 Which drooped beneath affliction's blow,
 And slumbers in the church-yard now,
 With all its beauty flown.

The hand that dressed these locks with care,
 And 'ranged them 'round that brow so fair,
 And oft clasped mine with friendly air,
 Is turning back to dust.

And closed those eyes, whose radiant beams
 Surpass'd imagination's dreams,
 Yet whisp'ring still, were but faint gleams
 Emerging from the soul.

Farewell, dear friend, these locks I'll keep,
 Till in the grave with thee I sleep;
 There, like thee, may I cease to weep,
 And, with thee, wake to sing.¹

Sarah S. Mower, 1851

In John Everett Millais' painting *Only a Lock of Hair* from c. 1857-8 (Fig. 1), a young woman holds a small pair of scissors in her right hand, poised to sever the lock of her hair she holds in her left hand. This painting alludes to the practice, common in Europe and America in the nineteenth century, of giving and keeping locks of hair as tokens of affection, as well as mementos of the deceased. *Only a Lock of Hair* refers to

¹ Sarah S. Mower, *The Snow-Drop: A Holiday Gift*, ed. Jacob Young, 2012.

hair given as a love token, while Sarah Mower's poem above refers to hair kept in remembrance of loved ones after their death. The poem also describes the transformation of the hair into hairwork: "I'll weave a bracelet of this hair." Though hairwork reached the height of its popularity in that period, it was not an exclusive invention of the nineteenth century. In the article "The Hair as Remembrancer" published in the United States in 1848, the anonymous author states that "the custom of keeping the hair of deceased friends, is one of the oldest that we can trace into the records of time."² The author goes on to explain that this tradition "has arisen from its convenience, and its being the part which under certain circumstances will last the longest of any in the body."³ Often misunderstood as purely an artifact of mourning, hairwork was exchanged as a living, sentimental token of love and friendship in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In the foreword to *Tokens of Affection and Regard*, Grant B. Romer attributes the lack of scholarly literature on photographic jewelry from the nineteenth century to the cross-disciplinary nature of the subject: "Photo-historians lack a deep knowledge of the history of fashion. Fashion historians do not commonly comprehend the history of photography. Historians of the portrait miniature traditionally attribute the decline of this art to the advent of photography, and they therefore shun study of camera work."⁴ Romer also sees a connection between the "generally long-standing prejudice against

² "The Hair as Remembrancer," *The Literary World* (Philadelphia: E. A. and G. L. Duyckink, July 15, 1848), 461.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Larry J. West, Patricia A. Abbott, *Tokens of affection and regard: antique photographic jewelry*, (New York: Larry J. West, 2005), 10.

photography as unworthy of high art status” and the unstudied subject of photographic jewelry.⁵

If the study of nineteenth century portrait photographs and their use in jewelry inconveniently overlaps categories and demands an interdisciplinary approach, the study of hairwork as an art form does so even more, as it crosses deeply divided categorical lines and takes on multiple forms, existing in conjunction with painted and photographic miniatures alike, and a wide array of other kinds of objects. Scholars writing on hairwork often address it as a subject only as it relates to their specialized interest, such as eighteenth-century decorative arts, American culture studies, or nineteenth-century literature. This is understandable, but it results in certain limitations, the most obvious one being a fragmentary view of the subject, resulting in an incomplete picture of the nature of hairwork. Hairwork is an interdisciplinary object and subject by default because of how the disciplines have been defined, predetermined by the institutional history of the hierarchy of genres and the relegation of anything appearing to be ‘women’s work’ (amateur craft, expressions of sentiment and grief, the act of adorning the body and the home) to the dustbin of history. As a result, we are left without the right categories for hairwork, and we do not understand its history as a category unto itself.

Hair’s specific cultural meaning as a love token, a bearer of sentiment, in Europe and America during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries transforms the overall meaning of objects that include it. These multimedia objects need to be understood as unified works that were designed to create specific associations for their original audience. Hair was seen as meaningful, in the context of sentimental and mourning

⁵ Ibid.

culture, because it is an extension of the body that can endure indefinitely: it recalls the living state of the body, and can survive after the rest of the body has decayed.

Another reason for this lack of critical scrutiny lies beyond the interdisciplinary nature of the subject: Romer suggests that another issue in the way of forming an understanding of photo-jewelry might be “a deeper and less obvious psychological barrier, bordering on instinctual repulsion” toward these objects because of their personal nature. He claims that for the contemporary viewer, “any consideration of their meaning arouses thoughts of mortality and the transience of life, as well as the wrenching emotions of loss that accompany remembrance.”⁶ The negative reaction Romer ascribes to many viewers of nineteenth-century photographic jewelry in the present day is doubly true of postmortem photography, hairwork, and other objects associated with mourning and memorialization from the nineteenth century. Today, the Victorians in particular are commonly misunderstood as pathologically death-obsessed, and their culture is seen as one celebrating death. Their attitudes differed from ours in the sense that their society allowed and expected them to express their emotions and to grieve openly through the social rituals of mourning. They were not obsessed with death, rather, they were consumed with the need to memorialize the lives of their loved ones, to objectify and treasure them through talismans of memory.

Nineteenth-century hairwork has long been characterized as “a macabre and unsavory product of a bygone era,” discussed primarily in connection to mourning culture.⁷ James Stevens Curl, a historian of Victorian architecture, discusses hairwork only in connection with mourning jewelry of the period and what he terms *The Victorian*

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Irene Guggenheim Navarro, “Hairwork of the Nineteenth Century,” *Antiques* 159 (March 2001): 487

Celebration of Death. Curl describes mourning jewels including hairwork as “curiously unnerving objects” which “often excel in the art of evoking sentiment.”⁸ Curl applauds the intricacy and craftsmanship in hairwork, but admits that “the affect on contemporary sensibilities is likely to be one of distaste.”⁹

Misunderstandings regarding the purpose of nineteenth-century hairwork unfortunately abound, and this is reflected in the early literature on the subject. In a 1974 article discussing hairwork in the Minnesota Historical Society’s collections, Virginia Rahm writes “of all the fads and fashions which flourished in the Victorian era, that of creating and wearing ornaments made of human hair ranks among the oddest and one of the more macabre.”¹⁰ Rahm goes on to characterize the Victorian period as “a time in which good taste was all too often overwhelmed by the quest for the sentimental, the unusual, and the bizarre.”¹¹ This is tame criticism when compared to the introduction to an Antiques exhibition catalogue in 1945, quoted in Navarro: “The gruesome idea of wearing jewelry made from the hair of a loved one who has died is hard for the matter-of-fact person of today to grasp... These articles of jewelry were ‘worn with sadistic pleasure.’”¹² This assessment of hairwork ignores its meaning and social use in the nineteenth century and demonstrates a lack of understanding of not only these objects, but the nineteenth-century approach toward sentimentality and death in general. While nineteenth-century attitudes toward death and dying certainly differed from those in

⁸ James Stevens Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death*, (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 2000), 201.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Virginia L. Rahm, “MHS Collections: Human Hair Ornaments,” *Minnesota History* 44, no. 2 (July 1, 1974), 70.

¹¹ Ibid, 71.

¹² Lillian Chaplin Bragg and Cornelia Wilder, *Savannah's antique hair and mourning jewelry*, Savannah, Ga., 1945. Referred to in Irene Guggenheim Navarro, “Hairwork of the Nineteenth Century,” *Antiques* 159 (March 2001), 487.

current circulation, it is incorrect to state that the original intent of hairwork was macabre or gruesome.

My primary concern is to understand not only why hairwork objects have meaning through a review of their history and a study of their style and iconography, but also *how* they had meaning through their intrinsic properties and social use. By closely examining hairwork objects and placing them in the context of their history and application, along with a review of texts from the period, it is possible to understand how hairwork held meaning for the society that created it. Hair was an artifact of affection and a material for memory. It was a sentimental gift that expressed love: hairwork was prized as an extension of the giver, and could function as a reminder of their absent body, when the giver and recipient of the hair were separated by distance. After death, sentimental hairwork could become an artifact of remembrance, an object to be used in mourning. Of course, hairwork was also often created specifically for the purpose of memorialization, not only as a reminder of the loss of an individual, but also as a talisman that embodied the now lifeless body. In both these respects, hairwork was used as a vehicle of remembrance in much the same way that the miniature portrait functioned as a memento of the absent or deceased loved one.

The only scholarly book-length treatment in English of the subject is Helen Sheumaker's *Love Entwined: The Curious History of Hairwork in America* (2007).¹³

Sheumaker provides an excellent overview on the subject of hairwork in the United

¹³ Nicole Tiedemann *Haar-Kunst: zur Geschichte und Bedeutung eines menschlichen Schmuckstücks* (*Hair-Art: the History and Significance of a Human Jewel*) (2007) is a book-length scholarly work in German which provides an overview of hair and hairwork, which she investigates using a variety of methodologies borrowed from anthropology, ethnology, psychology, social science, history, art and literature. She discusses hairwork's history in detail, specifically documenting its production and use in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

States from the eighteenth through nineteenth centuries, its various incarnations and use as an object of sentimental exchange in nineteenth-century consumer society. She characterizes hairwork as a sentimental object of exchange between individuals and deemphasizes the use of hairwork in mourning, perhaps as a palliative against the common misreading of hairwork as exclusively an artifact of mourning rituals. However, Sheumaker does not discuss hairwork in seventeenth-century mourning jewelry or early eighteenth-century hairwork. These limitations may be due to her exclusively American focus, but that does not account for why she does not thoroughly discuss photographic jewelry employing hairwork.

Hairwork has been discussed in art-historical scholarship mainly in relation to the miniature portrait: worked hair was often a standard accompaniment to the painted miniature portrait in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth century. However, hairwork continued to accompany photographic portraits after the advent of photography. The rhetorical connection between the facial features of the loved one and their hair can be seen not only in the miniature portrait, but in sentimental poetry of the nineteenth century as well. Both of these material fragments were kept as treasured artifacts (hair as hairwork or a single lock of hair, the features of the face through a painted “likeness,” a photograph, or a death mask) that could endure beyond death.

Because hairwork objects are often hybrid objects, in collections they tend to be split up: a miniature portrait with hairwork on the reverse is classified as a painting, a braided hairwork bracelet is classified as mourning jewelry, and a daguerreotype miniature housed in a hairwork bracelet is classified with early photographs. Hairwork in all its disparate forms needs to be addressed as a whole in order to be fully understood.

The decline of hairwork by the end of the nineteenth century is usually ascribed to the decline of mourning culture brought about by World War I or the vicissitudes of fashion. While both these shifts certainly played their part in hairwork's waning as a meaningful sentimental token, another factor that needs to be addressed in its decline is this: as a technology of memory, hairwork was eventually supplanted by photography.

Hairwork in the nineteenth century was inextricably linked to portraiture, even when it was not tied to the miniature portrait: hairwork was about the perpetuation of the unique individual. In the following thesis, I explore the connections between the function of the portrait and the purpose of hairwork: to preserve the body in an ideal form in which it could remain and be remembered. I will demonstrate that the disparate media of miniature portraits, both painted and photographic, need to be addressed together with hairwork, and I show through an examination of visual culture and literature the intense rhetorical connection between a person's hair and facial features, which were preserved as traces of the individual. Lastly, I propose that hairwork's declining popularity at the end of the nineteenth century should not be seen solely as a result of the 'death' of sentimental culture, but also needs to be considered in terms of technological obsolescence. The widespread availability and reproducibility of photography by the end of the century and its use in creating objects of remembrance allowed photography to supplant hairwork as the commodifiable trace of the individual.

In Chapter 1, "From *Memento Mori* to Sentimental Memento," I discuss hairwork objects chronologically, formally and in terms of iconography, and attempt provide an overview of hairwork types. A study of hairwork jewelry patterns from catalogues demonstrates the dissemination of conventional mourning iconography through print

media and its international popularity as a form of jewelry and personal memento. The limitations of taxonomy, however, can be seen in the almost alchemical process through which, by the inclusion of hair, the object becomes hairwork, and its meaning is transformed. I show that hair functions as the material that individualizes the sentimental object: hairwork personalizes the conventional mourning scene or authenticates the painted “likeness.”

In Chapter 2, “‘I have a piece of thee here...’: Hairwork’s Authenticity and Relic Culture,” I examine hairwork as it is discussed in literature and the importance of its authenticity—that is, the assurance that the hair was really taken from the specific individual with whom it was associated. Amateur-made hairwork, whether in the form of a hair wreath or hair jewelry, was a means to ensure authenticity of the sentimental artifact in this sense. A number of manuals were published in the nineteenth century, for example, that by Emilie Berrin in 1820s Leipzig, *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in the 1850s in the United States, Mark Campbell’s *Self-instructor in the Art of Hair Work* (1867) the United States, and Alexanna Speight in the 1870s in England, that include instructions on hairworking, and all advocate working hair at home as a way to make sure the hair used was the authentic fragment of the individual. Public anxiety at the height of hairwork’s popularity at mid-century regarding the possibility of a substitution of a material by professional hairworkers, namely a stranger’s hair exchanged for a loved one’s, illustrates not only the supreme importance of the hair of the loved one in sentimental hairwork, but its instability as a sign.

In Chapter 3, “‘I cherish even her shadow’: The Family of Traces,” I focus on the presence of photographs in hairwork jewelry and discuss the relationship of the miniature

portrait to photography and photography to hairwork. I show that according to Charles Peirce's (1839-1914) theory of signs, the painted likeness constitutes an icon, and that photography additionally has the capacity to function simultaneously as icon and index and therefore serves as a stable likeness as well as the trace of the individual. I will discuss the convention of the Last Portrait and the importance of the preservation of the individual through death masks, silhouettes, and photography, and I will show that, though not a trace but a fragment of the body, hair had the capacity to function as evidence of an individual's existence. Hair as a medium both conferred the status of immortality and perpetuated the physical life of its subject, and was not only used as an accompaniment to photography, but also was in certain instances used interchangeably with it. The immediacy and ubiquity of photography, coupled with its ability to serve as both icon and index in signifying the absent or memorialized body, all contributed to its emergence as the commodifiable trace of the individual by century's end.

Chapter 1: From *Memento Mori* to Sentimental Memento

An early form of hairwork can be seen in a group of late seventeenth-century mourning jewels, referred to as “slides,” in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 2 and Fig. 3). Mourning slides were worn on ribbons or even woven hair around the wrist or neck of the wearer. Seventeenth century mourning jewels are quite small and are usually encased in rock crystal. Enamel *memento mori* motifs are common, along with the presence of the initials of the deceased. They are connected with the mourning of an individual, and the hair as well as the text, whether in the form of initials or an inscription, function as the individualizing elements of the piece. The presence of the ubiquitous and non-individualized *memento mori* iconography signals that the individual, both subject and object of the piece, has died. The presence of the hair of the deceased within mourning jewels has played an important role throughout the history of mourning jewelry, from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.

The simultaneous inclusion of *memento mori* as well as memorial themes can be seen in the mourning jewelry of the mid- to late- seventeenth century in England. Mourning jewelry in the seventeenth century in England was firmly linked to wealth and class. During this time period, mourning jewels “were produced for an exclusive, elite clientele and represented the social status of the dead, serving as a permanent *memento mori*.”¹⁴ The family was expected to provide expensive mourning bands for the friends of the deceased. Therefore, mourning jewels were especially appropriate conveyors of the *memento mori* theme. The overt death imagery of mourning jewels, which often included

¹⁴ Christiane Holm, “Sentimental Cuts: Eighteenth-Century Mourning Jewelry with Hair.” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (October 1, 2004), 139.

skulls, skeletons, bones, and coffins, may lead the viewer to consider only the *memento mori* characteristics of these works, but the inscriptions, which dedicate these jewels to the memory of the departed, demonstrate that these objects are also mourning jewels.

In late seventeenth-century mourning jewelry, the hair of the deceased was often woven to form the background of the piece, as Fig. 2, 3, and 4 demonstrate. In the mourning slide from 1697, dedicated to E.B. (Fig. 3), an enameled gold skull and crossbones sits atop a stamped gold winged hourglass and is flanked by two cherubs atop a coffin, also fashioned out of stamped gold. The woven hair of the deceased forms the background of the slide. Below the skull and crossbones, hourglass, and cherubs the gold initials E.B. in gold wire appear. On the reverse of the mourning slide, the engraved inscription states obt. 6 Feb [16]97.

One mourning slide dated to c. 1700 commemorates the death of a child (Fig. 2). This mourning slide differs from those mentioned previously in that it is circular in shape. Other than this, it closely resembles the others. The background of woven hair from the deceased links is similar to other mourning slides from the period. In the center of the slide, an enameled skeleton holds an arrow and an hourglass. On the right side of the skeleton the initial I appears, on the other side of the skeleton, the initial C. The inscription “*IC OBT 6 JUL AETA 3 YE 8 MO*” on the back of the slide indicates that “it was made in memory of a child with the initials IC who had died on the 6th July aged 3 years and 8 months.”¹⁵ The memorializing of the death of children has been noted to be increasingly important during this period. Beginning in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the cause of death in childbirth for mothers and their infants, was

¹⁵ Victoria and Albert Museum, Online Collections.

for the first time, “made the focus of the imagery on their tombs.”¹⁶ Additionally, “among the increasing number of formal and informal elegiac tributes written in the seventeenth century, the preoccupation with deaths of children reflects a new literary, if not social, concern.”¹⁷ A mourning buckle from 1698 (Fig. 5) shares some similarities to the mourning slides. Again made of gold, the background of the piece is made from the woven hair of the deceased. Around the perimeter of the buckle the name of the deceased and her death date appears in gold thread: “Elizabeth Harman who died on 11 April 1698, aged 27.” At the top, in the center of the mourning buckle, a skull and crossbones appear. The mourning function of these jewels is apparent through their inscriptions, while their employment of the emblems of death connects them to *memento mori* jewelry of the earlier seventeenth century. Seventeenth-century mourning jewelry incorporating hairwork can be understood as a memorial to an individual, represented by the initials or inscription and embodied by the fragment of the lock of hair.

Ornamental hairwork gained popularity in the seventeenth century, where such objects were used as love tokens as well as memorials to the dead. Woven bands of hair were worn early on as love tokens or as mourning gesture, by men as well as women, as indicated in the poem *Relique* by John Donne (1571-1631), in which he includes the following lines that imagine the future discovery of his own grave: ‘And he that digs it, spies/ A bracelet of bright haire about the bone’.¹⁸ To my knowledge, no such amatory hairwork bracelets from the seventeenth century survive, which points to the importance

¹⁶ Judith W. Hurtig, “Death in Childbirth: Seventeenth-Century English Tombs and Their Place in Contemporary Thought.” *The Art Bulletin* 65, no. 4 (December 1, 1983): 603-615.

¹⁷ Raymond A. Anselment, “‘The Teares of Nature’: Seventeenth-Century Parental Bereavement.” *Modern Philology* 91, no. 1 (1993): 26-53.

¹⁸ Shirley Bury and the Victoria and Albert Museum. *An introduction to sentimental jewellery*. H.M.S.O., 1985.

of literature as a resource for understanding objects that are otherwise lost to history. In mourning jewelry from the seventeenth century, the hair preserved under crystal belonged to a specific departed person, was the element that personalized it, and could be worn during the period of mourning. The seventeenth-century hairwork mourning jewel acted as a memorial and as a secular relic: a reminder of the specific loss of an individual loved one as well as a general exhortation to ‘remember your death’ (*memento mori*) and morally prepare for one’s own mortality. The *memento mori* aspect of these objects diminished over the course of the eighteenth century, but the memorial function of sentimental hairwork endured.

During the course of the eighteenth century, patterns in mourning jewelry adapted to communicate new meanings, which can be connected to the emergence of sentimental culture. Sentimental philosophy and literature was a product of the Enlightenment in Europe, and stressed that the human capacity to feel was linked to morality. According to Fred Kaplan, the terms sentimental and sentimentality “were coined in the middle to late eighteenth century to indicate something ‘characterized by sentiment’ and ‘the quality of being sentimental,’ respectively.”¹⁹ Importantly, during the eighteenth- and nineteenth centuries, unlike present usage, “neither word had pejorative implications, except in special cases.”²⁰ This changed in the late nineteenth century, as the terms sentimentalism and sentimentalist gradually shifted to mean “the misuse of sentiment.”²¹ Sentimentality in the twentieth century came to be understood as “insincerity, as false feeling, even as hypocrisy,” and this reading of the term “reached back to infect with distasteful overtones... to distort ahistorically the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century definitions of

¹⁹ Fred Kaplan, *Sacred Tears: Sentimentality in Victorian Literature* (Princeton University Press, 1987), 17.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

sentiment and sentimentality.”²² These larger shifts in the meaning of sentimentality are reflected in the creation and reception of sentimental objects like hairwork.

In “Sentimental Cuts: Eighteenth-Century Mourning Jewelry with Hair,” Christiane Holm has argued that in contrast to seventeenth-century mourning jewels, which were made for an exclusively patrician group, “the new mourning jewel of sentimental culture... is no longer defined by its economics.”²³ According to Holm, it was during the eighteenth century “that mourning jewelry first became widely popular, spreading from there to other European countries during the ‘sentimental period.’”²⁴ In eighteenth-century hairwork, it is possible to see the transition from seventeenth-century style *memento mori* motifs to the more Neo-Classical iconography of the late eighteenth century in the narrative mourning miniature. For example, in a mourning brooch in the Victoria and Albert Museum’s collection (Fig. 6), a weeping female mourner beneath a willow sits in reflection next to a funerary urn in a classical landscape. This miniature, made between 1775 and 1800, has been painted in sepia and includes the chopped hair of the deceased, mixed with pigment. Funerary urns could appear by themselves, as can be seen in a particularly fine gold medallion set with seed pearls, watercolor on ivory and hair (Fig. 7), also dated to 1775-1800. Another example of a mourning jewel from this period with a female mourner can be found in a miniature made of ivory on watercolor, embellished with hair and pearls in an engraved gold setting (Fig. 8). This hairwork object memorializes several people, indicated by the inclusion of hair from different

²² Ibid, 18.

²³ Christiane Holm, “Sentimental Cuts: Eighteenth-Century Mourning Jewelry with Hair,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (October 1, 2004), 139.

²⁴ Ibid.

people on the reverse, as well as the inscription above the female mourner, which reads “I mourn for them I loved.”

When compared to the mourning slides of the seventeenth century, it is evident that a new visual language of mourning has supplanted that of the old. The *memento mori* imagery is gone, and has been replaced with a “new mourning iconography... characterized by a small repertoire of elegiac motives: landscape- and garden- scenes, single trees, especially willows and cypresses, graves, especially topped by an urn, female mourners in pseudo-antique capes and floral ornaments.”²⁵ This development in iconography is more than a cosmetic change: it indicates that a marked shift toward a more personalized view of mourning has taken place. Holm states “the focus of mourning is no longer on the mourned and their fame but instead the mourners and their mourning.”²⁶ She also describes the institution of a gender divide: “realigned social structures... effected a fundamental division between female and male spheres and labors; in the eighteenth century, mourning became a female task.”²⁷ Susan M. Stabile reiterates this construction of a gender divide in *Memory’s Daughters*, claiming that by the end of the eighteenth century “consolation manuals and elegies typically gender grief as the feminine other, to be overcome by the rational, male mourner.”²⁸ The female mourner, compared to the male, “is merely a redundant third term: she is the remains, the excess. Seeking continuity with rather than detachment from the dead, women too often have been misunderstood as inconsolable.”²⁹ The frequent depiction of women as the sole

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Susan M. Stabile, *Memory’s Daughters: The Material Culture of Remembrance in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cornell University Press, 2004), 181.

²⁹ Ibid.

mourners in connection with jewelry incorporating hair from the deceased seems to be directly connected to this.

In the sentimental and mourning jewelry of the eighteenth century, hair as a material was manipulated in new ways that “culminated in the hair-industry of the nineteenth century.”³⁰ The institution of nineteenth century hairwork is built on the foundation of eighteenth century hairwork, and many of the motifs originating in the mourning iconography of the late eighteenth century continued to be used throughout the nineteenth century. This can be exemplified in prints from commercial hairwork catalogues, which illustrated the possible arrangements available to the consumer, who would then provide them with the hair to be worked (Fig. 9).

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, hairwork was often united with the painted miniature portrait (Fig. 10). On one side of the glass locket a plaited or Prince of Wales style lock of hair would appear: this hair belonging to the individual depicted on the reverse. Cynthia Amnéus, in “The Art of Ornamental Hairwork, notes that miniature portraits “were often commissioned to commemorate momentous life events such as births, betrothals, deaths, or other joinings or separations.”³¹ She connects the purpose of the miniature portrait with the sentimental artifact of hair: “like fragments of hair, they were mementoes meant to maintain a bond between the sitter and the beholder whether separated simply by distance or death.”³² Amnéus distinguishes between portraiture and hairwork, commenting, “while the miniature portrait provided a visual substitute for an absent loved one, a snippet of hair was a tangible connection—the literal body

³⁰ Ibid, 140.

³¹ Cynthia Amnéus, “The Art of Ornamental Hairwork,” in *Perfect Likeness: European and American Portrait Miniatures from the Cincinnati Art Museum*, ed. Julie Aronson and Marjorie E. Wieseman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 64.

³² Ibid.

reworked.”³³ After the birth of photography, the lock of hair or hairwork continued to be united with the photographic portrait (Fig. 11). Hair could also appear on its own, as braided hairwork jewelry, without an accompanying likeness (Fig. 12). This panel of hairwork, possibly a commercial sampler, illustrates many different hairwork styles and includes a photograph on the far right (Fig 13).

As we have seen, the preservation of a lock of a loved one’s hair or its transformation into hairwork was a practice well-established by the nineteenth century, though the diversity of styles of hairwork expanded greatly during the period. Hairwork attained new heights of fashionable popularity in the nineteenth century, reaching its zenith from 1830-1880. Nineteenth-century hairwork was not confined to jewelry, but also included hair wreaths and locks of hair saved in albums, and the makers of such objects included both professional and amateur practitioners. The form hairwork jewelry took also changed over time: after 1830, hair was no longer merely preserved under glass, but could be elaborately braided to form bracelets, necklaces, and watch chains (Fig. 14). Braided hairwork consisted solely of elaborately braided or worked hair save for the clasp, but could also include a portrait miniature. The hair wreath was a larger, intricate construction of hair, which was wrapped around wire and worked into the form of a flower wreath. The former style was worn close to the body, whereas the latter was made for display within the home. The lock of hair, preserved as a sentimental artifact, can be considered the vernacular form of hairwork: it required no hairworking expertise, leisure time, or costly fees. Elaborately worked hair was available to those who could afford to commission professionally made hairwork, or those who had mastered the skill of working hair themselves.

³³ Ibid.

Hairwork made by hobbyists or amateurs, particularly hair wreaths, because they could be made from short lengths of hair, often included the hair of a whole family or circle of friends (Fig. 15). Professionally made hairwork could also include the hair of several people. This “hair band” (Fig. 16) would have been comprised of the hair from several members of the family, even though only one, a little boy, is included in the photograph. The use of hair from multiple family members in this instance is made clear through a more documented example: after the death of Prince Albert, “at least eight pieces were made that incorporated his hair. One was a gold pin fronted by an onyx cameo of the Prince with a box at the back for a curl, another a bracelet set with tresses from the heads of royal family members, mixed in with Albert's.” This particular piece was “a present for the Queen from one of her children. Her eight-year-old son was required to wear around his neck “a Locket with beloved Papa's hair.”³⁴

Helen Sheumaker, author of *Love Entwined: The Curious History of Hairwork in America*, explains that by the nineteenth century, hairwork was connected to “sentimental fashion.”³⁵ This can be seen in an article from *The World of Fashion*, published in September 1844, which proclaims that bracelets “are now considered indispensable; they are worn in the following manner; on one arm is placed the sentimental bracelet, composed of hair and fastened with some precious relic; the second is a silver enamelled one, having a cross, cassiolette, or anchor and heart, as a sort of talisman...”³⁶ Sheumaker differentiates between the styles of hairwork in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

³⁴ Shirley Bury and the Victoria and Albert Museum. *An introduction to sentimental jewellery*. H.M.S.O., 1985, 664.

³⁵ Helen Sheumaker, “‘This Lock You See’: Nineteenth-Century Hair Work as the Commodified Self,” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 1, no. 4 (1997): 421–445, 421.

³⁶ Nancy J. Armstrong, *Victorian jewelry*, (London: Studio Vista, 1976), 26.

and the specific meanings they create, remarking that in the nineteenth century, earlier styles of hairwork “were modified to provide even more open displays of hair and the affections it represented, and new styles developed that did not simply include hair but were fully composed of hair.”³⁷ This aesthetic difference reveals the changing nature of sentimental expression, and Sheumaker claims, “in the eighteenth century, the sentimental associations of hair were obliquely displayed” whereas in the nineteenth century, “hairwork and the sentimentality it conveyed was worn for others to observe.”³⁸ She links this to the difference between sensibility and sentimentality, noting that for a member of the eighteenth-century elite, “one’s ‘true’ response” was demonstrated “through sensible (that is, emotional) and sincere reactions,” whereas in the nineteenth century, it was not enough to react with sensibility.³⁹ Sentimentality in the nineteenth century “demanded a reiteration of response: the immediate reaction was to be relived and reenacted.”⁴⁰ Hairwork provided its owners with the means to access and reiterate treasured memories.

Hairwork objects were meant to be both public and private, and were made by both professional and amateur hands. Hairwork is a notoriously labor-intensive craft, requiring patience, time, and skill. Because the author rarely signed the hairwork object, it is often unclear who the maker of the object was. Some objects are more obviously homespun than others, but an expertly crafted hairwreath (usually made by women or girls in the home as an example of domestic craft) is still considered an amateur production. Hairwork requiring the tools and expertise of a jeweler (to place the work in a

³⁷ Helen Sheumaker, *Love Entwined: The Curious History of Hairwork in America*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 18.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid, 31.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

setting, for example) is considered professional. These distinctions do not necessarily imply a gender divide: many jewelers sent the hair out to be produced by hairworkers, who may have been male or female. During the nineteenth century, several guidebooks offering directions in the art of hairworking appeared, and several examples of those will be discussed further in Chapter 2. It was possible for both amateur and professional hairworkers to produce elaborate examples of hairwork, and hairwork is such a demanding craft that many amateur productions were executed with an extraordinary amount of expertise.

It is important to note that the hair was always connected to the person from whom it was taken, and despite the vicissitudes of fashion, the material meaning of sentimental hair remained unchanged: it was a powerful link to the individual from whom it was severed. Holm rightly points out that “the sentimental fascination with hair as a powerful medium of memory cannot only be explained as a technical side effect of the development of mourning jewelry.”⁴¹ Rather, “in serving to ensure the remembrance of the dead, the gone, or the separated these jewels” simultaneously consisted of “the material *media* of memory” but functioned “within various *acts* of memory.”⁴² Hair was the key component that allowed objects incorporating hairwork to function. How this was possible will be apparent through an examination of hairwork’s social use as a sentimental object.

⁴¹ Christiane Holm, “Sentimental Cuts: Eighteenth-Century Mourning Jewelry with Hair.” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (October 1, 2004), 140.

⁴² Ibid.

Chapter 2: "I have a piece of thee here...": Hairwork's Authenticity and Relic Culture

Hair has a long history as a sentimental object and secular relic, as seen from its chronology encapsulated above, and literature is not only a rich source for textual descriptions of objects now lost to history, but in many cases provides information about the object's social use. In *The Funerall*, another poem by John Donne featuring hairwork "he pictures himself dead by his mistress' scorn"⁴³ but insists bringing a wreath of her hair into the grave with him. The language Donne uses in reference to the hair wreath is of particular interest:

Whoever comes to shroud me, do not harm,
 Nor question much,
 That subtle wreath of hair, which crowns my arm ;
 The mystery, the sign, you must not touch ;
 For 'tis my outward soul,
 Viceroy to that, which then to heaven being gone,
 Will leave this to control
 And keep these limbs, her provinces, from dissolution.

For if the sinewy thread my brain lets fall
 Through every part
 Can tie those parts, and make me one of all,
 Those hairs which upward grew, and strength and art
 Have from a better brain,
 Can better do 't ; except she meant that I
 By this should know my pain,
 As prisoners then are manacled, when they're condemn'd to die.

Whate'er she meant by it, bury it with me,
 For since I am
 Love's martyr, it might breed idolatry,
 If into other hands these relics came.
 As 'twas humility
 To afford to it all that a soul can do,

⁴³ Harold Bloom, *John Donne and the Metaphysical Poets* (Infobase Publishing, 2010), 24.

So 'tis some bravery,
That since you would have none of me, I bury some of you.

The body of his scornful mistress is buried with him, figuratively and literally (by extension), through the love token of her hair. Donne refers to the wreath as a relic, specifically likening it to a religious relic. This terminology resonated through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and hair's incorruptibility informs the meaning it had within this context. The significance of hair is in its specificity: its association with a living, or once living body. Holm remarks that "nineteenth century narrative literature is crowded with objects of remembrance," and it is a useful exercise to consider what these texts can contribute to an understanding of these objects' use.⁴⁴

Two episodes in Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* revolve around love tokens and the meanings they convey as objects, and these involve two central romantic couples, the Dashwood sisters and their primary love interests: Elinor and Edward; Marianne and Willoughby. *Sense and Sensibility* was first published 1811 but was begun around 1795; thus it chronologically bridges the gap between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In her novel, Austen uses conventional love tokens familiar to her early nineteenth-century British readers, such as locks of hair, hairwork, and miniature portraiture, to create a landscape of multiple meanings and unexpected reversals for her characters. An examination of the nature of these characters' interaction with these tokens of affection in Austen's narrative will be productive in forming an understanding of their social use in the pre-photographic nineteenth century.

⁴⁴ Christiane Holm, "Sentimental Cuts: Eighteenth-Century Mourning Jewelry with Hair." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (October 1, 2004), 140.

While Edward is visiting the Dashwoods, Marianne notices that he is wearing “a ring, with a plait of hair in the centre,” which is “very conspicuous on one of his fingers.”⁴⁵ Marianne remarks on it, asking if the hair belongs to his sister (even though she thinks it is Elinor’s). Edward is embarrassed and claims that it is his sisters, though he consciously glances at Elinor, who makes the following assumption: “That the hair was her own, she instantaneously felt as well satisfied as Marianne; the only difference in their conclusions was, that what Marianne considered as a free gift from her sister, Elinor was conscious must have been procured by some theft or contrivance unknown to herself.”⁴⁶ Elinor decides to ascertain that it is hers by “internally resolving henceforward to catch every opportunity of eyeing the hair and of satisfying herself, beyond all doubt, that it was exactly the same shade of her own.”⁴⁷ The hair Edward is wearing is actually neither Elinor’s nor his sisters: he is secretly engaged to Lucy, and it is her hair in the ring.

Much of the satire in the preceding scene presumes the reader’s familiarity with Alexander Pope’s mock-epic poem from 1717, *The Rape of the Lock*. In that poem, the Baron steals a lock of the virtuous Belinda’s hair. In this, Pope plays with the idea of authenticity. In one sense, the lock of hair the baron has in his possession is authentic because the hair truly originates from Belinda. However, the lock of hair is an inauthentic love token because Belinda did not willingly give it to the Baron, and therefore it does not honestly connote a true romantic attachment on her part. In the case of Elinor and Edward, the inauthentic hairwork object (inauthentic because it is not Elinor’s) functions

⁴⁵ Jane Austen, *Sense and Sensibility: Authoritative Text, Contexts, Criticism* (Norton, 2002), 72.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

in the narrative as an authentic emblem of Edward's authentic love for her. Edward's ring is a token of the false love between him and Lucy: though the hair in the ring is her authentic hair, Lucy does not really love him. Therefore, the object is simultaneously a real token of false love and a false token of real love. In this and in the following scenes from *Sense and Sensibility* it is possible to see how the authenticity of the hair artifact could be unstable.

Later in the novel, Elinor is surprised and shocked to hear of Lucy and Edward's secret engagement, and Lucy offers up three different material proofs of their romantic connection to Elinor: his painted miniature portrait, their correspondence (his handwriting), and his wearing a ring with a lock of her hair. Lucy presents to Elinor a small portrait of Edward, "To prevent the possibility of a mistake, be so good as to look at this face. It does not do him justice to be sure, but yet I think you cannot be deceived as to the person it was drew for."⁴⁸ This object constitutes proof by means of likeness: Elinor accepts it as an authentic portrait because the miniature resembles Edward, even if it "does not do him justice." Lucy offers further evidence of their engagement by showing Elinor a letter so that she can authenticate Edward's handwriting. While inspecting the letter Lucy offers as proof, "Elinor saw that it *was* his hand, and she could doubt no longer. The picture, she had allowed herself to believe, might have been accidentally obtained; it might not have been Edward's gift; but a correspondence between them by letter, could subsist only under a positive engagement, could be authorized by nothing else..."⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Ibid, 95.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 98.

‘Writing to each other,’ said Lucy, returning the letter to her pocket, ‘is the only comfort we have in such long separations. Yes, *I* have one other comfort in his picture; but poor Edward has not even *that*. If he had but my picture, he says he should be easy. I gave him a lock of my hair set in a ring when he was at Longstaple last, and that was some comfort to him, he said, but not equal to a picture.’⁵⁰

It is made clear in the context of the novel that Lucy’s economic status is beneath that of the Dashwood sisters, who themselves are considered far below the status of Edward’s family, who are wealthy. Lucy is likely not able to afford to give Edward a painted miniature, so she relies on the gift of her hair, which, interestingly, she does not consider capable of providing as much comfort during a separation as a portrait. Her attribution of that attitude to Edward may be false, just as her love for him is false.

Lucy’s deceitfulness and her mercenary actions in the novel may mean that she is incapable of appreciating the sentimental nature of hairwork. She uses it to stake her claim on Edward, just as she uses her possession of his letters and portrait, but because she herself does not have true affection for him, these tokens of love and attachment are insincere. However, her possession of these objects proves their engagement, which is real. Elinor reflects, “...the picture, the letter, the ring, formed altogether such a body of evidence, as overcame every fear of condemning him unfairly, and established as a fact, which no partiality could set aside, his ill-treatment of herself.”⁵¹ The phrase “body of evidence” refers to the legal term *corpus delicti*, a figural body, referring to the body of the offence or the essence of the crime. However, the literal bodies implicated in this body of evidence are Edward’s and Lucy’s: the fragment of Lucy’s body, her hair, and the representation of his body, his likeness, as well as his handwriting, are together

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid, 99.

accepted as authentic markers of identity by Elinor. In this, she is correct: they are authentic in the sense that they do originate in the individuals from whom they seem to be derived; however, they are inauthentic as proofs of love, which inverts their status as sentimental objects.

In the example of Willoughby and Marianne, their love tokens are authentic, but their relationship does not result in matrimony, despite all appearances to the contrary. The youngest sister Margaret predicts to Elinor that Willoughby and Marianne will be married soon, which Elinor dismisses by reminding her that she has claimed so “almost every day since they first met... and they had not known each other a week, I believe, before you were certain that Marianne wore his picture round her neck; but it turned out to be only the miniature of our great uncle.”⁵² Their great uncle is presumably deceased, and Marianne may have worn it as an object of remembrance. Margaret insists again that Marianne and Willoughby “will be married very soon, for he has got a lock of her hair.”⁵³ Elinor wittily ripostes: “Take care Margaret. It may be only the hair of some great uncle of *his*.”⁵⁴ This points to several social uses of hair and miniature portraits: not only to the practice of wearing these kinds of objects as tokens of romantic affection, but their place as objects communicating filial affection as well as their place in the rite of mourning. Margaret expresses her certainty of Marianne and Willoughby’s marriage once more, describing to Elinor in detail that she observed Willoughby cutting the tress from Marianne’s head one evening. Margaret states, “he seemed to be begging something of

⁵² Ibid, 46.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

her, and he presently took up her scissars and cut off a long lock of hair... and he kissed it...”⁵⁵

Later on, when Marianne and Willoughby’s relationship is at an end, Marianne writes to Willoughby: “If your sentiments are no longer what they were, you will return my notes, and the lock of my hair which is in your possession.”⁵⁶ Willoughby is compelled to do so, the reader later discovers, because his jealous fiancée, whom he is marrying for her wealth, insists on it. She composes Willoughby’s cold letter of rejection, which he is forced to copy and send back Marianne, along with the letters and the lock of her hair. This reverses the authenticity of his handwriting as a stable sign of authorship.

Willoughby, after his mercenary marriage has taken place, confesses to Elinor:

I copied my wife’s words, and parted with the last relics of Marianne. Her three notes—unluckily they were all in my pocket-book or I should have denied their existence, and hoarded them forever—I was forced to put them up, and could not even kiss them. And the lock of hair—that too I had always carried about me in the same pocket-book, which was now searched by Madam with the most ingratiating virulence,—the dear lock—all, every memento was torn from me.⁵⁷

In *Sense and Sensibility*, Austen uses the language of burgeoning sentimental culture, embodied through love tokens, to devise elaborate instances of mistaken identity predicated on the reader’s expectation of the authenticity of these objects. The presence of this expectation demonstrates that these objects had value as materials for proof, as authenticators of a connection to an individual that demonstrated an emotional attachment. These “relics,” these fragments of the individual, were important as authentic devices that together created a physical proximity between the giver and the possessor of the tokens.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 133.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 233.

In the small, interdisciplinary body of scholarly literature that addresses hairwork as its subject, hair is often discussed as a relic. Sheumaker describes it as such in her prologue to *Love Entwined*, asserting, “when we encounter hairwork... we confront a relic of the living, breathing reality of someone long deceased. Because these scraps of hair were saved to remember someone, we behold that person’s self through a fragment of the body.”⁵⁸ This description vividly illustrates both hair as a relic and perhaps accounts for the underlying reason behind twentieth and twenty-first century aversions to hairwork. Amnéus similarly remarks that because of its “imperishable” state, “hair is a privileged human relic” bestowed “only to those most familiar.”⁵⁹ In “Materializing Mourning: Hair, Jewellery and the Body,” Marcia Pointon also identifies hair and hairwork as a relic. Pointon describes hair as “a material figure for memory” because it “stages the death of its subject” and implies continuity between the living and the dead.⁶⁰ Isabel Richter has claimed that the hairwork’s origin lies in medieval relic culture, and Deborah Lutz places hairwork in the context of what she terms “Victorian Secular Relics.” Lutz claims that hairwork functioned as a secular relic: “for the Victorians, artifacts of beloved bodies still held some of the sublime, fetishistic magic of those outmoded holy relics of bygone days”⁶¹ Lutz places nineteenth-century hairwork into

⁵⁸ Helen Sheumaker, *Love Entwined: The Curious History of Hairwork in America*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), xiv.

⁵⁹ Cynthia Amnéus, “The Art of Ornamental Hairwork,” in *Perfect Likeness: European and American Portrait Miniatures from the Cincinnati Art Museum*, ed. Julie Aronson and Marjorie E. Wieseman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 64.

⁶⁰ Marcia Pointon, “Materializing Mourning: Hair, Jewellery and the Body,” in *Material Memories: Design and Evocation*, ed. Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward, and Jeremy Aynsle (New York: Berg Publishers, 1999), 45.

⁶¹ Deborah Lutz, “The Dead Still Among Us: Victorian Secular Relics, Hair Jewelry, and Death Culture,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* Vol. 39, Issue. 1 (2011): 128.

what she refers to as the history of secular relics, beginning in Tudor England, an extension of sacred relic culture from the Middle Ages. Lutz claims that the “radical individualism” of the Romantics “led to a worship of the body—one’s own and that of the other—carried to the extreme that even its decay, its ruins could be adored.”⁶² It should be said that while the keeping of hair as a treasured extension of a loved one’s body certainly flourished during the nineteenth century, other bodily fragments kept by the Romantics which might have been seen as a bit unusual, even at the time: after the poet Percy Shelley’s death by drowning and his subsequent cremation, a fragment of his body, purportedly his heart (or perhaps his liver) refused to burn, and was kept by his friend Leigh Hunt (1784-1859), a writer and critic, who eventually returned the organ to Mary Shelley, his widow, who kept it in her desk drawer.

Like Lutz, Richter also traces the history of human hair in mourning rituals back to medieval relic culture. She places hairwork’s spread in the context of relic worship, which she notes begins with the worship of Christian martyrs’ graves around 4 CE. Richter explains that the context of this worship “is the notion that believers could experience the power of a martyr through its mortal remains.”⁶³ She notes that the “traditional body parts” venerated as relics “include skulls, hands, arms and feet,” but also include “renewable body parts such as hair, (milk) teeth and nails.”⁶⁴ Richter points out that the purpose of this veneration “especially in the context of processions, by touching and kissing... is the participation in the divine power, and the outflowing

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Isabel Richter, “Trauer Verkörpern: Schmuck aus Haaren in der Bürgerlichen Trauerkultur im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Haar tragen. Eine kulturwissenschaftliche Annäherung*, Köln 2004, 167.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 168.

bonum, the Divine Grace.”⁶⁵ Relic worship, according to Richter, “focuses on the realization of the depicted person, whose relics therefore give the intersubjective exchange of physical and mental strength and allow a continuation of the community with the deceased.”⁶⁶ The cult of relics waned during the Enlightenment, and came to be seen as superstitious. Richter claims that because mourning jewelry with hairwork increased in popularity and importance in the wake of the Enlightenment, it “can certainly be comprehended as a secularized and subjectivized relic whose worked hair symbolically embodied the whole person.”⁶⁷

It should be noted, however, that unlike other fragments of the body historically venerated as relics, hair recalls the living state of the body: it remains the same after death, unlike the rest of the body, which is subject to decay. Because hair can come from a living or a deceased body, it does not, in and of itself, communicate whether the individual to which it belonged is an alive or a dead person. Placing hairwork in the context of relics is only useful to a certain extent. As a metaphor, it helps explain why the hair of the loved one held meaning as a treasured artifact for many eighteenth and nineteenth-century people: all were initiated members into the sentimental culture that privileged hair as an authentic extension of the body. However, to insist on describing nineteenth-century hairwork as an object that contains the “sublime, fetishistic magic of those outmoded holy relics of bygone days” as Lutz does, seems to constitute an “othering” of the Victorians, and insists upon a reading of these artifacts as dead things, while in their original context, they could be read as alive. This is quite different from the reverence of holy relics that Richter describes, in which the worshipper would hope to

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

obtain favor or a miracle from the saint. People of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries seem to have used the terminology of relic worship to indicate the preciousness of the sentimental artifact and its capacity to endure a “a continuation of the community with the deceased,” but not as a means to effect miracles.

Lutz’s claim that the Romantics played a part in the formation of hair’s meaning can be supported with textual evidence. Jeanenne Bell, a hairwork collector, points to a quote by Leigh Hunt which Bell states “sums up beautifully the Victorian’s love of hair.” Hunt wrote,

Hair is at once the most delicate and lasting of our materials; and survives us, like love. It is so light, so gentle, so escaping from the idea of death, that with a lock of hair belonging to a child or a friend, we may almost look up to heaven, and compare notes with angelic nature; may almost say, “I have a piece of thee here, not unworthy of thy being now.”⁶⁸

This quote by Hunt remained popular throughout the nineteenth century, later reproduced in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, and illustrates more than the Victorian’s love of hair: it reveals hair’s meaning to the Victorians as a substance associated not with death, but with eternality and life. Interestingly, Bell does not mention that Leigh Hunt’s quote dates from before the Victorian period, and can be found in an essay written at least a quarter of a century before it began appearing in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*.⁶⁹ Lutz does make the important note that “behind many Victorian narratives of personal relic collecting is the wish that the relic, rather than being a *memento mori*, might mark the continued

⁶⁸ C. Jeanenne Bell, *Answers To Questions About Old Jewelry* (Krause Publications, 2011), 33.

⁶⁹ Leigh Hunt, “Criticism of Female Beauty,” *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, Vol 10, (1825), 77.

existence of the body to which it once belonged.”⁷⁰ Within sentimental hairwork, the rhetoric of life, not death prevails.

The essential component of sentimental hairwork was its medium: the hair of the loved one. Women who undertook the arduous, painstaking task of creating their own hairwork could turn to instructions from magazines and manuals. Instructions for making hairwork circulated in the print culture just as motifs and styles of hairwork did. An early guide to hairworking was published in Leipzig, in 1822: Emilie Berrin’s *Gründliche Anweisung für Frauen auf alle mögliche Art Haargeflechte nach der jetzigen Mode zu fertigen, als: elastische Leibgürtel, Armbänder, Halsbänder, Uhrbänder, Ringe etc.* (Thorough Instructions for Women on the Production of All Possible Kinds of Hairbraids According to the Current Fashion: Elastic Waist-Belts, Bracelets, Necklaces, Rings, etc.). In Britain, *The Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* provided instructions for working hair, as did Alexanna Speight’s *The Lock of Hair: Its History; Ancient and Modern, Natural and Artistic, with the Art of Working in Hair*, published in London, 1871. In America, *Godey’s Lady’s Book and Magazine*, *Arthur’s Home Magazine*, and Mark Campbell’s *Self-Instructor in the Art of Hairwork* (1867) were available to instruct the ambitious amateur. *Godey’s Lady’s Book* presented to its American readers in 1850 instructions for working hair:

By acquiring a knowledge of this art, ladies will be themselves enabled to manufacture the hair of beloved friends and relatives into bracelets, chains, rings, ear-rings, and devices, and thus insure that they do actually wear the memento they prize, and not a fabric substituted for it, as we fear has sometimes been the case.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Deborah Lutz, “The Dead Still Among Us: Victorian Secular Relics, Hair Jewelry, and Death Culture,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* Vol. 39, Issue. 1 (2011): 130.

⁷¹ Anonymous, “The Art of Ornamental Hairwork,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 41 (1850): 377.

A similar sentiment is expressed in Mark Campbell's *Self-Instructor in the Art of Hair Work*, in which Campbell addresses "Persons wishing to preserve, and weave into lasting mementoes, the hair of a deceased father, mother, sister, brother, or child," stressing that by making the hairwork themselves, the maker "can also enjoy the inexpressible advantage and satisfaction of *knowing* that the material of their own handiwork is the actual hair of the 'loved and gone.'"⁷²

This emphasis on public anxiety regarding the possibility of a substitution of material, that is to say, a stranger's hair exchanged for a loved one's, which would be anathema to the purpose of hairwork, illustrates the supreme importance of the hair of the loved one in sentimental hairwork. One of the most important features of amateur hairwork is that, because it was made at home or for close friends, the authenticity of the hair could be assured. Isabel Richter, in *Trauer Verkörpern (Mourning Embodied)* discusses Emilie Berrin's guide to hairworking, in which Berrin relates the following anecdote. Because he was going on a journey, her cousin Alphonse demanded

...quite a pound of tenderness his from his young beloved, which would result in a talisman from the hands of a beautiful fairy, to relieve him from the pain of separation. Moved by the evidence of his deep love, his beautiful wife gave him the sacrifice of a lock of her long black hair, which the happy Alphonse undertook to have braided in Leipzig.⁷³

⁷² Mark Campbell. *Self-Instructor in the Art of Hair Work*. (Chicago: Mark Campbell, 1867), 2.

⁷³ Translation by author. From Isabel Richter, "Trauer Verkörpern: Schmuck aus Haaren in der Bürgerlichen Trauerkultur im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert," in *Haar tragen. Eine kulturwissenschaftliche Annäherung*, Köln 2004, 162.

"...durchaus ein Pfund der Zärtlichkeit seiner jungen Gemahlin mit sich führen, welches, gleich einem Talisman aus den Händen einer schönen Fee, den Trennungsschmerz ihm lindern sollte. Gerührt von den Beweisen seiner innigen Liebe, brachte ihm seine schöne Gemahlin das Opfer einer Locke ihres langen schwarzen Haares, welches der übergelückliche Alphonse in Leipzig flechten zu lassen sich vornahm."

Alphonse retrieves the finished work, wrapped in paper, from the hairworker and on his way home he addresses "the sweetest words to the beloved braid."⁷⁴ As it turned out, the finished piece contains the blonde hair of an unknown woman, much to Alphonse's surprise and dismay, and "once the illusion was destroyed, the talisman had lost all its magic."⁷⁵ According to Richter, it was for that reason that Berrin "inculcated in her students that 'bought hair awakened none of the sentiments which inspired in these ladies the desire to learn the art' of hairworking."⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Translation by author. From Isabel Richter, "Trauer Verkörpern: Schmuck aus Haaren in der Bürgerlichen Trauerkultur im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert," in *Haar tragen. Eine kulturwissenschaftliche Annäherung*, Köln 2004, 162.

"Von einem Haarkünstler erhielt er bald das in Papier eingewickelte Produkt, das ihn, so die Erzählerin Berrin, auf dem Heimweg sehr berührt und veranlasst habe, bereits "an die geliebte Flechte die süßesten Worte" zu richten. Die in Auftrag gegebene Haararbeit entpuppte sich jedoch als blonde Haarflechte einer unbekannten Frau, die der Haarkünstler mit dem angeblich qualitativ besseren blonden Haar zu rechtfertigen suchte. Aber "die Illusion war einmal vernichtet, der Talisman hatte alle seine Zauberkraft verloren." Ihren Schülerinnen schärfte Berrin daher ein, dass "gekaufte Haare keines von den Gefühlen (erwecken), welche diesen Damen das Verlangen einflößten, die Kunst des Flechtens zu lernen."

Chapter 3: “I cherish even her shadow”: The Family of Traces

A particularly interesting late eighteenth-century enameled gold mourning ring in the Victoria and Albert collection includes a watercolour on ivory silhouette of a woman and a panel of her woven hair under glass on the reverse (Fig. 17). Surrounding the woman’s silhouette is the inscription: “Je cheris jusqu’a son ombre,” “I cherish even her shadow.” Hairwork was more usually the accompaniment to the miniature portrait, but this particular example is instructive in several ways. Silhouettes were an appealing means to create a stable likeness, and the invention of the physiognotrace in the late eighteenth century made the popular convention even more exact and accessible to the public. This silhouette, the traced shadow of the individual, is tethered to the corporeality of the subject’s body through the presence of the bodily fragment of hair. Silhouettes prefigure photography’s ability to capture and preserve life: a portrait silhouette in Anne Wagner’s album from the late eighteenth century is captioned, “Ah the shadow mocks our hearts! So it stays, but Life departs!”⁷⁷ The invention of the physiognotrace itself points to the preexisting cultural need for a universal means to produce likenesses on a mass scale that photography would, in time, fulfill, and the inclusion of hairwork on the reverse of this silhouette presages hair’s material connection to photography in the nineteenth century.

The importance of hair is its ability to concretely points to an individual person: it proves that an individual person exists or existed. In this sense, it is unsurprising that hair and hairwork were intimately connected with the portrait miniature as a form. The purpose of this chapter is to examine how portrait photography was used in the nineteenth

⁷⁷ Anne Wagner, “Portrait Silhouette.” [Http://catalog.nypl.org/record=b15347403](http://catalog.nypl.org/record=b15347403), February 3, 2004.

century to frame and fix the likeness of an individual in a physical form and to show why and how nineteenth-century photographic portraits, in conjunction with hairwork, had meaning as material objects of remembrance. In order to adequately address these issues, it is necessary not only to scrutinize the formal qualities of portrait photographs in relationship to hairwork but their social use as the medium of photography itself rapidly evolved in its first six decades.

The function of hairwork as a documentation of attachment seems closely related to that of photography: both are extensions of individuality and vehicles of memory. According to Sheumaker, for middle-class Americans of the nineteenth century, “commodified likenesses of the physical self were an effective means of negotiating between the demands of the market and the need to retain a sense of integrity to the self.”⁷⁸ She further states that both photography and hairwork were “two of the more common methods of presenting another person with a likeness of one’s self.”⁷⁹ However, Sheumaker claims, “the popularity of hairwork did not wane as photographic images became more readily available,” further emphasizing, “all evidence suggests that hairwork gained market presence as photographic likenesses were introduced.”⁸⁰ Sheumaker claims that photography was not a substitute for hairwork because of “the popular understanding of photography,” and cites one source, *The Ladies Floral Cabinet*, 1884, which stated ‘Photographs are not, in the highest sense, art... they are at best mechanical products.’⁸¹ Sheumaker claims that because hairwork “was a product of hands *and* emotions” it was, therefore, “understood as a truer representation of one’s

⁷⁸ Helen Sheumaker, *Love Entwined: The Curious History of Hairwork in America*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 49.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

self.”⁸² Citing a single nineteenth-century opinion on the art status of photography does not completely explain the variety of views of the new medium, does not acknowledge the widespread popularity of the photographic portrait since its invention, and does not take into account the body of photographic jewelry incorporating hairwork (Figs. 18 and 19). Another factor not considered by Sheumaker in her skepticism of photography’s ability in the nineteenth century to create a true and appealing likeness is the evolving technology of photography, and the implications of those achievements.

In a letter to Mary Russell Mitford in 1843, Elizabeth Barrett Browning wrote on the subject of daguerreotypes:

“[I long] to have such a memorial of every being dear to me in the world. It is not merely the likeness which is precious in such cases—but the association and the sense of nearness involved in the thing... the fact of the very shadow of the person lying there forever! It is the very sanctification of portraits I think—and it is not at all monstrous in me to say, what my brothers cry out against so vehemently, that I would rather have such a memorial of one I dearly loved, than the noblest artist’s work ever produced.”⁸³

Browning’s enthusiasm for the technology of daguerreotypy and its application as a way to create memorials, explains in part why photography became popular in spite of its frequent exclusion from the category of high art. It may have been seen as a mechanical process, but its utility was embraced as an effective means to capture “the very shadow” of loved ones.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Kate Mitchell. *History and Cultural Memory in Neo-Victorian Fiction: Victorian Afterimages*. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 143.

The Technology of the Portrait

A discussion of the inherent differences between portrait photography and the painted portraits is necessary to form a better understanding of how these objects functioned. Miniature portraits, both painted and photographic, need to be addressed together, and it is important to consider the similarities between the two forms and the areas in which they overlap materially, as is the case of the hand-painted photograph. At first glance, photographic miniatures resemble painted miniatures: both include portraits of specific individuals, both forms were portable and were often incorporated into jewelry so that they might be worn on the body. Most importantly, both photographic and painted miniatures often included hairwork. In his discussion of the history of the cased photographic portrait, Hannavy criticizes the “tendency in the recent past to write about daguerreotypes, ambrotypes and so on without reference to their cases—to treat photographs and cases separately” and argues that we need to view the two in conjunction with each other, as “they were designed to be seen together.”⁸⁴ The same can be said of photographic jewelry and hairwork.

The technology of photography opened up the miniature portrait to a broader audience, and in the United States, “itinerant daguerreotypists with little technical or artistic training—modern equivalents of the colonial limners—offered an entire class of people who would never have dreamt of having their portraits painted the possibility of recording their likenesses.”⁸⁵ West and Abbot systematically compare the markets and

⁸⁴ John Hannavy. *Case Histories: The Packaging and Presentation of the Photographic Portrait in Victorian Britain, 1840-1875*. (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors Club, 2006), 12.

⁸⁵ “‘Divine Perfection’: The Daguerreotype in Europe and America.” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 56, no. 4 (April 1, 1999), 44-5.

customers of photo-jewelry to painted portrait miniatures in the nineteenth century, and argue that they “were different products: sold to different markets and customers, at different prices, for somewhat different reasons; and they were popular largely in different time periods,” with the painted miniature more popular at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the photographic miniature more popular in the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁸⁶ West and Abbot do not see the photographic miniature in direct competition with the painted miniature, and state that the “contention in art history that photo-jewelry was responsible for the early demise of miniature could use revision.”⁸⁷ They argue that photographic miniatures “offered a characteristic unavailable in portrait miniatures; it represented exactly what a person looked like at a specific moment.”⁸⁸

While they are correct in pointing out the differences between the two media, and the availability of photography certainly did not force the miniature portrait’s immediate extinction (rather, a period of overlap resulted, with painted photographs and paintings made from photographs), in the long run, surely it should not be controversial to suggest that the photographic portrait prevailed over the painted miniature as the more ubiquitous and popular form of portraiture. Their argument ignores the importance of fidelity to nature in representation during the nineteenth century, which uniquely suited photography to ascend. Additionally, the fact that members of the upper classes, who could easily afford painted miniatures, elected to purchase photographic miniatures shows that the media did compete in some ways. For example, Queen Victoria was a patron of both forms.

⁸⁶ West, *Tokens of Affection*, 24.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 25.

In the art historical literature, the death of miniature painting as a popular form has been generally blamed on the rise of photography. As Robin Jaffe Frank notes in *Love and Loss: American Portrait and Mourning Miniatures*, Harry B. Wehle, an early scholar of miniature painting in America “observed in 1927, ‘the miniature in the presence of the photograph was like a bird before a snake: it was fascinated—even to the fatal point of imitation—and then it was swallowed.’”⁸⁹ Frank corrects this generalization, stating that “the invention of photography did not herald the immediate death of the miniature but rather its continued transformation... painted and photographic portraiture became integrally intertwined.”⁹⁰ However, it would be equally inaccurate to overstate miniature painting’s endurance in the wake of photography. Schimmelman states that though portrait photographers “did not seek to eliminate the portrait painter... they did inadvertently replace the limner or miniature painter with whom they had the closest affinity.”⁹¹ She points out that in 1859 “for the first time no miniatures were exhibited at the Royal Academy of Art in London.”⁹² Schimmelman asserts that while photography did not replace portrait painting in general, it “did replace the poorly trained and sometimes itinerant portrait artist.”⁹³

Schimmelman’s understanding of photography’s impact on the limner is one that can be found within the period itself. For example, in her *Review in the London Quarterly Review*, 1857, Lady Eastlake states that “portraits, as is evident to any thinking mind, and as photography now proves, belong to that class of facts wanted by numbers who know

⁸⁹ Robin Jaffe Frank. *Love and Loss American Portrait and Mourning Miniatures*. First Edition. (Yale U.P., 2000.) 277.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Janice G. Schimmelman. “The Tintype in America 1856-1880.” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 97, no. 2 (January 1, 2007): 15.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

and care nothing about their value as works of art.”⁹⁴ Lady Eastlake’s discussion of photography in relation to the miniature portrait is of interest, as she reveals the chief aim of portraiture in the Victorian mind: the production of a realistic likeness. Her defense of photography (“let us, therefore dismiss all mistaken ideas about the harm which photography does to art,”) is followed by a discussion of the intersection of miniature painters and photographers: “Where ten self-styled artists eked out a precarious living by painting inferior miniatures, ten times that number now earn their bread by supplying photographic portraits.”⁹⁵ She goes on to discuss the artistic skills used in coloring and touching up the portraits and states that “the coloured portraits to which we have alluded are a most satisfactory coalition between the artist and the machine. Many an inferior miniature-painter who understood the mixing and applying of pleasing tints was wholly unskilled in the true drawing of the human head.”⁹⁶ The necessity of added color (and the cross-breeding with miniature painting) described here speaks to the desirability of a veristic likeness.

The painted miniature portrait, which often included hairwork, was authenticated in two ways: through the faithfulness of the likeness, which could vary, and by the presence of hairwork, which as we have seen, was only valuable if it was authentic. Authentic hair created an authentic portrait. Interestingly, after the invention of photography, hairwork continued to be united with the portrait in photographic jewelry. The photographic portrait, though it was used interchangeably with the painted portrait, differed in how it communicated meaning. It did not just imply that an individual sat for a

⁹⁴ Elizabeth Eastlake. “A Review in the London Quarterly Review, 1857: An Excerpt.” Vicki Goldberg, ed., *Photography In Print*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1981), 99.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

portrait, it verified it, through the process of photography. Like hairwork, photography operated as a trace of the individual: the photographic hairwork object doubly authenticated the identity of the subject.

Hairwork is formed from an absent body, once present, that of a unique person, and simultaneously functions as an extension of the original subject. A further example of the rhetorical connection between the features of the face and the lock of hair of a loved one can be found in Alexanna Speight's *The Lock of Hair*, part historical essay, part guide to hairworking from 1871. Speight discusses the association of hair with the head from which it originated, and the act of recollection:

When we think or speak of human hair we naturally enough associate it with the human head. The mind recalls the curly locks of youth, dwells upon the flowing tresses or gigantic superstructure of womanhood, or mournfully turns away from the spare and scattered grey covering of old age. But however we may look upon it in admiration or in sorrow, we still connect hairs with heads.⁹⁷

More importantly for the connection between portraiture and hairwork, Speight goes on to discuss hair as an agent for actuating a memory of the face, referring to “the few solitary hairs which call back the dear face never more to be seen, scenes never again to be revisited, and incidents long held by the past among its own.”⁹⁸ The primary audience for the hairwork object consisted of the very people that knew the subject of the hairwork best: they could identify and recognize the hair of their loved one. Hairwork, for

⁹⁷ Alexanna Speight, *The Lock of Hair: Its History; Ancient and Modern, Natural and Artistic, with the Art of Working in Hair*, (London, 1871), 5.

⁹⁸ Alexanna Speight, *The Lock of Hair: Its History; Ancient and Modern, Natural and Artistic, with the Art of Working in Hair*, (London, 1871), 83.

the private, intimate viewer, functioned as an object that invoked remembrance through visual and tactile memory, and it is not difficult to imagine the original viewer calling to mind the absent face of the distant or deceased loved one as they contemplated the hairwork object.

Despite the fact that it was not always an object of mourning, the meaning of hairwork as a presentation of the body can be understood within the context of the nineteenth-century aesthetics of death and dying. The idealized body lying in repose, without decay, was an image that arrested both the fine artist and the popular imagination during the nineteenth century and impacted its visual culture. The desire to preserve the bodies of the dying was acted out on an aesthetic level: by capturing the last moments of a subject's life in a sketch or a painting, by taking death masks, through post-mortem photography, and, of course, by preserving the hair of the deceased. The common twentieth and twenty-first century misreading of nineteenth-century hairwork and post-mortem photography as macabre demonstrates a fundamental lack of understanding of the original intentions behind these sentimental works. Post-mortem photographs, often viewed as horrific by twentieth century eyes, were in some cases destroyed out of distaste or ignorance. The relative rarity of photo jewelry, which West and Abbot posit was once ubiquitous, can be explained in part because it was subjected to purposeful destruction, sometimes so that jewelry mountings could be reused.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Ibid., 25.

Not Lost But Gone Before

The child is dead. The eye has lost its lustre. The hand is still and cold. Its little heart is not beating now. How pale it looks! Yet the very form is dear to me. Every lock of its hair, every feature of the face, is a treasure that I shall prize the more, as the months of my sorrow come and go.¹⁰⁰

The book from which this excerpt was taken, *Thoughts on the Death of Little Children*, by Samuel Irenaeus Prime, originally published in New York in 1852, was written three years after the death of one of the author's younger sons, and can be best described as a manual for how to process one's grief as a parent in the event of the death of children—an all-too-common occurrence in the nineteenth century. This excerpt links two 'fragments' of the body: "every lock of [the child's] hair, every feature of the face" becomes "a treasure that I shall prize the more, as the months of my sorrow come and go." Through the painted or photographic likeness and the art of sentimental hairwork, these precious bodily fragments were transformed into treasured relics. In this passage, a connection is established between the lock of hair and the features of the face of the dead child. Both ephemeral subjects of the parents' gaze become objectified as treasures to be prized during the period of grief and mourning to follow. Hairwork objects and likenesses of the deceased, physical objects to be treasured, allowed the bereaved access to the image of their lost loved one after they were buried. This can be seen in the daguerreotype of the *Mother Holding Postmortem Daguerreotype Portrait of her Deceased Child* (Fig. 20). The reflections produced by this daguerreotype, the 'mirror with a memory' (as Oliver Wendell Holmes called photography in 1859), are doubled by

¹⁰⁰ Samuel Irenaeus Prime. *Thoughts on the Death of Little Children.... with an Appendix Selected from Various Authors*. Michigan Historical Reprint. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library, 2006), 9.

the inclusion of the post-mortem photograph of the child, and as such, this daguerreotype intentionally bears witness to the mother's love and her sense of loss.

Post-mortem as well as pre-mortem photography captured the last image of the loved one before their body was laid to rest. It was not uncommon for the post-mortem photograph to be the only image, living or dead, of the subject, especially in the case of children. Post-mortem photography attempted to represent the dead subject either with eyes open and retouched to seem alive, or as sleeping bodies, lying in repose. Both approaches to representation reframe the dead body as a living one. The beautification of death, coupled with allusions to the afterlife, was a means to give the bereaved solace in the face of mortality, to assure them that their loved ones lived on after death. By presenting the dead as beautiful, by posing the dead as still alive, by preserving the hair of the dead, the bereaved extended the lives of their departed. These excerpts of sentimental poetry were written before the rise of photography—just as the first photographic processes were being invented— and illustrate the cultural need, to be able to preserve the image of the self and one's loved ones, which photography addressed as a new medium.

Before the advent of photography, most people did not have the means to image themselves: the common person did not have access to or ownership of his or her own image. The faces of their loved ones were not fixed except within their memory. The finality of death erased forever the features of a beloved face, and it is no small wonder that those who had the means to do so attempted to preserve the bodies of the dying through portraiture: the production of a sketched or painted likeness, or an impression

taken to create a death mask, or through the simple act of preserving a lock of their loved one's hair. Hair was a universally available material for memory. Beyond its status as an artifact of the body, hair could recall the body's living state. Hair functioned as a part taken for the whole, *pars pro toto*, a lasting reminder of the individual from whom it was taken, which extended their bodily presence in the physical world.

The presentation of the portrait photograph in the nineteenth century encompassed a range of material possibilities, from its housing in the mass-produced case, devised for daguerreotypes, its juxtaposition with other media, and its transformation into photographic jewelry. A particularly fascinating subgroup of objects within the category of photographic jewelry is portrait photographs that include elements of sentimental hairwork. An example of such an object in the collections of the New Orleans Museum of Fine Art is an intricately braided hairwork bracelet that includes a daguerreotype miniature of a young girl, c. 1850 (Fig. 21).

Examples of cased nineteenth-century photographs containing a lock of hair along with the portrait exist in museum collections. The photography collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, N.Y. includes an ambrotype of an unknown woman with a lock of hair pinned to the interior of the photographic case (1982.1131), dating from the 1850s or 60s. A similar daguerreotype from the 1850s is in the Archives and Special Collections at the Thomas J. Dodd Research Center at the University of Connecticut (Fig. 22). This example depicts a young man named William Pratchett, and a lock of his hair is attached to the purple velvet pad opposite his portrait.¹⁰¹ In the daguerreotype collection

¹⁰¹ University of Connecticut, Thomas J. Dodd Research Center, Margaret Waring Buck Papers (MSS 1997-034) (http://doddcenter.uconn.edu/asc/about/kristin_eshelman.htm)

at Harvard, a daguerreotype of Anna Cora Mowatt includes a lock of hair and, interestingly, a pressed sprig of rosemary (Fig. 23). Mowatt was a playwright and actress who had performed in Shakespearian roles, and the rosemary might have been included here “for remembrance,” as Ophelia soliloquizes in *Hamlet*, a speculation shared by Melissa Banta, who discusses this daguerreotype in .¹⁰² These examples of cased photographs with accompanying locks of hair may not be specifically intended for the purpose of mourning; rather, they seem to point to a continuation of the tradition of the painted miniature portrait, which was often accompanied by hairwork.

An example of a cased photograph with a lock of hair that was definitively used for mourning can be found in a ninth-plate tintype (c.1862) from the Thanatos Archive (Fig. 24). This object combines post-mortem photography, sentimental poetry, and a lock of hair. The text, cut from a printed publication and placed underneath the lock of hair, reads as follows: “We miss thee sadly, brother dear,/We never shall forget thee, never:/ Your name oft calls to us the tear,/ ‘Twas hard such ties as ours to sever/ Now we are but a broken band,/Our home is lonely without thee:/ We never more can grasp your hand,/ Your happy smile no more may see.” These lines are almost identical to those of a poem entitled, *We Miss Thee*, by Mrs. M. W. Curtis published in *Ballou’s Monthly Magazine* in 1855.¹⁰³ The excerpt of the poem, a mass-produced expression of sentimentality, is

¹⁰² Melissa Banta and Harvard University. Library, *A Curious & Ingenious Art : Reflections on Daguerreotypes at Harvard* (Iowa City: Published for Harvard University Library by the University of Iowa Press, 2000), 149.

¹⁰³ Maturin Murray Ballou, *Ballou’s Monthly Magazine* (M. M. Ballou., 1855), 181

transformed into a specific statement of loss by the inclusion of hair and photograph: they are the elements that personalize this object.

Hairwork's decline in popularity at the end of the nineteenth century should be viewed not only as a result of the 'death' of sentimental and mourning culture, but is also a matter of technological obsolescence: the widespread availability and reproducibility of photography by the end of the century and its function as a way to memorialize the body eventually supplanted hairwork as the commodifiable trace of the individual. A few writers and scholars make the claim that hairwork was eventually supplanted by photography: Diana Cooper and Norman Battershill, in *Victorian Sentimental Jewelry* unequivocally state, "The coming of photography saw the decline of hair jewelry."¹⁰⁴ They locate photography's "coming" not with its infancy, but with the introduction of the dry plate, from the 1880s on, after which "small portrait photographs on paper became available and these were carried in brooches, lockets and pendants which were made to open."¹⁰⁵ These sorts of lockets differed from those intended for hairwork, according to Cooper and Battershill, which were sealed off: "the hair was intended to remain; the little photographic frame will normally open with ease."¹⁰⁶ Cooper and Battershill refer to the emergent social use of photography: "when the Eastman Kodak camera was launched in 1888 the family 'snap' became a part of social life. The size of brooches and lockets tended on average to increase in order to carry a reasonably large photograph."¹⁰⁷ Perhaps photography's emergence as a rival to hairwork should be located not in the fits and starts

¹⁰⁴ Diana Cooper and Norman Battershill, *Victorian Sentimental Jewellery* (A. S. Barnes, 1973), 53.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

of its invention in the early part of the century, but in its relative ubiquity and acceptance by the century's end.

Lutz states that “A fruitful meditation, in uncovering the meaning of relics to the Victorians, comes from juxtaposing the bodily artifact and the photograph. Indeed, out of the complex weave of their historical relationship, one thread can be picked out: the photograph would come to replace the relic.”¹⁰⁸ These claims raise the following question: if portrait photographs and hairwork have different properties as objects, namely, one is three-dimensional, tactile, and a fragment of the body, while the other is two-dimensional, and a representation of the body, how is it possible that could one supplant the other? I propose that this is possible because photography and hairwork both operate as indicators of the presence of the individual: one was a fragment that pointed to the whole, a synecdoche, and the other was a trace as well as a resemblance, an index. Both were talismans that embodied their individual subject and could function as proof of their physical existence.

¹⁰⁸ Deborah Lutz, “The Dead Still Among Us: Victorian Secular Relics, Hair Jewelry, and Death Culture,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* Vol. 39, Issue. 1 (2011): 130.

From Fragment to Trace

There are three kinds of signs. Firstly, there are *likenesses*, or icons; which serve to convey ideas of the things they represent simply by imitating them. Secondly, there are *indications*, or indices; which show something about things, on account of their being physically connected with them... Thirdly, there are *symbols*, or general signs, which have become associated with their meanings by usage¹⁰⁹

Charles Sanders Peirce, 1894

If we take miniature painting, hairwork and photography as visual, as well as physical, texts to be read, a productive method to differentiate between their meanings can be found by employing the terminology of pictorial semiotics. Pierce goes on to address photography specifically as a medium, explaining that

Photographs, especially instantaneous photographs, are very instructive, because we know that they are in certain respects exactly like the objects they represent. But this resemblance is due to the photographs having been produced under such circumstances that they were physically forced to correspond point by point to nature. In that aspect, then, they belong to the second class of signs, those by physical connection.¹¹⁰

In the sentimental objects that are the focus of this study, the living (or once-living) human body is what is signified: painted miniature portrait, photographic portrait, hairwork object. As signifiers, however, all three differ from each other. Painted miniature portraits are iconic, in Peirce's terms. They resemble the signified mimetically, through representation of nature. The photographic portrait, though it resembles the painted portrait, is more than iconic: it is also indexical. Göran Sonesson discusses at length the "the peculiarities of the photographic sign" and the "peculiarly... indexical

¹⁰⁹ Charles Sanders Peirce and Nathan Houser, *The Essential Peirce 1893-1913* (Indiana University Press, 1998), 5.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 6.

nature” of the photograph.¹¹¹ He points out that there were pre-photographic examples of this kind of indexical sign:

Even if we restrict our attention to the particular brand of indexicality which is involved in, among other things, photography, we find is also, in a more concrete form, in wood-cuts and engravings, which have been part of the human semiotic environment for a much longer time than photography. ...In fact, abrasion, which is indeed of the referent, is also present in a much more ancient kind of sign, the footstep and its family of traces.¹¹²

Susan Sontag also refers to both the iconic and the indexical function of the photography, associating the photograph with the indexical traces of the footstep and the death mask, another medium used in the nineteenth century to capture the ‘Last Portrait.’ She states,

a photograph is not only an image (as a painting is an image), an interpretation of the real; it is also a trace, something directly stenciled off the real, like a footprint or a death mask. While a painting, even one that meets photographic standards of resemblance, is never more than the stating of an interpretation, is never less than the stating of an interpretation, a photograph is never less than the registering of an emanation (light waves reflected by objects)—a material vestige of its subject in a way no painting can be.¹¹³

Hairwork has a history of being connected to the family of traces Sonesson describes.

Handwriting, silhouettes, and footsteps: all are traces that point to the individual. In Figs. 11, 16, 18-19, and 21-24, photography functions as icon and index, further substantiated by the inclusion of hairwork. In the miniature paintings as well as the miniature silhouette mentioned above, hairwork seems to have operated as the symbolic anchor that pinned the representation to physical reality. Photography required no such anchor: it was concretely grounded in the physical world. The photograph could capture and fix the

¹¹¹ Göran Sonesson. *Semiotics of photography. On tracing the index*. Rapport 4 från Semiotik-projektet. (Lund: Department of Art History, 1989), 18.

¹¹² Ibid., 131.

¹¹³ Susan Sontag. *On photography*. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), 154.

features of the face, and verify the identity of the subject without the need of hairwork.

Sheumaker has claimed that hairwork “while it was created long before photographic images were possible, did not serve as a substitute for images but a complement to them.”¹¹⁴ This might seem a reasonable position, but it is not borne out when the social use of these objects is taken into consideration. In some cases, photography and hairwork were used as substitutes for one another.

This interchangeability of hairwork and photography can be seen in two fascinating objects from c. 1840s, collected by the Thanatos Archive. The first is a mourning object: a miniature painting of the ubiquitous mourning landscape (Fig. 25). In this miniature, a lock of hair is transformed into weeping willow with details of the death of the individual to whom the hair belonged included on the gravestone. What is perhaps the most intriguing, and the most revealing, characteristic of this object is that this miniature is housed in a daguerreotype case. The second example is a photographic locket housed in a daguerreotype case, which contains two small mementos of hairwork on either side of the locket (Figs. 26, 27). The double casing of these small, amateur-produced examples of hairwork speaks to their value as personal sentimental objects. These two instances of hairwork housed as photograph argue strongly for the interchangeability of hairwork and photography as technologies of memory.

Hairwork, as Sheumaker has shown in *Love Entwined*, both aspired to and resisted commodification. The unease with which the consumer surrendered the treasured lock of hair to the professional manufacturer of hairwork, unsure if the finished object would be the relic they prized certainly contributed to its decline. However, its death

¹¹⁴ Sheumaker, *Love Entwined*, x.

should, in part, be seen as a matter of technological obsolescence: The photographic portrait endures as a sentimental artifact because it could be completely commodified, could cater to a mass audience, and, with the advent of the Kodak in 1888, could be produced by anyone. A photographic portrait functions as both icon and index, simultaneously resembling the subject as a likeness and acting as a trace of their body. The popularity of hairwork was waning by the end of the century, and personal photography was on the ascendant. The immediacy and ubiquity of photography, coupled with its ability to serve as both icon and index in signifying the absent or memorialized body, all contributed to its emergence as the commodifiable trace of the individual by the end of the nineteenth century. Hairwork, as a fragment, linked the representation or likeness to the physical reality of the body in painted miniature portraits: this is an unnecessary inclusion for the medium of photography, which records the physical reality of its subject. In the twentieth century, the photographic trace succeeded the bodily fragment as the medium for immortalizing and enshrining memory.

Conclusion

Hairwork's gradual decline, beginning at the end of the nineteenth century, has been commonly understood in the following ways: hair began to be seen as unsanitary as germ theories were discovered; it became unfashionable, as sentimentality itself grew unfashionable; and it faded into obscurity along with nineteenth-century mourning rituals after World War I. Previous studies have located photography as hairwork's successor, but have not examined their brief period of collaboration, or the ways in which photography and hair operate similarly as vehicles of memory.

One of the reasons for hairwork's waning is the decline of sentimentality in fashion, which took place at the end of the nineteenth century. Nancy Bercaw in "Solid Objects/Mutable Meanings: Fancywork and the Construction of Bourgeois Culture, 1840-1880," places amateur hairwork in the context of fancywork, or domestic crafts made to decorate the bourgeois home. Fancywork was a means for women to "introduce hundreds of products into their homes without buying them."¹¹⁵ Through the process of making these goods by hand, these objects were transformed "into personal expressions... making them objects of the heart, not the marketplace."¹¹⁶ Bercaw shows that from around 1840 to 1880, dates which correspond with the height of hairwork's popularity, it was important for women to "assure that their homes reflected personal sentiment."¹¹⁷

By the late nineteenth century, sentimentality alone was not seen as a suitable criterion for home decoration. Alice Morse Earle (1851-1911), an American author and historian, wrote in an article in 1895:

¹¹⁵ Nancy Dunlap Bercaw, "Solid Objects/Mutable Meanings: Fancywork and the Construction of Bourgeois Culture, 1840-1880," *Winterthur Portfolio* 26, no. 4 (December 1, 1991), 233.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

Nothing can be more pathetic than the thoughtful survey of the crude and often cumbersome and ludicrous attempts at decorative art through which the stunted and cramped love of the beautiful found expression, until our own day, in country homes. The dreary succession of hair-work, feather-work, wax flowers, shell-work, dried leaves and grasses crystallized with various minerals and gums, vied with yarn and worsted monstrosities and bewildering patchwork. Occasionally some bold feminine spirit, made inventive through artistic longing, gave birth to a novel, though too often grotesque form of decoration.¹¹⁸

Earle places hairwork in the context of the parlor in a nineteenth century bourgeois home. All of the objects she refers to constitute fancywork in Bercaw's definition. Earle criticizes these displays of homemade craft as inexpert attempts at decoration and artistry, but it should be noted that the rest of her article discusses the "leather-works" of Rhoda Baker from the colonial period as "a most interesting symbol of exquisite neatness, unbounded patience, and blind groping for artistic expression."¹¹⁹ Earle is assessing these objects using a purely aesthetic criteria, not a sentimental one, as evidenced by her lumping sentimental hairwork into the same category as decorative featherwork. Her article points to not only to hairwork's fashionable decline in particular, but the waning fashion for outward sentimental expression.

Hairwork's falling popularity has also been attributed to the loss of mourning culture following the First World War, and the mid-twentieth century sociologist Geoffrey Gorer has argued that a taboo of death replaced the taboo of sex in the twentieth century. According to Gorer, "for the greater part of the last two hundred years copulation and (at least in the mid-Victorian decades) birth were the 'unmentionables' of

¹¹⁸ Alice Morse Earle, "Rhoda's Legacy" *Outlook* (1893-1924); Jun 22, 1895; 51, 25; *American Periodicals*, 1095.

¹¹⁹ Alice Morse Earle, "Rhoda's Legacy" *Outlook* (1893-1924); Jun 22, 1895; 51, 25; *American Periodicals*, 1095.

the triad of basic human experiences.”¹²⁰ Gorer contrasts this with prevailing attitudes in the mid-twentieth century, where “there seems to have been an unremarked shift in prudery; whereas copulation has become more and more ‘mentionable,’ particularly in Anglo-Saxon societies, death has become more and more ‘unmentionable’ *as a natural process*.”¹²¹ In his *Western Attitudes Toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, Philippe Ariès agrees with this reading, stating that in the late nineteenth through twentieth century, “death, so omnipresent in the past that it was familiar, would be effaced, would disappear.”¹²² Death became “shameful and forbidden.”¹²³ Ariès characterizes Western attitudes to death as evolving from “tamed death” in the early medieval period, to “one’s own death” beginning in eleventh and twelfth centuries, to a focus in the modern period, on “thy death,” the “romantic rhetorical treatment of death,” beginning in the eighteenth century.¹²⁴ The forbidden death of the twentieth century is, according to Ariès, partially the result of this transition: “in the modern period, death, despite the apparent continuity of themes and ritual, became challenged and was furtively pushed out of the world of familiar things...”¹²⁵ Interestingly, Ariès finds that “in the family—even when they believed in the afterlife, and in a more realistic afterlife, a transposition of life into eternity—death became the unaccepted separation, the death of the other, ‘thy death,’ the death of the loved one.”¹²⁶ Hairwork was an object that denied the separation between life and death. The material of hair was symbolically associated

¹²⁰ Geoffrey Gorer, *Encounter*, (London, October 1955), 50 *UNZ.org*, accessed April 4, 2013, <http://www.UNZ.org/Pub/Encounter-1955oct-00049>.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² Philippe Ariès, *Western Attitudes Toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. Patricia Ranum (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 85.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 56.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 105.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 106.

with life during the sentimental period and therefore hair was used to perpetuate continuity. When hair was no longer read as a meaningful symbol for life and hairwork objects began to be read as dead, hairwork ceased to connote the meanings it had in the nineteenth century and earlier.

Hairwork has a history of being viewed as inherently connected with death in the twentieth century, which indicates a transition in hair's meaning. In an article from 1924, mentioned by Sheumaker, the author reflects on the already outmoded craft of hairwork, noting "the thought of having the tresses of a deceased relative decoratively dangling at one's ear made stronger appeal to the sentimental notions of the past century than to the sanitary code of the present."¹²⁷ The Victorians were not unaware that hair needed to be cleaned in order to be made into hairwork: Godey's instructs the reader to clean the hair and Speight stipulates that the lock of hair "be absolutely free from all impurities."¹²⁸ However, the discovery of the germ theory of disease in the late nineteenth century seems to have contributed to the viewing of hair, a bodily product, as unsanitary.¹²⁹ The emphasis of the 1920s author on the hair of "a deceased relative" shows that the sanitary issue went beyond a simple matter of dirt, but implied a kind of contamination through touch, from the dead to the living. As we have seen, hair used in hairwork during the nineteenth century was often cut from the living, and superstitions regarding the unlucky use of hair cut from the dead existed during the period in which hairwork was being produced.

The interwar period view of hairwork, then, was that it was overly sentimental and unsanitary, but by mid-century, hairwork was seen as disturbing and macabre.

¹²⁷ Sheumaker, *Love Entwined*, 162.

¹²⁸ Speight, *The Lock of Hair*, 1871.

¹²⁹ Sheumaker, *Love Entwined*, viii.

Richter puts forth an interesting hypothesis, that the reason hairwork provokes a reaction of horror and disgust in the contemporary viewer “may be connected with associations and memories of Holocaust photographs displaying large amounts of cut hair, mountains of shoes, or also collected gold teeth of the murdered.”¹³⁰ This idea of cut hair as representational of victimization, an association with the brutality of the Holocaust, quite possibly could be connected to the misreading of hairwork referred to previously, in which Bragg and Wilder claim in 1945 that the sentimental jewelry was “worn with sadistic pleasure” in the nineteenth century and that the very idea of doing so was “gruesome.”¹³¹

These cultural shifts explain how hairwork became unfashionable and ceased to retain the specific associations it had with sentimental culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, these shifts do not entirely explain why hairwork was no longer necessary as a vehicle of remembrance. Photography’s brief moment of collaboration with hairwork, seems, much like its overlap with the miniature portrait, to have resulted in the decline of the earlier tradition. Hairwork did not merely become outmoded in the sense of fashion, it became outmoded as a technology of memory.

¹³⁰ Translation by author. From Richter, “Trauer Verkörpern: Schmuck aus Haaren in der Bürgerlichen Trauerkultur im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert,” 158.

“Dies dürfte auch mit Assoziationen und Erinnerungen an Photographien aus dem Holocaust zusammenhängen, die große Mengen abgeschnittener Haare, Berge von Schuhen oder auch gesammeltes Zahngold der Ermordeten zeigen.”

¹³¹ Lillian Chaplin Bragg and Cornelia Wilder, *Savannah's antique hair and mourning jewelry*, Savannah, Ga., 1945. Referred to in Irene Guggenheim Navarro, “Hairwork of the Nineteenth Century,” *Antiques* 159 (March 2001), 487

Sacred to the Memory

Photographs took the place of hairwork as embodied objects because they simultaneously acted as stable representations and traces of the individuals they represent. More than that, photographs were used as sentimental objects in a way that is reminiscent of hairwork. In the mid-1960s, Gerhard Richter reflected on photography and the impact of its ascendance on other forms of art:

The photograph took the place of all those paintings, drawings and illustrations that served to provide information about the reality that they represented. A photograph does this more reliably and more credibly than any painting. ...At the same time, photography took on a religious function. Everyone has produced his own 'devotional pictures': these are the likenesses of family and friends, preserved in remembrance of them.¹³²

In his matter-of-factness, Richter's last two sentences are strikingly similar in tone to the first line of a hairwork advertisement from around 1880, which declared, "we all preserve the Hair of the deceased or absent friends as a precious memento..."¹³³ In both cases, loved ones are preserved for the purpose of memorialization, and their physical lives are perpetuated through the means of hair or photography.

¹³² Gerhard Richter, "Notes 1964-65," Charles Harrison and Dr Paul J. Wood, eds., *Art in Theory 1900 - 2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, 2nd ed. (Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 757.

¹³³ Harvey Green and Mary-Ellen Perry, *The Light of the Home: An Intimate View of the Lives of Women in Victorian America* (University of Arkansas Press, 2003), 171.

I would know my son if I were to see him. And I am sure he would know me. I have no picture of the child, but have a lock of his hair.¹³⁴

In a 1913 affidavit, Julia Anderson, a rural North Carolina woman who was searching for her missing son, offered a lock of his hair as proof of his identity. This statement is revealing in two major ways: it shows that the practice of keeping a lock of a loved one's hair did not cease at the end of the nineteenth century, and it points to the ways in which hair and photography were used as both sentimental mementos and indicators of identity. Sentimentality certainly did not die with the nineteenth century; however, in the twentieth century, it was regarded as insincere, excessive, and opposed to reason. Kaplan points out that in the twentieth century "though popular culture—and social and political life in general— kept its heart beating with the blood of sentimentality, intellectual modernism and modern high art stigmatized sentimentality as the refuge of philistinism and small minds."¹³⁵ Acts of sentimental expression were relegated to the private sphere as a result.

Hair continues to hold sentimental importance as a personal relic of love and loss into the twenty-first century. Often a lock of a child's hair is kept as a sentimental artifact, and hair is still kept in the context of loss of a loved one as well. A practicing embalmer who wished to remain anonymous has informed me that in her experience, the request for a lock from the deceased by the family is not at all an unusual one. Interestingly, she states that the vast majority of these requests are in cases of direct cremation, where there is no viewing of the body. While locks of hair continue to hold

¹³⁴ "The Ghost of Bobby Dunbar," *This American Life*, accessed April 4, 2013, <http://www.thisamericanlife.org/radio-archives/episode/352/the-ghost-of-bobby-dunbar>.

¹³⁵ Fred Kaplan, *Sacred Tears: Sentimentality in Victorian Literature* (Princeton University Press, 1987), 18.

meaning as fragments which connect the beholder to their loved ones' absent body, they are only very rarely transformed into hairwork, which is no longer produced on a mass scale or received as an appropriate expression of affection.

Hairwork retained the authenticity of its unique subject as a fragment of the body, and it functioned as an object of remembrance. Like a portrait, hairwork can refer to a subject that can be living or dead, and this is part of how both portraits and hairwork function as symbols of immortality. Hair was an extension of the body that could endure indefinitely; it recalled the living state of the body; it could survive after the rest of the body had decayed. Therein lies its significance as a token of exchange: in a society that valued the aesthetic presentation of dead bodies as beautiful, immortal, and incorruptible, hair was highly valued as an object that embodied these elements. Hair was seen as having the capacity to bring to mind the features of an absent face, the ability to recall those features even from beyond the grave. It is no surprise, that hair, the eponymous "remembrancer" of "The Hair As Remembrancer," both the material and vehicle of memory, was worked into hairwork, which was worn on the body and displayed in the home. Hairwork was a way to reconfigure or reconstruct the body into a perfect form that could endure through the immortality of hair: an intimate portrait of life, not of death.

I never gave a lock of hair away
 To a man, Dearest, except this to thee,
 Which now upon my fingers thoughtfully
 I ring out to the full brown length and say
 "Take it." My day of youth went yesterday;
 My hair no longer bounds to my foot's glee,
 Nor plant I it from rose- or myrtle-tree,
 As girls do, any more: it only may
 Now shade on two pale cheeks the mark of tears,
 Taught drooping from the head that hangs aside
 Through sorrow's trick. I thought the funeral-shears

Would take this first, but Love is justified, —
Take it thou, —finding pure, from all those years,
The kiss my mother left here when she died.¹³⁶

Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806-1861)

¹³⁶ Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *The Poetical Works of Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, (Oxford University Press, 1920), 322.

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Fig. 1. John Everett Millais, *Only a Lock of Hair*, c.1857-8, Manchester Art Gallery



Fig. 2. Anonymous, *Mourning Slide*, c. 1700, Victoria and Albert, M.11-1960



Fig. 3. Anonymous, *Mourning Slide*, 1697, Victoria and Albert, M.12-1960



Fig. 4. Anonymous, *Mourning Slide*, c. 1700, Victoria and Albert, M.14-1960



Fig. 5. Anonymous, *Mourning Buckle*, 1698, Victoria and Albert, M.91-1975



Fig. 6. Anonymous, *Mourning Brooch*, c. 1775-1800, Victoria and Albert, 963-1888



Fig. 7. Anonymous, *Mourning Brooch*, c. 1775-1800, Victoria and Albert, 985-1888



Fig. 8. Anonymous, *Mourning Brooch*, c. 1775-1800, Victoria and Albert, 945-1888

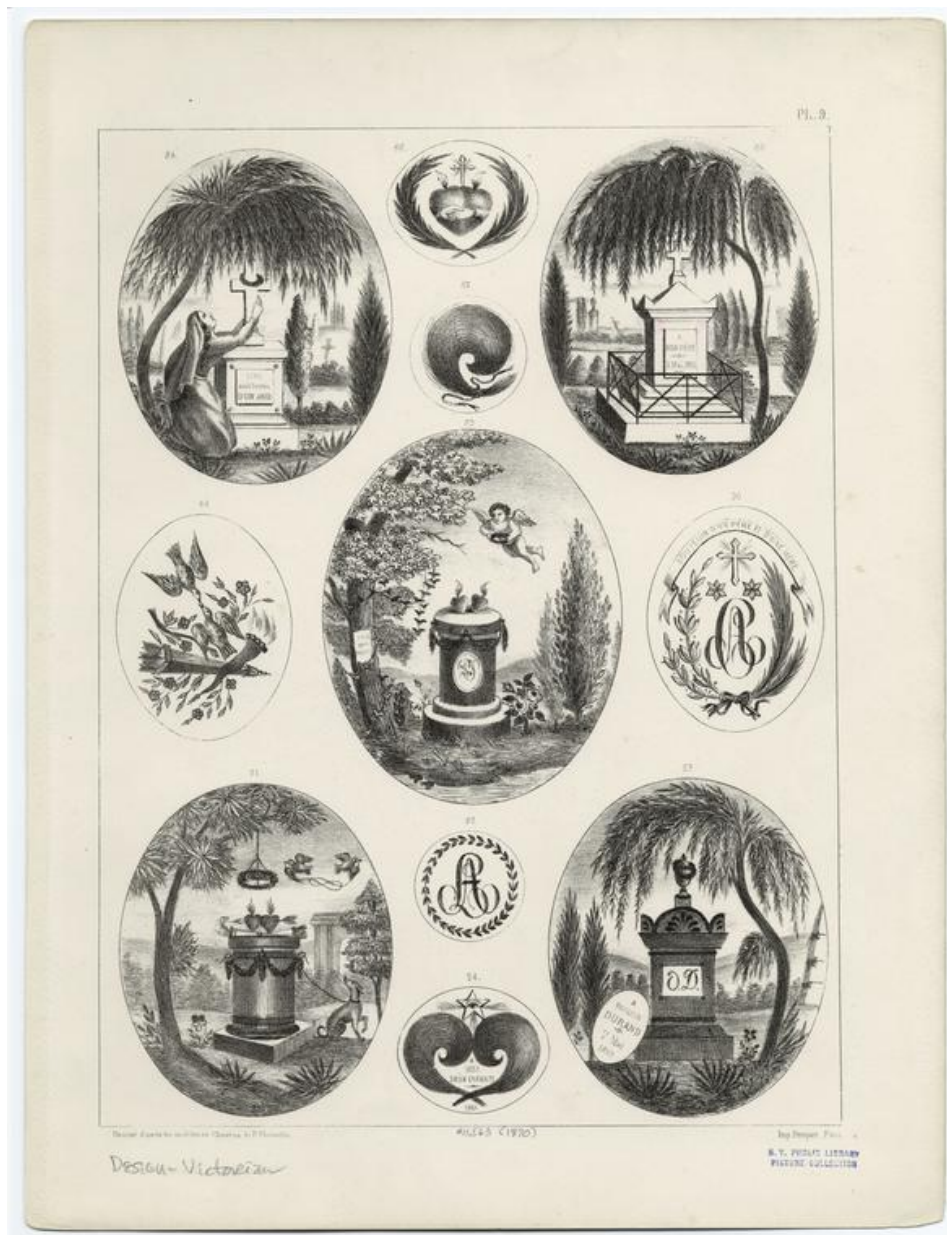


Fig. 9. Florentin, P., *Album de dessins en cheveux.*, Paris 1870s, New York Public Library Picture Collection, Catalog Call Number: PC DESI-Vic



Fig. 10. John Ramage (1748–1802), *Portrait of Mrs. James Bleecker (Elizabeth Garland Bache)*, c. 1790, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002.476.2



Fig. 11. Anon., *Daguerreotype pin with Prince of Wales curl*, c.1845, Larry J. West Collection



Fig. 12. Anonymous, *Children's Hairwork Bracelets*, c.1850-99, Museum of London, 28.88/2



Fig. 13. Harry Carr Dinham, *Panel of Hairwork*, 1879-90, Victoria and Albert, T.81-1949



Fig. 14. Florentin, P., *Album de dessins en cheveux*., Paris 1870s, New York Public Library Picture Collection, Catalog Call Number: PC DESI-Vic



Fig. 15. Anonymous, *Hair Wreath*, 19th century, Cincinnati Art Museum, 2005.26



Fig. 16. Anonymous, *Rare band for securing a lady's hair with hairwork and daguerreotype*, c.1850, Larry J. West Collection



Fig. 17. Anonymous, *Ring*, c. 1780, Victoria and Albert, M.174-1962



Fig. 18. Anonymous, *Hairwork Bracelet*, 19th century, Private Collection



Fig. 19. Anonymous, *Large Hairwork and Daguerreotype Pin*, c. 1850, Larry J. West Collection.



Fig. 20. Anonymous, *Daguerreotype of Mourning Mother*, c. 1840s, Burns Archive



Fig. 21. Anonymous, *Hairwork with Daguerreotype*, c.1850, New Orleans Museum of Art



Fig. 22. *Daguerreotype of William Pratchett*, c.1850, Margaret Waring Buck Papers (MSS 1997-034)



Fig. 23. Sixth-plate Daguerreotype of Anna Cora Mowatt, c.1840-60, Harvard



Fig. 24. Anonymous, Post-mortem ninth-plate tintype of a boy with lock of his hair and poem, c.1862, Thanatos Archive



Fig. 25. Anonymous, *Hairwork Miniature in a Daguerreotype Case*, c.1840s, Thanatos Archive



Fig. 26. Anonymous, *Hairwork in a Photographic Locket and Case*, c.1840s, Thanatos Archive



Fig. 27. Detail of Fig. 26