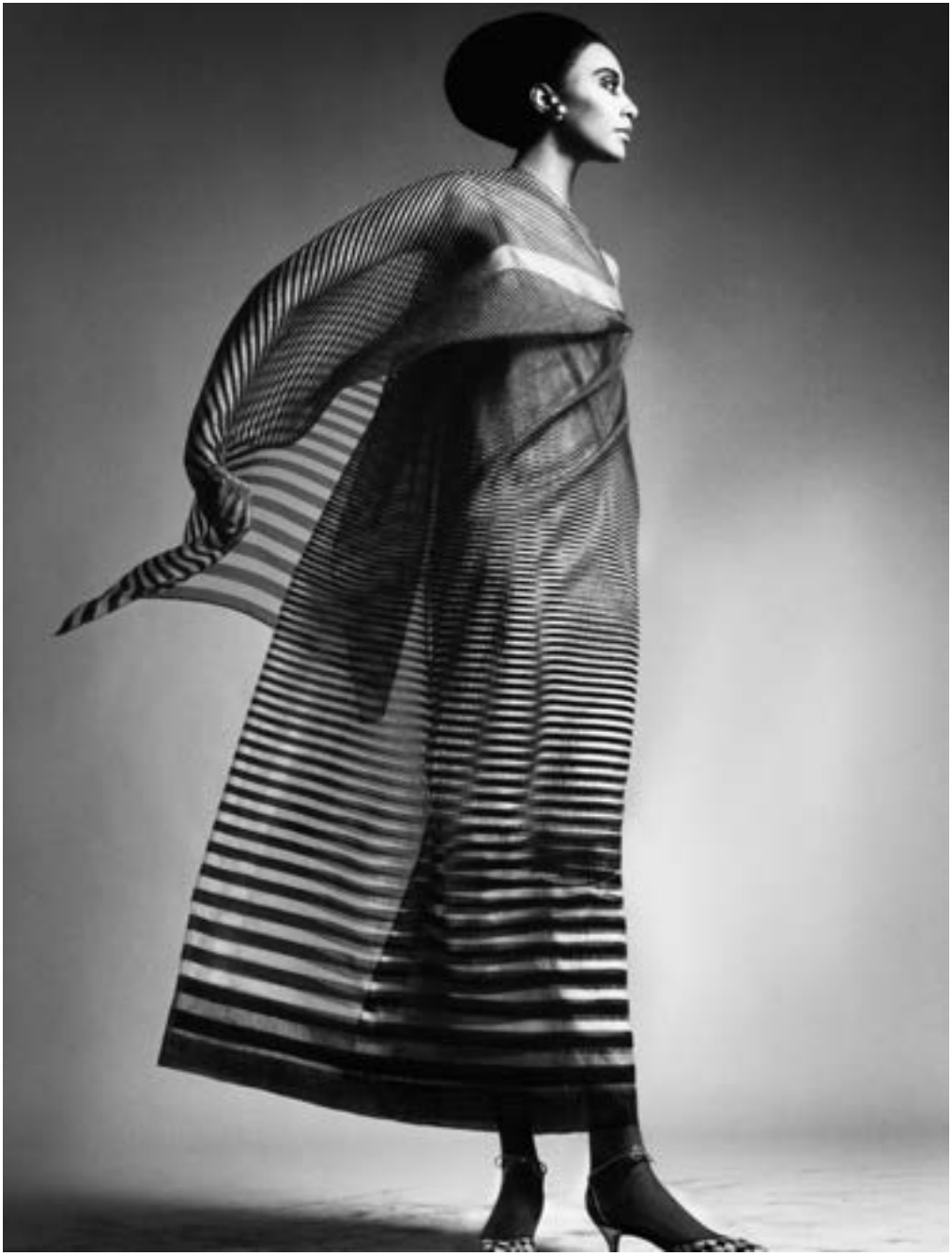
Work!

A Queer History of Modeling

ELSPETH H. BROWN



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ILLUSTRATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

Caroline Jones saw a marketing opportunity. It was late 1969, and soul style had migrated from black African artists such as Miriam Makeba to American musicians and activists such as Nina Simone.[1] Jones, a black advertising pioneer who had risen from secretary to creative director at J. Walter Thompson, had recently joined Zebra Associates, a firm founded in 1969 as the first fully integrated advertising firm with black executives.[2] In this context of heightened black visibility, Jones pitched a proposal to Clairol, the leading company in the US hair care industry. Zebra Associates' focus was on the growing black consumer market (23 million people, worth $30 billion in 1969), and Jones's pitch to Clairol emphasized how the company could position itself as the first major mass market manufacturer to develop hair care products designed specifically for black consumers, particularly black women.[3] The proposal includes a two-page history of black hair care in which Jones described black women's daily struggle with hot combing, pressing, and curling. This grueling ordeal was compounded by the fact that, in Jones's words, no one cared: no large manufacturer had ever developed a specialized product for black hair care. Clairol could be that company, Jones argued, by developing two product lines: one for straightened and pressed hair, and one for natural hair, including the Afro—an emerging, contemporary style that signaled, as she explained to the white Clairol executives reading her proposal, both "black pride" and "heritage identity."[4] But, as Jones was careful to explain, the newer natural hairstyles still required a full line of products, beyond simple shampoos and conditioners, to maintain.[5]

Jones's marketing pitch, and the advertising scripts that accompanied it, emphasized the centrality of emotion in identifying, understanding, and appealing to black consumers. In describing black women's hair histories, Jones refers to their experiences of hair straightening as painful, anxious, and unpleasant; Clairol's new line would, she argued, instill pride, confidence, and trust, replacing disappointment with dependability and reliability. In the classic narrative

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form of twentieth-century advertising, Jones describes the negative affects of consumer modernity while offering the company—in this case, Clairol—as the consumer's friend, someone who would be at their side as advocate and champion, capable of instilling new, positive affective states.[6] The centrality of emotion in selling Clairol's new hair care line is clear in the advertising copy. A four-color ad copy for the new line, Born Beautiful, from 1970 begins with an emphasis on how freedom feels: "Freedom is wearing a silk scarf around your neck, instead of your head. . . . Freedom is riding in a convertible blowing the horn instead of your hair . . . freedom is going swimming with out a cap."[7] Here, Jones—an experienced copywriter—draws on over a half century of advertising strategy in tying consumer products to the loftier ideals of contemporaneous social movements; in this case, as Jones fully intended, the copy's reference to freedom is also a reference to the global black freedom movement, of which hair was a key signifier.[8]

But product lines and their advertisers need a further element in animating viewers' emotional lives while situating their brand as the solution to consumers' needs. The product needs a model: a living person who can imbue the product, whether shampoo or chenille, with the affective qualities offered by the copy. In the case of Born Beautiful, one of Clairol's models was Tracey Gayle Norman (fig. I.1). Norman was one of the early 1970s' more successful models: she had been "discovered" by photographer Irving Penn, who booked her for a shoot with Italian *Vogue* at $1,500 a day, and who introduced her to agency director Zoltan Rendessy, a gay Hungarian refugee who opened his own modeling agency in 1970.[9] Zoli specialized in nonconventional models, including black models such as Pat Cleveland, and he quickly signed Norman. Clairol was one of Norman's most loyal clients, and her contract with them lasted six years.

Clairol loved Norman's hair color, and the company developed a product to match it: Dark Auburn (box 512). During the period Norman modeled for Clairol, Dark Auburn was one of the company's strongest-selling products in the Born Beautiful line, the African American hair care products category that Clairol had developed in the wake of Caroline Jones's successful sales pitch. In figure I.1, a color head shot of Norman dominates a Clairol one-step shampoo, conditioner, and hair color product box. Norman's subdued makeup and softly coifed hair connote the "natural" beauty, elegance, and black respectability central to the product's marketing campaign, as Clairol softened black nationalism's radical critique for implied middle-class consumer audiences through the rhetoric of hair. However, despite her success—Norman also did catalogue work and had contracts with Ultra Sheen Cosmetics—Norman's modeling

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FIG. 1.1 Tracey Norman, model, in Born Beautiful hair color product packaging (Clairol), c. 1975. Courtesy of Tracey Norman.

career abruptly ended during a holiday shoot for *Essence* magazine. While Norman was focused on her work with the photographer, she became aware that hair stylist André Douglas's assistant and the *Essence* fashion and beauty editor Susan Taylor were deep in conversation. Norman lost her concentration as the set became suffused with what she described as a negative energy. She worried that her world, in her words, "would come crashing down."[10]

Norman had grown up in Newark, New Jersey, as a young gay man. By her teenage years, Norman was taking feminizing hormones and was immersed in Harlem's gay ball house culture, where she also learned to walk the runway, a training central to her later success as a model. This world, so memorably

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documented by filmmaker Jennie Livingston in her award-winning documentary *Paris Is Burning* (1991), emerged in the 1960s as black and Latino gay men and trans women developed their own culture of fashion fabulousness that was independent of the mostly white gay balls that had been part of New York's gay scene since the 1930s.[11] While on this *Essence* photography shoot, Douglas's assistant recognized Norman as someone he had known as a boy in Newark, and outed Norman to Susan Taylor as trans, to use the contemporary term.[12] The photographs from that shoot were never published, and Zoli and Clairol dropped her contract: Norman's US modeling work evaporated.[13] Like so many black models before her, Norman moved to Paris, where she eventually found work as a showroom model for Balenciaga.

The Jones-Clairol-Norman collaboration illustrates many of this book's central themes. While Norman's story as the US industry's first known trans model is unique, the central role she played in lending her elegance and beauty to a consumer product is not. Today, models are a ubiquitous figure in twentieth-century commercial and popular culture. But this has not always been the case: their emerging centrality to strategies of capitalist enticement has a history that began in the early twentieth century. In the transition to a consumer economy in the early twentieth century, the production of desire became central to the sale of goods. Cultural and business historians ranging from Jackson Lears to Davarian Baldwin have charted the US transition to what William Leach has memorably termed the "land of desire" in the early twentieth century, identifying the cultural intermediaries—photographers, art directors, beauty entrepreneurs, and advertising executives—who brokered manufacturers' pursuit of expanding markets.[14] There has been less research, however, on the new forms of labor that emerged in the US transition to a mass production economy, an economy that relied as much on distribution and consumption of goods as on their manufacture.[15] The work of copy editors, show window dressers, and art directors were forms of labor that required the production of specific emotional states in their viewers, commercialized feelings that were a necessary prelude to sales. The shift to a mass production economy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries necessitated the elaboration of new forms of labor required to expand existing markets and build new ones.

This book explores one aspect of affective labor new to the early twentieth century but now seemingly ubiquitous: the work of the commercial model. Modeling is the quintessential occupation of a modern consumer economy, in which goods and services are bought and sold through the medium of advertising and marketing; its history in the United States is deeply imbricated with the maturation of these industries in the wake of World War I. Models, whether

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performing live or through representational distance, as in photographic modeling, produce sales through the affective labor of posing for the lens, or appearing with commodities in a real-time setting. Through the medium of their bodies, models coproduce public feelings whose dominant meanings are shaped by a commercial "common sense" naturalized by the other cultural intermediaries of modern consumer culture: photographers, art directors, fashion editors, apparel merchandisers, fashion show producers, and other marketing professionals. Models do the work of representation in capitalism's dream worlds.

Sexuality is central to the powerful, affective mix through which models enliven material goods. Ever since the first mannequins, or "living models," immigrated to New York from London in 1909, US merchandisers have relied on corporeal display—and its photographic representation—to stage and activate consumer desire. The modeling profession emerged around the time that merchandisers and psychologists began to sell not the product itself but the ineffable, affective benefit that the product promised, whether romance, sexual appeal, glamour, or, simply, pleasure. Sales unfold within an affective circuit linking producer, model, and consumer: as one commercial photographer bluntly noted of the model's labor in 1930, "She sells the stuff by making it desirable."[16] Modeling is a form of labor in which the models and other cultural brokers transform subjective aspects of modern selfhood—gesture, appearance, and presence—into immaterial goods, adding surplus value to manufactured products that are then purchased by wholesale buyers or retail consumers. As we saw with Tracey Gayle Norman's work with Clairol, commercial modeling often carries with it a sense of the beautiful to spark consumer desire, a gendered understanding of the beautiful that, in the context of heteronormative, unequal relations between men and women, is often implicitly sexual as well—even if not always erotic. Gender, race, and sex become woven together in both representation and performance, as the model produces a form of managed, de-erotized, public sexuality. What is the nature of this form of public sexuality, and what is its history? This book seeks to answer this question through exploring the role of models and photography in the production of a managed, de-eroticized sexuality in the public sphere.

Historically, the display of the human body in a commercial field has carried with it a challenge to bourgeois values—values that have sought to separate the market from sites of intimacy usually associated with the private sphere. The model is a human contact zone that brings together commercial transactions, the feminized body, and a discourse of desire, desire for commodities and often for the model as well. It is for this reason that female models were seen in the early twentieth century as types of "public women," or prostitutes, for

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their occupation tied the display of the female form to a commercial exchange. Models' use of their bodies to wear or accompany commodities for sale in the marketplace brought together two types of problematic, and historically intertwined, ways of seeing: the gaze of solicitation (in which the body and its services represented the goods for sale) and the (related) gaze of erotic, often aestheticized appreciation. This association between modeling and sex work was a major problem for twentieth-century merchandisers, as they needed to protect their brand identities from the illicit and immoral connotations of the public woman. Although merchandisers needed emotion, including desire, to sell goods, at the same time, they needed to cordon off their goods from the potentially explosive, immoral connotations of the model's public display of the body. How would merchandisers and models produce a sexualized affect in relationship to the commodity form, while at the same time protecting the brand from what the implied bourgeois purchasers would find distasteful, sexually inappropriate, or morally objectionable? This was the challenge facing the modeling industry at its birth in the early twentieth century.

This challenge of containing, channeling, and directing the model's sexuality in relationship to the brand is one that affected white models and models of color in different ways. As I show throughout this book, the history of racism and the body meant that the historical meanings of leasing one's body to the photographer, art director, or couture designer varied for black and white models. The racial meanings of a pale, long-limbed beauty gliding across a couture salon in Edwardian New York or a black trans woman modeling for Clairol in the early 1970s were shaped by a much longer history of racial, sexual, and gendered meanings concerning the body on public display. These racialized and gendered histories continued to shape the meanings of black and white modeling throughout the twentieth century and, indeed, into our own time. The weight of this historical burden, however, has fallen unevenly on the shoulders of black models, whose history I explore with a particular focus throughout the book.

Managing Sexuality in the Modern Marketplace

This book situates the development of modeling in relationship to the history of sexuality. This is not a history of sexual object choices, nor the history of sexual categories, nor even the history of sexual communities or identities. Although my work is deeply indebted to scholarship in the history of sexuality in these areas, in this project I historicize the relationship between sexuality and the market not in terms of prostitution but of an under-researched terrain:

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a zone of commodified sexual appeal that has emerged as a central aspect of modern marketing.[17] *Work! A Queer History of Modeling* traces the emergence of a modern, commercialized sexuality that is relational in nature: indebted to the market and to the circulation of emotions among bodies, this type of modern sexuality depends on the movement of desire, glances, and goods across identities, sexual practices, and geographies. This is the sexuality of the "It" girl and the "X" factor: a modern, commercialized form of sexualized appeal that demands categorization even as it eludes it.

Models sell commodities by using their bodies to produce commercialized affect in relationship to specific goods. The vehicle through which these elusive promises are made is the model's performance of a new form of sexuality, one specific to the emerging mass culture industries of the early twentieth century and elaborated on in subsequent years. The various models discussed in this book—photographic models, stage models, cloak models, and fashion models—all played a central role in producing a zone of public discourse that linked gender, class, and racial meanings to commodity forms, and in which sexuality became inextricably linked to the marketing and sale of goods. The public understanding of the various versions of modeling outlined here suggests a larger story about the efforts of cultural brokers to both draw on and contain the implicitly explosive sexuality of bodies on public display.

Work! A Queer History of Modeling charts how models, photographers, agents, and advertisers solved the problem posed by the model's untoward erotic appeal through the production of a new type of managed, commercialized sexuality. I show how over the course of the twentieth century, models, photographers, couturiers, agents, and other cultural brokers distanced the work of the model from the problematic sexualities suggested by nineteenth-century public women, particularly prostitutes—to use the contemporaneous term for sex workers. Merchandisers developed a new discourse of commercial attraction that channeled and contained the model's sexual appeal in a manner familiar to twentieth-century culture industries organized around the commodified display of the female body. The merchandizing of sexual appeal was a racial project as well, as definitions of female beauty articulated on the stage, the catwalk, and the magazine page reflected and constructed a definition of "American" beauty that was both white and Anglo-Saxon. The containment of the white female model's sexuality implicitly established nonwhite models as the sexualized, racialized "other" through which white models' otherwise explosive sexual appeal was sanitized and cleaned up for new consumer audiences. This sanitized version of sexuality, so central to modern consumer culture, has a history densely interwoven with the modeling industry: pleasurable to view,

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yet curiously nonerotic, this manufactured appeal calls out to the viewer yet remains nonetheless inaccessible.

In his work on the Victorian barmaid, the historian Peter Bailey very usefully suggests a name for the oddly passionless version of modern sexual appeal: parasexuality.[18] The term combines two otherwise discrete meanings, both of which rely on distance. First, there is the prefix meaning of "almost" or "beside," as in "paralegal" or "paramedic." However, one also finds the definition of "para-" as prevention against, as a prophylactic—as in "parachute." The term suggests a "sexuality that is deployed but contained, carefully channeled rather than fully discharged"; as Bailey argues, it's the sexuality of "everything but."[19] In historical terms, this is the sexuality of the pinup, the beefcake, the chorus girl—and the model, I would argue. Like these modern types, models inhabit a zone of enhanced public visibility; they are available to the scrutinizing gaze while eluding its implied denouement—that is, sex. The implied sexuality of the model, the film star, or the pinup is contained, as Bailey has discussed in relationship to the barmaid, through distance.[20] Material or representational obstacles between the bearer of parasexuality and the audience, such as the catwalk or the magazine page, work to protect the magical property that bears a close relationship to (and is sometimes synonymous with) glamour; at the same time, the distance heightens the desire for the elusive object—close yet so far. The complex dance between corporeal display, public visibility, and the cordon sanitaire of the runway, the stage, or the printed page constitutes a type of managed sexuality that has proved central to the accelerated circulation of commodities in advanced capitalist societies.

This production of managed sexuality has been the model's chief contribution to the mass merchandizing of goods since the first third of the twentieth century. All of the models discussed in this book produced and performed varying versions of corporeal display that were historically overdetermined by dominant understandings concerning the meaning of unattached women displaying their bodies, in public, in commercialized settings. At the beginning stages of this process of rendering female corporeal display safe for the commodification of goods within a landscape of emerging mass consumer culture in the early twentieth century, the model was indisputably seen as a sexually problematic figure, kinswoman to the prostitute, the actress, and the bohemian (implicitly French) artist's model. At the later stages of this shift from public woman to girl next door, however, by the World War II era, the model had been recast as a glamorous yet nonthreatening icon of modern beauty: her sexuality had been tamed, channeled, packaged, and racialized as a key ingredient of commercial marketing.

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Queer Feeling and the Market

Analytically, *Work! A Queer History of Modeling* brings together three scholarly fields that are not usually in conversation with one another: queer theory, affect studies, and the history of capitalism. This book is a queer history of the modeling industry in a few different senses of the word. One is the old-fashioned meaning, from the seventeenth century up through the early twentieth: queer as in out of alignment, odd, or strange. Using this earlier use of "queer" as peculiar or odd, the book does not follow a normative narrative history. I explore both fashion modeling and print modeling, crossing the boundaries between editorial (high-end fashion) and commercial work, which I explore here mostly through print advertising for consumer goods such as cigarettes, toothpaste, and wigs. Also, in my analysis of fashion modeling, I sidestep the approach favored in the few popular histories of the field, which usually cover the same famous models, from (for example) interwar models Lee Miller and Muriel Maxwell to midcentury models Lisa Fonssagrives, Dovima, and Dorian Leigh and her sister Suzy Parker—and then from the 1960s' Twiggy to Veruschka and beyond.[21] Although the book does includes some discussion of well-known models and photographers, in general terms I follow a more heterodox approach, one that investigates the histories of those who occupied a nonnormative relationship to an industry that has, historically, been one of the most conservative in relationship to race, gender, and sexual difference.

Second, this book is a queer history in the spirit of scholars such as Cathy Cohen, who have taken an intersectional approach in their critique of early queer theory's investment in whiteness, while bringing together race and sexuality in arguing for a definition of "queer" that creates an oppositional space in relation to dominant norms.[22] Over the course of this book, I pursue an analytic focus on sexuality in the public sphere that foregrounds race alongside other vectors of difference; the nonnormative in relationship to the modeling industry as a whole offers a more nuanced portrait of its history than one organized solely along sexual minority identity.

That said, my book also includes a partial history of sexual and gender minorities within the industry. There is surprisingly little research on the queer history of either modeling or the fashion industry as a whole, although the Fashion Institute of Technology's exhibition, and later book, of 2013 is a promising intervention.[23] Queer is, among other things, a historical term that emerged in the early twentieth century to connote homosexuality as a specific expression of the term's older meaning as odd, bent, or peculiar.[24] In the interwar years, "queer" was a derogatory term for gay men who performed a highly

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visible, flamboyant effeminacy, and some of the historical figures I discuss in this book were certainly queer in this sense—Baron Adolph de Meyer is one example.

A third meaning of "queer," emerging in the 1990s and still in place today, is as an umbrella term that references nonnormative sexuality but that critiques stable identity formations such as "gay," "lesbian," "straight," and so on. This understanding, though somewhat presentist, describes the sexual histories and allegiances of still other figures in this book, such as George Platt Lynes, for whom the word "gay" seems both inaccurate and presentist for other reasons. Viewed historically, the term "queer" emerged in public discourse during the McCarthy era, and while some homophile activists distanced themselves from the term, others—such as Lincoln Kirstein—privately self-identified as queer in order to distinguish their complicated sexuality from homophile respectability. At times, in the absence of historical evidence regarding how historical actors would have described their own sexuality, I sometimes use the word "queer" as shorthand for the sexually nonnormative; my hope is that context will allow the reader to understand the moments in which I deploy this otherwise presentist usage. It is worth stating that our current vocabulary remains inadequate to the task of understanding pre-Stonewall nonnormative sexualities, which historians continue to research and address.

When working with the term "queer" throughout this book, I attend to the post-1990s critique of the term as one that can elide differences in the process of creating a seemingly unifying term. For decades, queers of color have shown how the term "queer" erases intersectionality, particularly regarding race. Gloria Anzaldúa, writing over twenty years ago, argued, "Queer is used as a *false* unifying umbrella which all 'queers' of all races, ethnicities, and classes are shoved under . . . when we seek shelter under it we must not forget that it homogenizes, erases our differences."[25] Susan Stryker argued over ten years ago that "all too often queer remains a code word for 'gay' or 'lesbian,'" with trans experience falling outside a lens that "privileges sexual orientation and sexual identity as the primary means of differing from heteronormativity."[26] I am using this older historiography to make a point: trans and queer of color critique concerning the racial, class, and gender biases of the term "queer" has been around for a very long time. While neither Anzaldúa nor Styker is ready to jettison the term, they warn of how *queer* as an umbrella term can shove trans people and queers of color not under the umbrella but under the bus. Through attention to historical specificity, my use of the term "queer" throughout this project attends to racial and gender difference.

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This book has been influenced by scholarship over the past decade in the history of emotions and in affect theory. Feelings, like attention, emerged as important objects of commodification for early twentieth-century merchandisers who had realized, along with the first generation of applied psychologists, that most purchasers were everything but rational when it came to buying goods. By the time psychologist Walter Dill Scott had published his *Theory of Advertising* in 1903, the culture brokers of American capitalism understood that—to quote one contemporary agency—"for every act based upon reasoning we perform twenty acts as a result of our emotions."[27] The merchandiser's job required the production of emotion as the consumer engaged with the commodity or its representation. Historically, the model's appearance in the salon or in the print advertisement staged a site for deep play: through the model's affective labor, in collaboration with the designer, photographer, editor, merchandiser, and other coproducers, commodities become imbricated with an orchestrated "look," or "feel," designed to produce sales. The transformation of consumers' emotions into sales can be understood as a form of commodified public feeling central to consumer capitalism, and in this affective relationship with the possible purchaser, the model becomes commercial feelings' coproducer.

Outside of recent work on what Kathleen Barry has called the "wages of glamour" among flight attendants, historians have been somewhat diffident about exploring the histories of affective labor.[28] We don't know as much as we might wish concerning the history of how gender, sexuality, and race have come together to inform the affective labor circuits of modern culture industries or service work. In other fields, particularly sociology, affect has emerged as a useful analytic category in understanding the immaterial labor of contemporary aesthetic, or creative, economies.[29] The recent historiography on affect, emotion, and feeling is voluminous, and I have written about it elsewhere.[30] For this project, the vein of scholarship that has most shaped my thinking about modeling has been that concerned with political economy and the movement of emotions between bodies, rather than simply the affective potentiality within the individual body. In the wake of Arlie Hochschild's groundbreaking early scholarship on the commodification of feeling in the 1980s, recent work within sociology has turned more to Marx and less to Freud in understanding the economic and political valences of affect as emotions in circulation between bodies, with instrumental effects; an influential example has been Michael Hardt's concept of "affective" and "immaterial labour" in analyzing contemporary creative industries.[31] This sociological literature in affect theory has not always

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pursued an intersectional analysis, one that considers race, ethnicity, sexuality, and other vectors of difference while theorizing the affective. An exception is the work of Sara Ahmed, who has theorized not only affect as emotions circulating between bodies but also affect as a racial project.[32] I have turned to Ahmed's work, as well as those scholars working within American Studies' public feelings networks, to bring affect as emotions circulating between bodies, constituting publics, together with the history of racial formation in the United States.

Sociologists have found affect to be a useful analytic approach in making sense of the complexity of modeling, in which the model's immaterial labor does its work in both live, performative settings and also through photographic representation. Elizabeth Wissinger and Joanne Entwistle, in particular, have emphasized the centrality of affective flows within the contemporary modeling industry. In their approach, affect works as an excess of energy and potential that explains how the ineffable and the embodied work together within the industry.[33] As an analytic approach, affect enables scholars to account for energies and potentiality that bridge the catwalk and the magazine page, the designer and the consumer, the photographer and the model. For Wissinger, affect helps us understand the ineffable qualities encapsulated in the joint production of the model's "look," the collective result of the immaterial labor of models, photographers, editors, stylists, and others in producing what sociologist Ashley Mears has called the model's "personality, reputation, on-the-job performance (including how one photographs), and appearance."[34] As a historian, my main goal is to bring this analytic focus on affect into dialogue with historical questions concerning the intersectional history of the body and commercial culture. My contribution to this literature is to both historicize models' collaborative work in producing commercial affect and at the same time take account of how racial difference shapes the varied ways in which models' affective labor has been produced, circulated, and interpreted.

In a somewhat different approach, queer theory has also engaged in the affective turn.[35] Ann Cvetkovich's approach and methodology in an *Archive of Feelings*, as well as her later work, has been especially influential for this project, as she ties questions of the archive—central to the work of historians—to everyday emotions and queer/feminist counterpublics.[36] Cvetkovich, Heather Love, Jack Halberstam, José Esteban Muñoz, and Shane Vogel, among others, have brought queer studies into conversation with both racial formation and affect theory through the key word of "feelings" rather than affect per se.[37] None of this important work, however, analyzes queer feeling through the market. Although my questions are more concerned with the production of

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dominant narratives of commercial feeling, this important work in building a vocabulary concerning what Kathleen Stewart has called "everyday affect" has been critical to historicizing the production and circulation of everyday feelings in the public sphere.[38] In this project, I interpret modeling as a constellation of racialized, queer practices performed and communicated across shifting borders of time and place, catwalks and magazine pages.

Affect, as a potentiality and capacity that is both generated by bodies and exceeds them, may seem at first glance to exceed the specifics of a particular social identity. Indeed, one can argue that this is the precise reason for the recent "affective turn" in the humanities and social sciences: affect seems to promise an intensity that confounds the conscious mind, an autonomic remainder that in the view of some affect theorists is also a site of utopian potentiality precisely because of its unmappability. The vein of affect theory that focuses on the individual body's production of the briefly unmappable affective intensity stresses the importance of this brief moment as a site of ethics, creativity, and technologies of the self. Yet while the promise of the affective is in its unscripted nature, it doesn't stay that way for long—in Brian Massumi's interpretation, that unmapped moment is only a half second.[39] In the meantime, marketing directs this affective intensity into a cognitive and corporeal script tied to specific products. The work of the model is to use her body to produce an affective intensity for a potential purchaser; the goal of cultural intermediaries is to harness that affect for the purpose of building niche markets organized for particular, historical, consumer audiences. We saw this with Caroline Jones's marketing plan for Clairol: Born Beautiful's product appeal, scripted through discourses of both freedom and respectability, came to life through model Tracey Norman's affective engagement with both the product and the circumstances in which she was photographed, including the photographer's stage directions, the feel of the studio, and the soundtrack or lack thereof. Working with Sara Ahmed's different definition of affect as racialized emotions that move between bodies, we can see how affect can help us understand how a critical tool seemingly antithetical to social, political, and historical identities has been central to the work of both models and their affective coproducers.

In writing a history of the modeling industry, I contribute to the history of capitalism by investigating how historical formations of queer feeling have been tied to racial formation, the market, and consumer capitalism. In exploring the dystopic aspects of commercialized queer feeling, my work is in conversation with more recent work exploring the relationship between (homo)sexuality and normative practices regarding the markets and their global expansion. In this project, I join a growing number of scholars who approach an analysis of

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capitalism through a queer lens. Rosemary Hennessey has asked in her work on sexual identities and the market, for example, how affect and sexual identity have been shaped by the economic structures of capitalism, including wage labor, commodity production, and consumption.[40] This work is in dialogue with a Marxist-inspired gay and lesbian historiography that has tied the emergence of modern sexual identity categories to the history of capitalism.[41] Recent scholarship on sexual minority cultures and capitalism has critiqued the post-9/11 emergence of homonationalism and homonormativity, as well as US hegemony in shaping the circulation of global "gay and lesbian" identities, while still other research has explored the development of the gay and lesbian market in the recent past.[42] Increasingly, scholars are beginning to tie together queer life and capitalist formations in historical perspective, as recent work by David K. Johnson, Phil Tiemeyer, Miriam Frank, and Justin Bengry have shown.[43]

The term "work" in this book's title has dual references. It is a reminder to historians of capitalism that work has always unfolded outside sites of industrial production, and is always gendered and racialized. The process of transforming goods into commodities, or shifting use value into exchange value, has its own labor force, in which models play a key, though unacknowledged, role. Models' affective labor is central to the mysterious process of transforming useful things (clothing, for example) into commodities; through gesture, expression, movement, and pose models create the commodity's surplus value. In this book, I focus on the work involved not in the production of objects but instead in the production of commodities: that is to say, I examine models' work in creating surplus value.

At the same time, "work" is also "werk": the queer, racialized performativity of the sashay, the strut, the stroll, as in RuPaul's low-camp *Supermodel: You Better Work* (1991). This is the work of "work it," as in the model's walk on the runway, or, to reach back still further in time, the streetwalker's seductive display of her wares. This bodily performance of spectacular femininity produces an affective excess that, I suggest throughout this book, offers possibilities for both capitalist dream worlds and for queer worldmaking. Surprisingly, even Marx, in theorizing how capitalism derives value from things, found this transformation to be a mysterious and queer alchemy: as he wrote, the commodity "is a very queer thing, abounding in metaphysical subtleties and theoretical niceties."[44] Of course, Marx used the term "queer" in its nineteenth-century meaning, as in odd, or crooked; indeed, other editions of *Capital* translate Marx's term as "strange." Yet this is the same meaning, of course, that came to define those with nonnormative sexualities. Excessiveness—as an affective, sartorial,

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and gestural performance—has signified both the diva and gay femininities throughout most of the twentieth century. Read as an analogue for Marx's surplus, excessiveness—a time-honored marker for camp—is itself a queer thing indeed. "Work," then, as a term, references both the affective labor central to the production of surplus value and, at the same time, the excessiveness of often racialized queer performativity.

Work! A Queer History of Modeling charts the paradox of queerness at the center of capitalist heteronormativity. The model's body has functioned as a transfer point for a series of people and practices in the service of both sales and queer worldmaking. The aesthetic industries, including fashion and design, have historically been one site where gay men and lesbians have found some degree of social tolerance, and where they could build queer worlds while making a living shaping heteronormative cultural production. Black models, designers, and other cultural intermediaries in the parallel, Jim Crow, pre-1970s modeling world have, in their very insistence on black beauty, challenged whitestream aesthetic hegemony. Modeling has historically brought together a network of cultural intermediaries whose practices, gestures, material choices, and aesthetic allegiances have been shadowed and shaped by queer sensibilities. Whether throwing shade, overaccessorizing, or performing affectlessness, the modeling industry has long been a queer haven hiding in plain sight. As José Muñoz reminded us, the longer history of being open to attack has meant that queers have had to transfer knowledge covertly.[45] Queerness has had to exist, historically, in innuendo, fleeting moments, gossip, and gesture—an ephemera of queer performativity that evaporates at the hint of exposure. This cultural history has been shaped not so much by sexual acts as by queer relationality to mainstream cultural objects, images, and affects. As I show, the modeling industry has been, historically, the site of a queer structure of feeling, one that—like all such structures—is also directly tied to the history of the market.

WORK! A QUEER HISTORY of Modeling pursues several narrative threads over the course of five chapters. I chart the history of a new form of sexuality in modern America—a managed, de-eroticized form of sexuality central to modern capitalism. I show how this emerging form of sexual capital is racialized, and how black and white models have had to navigate this sexuality in different ways, and why. In focusing on the contributions of black models and sexual minority photographers, I offer a queer history of the industry that emphasizes the central role of these figures in the history of twentieth-century capitalism. By historicizing models' affective labor, I show how the body's production and

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circulation of feeling has been commodified, and made central to how economic value accrues within commercial culture. Finally, I offer an account of how queer and black cultural intermediaries have been central to capitalism; in this way, I provide one account of capitalism's queer history.

In my first chapter, I chart the transition from the artist's model to the commercial model in the first decades of the twentieth century. I explore how transformations in advertising and photography set the stage for an industry-wide shift to working with models for commercial work, providing the foundation for the founding of the first modeling agency, the John Roberts Powers agency, in 1923. During the same years, photographer Baron de Meyer brought a queer, affective aesthetic to his work as Condé Nast's first paid staff photographer, where he transformed the visual discourse of fashion photography. These shifts in commercial photography drove the labor demand for photographic models, whom the public saw as akin to prostitutes and chorus girls, working-class women on the make. Powers and his competitors, Harry Conover and Walter Thornton, cleaned up the model's image, repackaging her otherwise illicit sexual allure as clean Americana. This sanitizing of the model's sexual appeal is part of a larger transformation of female sexuality in the public sphere.

Chapter 2 explores the centrality of models to both US couture and to the American stage, which was a key site for the elaboration of modeling as a form of commercialized gender performance in the World War I years through the 1920s. I focus on the first couturier mannequins in the United States, who emigrated as models for the couturier Lucile (Lady Duff Gordon), and who then became the first Ziegfeld showgirls when Lucile began designing costumes for the *Ziegfeld Follies* and other productions. During a period of intensive cultural borrowing across the color line, this chapter reads the Ziegfeld models/showgirls against the massively popular African American Irvin C. Miller revue, *Brown Skin Models* (1925–55). While the stage models constructed and circulated a commodified version of female sexuality, these performances were racial projects as well; the chapter shows how stage models consolidated contemporary discourses of Anglo-Saxon whiteness as well as negotiated competing claims of New Negro modernity.

Chapter 3 examines the queer production of modern glamour through the work of leading figures of fashion photography from the 1930s through the early 1940s, all of whom knew each other intimately and were connected through a transnational queer kinship network. The photographers include George Platt Lynes, George Hoyningen-Huene, his lover and former model Horst P. Horst, and Cecil Beaton. These photographers, who we would mostly describe as gay today, dominated the production of fashion images for *Vogue*, *Harper's Bazaar*,

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and *Town and Country* in the United States and Europe before World War II. Through a focus on the model Ruth Ford, one of Lynes's favorite models in the late 1930s, I show how this queer kinship network coproduced, with Ford, her "look," thus launching her career in the modeling industry, and later Hollywood. The chapter considers notions of publics and queer counterpublics in the years before Cold War antihomosexual panic, and the transformations in post–World War II fashion photography as Richard Avedon and Irving Penn redefined the field.

As the post–World War II prosperity unfolded, US merchandisers developed an interest in the "Negro market," in the years before the civil rights movement turned its attention to Madison Avenue's color line. Chapter 4 discusses black models who worked for the Brandford (later, Watson) and Grace Del Marco agencies, the first black modeling agencies in the United States. Their work unfolded in the context of an expansion of the black middle class in the early post–World War II years, a growing affluence that made consumer marketing to black audiences more attractive to businesses willing to cross the color line by hiring black models for the first time. At the same time, however, black models worked within the shadow of a deeply entrenched history of racist representation of black bodies in American advertising. This chapter explores the work of these models and agencies in the period before the agencies agreed to book nonwhite models in the late 1960s.

The book's concluding chapter explores the modeling industry through the lens of the long 1970s and the relationship between modeling and some of the social changes wrought by this period of political upheaval. I explore the varied discourses of the natural, the real, and the authentic within the modeling industry between the mid-1960s and the early 1980s, when the rise of the "supermodel" transformed the profession. This was a period of token racial integration in the modeling industry, with nonwhite models such as Kedakai Lipton and Naomi Sims winning lucrative modeling contracts. I examine these models' productions of femininity against the counterarchive of second-wave feminism, whose critiques of sexism shifted in these years from a radical critique of militarism, racism, and capitalism to a cultural feminist celebration of authentic womanhood rooted in biological difference. Cultural feminists criticized the modeling industry and consumerism for producing an artificial, plastic, manufactured version of femininity; in contrast, they emphasized women's biological differences, particularly the capacity to give birth, as the site of nature. I examine the costs of this definition of gender in relationship to the history of transfemininity, including within the modeling industry. The feminist critique of market-inflected femininity as artificial and unnatural

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problematically produced a competing set of gender ideals that saw femininity as biologically determined while at the same time underestimating the role of the market in shaping gender.

Models, Photography, and the Racialized History of the Body

Models' affective labor requires their work with the body, the material instrument through which models generate sexuality, desire, and value. In my focus on models' affective work, I offer a contribution to the intersectional history of the body that has been unfolding for some decades, in the wake of the English translation of Michel Foucault's work on biopolitics, as well as the US historiography that this work engendered.[46] As this scholarship has shown, the history of the twentieth-century body is inseparable from the much longer history of the Anglo-American racialized discourse of civilization, a discourse that is tied directly to histories of the body. Since the midnineteenth century, photography has played a central role in lending its rhetoric of empiricism to these racializing projects. As photography pushed out pen-and-ink illustration in commercial and fashion advertising in the early twentieth century, this longer history of racial formation, the body, and photography has come to haunt modeling's visual and corporeal discourses throughout the twentieth century, and indeed to our present day. This pernicious legacy concerning the relationship between racism, visual culture, and the model body has inexorably shaped how twentieth-century consumers, art directors, photographers, and other cultural intermediaries made sense of what they were seeing and feeling in relationship to the model event. This is the racist legacy that black and other nonwhite models have had to confront, negotiate, and disrupt as part of the industry's racialized body politics.

The racial politics of the model body were fully elaborated in the nineteenth century's most ambitious research project concerning human and animal movement, a photographic project that was, quite likely, the first sponsored research project in the history of the modern American university. Between 1884 and 1886, the photographer Eadweard Muybridge sequentially photographed ninety-five human and animal models performing a range of quotidian and exceptional movements, resulting in over 100,000 images and 781 published collotype plates containing more than 20,000 figures of moving men, women, children, animals, and birds. Unfolding at the cusp of when the invention of the halftone printing process allowed the mass printing of photographic images for the first time, thereby enabling the photographic representation of the human body in print advertising, the Muybridge project is, in some ways, the beginning of the

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modern modeling industry. While most of Muybridge's human models were male students at the University of Pennsylvania, several of his female models were artist models whom Muybridge paid to demonstrate everyday activities accomplished with grace, poise, and a managed, gendered eroticism—precisely the elements of the parasexuality that later came to dominate the commercial, photographic modeling industry. For example, Muybridge hired artist's model Catherine Aimer for five hours on July 18, 1885, to undress and bathe and pour water over her head, dry herself, step out of the bath, and put on stockings—activities that could be read simultaneously as mundane or pornographic, depending on the context.[47] In September 1885, Muybridge paid artist's model Blanche Epler to walk up and down a short flight of stairs with a water vessel (fig. I.2).[48] The female models, as well as the white male athletic models whom Muybridge also photographed, were meant to represent ideal types: the ideal and the white are linked together in a normative understanding of racial hierarchy.[49]

The history of scientific racism and photography is most clear in Muybridge's work with his male models, especially his photographs of Ben Bailey, a "mulatto" pugilist, and the only nonwhite model he worked with over the course of three years. During their work together, Bailey walked, ascended and descended stairs, struck a blow, and threw a rock for Muybridge's cameras (fig. I.3).[50] Though Muybridge worked with ninety-five human models, it was during his work with Bailey on June 2, 1885, that a key instrument of scientific racism—the anthropometric grid—appears for the first time in American photography. First published in 1869 in the London-based *Journal of the Ethnological Society*, J. H. Lamprey's new grid system promised a means of measuring, photographing, and comparing racialized anatomies in the service of British colonialism.[51] Before this early summer day in 1885, Muybridge had photographed his subjects against a plain background; after this day, however, all were photographed against a five-centimeter grid of white strings, designed to allow racialized comparisons across body types. This technology of visual empiricism arrived in the United States for the first time as part of Muybridge's sponsored research, when he was photographing Ben Bailey; no doubt, the grid appeared through the intervention of his scientific supervisory committee, three of whose members were founders of the American Anthropometry Society, as well as key figures in Anglo-American science's efforts to taxonomize racial difference.[52]

While it may seem that anthropological photographs were a world away from the ways of seeing that captured the artist's model or the fashion model, these technologies and their histories are closely linked. Lamprey's anthropometric

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FIG. 1.2 Blanche Epler modeling for Eadweard Muybridge. PL 504, *Ascending and Descending Stairs* (1887), catalog no. 2873, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

grid, a key technique for nineteenth-century race science, emerged from a much longer history of perspectival seeing in the visual arts, and was readily adapted to both aesthetic and scientific ends.[53] Lamprey himself made the linkages between racialization, science, and aesthetics clear when he argued that the vertical silk lines would allow the comparison of height between, for example, a "good academy figure or model of six feet" with "a Malay of four feet eight in height."[54] In this one sentence, Lamprey uses the model to link the discourse of the fine arts with that of European scientific racism. In American photography, Muybridge's multiyear project was both an investigation into comparative racial anatomy—that is, scientific racism—and a project designed for painters, sculptors, and others viewing the body for aesthetic purposes: Muybridge's studies of both human and animal movement would be of value, he claimed, to both "the Scientist and the Artist."[55] These twinned histories of scientific and aesthetic ways of seeing, both of which were imbricated in discourses of racial hierarchy, have continued to haunt the social meanings of the body on display. Racial meanings continue to shape how we understand the model's body, whether in fashion, art, or consumer culture.

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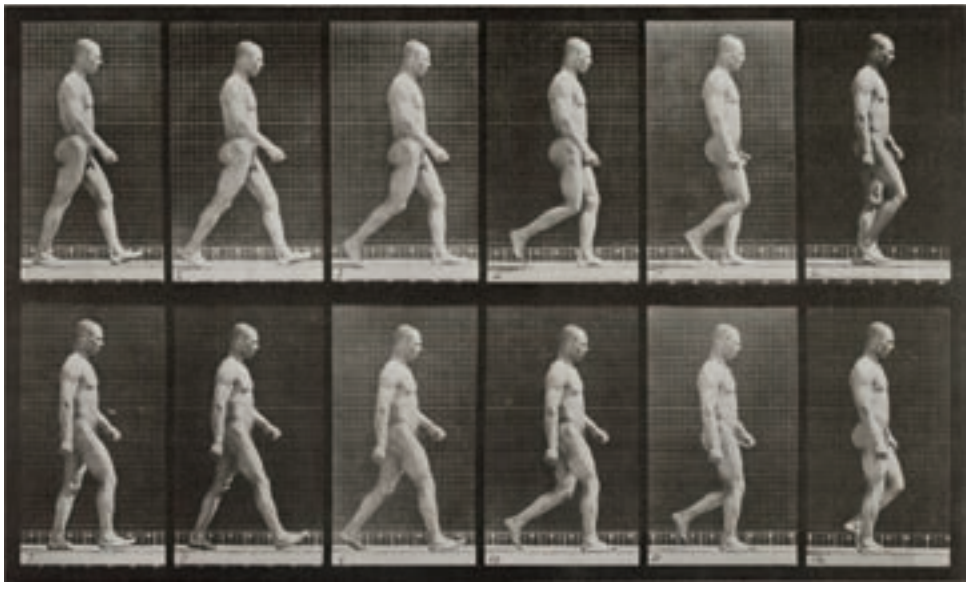

FIG. 1.3 Ben Bailey modeling for Eadweard Muybridge. PL 6, *Walking* (1887), catalog no. 2430, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

Muybridge's work at the University of Pennsylvania exemplifies another historical thread haunting the history of the body within twentieth-century modeling: the intersectional history of whiteness and the exemplary body. The flip side of Anglo-American racial investments in the nonwhite body concerned not the racialized other but the ideals of whiteness. Working with Muybridge's project again—merely as one example to describe the historical imbrication of photography, modeling, the history of the body, and white supremacy—most of the male models in Muybridge's project were white, middle-class, male students whose so-called feeble bodies were just emerging as a site of concern for university administrators.[56] Muybridge's work documenting the ideal male, white body became an important tool for a generation of amateur athletic directors, physiologists, and hygiene experts, who, in the context of the late nineteenth century's xenophobic and racist discourses of civilizational decline, used Muybridge's photographs of male and female models to visualize ideal body types.[57] As Carolyn de la Peña and Christina Cogdell have argued, reformers' investment in the white, ideal body became central to the discourse of eugenics in the US context.[58] Muybridge's photographs of these same male

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bodies, exemplifying the energetic rather than the enervated, offered models of ideal whiteness for anxious custodians of white Anglo-Saxon supremacy.

As this brief discussion suggests, Muybridge's work shuttled between discourses of the ideal and the typical model body. This semantic overlap between the ideal and the typical continued into the twentieth century, when the terms "normal" and "normality" emerged as racialized key words in American scientific and popular culture to define both the typical and the ideal body. Although the idea of the norm has a much longer history, by the twentieth century normality no longer meant the average; rather, social science statistics, mass media, and the pressure to conform together redefined normality as a norm that anyone, theoretically, could pursue and achieve. As Julian Carter and Anna Creadick have argued, normality emerged as a term that brought together the average and the ideal to describe the American body, mind, and character.[59] Although theoretically this body eschewed identity categories such as race, sexuality, gender, and class, in fact social and life scientists developed the epistemological category of normality from data drawn largely from upper-middle-class, white, heterosexual male bodies. Whiteness and heterosexuality emerged as synonymous with normality within the twentieth-century social science surveys that together produced the average American. As Sarah Igo has argued in her analysis of Robert and Helen Lynd's ethnography of Muncie, Indiana, published as *Middletown* (1929), social science's shift from the Progressive Era's "problem" populations of the poor, the immigrant, and the nonwhite to a focus on a "representative" community was achieved through a near-exclusive focus on white settler populations. "No longer were 'foreign elements' or 'Negroes' deemed crucial to the study," she argues. "Rather, they became hindrances to locating the typical."[60] By the post–World War II period, as David Serlin has shown, medical science joined with the extraordinary body to produce new hypernationalist narratives.[61] Whiteness, heterosexuality, and able-bodiedness became embedded in the average, typical body over the course of the twentieth century in ways that, as Julian Carter has argued, were signaled in "race-evasive codes"; as he argues, one of the hallmarks of modern whiteness was "the ability to construct and teach white racial meanings *without appearing to do so*."[62]

We see the legacy of nineteenth-century racial science in the twentieth-century race-evasive codes of the modeling industry's use of both the typical and the ideal body. Photographic modeling became the site of the "typical" body, where white, pretty, female models provided aspirational fictions for white consumer audiences. Black models have been forced to navigate a racialized landscape in which typicality has been a synonym for whiteness; as a

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result, they have been systematically barred from whitestream publications, unless appearing as exemplars of the exotic—or the atypical. Fashion modeling became the site of the extraordinary body, where models of atypical proportions and features gained status—but here, too, whiteness has been signaled in race-evasive codes that anchor racial meanings without appearing to do so. Over the next chapters, I show how, historically, the modeling industry's racial history has unfolded in relationship to the model body.

Work! A Queer History of Modeling is framed by a number of historical questions concerning the relationship between the racialized body, sexuality, and the market. How can we understand the relationship between sexuality, public culture, and racial formation as it has changed over time, in tandem with other developments in US history? What role has the market played in mediating these relationships? How have commercial cultural brokers produced and managed specific feelings for commercial goods over time, and what roles have varying model types played in this history? What relation has this commercialized affect had to consumer desire, and to sexuality itself? *Work! A Queer History of Modeling* answers these questions through tracing the history of this relationship between the body, commerce, and desire, and shows how social and cultural ideas concerning gender, race, the body, and sexuality have been queerly and historically imbricated with the market cultures of modern capitalism.

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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 Ford, *Liberated Threads*, 103. I discuss this history in more detail in chapter 5.

2 "Caroline R. Jones, 59, Founder of Black-Run Ad Companies," *New York Times*, July 8, 2001; Chambers, *Madison Avenue*, 218.

3 "The Opportunity for Clairol within the Black Community," marketing proposal dated November 14, 1969, Caroline Jones Series 3, Subseries 3, Box 25, Folder 3, Caroline R. Jones Collection, Archives Center, National Museum of American History. My thanks to Dan Guadagnolo for sharing this source with me, part of his dissertation research on niche marketing in the post-45 era.

4 "Opportunity for Clairol."

5 On this history of natural hair, see Kelley, "Nap Time"; Walker, *Style and Status*; Gill, *Beauty Shop Politics*; Ford, *Liberated Threads.*

6 Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*.

7 "Clairol . . . Is Beautiful," silk scarf ad copy, February 12, 1970, Caroline Jones Series 3, Subseries 3, Box 25, Folder 3, Caroline R. Jones Collection, Archives Center, National Museum of American History.

8 Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*; McGovern, *Sold American*; for a fuller discussion of the business of black hair care products in this period, see chapter 5.

9 Gross, *Model*, 250.

10 Interview with Tracey Africa, *The Luna Show*, episode 100, YouTube, October 19, 2009, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZGWhRQSzqzk.

11 Livingstone, *Paris Is Burning* (1991); Hilderbrand, *Paris Is Burning: A Queer Film Classic;* Michael Cunningham, "The Slap of Love," *Open City* 6, 1996, http://opencity.org/archive/issue-6/the-slap-of-love; on balls in the 1930s, see Chauncey, *Gay New York*. For a contemporaneous film about drag culture of the late 1960s, see *The Queen*, dir. Frank Simon (New York City: Grove Press, 1968).

12 For a history of the term "trans" as an umbrella category to describe gender nonnormative people, see Valentine, *Imagining Transgender*.

13 The material about Norman is drawn from Africa interview, and from Yuan and Wong, "First Black Trans Model." Many thanks to Aaron Wong for discussing with me his research, which appeared in this *New York Magazine* article. After Yuan and Wong published their piece, Susan Taylor finally returned their calls to dispute

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Norman's version of this story; see Jada Yuan, "Susan Taylor Says She Wouldn't Have Outed Tracey Africa," *Cut*, December 27, 2015, http://nymag.com/thecut/2015/12/susan-taylor-tracey-africa.html.

14 Lears, *Fables of Abundance*; Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*; Blaszczyk, *Imagining Consumers*; Leach, *Land of Desire*. For cultural intermediaries, see also Bourdieu, "Cultural Goodwill"; and Negus, "Work of Cultural Intermediaries."

15 Notable exceptions include Benson, *Counter Cultures*; S. Ross, *Working-Class Hollywood*; and the emergent scholarship on the labor economy of Walmart, such as Moreton, *To Serve God*; Lichtenstein, *Retail Revolution*.

16 J. B. Kennedy, "Model Maids," *Collier's* 85 (February 8, 1930): 61.

17 On the history of minority sexual communities, see, for example, D'Emilio and Freedman, "Introduction"; Chauncey, *Gay New York*; Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves.* On the history of sexual categories, see Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*; Hennessey, *Profit and Pleasure*; Terry, *American Obsession*; Canaday, *Straight State*. On the history of prostitution and "wide open" sexual subcultures, see Rosen, *Lost Sisterhood*; Gilfoyle, *City of Eros*; Clement, *Love for Sale*; Mumford, *Interzones*; Boyd, *Wide Open Town*; Sides, *Erotic City*.

18 P. Bailey, "Parasexuality and Glamour," 148.

19 P. Bailey, "Parasexuality and Glamour," 148

20 P. Bailey, "Parasexuality and Glamour," 148.

21 These overviews, however, have been very helpful in setting out the mainstream narrative through which I've been able to situate my more idiosyncratic analysis. See, for example, Gross, *Model*; Keenan, *Women We Wanted to Look Like*; Quick, *Catwalking*; Koda and Yohannan, *Model as Muse*. For black models, see Summers, *Skin Deep.*

22 C. Cohen, "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens."

23 V. Steele, *Queer History of Fashion*.

24 Sayers, "Etymology of *Queer.*"

25 Anzaldúa, "To(o) Queer the Writer," 264.

26 Stryker, "Queer Theory's Evil Twin," 214.

27 Scott, *Theory of Advertising*; quote from Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, 69.

28 Barry, *Femininity in Flight, 4*; see also Yano, *Airborne Dreams*; Vantoch, *Jet Sex*; and Tiemeyer, *Plane Queer*.

29 Joanne Entwistle and Elizabeth Wissinger, "Keeping Up Appearances: Aesthetic Labour and Identity in the Fashion Model Industries of London and New York," *Sociological Review* 54 (2006): 773–93; Joanne Entwistle, *The Aesthetic Economy of Fashion: Markets and Value in Clothing and Modeling* (London: Berg, 2009); Wissinger, "Always on Display."

30 Brown and Phu, *Feeling Photography*.

31 Hochschild, *Managed Heart*; Hardt, "Affective Labor."

32 Ahmed, "Affective Economies," 117; see also Ahmed, *Cultural Politics of Emotion*.

33 Wissinger, *This Year's Model*, 12; see also Wissinger and Slater, "Models as Brands," 16.

34 Mears, *Pricing Beauty*, 6.

35 Clough and Halley, *Affective Turn*.

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36 Cvetkovich, *Archive of Feelings*.

37 Cvetkovich, *Archive of Feelings*; Love, *Feeling Backward*; Judith Halberstam, *Queer Time and Place*; Jack Halberstam, *Queer Art of Failure*; Muñoz, "Feeling Brown"; Vogel, *Scene of Harlem Cabaret*.

38 K. Stewart, *Ordinary Affects*.

39 Massumi, "Autonomy of Affect," 90; for a critique of Massumi, see Leys, "Turn to Affect."

40 Hennessey, *Profit and Pleasure*.

41 D'Emilio, "Capitalism and Gay Identity"; see also Weeks, *Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain*; Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, vol. 1; Clark, "Commodity Lesbianism"; and Pellegrini, "Consuming Lifestyle."

42 On homonormativity and homonationalism, see Duggan, "New Homonormativity" and *The Twilight of Equality*; Puar, "Mapping U.S. Homonormativities" and *Terrorist Assemblages*. On the hegemony of US gay and lesbian identities, see Manalansan, "In the Shadows of Stonewall"; and El-Tayeb, "Gays." On the development of gay and lesbian markets, see Chasin, *Selling Out*; and Sender, *Business, Not Politics.*

43 D. Johnson, "Physique Pioneers"; Tiemeyer, *Plane Queer*; Frank, *Out in the Union*; Bengry, "Courting the Pink Pound."

44 Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 1, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Penguin, 1981), 163.

45 Muñoz, "Ephemera as Evidence."

46 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*; Jennifer Terry and J. Urda, eds., *Deviant Bodies* (1995); Ott, Serlin, and Minh, *Artificial Parts, Practical Lives*; Eliot Gorn, "Re-Membering John Dillinger," in Cook et al., *The Cultural Turn in US History*; John Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man.*

47 See the July 18, 1885, entries for negative series numbers 937–42, as Muybridge described them in his workbooks. Eadweard Muybridge, Lab Notebook Number 2, May 2–August 4, 1885, International Museum of Photography, George Eastman House, Rochester, NY. See also Braun, "Muybridge le Magnifique."

48 Muybridge Notebooks, Notebook 3, negs. 1322–540, September15–October 28, 1885, International Museum of Photography, George Eastman House, Rochester, New York.

49 Muybridge Notebooks, Notebook 3, negs. 1322–540, September 15–October 28, 1885, 13.

50 Muybridge Notebooks, Notebook 2, negs. 524–1084, May 2–August 4, 1885; Brown, "Racializing the Virile Body"; Braun, "Leaving Traces."

51 See Spencer, "Some Notes"; D. Green, "Classified Subjects"; E. Edwards, "Photographic Types"; Roberts, "Taxonomy"; E. Edwards, *Raw Histories*; S. Smith, *Photography on the Color Line,* 49–50.

52 Brown, "Racializing the Virile Body."

53 For a discussion of perspectival seeing and Albrecht Dürer's use of the grid for drawing the female form, see Wolf, "Confessions of a Closet Ekphrastic."

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55 L. F. Rondinella, "More about Muybridge's Work," quoting Muybridge's "Descriptive Zoopraxography" (1893) (July 1929), in Eadweard Muybridge Papers, UPT 50 M993, Box 2 Folder 6, University of Pennsylvania Archives.
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57 Putney, *Muscular Christianity,* 23–24; H. Green, *Fit for America*, 181–216.
58 Roosevelt, *Strenuous Life*; see also Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*; Rotundo, *American Manhood;* and H. Green, *Fit for America*, 219–58. On eugenics as a response in this period, see de la Peña, *Body Electric*; Cogdell, *Eugenic Design.*
59 J. Carter, *Heart of Whiteness*; Creadick, *Perfectly Average*, 9–12.
60 Igo, *Averaged American*, 55.
61 Serlin, *Replaceable You.*
62 J. Carter, *Heart of Whiteness,* 2.

ONE. Containing Sexuality

1 Waller, *Invention of the Model*, 37–57; Dawkins, *Nude*, 86–115.
2 Du Maurier, *Trilby*.
3 Waller, *Invention of the Model*, xiv; Dawkins, *Nude*, 86–115.
4 Bosworth, *Substitute Model*; *Model's Redemption*.
5 C. Evans, "Enchanted Spectacle."
6 De Marly, *History of Haute Couture*, 16; C. Evans, "Enchanted Spectacle," 272.
7 Wissinger, *This Year's Model*, 64.
8 Wissinger, *This Year's Model*, 65; C. Evans, "Enchanted Spectacle," 278.
9 C. Evans, *Mechanical Smile*, 186–87.
10 Colette, "Mannequins," 158.
11 Poiret, *King of Fashion*, 147.
12 Poiret, *King of Fashion,* 149–50.
13 De Marly, *History of Haute Couture*, 103–4, as quoted in Wissinger, *This Year's Model*, 64.
14 Helen B. Lowry, "Rude Intrusion of Facts into Fashion," *New York Times*, August 1, 1920, 46.
15 "Selling 'Stouts' in the Showroom: 'Team Work' on the Part of Model and Salesman Often Wins Over the Buyer," *New York Times,* November 26, 1916, E8.
16 "Almost Perfect," 22.
17 "Almost Perfect," 22.
18 See Peiss, *Hope in a Jar*, 61–133.
19 "Almost Perfect," 150.
20 J. B. Kennedy, "Model Maids," *Collier's* 85 (February 8, 1930): 61.
21 Peiss, "Charity Girls"; Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*, 110–13; Clement, *Love For Sale,* 212–39.
22 "Almost Perfect," 150.
23 "Almost Perfect," 150.

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24 "Almost Perfect," 150; Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift*; Peiss, *Hope in a Jar,* 61–133; Studlar, "Perils of Pleasure?"

25 Schweitzer, *When Broadway Was the Runway*; Leach, *Land of Desire*; C. Evans, *Mechanical Smile*.

26 "The Easter Show," *Dry Goods Economist*, March 17, 1906, 101.

27 C. Evans, *Mechanical Smile*, 77–79; see also Green, *Ready-to-Wear*, 116–18.

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29 *Dry Goods Economist*, November 1910, 33.

30 Schweitzer, *When Broadway Was the Runway*, 182–87; Leach, *Land of Desire*, 102; *New York Times*, March 30, 1911, 7.

31 C. Evans, *Mechanical Smile*, 81.

32 "Fashion Show as Trade Promoters," *New York Times*, October 19, 1913, 10; "12,000 at Trade Fair on the Opening Day," *New York Times*, August 8, 1922, 25.

33 C. Evans, "Enchanted Spectacle"; Schweitzer*, When Broadway Was the Runway*.

34 "Five Cities Will Hold Fashion Shows," *Retail Dry Goods* 23, no. 1 (July, 1922): 44–45; "Dewees' Holds Fashion Show 75 Miles from Store," *Retail Dry Goods* 24, no. 12 (July 1923): 2.

35 "Yearn to Be Suit Models: Girls Besiege Garment Films, Though Hours Are Long and the Work Is Hard," *New York Times,* August 1, 1924, 2; see also Harris, "Rising Star," 50; and Eleanor N. Knowles, "Snappiest Girls in Town," 8, 41.

36 Lowry, "Rude Intrusion," 46.

37 Beaton and Buckland, *Magic Image*, 106.

38 For a wonderful study on masculinity, photography, and modernism, see Vettel-Becker, *Shooting from the Hip*.

39 The pun references both Maurice Maeterlinck's play *Pélléas et Mélisande* (1893) and Claude Debussy's opera *Pélléas et Mélisande* (1902), central artifacts of the European symbolists. See Seebohm, *Man Who Was Vogue*, 194.

40 Harker, *Linked Ring*, 157.

41 Pictorialism has an extensive historiography; as an introduction, see Doty, *Photo-Secession;* Homer, *Alfred Stieglitz*; Peterson, "American Arts and Crafts"; Bear, *Disillusioned*; and S. M. Smith, *At the Edge of Sight*.

42 E. Brown, *Corporate Eye*, 187–88.

43 Niven, *Steichen*, 513.

44 Quoted in Niven, *Steichen*, 231.

45 Hoffman, "Baron Adolph de Meyer"; Hall-Duncan, *History of Fashion Photography*, 35.

46 Julian, "De Meyer," 36.

47 For Nast's biography, see Seebohm, *Man Who Was Vogue*; for useful insights into the changing nature of magazine publishing in these years, see Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings*; and Garvey, *Adman in the Parlor*.

48 Seebohm, *Man Who Was Vogue*, 76; my discussion of *Vogue*'s transformation in this paragraph is drawn from chapter 5.

49 Leach, *Land of Desire.*

50 Schweitzer, "Accessible Feelings, Modern Looks," 223–55.

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51 R. Williams, *Long Revolution*, 48–49.

52 It's worth remembering that it was F. Holland Day, the queer pictorialist whose work rivaled Stieglitz's, who published both Oscar Wilde and Aubrey Beardsley's *Yellow Book* in the United States.

53 Cécile Whiting, "Decorating."

54 George Platt Lynes to Glenway Wescott, February 1, 1945, Glenway Wescott Papers, correspondence from Box 69, Folder 1004, from George Platt Lynes to Monroe Wheeler and Glenway Wescott (1934–46), Beinecke Library, Yale University.

55 "Versatility Is the First Principle of Decoration," vol. 50, no. 3, *Vogue,* August 1, 1917, 46–47.

56 "camp, adj. and n.5," OED Online. June 2018. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/26746?rskey=lSJkjj&result=6, accessed 2 August 2018; on the naming practices of these men, see Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 16.

57 Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 17.

58 Here my reading is shaped by José Esteban Muñoz, "Feeling Brown."

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60 "Pearls and Tulle," 44.

61 Muñoz, "Feeling Brown," 69.

62 Miss Jeanne Eagels, *Vogue*, May 1, 1917, 54.

63 Dolan, "Performance"; Jameson, "Reification."

64 Johnston, *Real Fantasies,* 42.

65 Strand, "Photography and the New God"; Bochner, *American Lens*; Yochelson, "Clarence White."

66 William A. Ewing, "A Perfect Connection," in Brandow and Ewing, *Edward Steichen*, 30; see also Johnston, *Real Fantasies*, 42.

67 Seebohm, *Man Who Was Vogue,* 201.

68 E. Brown, "Rationalizing Consumption"; Yochelson, "Clarence White"; Bogart, *Artists.*

69 De Marly, *History of Haute Couture*, 86.

70 Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*; Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings*; Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlor*.

71 Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, 10–12; Fox, *The Mirror Makers*.

72 E. Brown, *Corporate Eye,* 172–83.

73 Watkins, *100 Greatest Advertisements*, 44–45.

74 J. Judson, "Illustrator Scouts the City to Get Suitable Models: Lejaren à Hiller Has Developed Universal Studio for Magazine Work and Card Indexes His Subjects' Faces," *Sun* (New York), November 4, 1917, 10.

75 R. G. Harrington, "The Photographic Portrait Study," *Printers Ink Monthly*, vol. 5, no. 6 Nov. 1922, 106.

76 "Using the Camera to Illustrate Fiction: Models Pose for Photographs Showing Scenes in the Story—How Two Artists Originated the Plan," *New York Times Magazine*, January 6, 1918, 13; see also E. Brown, *Corporate Eye*, 196.

77 "Using the Camera to Illustrate Fiction," 13.

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78 Report on representatives' meeting held June 14, 1927, page 4, JWT Staff Meetings, 1927–1929, Box 1, Folder 1, Hartman Center for Sales, Marketing, and Advertising History, JWT Collection, Special Collections Library, Duke University.

79 Peiss, *Hope in a Jar*, 114. See also Peiss, "Making Faces."

80 Powers, *Power Girls*, 20–21; "John R. Powers Dies; Led Modeling Agency," *New York Times*, July 22, 1977, 15; see also Wissinger, *This Year's Model*, 117.

81 Powers, *Power Girls*, 22–23; Leach, *Land of Desire*, 308.

82 Information about Babs Shanton's work with Lucky Strike, including the ad, comes from "Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising," Stanford School of Medicine, accessed March 13, 2017. http://tobacco.stanford.edu/tobacco_main/images.php?token2=fm_st009.php&token1=fm_img2677.php.

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84 This paragraph is drawn from my review of the Powers books held at the New York Public Library. See *John Powers Annual*, vol. 6 (John Robert Powers Publications, New York, 1930) and *John Powers Annual*, vol. 8 (John Robert Powers Publications, New York, 1932).

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87 Yates, "Copy from an Art Director's Standpoint."

88 Yates, "Copy from an Art Director's Standpoint."

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100 MacKall, "Merchandising with a Camera," 246.

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103 Abel, "Making the Thing Desirable," 21–22; W. Stewart, "And the Ship Sank."

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113 Powers, *Power Girls*, 26.

114 Powers, *Power Girls*, 26.

115 Powers, *Power Girls*, 25; see also "Model Man," *Newsweek* 18 (November 3, 1941): 60–61.

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117 Powers, *Power Girls*, 45.

118 Gross, *Model,* 64.

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120 Maurice Zolotow, "Case History of a Model," *Saturday Evening Post* 215 (August 29, 1942): 20–21, 66, 68–69.

121 John Robert Powers, *Current Biography, 1945*, vol. 6 (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1985), 478–79; Gross, *Model*, 61; Conover, *Cover Girls*, 44–45; Gilbert Millstein, "The Model Business," *Life*, March 25, 1946, 110–14; "License Is Denied to Model Agency," *New York Times*, May 27, 1959, 21; "Conover Troubles Unravel in Court," *New York Times*, May 28, 1959, 22; and "Approval Withheld on Conover License," *New York Times*, June 26, 1959, 52. During this troubled time, ex-wife and former model Candy Jones left Conover, claiming he was either bisexual or homosexual; she also claimed that she was a victim of the CIA's mind-control program in the 1960s (see Bain, *Control of Candy Jones*).

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122 Conover, *Cover Girls, 42;* "Harry S. Conover, 53, Is Dead; Ran Model Agency 20 Years," *New York Times*, July 25, 1965, 68.
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124 Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*; Ullman, *Sex Seen*; Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*; Fields, *Intimate Affair*; D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 202–38; Clement, *Love for Sale*.

TWO. Race, Sexuality, and the 1920s Stage Model

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2 Quoted in NAACP, "Head Here Criticizes Show," 5.
3 For fuller discussion of the history of women's dressmaking and the rise of the ready-to-wear industry for both men and women in the United States during this period, see Gamber, *Female Economy*; and N. Green, *Ready-to-Wear*.
4 Duff Gordon, *Discretions and Indiscretions*, 75. For a discussion of Duff Gordon's work in relationship to theatricality, see Kaplan and Stowell, *Theatre and Fashion*, 5–7, 115–21; Roach, *It*, 94.
5 "The Paris Fashion Show Has Brought a New Epoch," *New York Times,* November 28, 1915, X2. For an excellent discussion of the theatrical fashion show, and Lucile's role in founding it, see Schweitzer, *When Broadway Was the Runway*, 178–220.
6 Duff Gordon, *Discretions and Indiscretions*, 75.
7 Duff Gordon, *Discretions and Indiscretions*, 75.
8 Duff Gordon, *Discretions and Indiscretions*, 75.
9 Farley, "Alias Dinarzade," 76.
10 Farley, "Alias Dinarzade," 149; for the New York crowd, see "The Whistler of Dress: Lady Duff-Gordon Opens a Studio in New York to Make Dressmaking an Art," *Dry Goods* 10, no. 3 (1910): 98.
11 Farley, "Alias Dinarzade," 149.
12 Farley, "Alias Dinarzade," 80; see also Mendes and de la Haye, *Lucile, Ltd.,* 186.
13 Duff Gordon, *Discretions and Indiscretions,* 70.
14 Etherington-Smith and Pilcher, *"It" Girls*, 73.
15 Etherington-Smith and Pilcher, *"It" Girls*, 70.
16 Farley, "Alias Dinarzade," 66.
17 Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*; J. Carter, *Heart of Whiteness.*
18 Todd, "Principles of Posture"; Georgen, *Delsarte System of Physical Culture*; see also Yosifon and Stearns, "Rise and Fall of American Posture"; and Gordon, "Educating the Eye."
19 J. Brown, *Babylon Girls*, 132.
20 J. Brown, *Babylon Girls,* 132.
21 For a discussion of these boisterous performance styles in relationship to ethnic, gender, and racial formation in the early twentieth century, see Glenn, *Female Spectacle*; Ullman, *Sex Seen,* 45–71; Kibler, *Rank Ladies,* 111–42; Mizejewski, *Ziegfeld Girl*, 109–35; Sotiropoulos, *Staging Race*; and J. Brown, *Babylon Girls*. For blackface minstrelsy, see Lott, *Love and Theft;* Lhamon Jr., *Raisin' Cain*; and Toll, *Blacking Up*.

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22 *New York Times*, February 27, 1910, C3; Etherington-Smith and Pilcher, "*It" Girls*, 128; Duff Gordon, *Discretions and Indiscretions*, 147–48; C. Evans, *Mechanical Smile*, 82.

23 Kaplan and Stowell, *Theatre and Fashion*, 5.

24 Etherington-Smith and Pilcher, "*It" Girls*, 196–97.

25 Etherington-Smith and Pilcher, "*It" Girls,* 178; Duff Gordon, *Discretions and Indiscretions*, 268, 289–90.

26 Clippings folder for Dinarzade, Billy Rose Theatre Division, New York Public Library; Robinson Locke, Series 2, Vol. 278, 226, Billy Rose Theatre Division, New York Public Library; clippings folder for *Ziegfeld Follies* of 1917, Billy Rose Theatre Division, New York Public Library.

27 Farley, "Alias Dinarzade," 59.

28 C. Evans, "Jean Patou's American Mannequins"; C. Evans, *Mechanical Smile*, 125–29; see also Troy, *Couture Culture*.

29 "Dolores," Robinson Locke scrapbooks, Series 3, Vol. 368, 191–205, Billy Rose Theater Division, New York Public Library; for a reference to Dolores's "somewhat Cockney sister," see clipping from *Town Topics*, March 17, 1921, Robinson Locke scrapbooks, Series 3, Vol. 368**,** 203; for a brief discussion of the "Episode of Chiffon," see Berry, *Screen Style*, 54.

30 The claims concerning Dolores's height vary from five feet six to six feet. Suffice it to say, however, she was the tallest of the Ziegfeld showgirls when on stage, and was uniformly described as "statuesque."

31 Program for *Ziegfeld Midnight Frolic*, June 15, 1917, "Ziegfeld Midnight Frolic 1915–29," Microfilm, Billy Rose Theater Division, New York Public Library.

32 "New 'Frolic' an Achievement in Color, Harmony, and Fun," *New York Herald*, October 4, 1919; "The Ziegfeld Feast," *New York Evening Mail*, October 4, 1919; see also Mendes and de la Haye, *Lucile, Ltd*.

33 Brown, "De Meyer at Vogue."

34 **"**An April Shower of Musical Comedy Stars," *Vanity Fair* 10, no. 3 (May 1918): 48.

35 Glenn, *Female Spectacle,* 163. A related overhead ramp appeared in the Shuberts' *Passing Show of 1912*, when the chorus girls, dressed as members of a harem, entered the scene on a ramp built over the heads of the audience, at center stage. See B. N. Cohen, "Dance Direction of Ned Wayburn," 152.

36 B. N. Cohen, "Dance Direction of Ned Wayburn," 154.

37 Mizejewski, *Ziegfeld Girl*, 109–35; Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color* and *Barbarian Virtues*.

38 For examples concerning Lucile mannequins, see program, *Ziegfeld Follies of 1917*, clippings folder for *Ziegfeld Follies* of 1917, Billy Rose Theatre Division, New York Public Library; clippings file for Dolores, Robinson Locke Collection, vol. 127, 195–216, in particular, full-page portrait of Dolores as Banu Ozrah, *Town and Country*, December 1, 1919, 201.

39 Glenn, *Female Spectacle*, 96; see also Walkowitz, "Vision of Salomé." For the role of orientalism in US women's middle-class domesticity, see Hoganson, "Cosmopolitan Domesticity," as well as her later *Consumers' Imperium*, 87–90.

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40 Leach, *Land of Desire*.

41 B. N. Cohen, "Dance Direction of Ned Wayburn," 151–53. Cohen's reconstruction of the Ziegfeld Walk is based on interviews with former Follies performers, as well as floor plans for Follies productions in the Joseph Urban Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University. See also Mizejewski, *Ziegfeld Girl,* 97.

42 Marlis Schweitzer cites Robert Baral's suggestion that the pelvic thrust was borrowed from Irene Castle's popular dance style. See Schweitzer, *When Broadway Was the Runway*, 200 and Baral, *Revue*, 61.

43 Matthis, "Sketch for a Metapsychology of Affect"; Massumi, "Autonomy of Affect."

44 Ahmed, "Affective Economies," 117.

45 J. Brown, *Babylon Girls*, 164–66.

46 Sampson, *Blacks in Blackface;* J. Brown, *Babylon Girls,* 157, 170.

47 Mizejewski, *Ziegfeld Girl,* 8; see also Dinerstein, *Swinging the Machine*, 190.

48 See "Ziegfeld Revue for Nine O'Clock Glows with Girls," *New York Sun-Herald*, March 9, 1920.

49 Dinerstein, *Swinging the Machine*, 188.

50 See, for example, "New Frolic Is Gorgeous," *New York Times*, October 4, 1919.

51 Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*; J. Carter, *Heart of Whiteness*; Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*; and Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*.

52 For the relationship between the Broadway stage and the department stores in this period, see Schweitzer, *When Broadway Was the Runway*.

53 "Irvin C. Miller's Brown Skin Models," *Chicago Defender*, November 21, 1925, 6.

54 For discussions of the role of respectability in relationship to historical discourses of black racial uplift, see Higginbotham, "Politics of Respectability"; White, *Too Heavy a Load*, 110–41; Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability*; Summers, *Manliness and Its Discontents*.

55 Locke, "New Negro," 50.

56 For recent work in this area, see Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*; Vogel, *Scene of Harlem Cabaret*; Heap, *Slumming,* 189–230; and Chapman, *Prove It on Me*.

57 Haidarali, "Polishing Brown Diamonds"; see also E. Brown, "Black Models."

58 Floyd J. Calvin, "Irvin C. Miller Writes on Problems of the Theatre," *Pittsburgh Courier,* February 12, 1927, A2; Earl Calloway, "Brownskin Models Began Here," *Chicago Defender*, June 7, 1975, A2; Woll, *Dictionary of Black Theatre*, 232.

59 "Fisk Graduate Now Ranks as One of Race's Best Producers," *Pittsburgh Courier*, November 6, 1926, 8. For the history of the Charleston, see Woll, *Black Musical Theatre*, 89–90; Sampson, *Blacks in Blackface*, 110.

60 "'Shuffle Along' Premier," *New York Times*, May 23, 1921, 20; "'Put and Take' Is Lively," *New York Times,* August 24, 1921, 19.

61 Quoted in Woll, *Black Musical Theatre*, 78.

62 Quoted in Woll, *Black Musical Theatre*, 78.

63 Quoted in Woll, *Black Musical Theatre*, 78.

64 Miller, *Slaves to Fashion*, 199.

65 Woll, *Dictionary of Black Theatre,* 131; and Woll, *Black Musical Theatre*, 78.

66 Woll, *Black Musical Theatre*, 81.

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67 "Brown-Skin Artists and Models," *Chicago Defender*, October 17, 1925, 1; "Irvin C. Miller Sues for 1/4 Million," *Philadelphia Tribune,* September 24, 1946, 12. Miller's show was influenced by the popular Shubert production *Artists and Models*, which opened in 1923.

68 Mrs. Helen Mack, "Newark N.J.," *Pittsburgh Courier,* October 24, 1925, 15; no author "Brownskin Models Bring Record Crowds," *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 3, 1926, 13; no author "Blanche Remains Pleasing to the Eye," *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 26, 1927, 6; Salem Tutt Whitney, "Brownskin Models Break Records; 'Great Day' Closes," *Chicago Defender*, November 23, 1929, 6.

69 "Brownskins' Draw Is High," *Chicago Defender*, March 27, 1943, 19.

70 Quoted in John Saunders, "Sepia Theatre's 'Glamour Gals' Fundamentally the Same Today as Yesteryear—Irvin Miller," *Philadelphia Tribune*, December 28, 1939, 20.

71 "Models Show Top Promise," *New Journal and Guide*, September 22, 1945, A7; Rob Roy, "The Brownskin Models,' Like Old Man River, Just Keep a Rollin,'" *Chicago Defender*, February 18, 1950, 20; Hilda See, "'Brownskin Models,' Again in Show Form, Due Soon," *Chicago Defender,* December 11, 1954, 6; Rob Roy, "'Brownskin Models' is Back—Better Some Say," *Chicago Defender,* March 19, 1955, 7.

72 "Irvin C. Miller's 1944 Brownskin Models Show to Feature Razaf, Higginbotham Tunes," *New York Amsterdam News*, September 11, 1943, 13A.

73 For more about Bee Freeman, who was also a civil rights activist in the interwar period, see Michelle Finn's excellent dissertation in progress from the University of Rochester, especially her chapter "Bee Freeman: The 'Brown-Skin Vamp' as a Modern Race Woman." Finn, "Modern Necessity,"102–60.

74 Sampson, *Blacks in Blackface*, 167–68.

75 Cameo of Miller in program for Brownskin Models, "Programs" Folder 1/5, Lily Yuen Collection, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library; Irvin Miller's 'Brownskin Models' Unique Departure from Ye Musical Comedies," *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 12, 1925, 10; "Brownskin Models Scores Hit at Elmore," *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 1, 1928, 17.

76 Hilda See, "Brownskin Models, Again in Show Form, Due Soon," *Chicago Defender* December 11, 1954, 6.

77 See, "Brownskin Models," Cotton Club showgirls were required to be at least 5′6″ in height, with a skin complexion "nothing darker than an olive tint"; an exception to this rule was Lucille Wilson, who was hired in 1932. See Haskins, *Cotton Club*, 75–76.

78 Review, Scrapbook 1926–1930, Folder 6, Lily Yuen Collection, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.

79 Review, Scrapbook 1926–1930, Folder 6, Lily Yuen Collection, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.

80 Classic works on the Harlem Renaissance include J. W. Johnson, *Black Manhattan*; Douglas, *Terrible Honesty*, especially 73–107; Lewis, *When Harlem Was in Vogue*; and Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance*.

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81 The transformation of Aaron Douglas's work from regional modernist to neoprimitivist is one example during this period: see Earle, "Harlem, Modernism, and Beyond"; and Goeser, *Picturing the New Negro*. On the relationship between primitivism and modernism more generally, see Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive*.

82 Hall, "Encoding/Decoding."

83 Quoted in Lillian Johnson, "Blanche Thompson Mixes Beauty, Brains, and Work," *Afro-American*, February 5, 1938, 11.

84 "A Brownskin Model of 1927," *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 25, 1926, 1; L. Johnson, "Blanche Thompson," 11; "Years Deal Lightly with Models' Star," *New Journal and Guide*, February 25, 1939, 16; Billy Rowe, "Question: Integration or Self-Segregation," *New York Amsterdam News*, June 13, 1987, 20.

85 For one of many references to Miller's show as "glorifying the brownskin girl," see "Irvin Miller's 'Brownskin Models' Unique Departure from Ye Musical Comedies," *Pittsburgh Courier* December 12, 1925, 10.

86 John Saunders, "Sepia Theatre's 'Glamour Gals' Fundamentally the Same Today as Yesteryear—Irvin Miller," *Philadelphia Tribune*, December 28, 1939, 20.

87 Haidarali, "The Vampingest Vamp."

88 "Chorus Plays Big Part in Broadway Hits," *Chicago Defender*, March 24, 1934, 5; "Blanche Thompson Near Death in Auto Crash," *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 7, 1937, 20; "Years Deal Lightly with Models' Star," *New Journal and Guide*, February 25, 1939, 16.

89 "They Must Be 'High Yaller,'" *New York Amsterdam News*, June 15, 1940, 13.

90 "They Must Be 'High Yaller,'" 13. For recent work about Josephine Baker, see Cheng, *Josephine Baker*; Guterl, *Mother of the World*.

91 "They Must Be 'High Yaller,'" 13.

92 "They Must Be 'High Yaller,'" 13.

93 Quoted in "They Must Be 'High Yaller,'" 13.

94 L. Johnson, "Blanche Thompson," 11; Wilbur Thin, "No Legs in New Broadway Show," *Afro-American*, June 20, 1931, 20.

95 "Miller Glorifying the Brownskin Girl in his Latest Show," *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 12, 1925, 10.

96 "Miller Glorifying the Brownskin Girl," 10.

97 Thin, "No Legs in New Broadway Show," 20.

98 "New 'Brownskin Models' to Be Gorgeous Show," *Afro-American*, June 20, 1931, 9.

99 "New 'Brownskin Models' to Be Gorgeous Show," 9.

100 Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*; Phillips, *Alabama North*; Grossman, *Land of Hope,* 123–60.

101 Carby, "Policing the Black Woman's Body," 738–55; see also Craig, *Ain't I a Beauty Queen?*

102 NAACP, "Head Here Criticizes Show," 5.

103 P. Bailey, "Parasexuality and Glamour," 148.

104 Warner, *Fear of A Queer Planet*, xvii.

105 Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 1:24.

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THREE. Queering Interwar Fashion

1 Brandow and Ewing, *Edward Steichen: In High Fashion;* Johnston, *Real Fantasies*.

2 Some of these alternative histories include the role of small cameras, movement, and location shooting through the work of Martin Munkácsi and others; one includes the important role of women photographers in fashion, particularly Toni Frissell and Louise Dahl-Wolfe. For more about these photographers, see Honnef et al., *Martin Munkácsi*; Goldberg and Richardson, *Louise Dahl-Wolfe*; Stafford, *Toni Frissell*.

3 I'm using multiple definitions of the term "queer" in this chapter. One is the old-fashioned meaning, from the seventeenth century up through the early twentieth: "queer" as in out of alignment, odd, or strange. This understanding has nothing to do with sexual practices or identities, and is (in my mind) clearly related to the older understandings of "glamour" as a charm that causes the eye to see things differently. A second meaning concerns male sexuality from the early twentieth century through the Stonewall era, when "queer" was a derogatory term for gay men; in the 1930s and 1940s, some figures in Lynes's circle, such as Lincoln Kirstein, self-identified as queer. A third meaning, emerging in the 1990s and still in place today, sees "queer" as an umbrella term that references nonnormative sexuality but that critiques stable identify formations such as "gay," "lesbian," "straight," and so on. This understanding, though presentist, also describes Lynes, who had more complex sexual allegiances than the word "gay" would suggest. And finally, a current academic understanding of the term, drawn from queer theory, uses "queer" mainly as a verb, to signify, simply, an intervention into normativity in its multiple, overlapping, iterations. It is worth stating that our current vocabulary remains inadequate to the task of understanding pre-Stonewall nonnormative sexualities, which historians continue to research and address.

4 Fraser is quoted in Warner, "Publics and Counter Publics," 85; for a fuller discussion of Warner's argument, see Warner, *Publics and Counter Publics*.

5 Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography,* trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 6.

6 Butler, "Is Kinship Always Heterosexual?"; see also Weston, *Families We Choose*.

7 Wissinger, *This Year's Model*, 11

8 Wissinger, *This Year's Model*, 11; see also Mears, *Pricing Beauty*; Entwistle and Slater, "Models as Brands."

9 Gundle and Castelli, *Glamour System*, 3. See also Rose et al., *Glamour*.

10 P. Bailey, "Parasexuality and Glamour," 148–72.

11 P. Bailey, "Parasexuality and Glamour," 152.

12 Ahmed, "Affective Economies"; see also Ahmed, *Cultural Politics of Emotion*.

13 P. Bailey, "Parasexuality and Glamour."

14 Thrift, "Understanding the Material Practices."

15 Thrift, "Understanding the Material Practices," 297.

16 Stoker, *Dracula*; Dijkstra, *Evil Sisters*; Bailie, "Blood Ties"; Auerbach, *Our Vampires, Ourselves*.

17 Willis-Tropea, "Hollywood Glamour," 21.

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18 Gundle, "Hollywood Glamour," 97. See also Gundle and Casteli, *Glamour System*, 69–72.
19 Leff, *Dame in the Kimono*; Couvares, *Movie Censorship*; Black, *Catholic Crusade*.
20 Willis-Tropea, "Hollywood Glamour."
21 Willis-Tropea, "Hollywood Glamour," 93.
22 Kobal, *Art*; Dance and Robertson, *Ruth Harriet Louise*.
23 Willis-Tropea, "Hollywood Glamour," 132–33.
24 Quoted in Willis-Tropea, "Hollywood Glamour," 115–16.
25 Wilson, "Note on Glamour," 98; Simmel, "Fashion."
26 Quoted in Vickers, *Cecil Beaton*, 23.
27 Cecil Beaton, *Photobiography,* 39.
28 Quoted in Beaton, *Photobiography*, 39–40; for more about Dorothy Todd, see L. Cohen, *All We Know*.
29 Beaton, *Photobiography*, 75; see also Albrecht, *Cecil Beaton,* 10–33.
30 Beaton, *Photobiography*, 50.
31 Beaton, *Photobiography*, 50.
32 Quoted in Beaton, *Wandering Years*, 187; see also Garner and Mellor, *Cecil Beaton;* Mellor, "Beaton's Beauties."
33 Quoted in Vickers, *Cecil Beaton,* 41. I hesitate to use the word "gay" to describe Beaton since, although he desired men sexually throughout his life (and indeed had sex with some of them), he had deep affective attachments with women as well, some of which were sexual—as with his much-written-about affair with Greta Garbo, who was also involved with Mercedes de Acosta at the time. See Souhami, *Greta and Cecil*; Vickers, *Loving Garbo*; Vickers, *Unexpurgated Beaton*; L. Cohen, *All We Know*.
34 Beaton, *Photobiography,* 30–32.
35 Beaton, *Photobiography*, 30–32; for other assessments of de Meyer's work by Beaton, see Beaton, *Glass of Fashion*, 81–82.
36 Beaton, *Glass of Fashion*, 91; see also Beaton, *Photobiography*, 97.
37 Halperin, *How to Be Gay*, 13.
38 Newton, *Mother Camp*; Cleto, "Introduction"; Sontag, "Notes on Camp"; Tinkom, *Working Like a Homosexual*; Crimp, *"Our Kind of Movie."*
39 Beaton, *Photobiography*, 66.
40 Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk,* 38.
41 George Hoyningen-Huene, interviewed by Elizabeth Dixon, Mr. Hoyningen-Huene's home in Los Angeles, "George Hoyningen-Huene Photographer: Completed under the Auspices of the Oral History Program University of California Los Angeles 1967," *Open Library Internet Archives,* Record, April 1965, 1–44; December 16, 2013, 10; https://archive.org/stream/georgehoyningenh00hoyn.
42 Hoyningen-Huene interview, 11.
43 Hoyningen-Huene interview, 11.
44 This overview drawn from Ewing, *Photographic Art of Hoyningen-Huene*, 13–24.
45 Hoyningen-Huene interview, 12.
46 For more about Horst, also a critical figure in this queer interwar fashion world, see Pepper, *Horst Portraits.*

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47 Hoyningen-Huene interview, 20.
48 Ewing, *Photographic Art of Hoyningen-Huene*, 30.
49 Bergman, *Camp Grounds*; Newton, *Mother Camp*; Sontag, "Notes on Camp"; Cleto, "Introduction."
50 Halperin, *How to Be Gay*, 253.
51 Pepper, *Horst Portraits*, 13; see also Hoyningen-Huene interview, 17.
52 Beaton, *Photobiography*, 246.
53 Ewing, *Photographic Art of Hoyningen-Huene*, 8; Lawford, *Horst*, 89.
54 Lawford, *Horst*, 89.
55 Hoyningen-Huene interview, 12.
56 Hoyningen-Huene interview, 12.
57 Hoyningen-Huene interview, 12.
58 Beaton, *Photobiography*, 48; see also Garner, "Instinct for Style."
59 Pepper, *Horst Portraits*, 18; see also Ewing, *Photographic Art of Hoyningen-Huene*, 108.
60 Quoted in Rowlands, *Dash of Darling*, 176.
61 Crump, "American Years," 271.
62 These are Kirstein's words, quoted in Duberman, *Worlds of Lincoln Kirstein*, 21–22.
63 This paragraph drawn from Leddick, *Intimate Companions;* Pohorilenko, *Photographer George Platt Lynes*; Rosco, *Glenway Wescott Personally*.
64 Glenway Wescott to George Platt Lynes, September 26, 1947, Wescott Papers, Box 71, Folder 1035, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
65 Wescott to Lynes, September 26, 1947.
66 On the nudes, see Crump, "Iconography of Desire"; W. Thompson, "Sex, Lies, and Photographs"; Haas, *George Platt Lynes*.
67 George Platt Lynes, "The Camera Knows When a Woman Is in Love," *Bachelor*, April 1937, 82.
68 "The Private Life of a Portrait Photographer," *Minicam Photography* 5 no. 2 (October 1941): 26–33, 97–100.
69 Quoted in "Private Life of a Portrait Photographer," 29.
70 Quoted in "Private Life of a Portrait Photographer," 32.
71 Quoted in "Private Life of a Portrait Photographer," 33.
72 Leddick, *Intimate Companions,* 30–55.
73 Pohorilenko, "Expatriate Years," 91.
74 Quoted in Leddick, *Intimate Companions*, 88.
75 Lynes, "Camera."
76 Lynes, "Camera," 82.
77 Steward, *Bad Boys and Tough Tattoos*; Spring, *Secret Historian*.
78 George Platt Lynes to Monroe Wheeler, January 18, 1948, Glenway Wescott Papers, Box 70, Folder 1010, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
79 Turner, *Backward Glances*, 9.
80 Turner, *Backward Glances*, 10.
81 Gavin Brown, "Ceramics, Clothing and Other Bodies: Affective Geographies of Homoerotic Cruising Encounters," *Social and Cultural Geography* 9, no. 8 (December 2008): 921.

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82 Brown, "Ceramics, Clothing and Other Bodies," 921.
83 Lynes, "Camera," 82.
84 Chauncey, "Policed,"15; see also Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 142–47. See also Kaiser, *Gay Metropolis*, 12–13.
85 Chauncey, "Policed," 18.
86 Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 100.
87 Chauncey, "Policed," 21.
88 Chauncey, *Gay New York,* 351.
89 Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 109.
90 See, for example, Lynes's journal entries for November, 1942, George Platt Lynes Diaries and Memorabilia, Box 1, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
91 Unpublished typescript by Samuel Steward about George Platt Lynes, pg. 2, George Platt Lynes folder, Samuel Steward Papers, Box 1, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
92 Unpublished Steward typescript, 2.
93 Unpublished Steward typescript, 2.
94 Samuel Steward to George Platt Lynes, October 18, 1953, Samuel Steward Papers, Box 1, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
95 Samuel Steward to George Platt Lynes, December 23, [no year], Samuel Steward Papers, Box 1, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
96 George Platt Lynes to Samuel Steward, St Patrick's Day 1953, Box 3, Samuel Steward Papers, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
97 George Platt Lynes to Samuel Steward, September 10, 1953, Box 3, Samuel Steward Papers, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
98 George Platt Lynes to Samuel Steward, May 12, 1953, Box 3, Samuel Steward Papers, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
99 George Platt Lynes to Samuel Steward, October 30, 1952, Box 3, Samuel Steward Papers, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
100 Samuel Steward to George Platt Lynes, November 16, 1952, Box 3, Samuel Steward Papers, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
101 Donald Windham describes being photographed by Lynes in 1942 while visiting his studio with his Coast Guard companion Fred Melton; the set was part of his fashion work, and Lynes used his draping skills to adapt Melton's uniform to Windham's body, and to retouch the image to remove crooked teeth and other imperfections. As Windham observed, "The manipulating technique of the fashion world" was in full evidence during his session. Windham, "Which Urges and Reasonably So the Attraction of Some for Others," 7.
102 Double page advertisement for Carolyn Modes, *Vogue,* January 15, 1938, 12–13.
103 Kennedy and Davis, *Boots of Leather.*
104 J. Carter, "Of Mother Love." Carter begins his essay with a quote from Kennedy and Davis, *Boots of Leather*.
105 Mears, *Pricing Beauty*; Wissinger, "Always on Display"; Wissinger, "Modelling a Way of Life"; Etherington-Smith and Pilcher, *"It" Girls*.
106 Entwistle and Slater, "Models as Brands."
107 Entwistle and Slater, "Models as Brands," 25.

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108 Wissinger, *This Year's Model*, 10; Mears, *Pricing Beauty*, 71–120.
109 Thrift, "Understanding the Material Practices."
110 Condé Nast to Miss Daves, Office Memorandum, January 27, 1941, Condé Nast Papers, MC 001, Box 19, Folder 23, Vogue Studio Models, 1935–1942, Condé Nast Archives, New York City; Mr. Patcevitch to Mrs. Chase, Office Memorandum, March 3, 1938, Condé Nast Papers, MC 001, Box 19, Folder 23, Vogue Studio Models, 1935–1942, Condé Nast Archives, New York City.
111 Ruth Ford to her brother Charles Henri and to her mother, July 5, [1935], Charles Henri Ford Collection, Box 13, Folder 4, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin; Charles Henri Ford to Ruth Ford, August 26, 1935, Charles Henri Ford Collection, Box 7, Folder 9, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin; Charles Henri Ford to Ruth Ford, October 6, 1935, Charles Henri Ford Collection, Box 7, Folder 9, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin; Charles Henri Ford to Ruth Ford, October 16, 1935, Charles Henri Ford Collection, Box 7, Folder 9, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin; Ruth Ford to her parents, [1937], Charles Henri Ford Collection, Box 18, Folder 4, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.
112 Crump, "American Years," 287.
113 Leddick, *Intimate Companions*, 19.
114 Ford and Tyler, *Young and the Evil.*
115 Ruth Ford to her parents, [1937].
116 Roach, *It*, 117; Thrift, "Understanding the Material Practices," 306.
117 Halperin, *How to Be Gay*, 362.
118 Charles Henri Ford to Ruth Ford, August 26, 1935; see also example Charles Henri Ford to Ruth Ford, October 16, 1935; emphasis in original.
119 Cecil Beaton to Charles Henri Ford and Pavel Tchelitchew, ca. August 1935 (exact date unknown), Charles Henri Ford Collection, Box 7, Folder 9, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.
120 Ruth Ford to Charles Henri Ford and Gertrude Ford, July 5, 1935, Charles Henri Ford Collection, Box 13, Folder 4, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.
121 Charles Henri Ford to Ruth Ford, August 26, 1935.
122 Charles Henri Ford to Ruth Ford, October 6, 1935.
123 Charles Henri Ford to Ruth Ford, October 6, 1935, postscript dated October 7, 1935, Charles Henri Ford Collection, Box 7, Folder 9, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.
124 Charles Henri Ford to Ruth Ford, October 6, 1935, postscript dated October 7, 1935.
125 Charles Henri Ford to sister Ruth Ford from Paris, October 8, 1935, Charles Henri Ford Collection, Box 7, Folder 9, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin; emphasis in original.
126 Ruth Ford to Gertrude Ford, March 1, 1937, Box 17, Folder 4, Charles Henri Ford Collection, Box 7, Folder 9, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.
127 Rosco, *Glenway Wescott Personally*.

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128 George Platt Lynes to Perry Ruston, December 29, 1947, Glenway Wescott Papers, Box 70, Folder 1009, Beinecke Library, Yale University; see also Crump, "Photography as Agency," 144.
129 George Platt Lynes to Monroe Wheeler, December 6, 1947, Glenway Wescott Papers, Box 70, Folder 1009, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
130 Contrast, for example, Penn's portrait of Mrs. André Embiricos (*Vogue*, July 1948, 43) with Lynes's full-page portrait for Henri Bendel (*Vogue*, August 1948, 1).
131 Leddick, *Intimate Companions*, 254.
132 Bettel-Vecker, *Shooting from the Hip*; but see Stevens and Aronson, *Avedon: Something Personal*.
133 Rosco, *Glenway Wescott Personally*, 123.
134 George Platt Lynes folder, Samuel Steward Papers, Box 1, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
135 Glenway Wescott to Alfred Kinsey, January 2, 1950, and May 22, 1951, Glenway Wescott Papers, Box 61, Folder 885, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
136 Spring, *The Secret Historian*.
137 D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics*; D. Johnson, *Lavender Scare*; Friedman, "Smearing of Joe McCarthy"; van den Oever, *Mama's Boy*; and Loftin, *Masked Voices*.
138 George Platt Lynes to Monroe Wheeler, May 1, 1952, Glenway Wescott Papers, Box 70, Folder 1012, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

FOUR. Black Models

1 Chambers, *Madison Avenue*, 133–34.
2 "Gains in Ads Made by Minority Groups," *New York Times*, January 16, 1965, 22.
3 Brenna Greer, *Represented*; Charles McGovern, *Sold American*; and Lizabeth Cohen, *Consumers' Republic*.
4 Ruffins, "Reflecting on Ethnic Imagery."
5 The term "Uncle Tom" comes from Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1851), the work that more than any other helped crystallize Northern antislavery feeling in the antebellum period. Stowe's character was meant to embody the gentleness and capacity for forgiveness central to the perfect Christian character; over time, the term became synonymous with white representations of black docility and subservience. See Frederickson, *Black Image*, 110–11.
6 "A Statue? Arabs? That's Mr. Hunter from Zululand! Ad Men's Favorite Dusky Model a Good Actor," *New York Post,* November 30, 1935, clipping in Maurice Hunter Scrapbooks, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library; Maurice Hunter, "I Pose . . ." *Design Magazine*, January 1951, in Maurice Hunter Scrapbooks, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library; Mel Heimer, "Men's Whirl," *Social Whirl,* December 27, 1954, in Maurice Hunter Scrapbooks, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.
7 Maurice Hunter Scrapbooks, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library; These scrapbooks also provide numerous examples of the illustrated fiction for which he posed. For a history of African stereotypes in

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Western popular culture and the relationship of these stereotypes to European and US imperialisms, see Pieterse, *White on Black,* especially 113–22 on the cannibal, 124–31 on the "black moor" as servant, and 152–55 for the US stereotypes of Uncle Tom and Aunt Jemima.

8 "Talk of the Town," *New Yorker,* November 16 1935, article in Maurice Hunter Collection, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.

9 "The Man in the Ads: Maurice Hunter Pops Up on Billboards All over U.S.," *Ebony,* 1947, 35–38, article in Folder 1, Maurice Hunter Collection, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.

10 Obituary, *New York Times*, March 4, 1966, Maurice Hunter Collection, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.

11 For the ads, see Maurice Hunter Scrapbooks, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library; for the obituary, see *New York Times,* March 4, 1966; for the Pennsylvania Railroad mural, designed by Raymond Loewy, see Drix Duryea, "The Biggest Heads in the World," *Popular Photography*, February 1944, 40–41, 92–93.

12 Quoted in *Musical Advance*, May 1943, clipping, Maurice Hunter Scrapbooks, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.

13 "Talk of the Town," *New Yorker*, November 16, 1935, in Maurice Hunter Scrapbooks, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library; see also his model publicity material in the scrapbooks.

14 Quoted in card from Godwin, Scrapbook 3, Maurice Hunter Scrapbooks, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.

15 For a history of protest against Aunt Jemima stereotypes, see Manring, *Slave in a Box*; and McElya, *Clinging to Mammy*, esp. 116–69; for a discussion of the NAACP protests against *The Birth of a Nation*, see Stokes, *D. W. Griffith's "The Birth of a Nation."* Although television offered more varied roles for black actors, J. Fred MacDonald describes the persistence of the Uncle Tom and Aunt Jemima stereotypes in his *Blacks and White TV*, 22–24.

16 Quoted in Frieda Wyandt, "I Became a Model to Help My Race, Says Negro Made Famous by Artists," *New York Evening Graphic,* magazine section, April 16, 1926, 6, Maurice Hunter Scrapbooks, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.

17 Virginia Girvin Collection, Folder: "1930s Playbills," Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.

18 "My Poor but Happy Life," autobiographical typescript, Box 1, Folder 2, Virginia Girvin Collection, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.

19 Manring, *Slave in a Box*, 75.

20 White, *Ar'n't I a Woman?*, 27–61; Manring, *Slave in a Box;* McElya, *Clinging to Mammy*; Kern-Foxworth, *Aunt Jemima*; Bogle, *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks.*

21 White, *Ar'n't I a Woman?,* 58.

22 See chapter 3 of Manring, *Slave in a Box*.

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23 McElya, *Clinging to Mammy*, 6, 162.
24 Quoted in Kern-Foxworth, *Aunt Jemima,* 82–83.
25 Kern-Foxworth, *Aunt Jemima,* 82–83.
26 Kern-Foxworth, *Aunt Jemima,* 82–83. See also Manring, *Slave in a Box*, 157.
27 Smith, *Photography on the Color Line*; White and White, *Stylin'*; hooks, "In Our Glory."
28 The contemporaneous term for African Americans was "negro"; the term "black" did not become part of common usage until the late 1960s. For this reason, I often use the term "Negro," or "Negro market" in much of this chapter.
29 Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk*.
30 Phillips, *Alabama North*; Grossman, *Land of Hope*; Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*; Courbold, *Becoming African Americans*.
31 Weems, *Desegregating the Dollar*; Chambers, *Madison Avenue*, 20–44; Walker, *Style and Status;* Greer, *Represented*.
32 Sullivan, "Negro Market Today," 68–69.
33 Sullivan, "Negro Market Today," 68–69.
34 P. Edwards, *Southern Urban Negro.*
35 See, for example, Claude H. Hall's regular feature in *Printer's Ink* in the early 1960s, "The Negro Market." For a brief discussion of this history of cultivating the black consumer, see Halter, *Shopping for Identity*, 43; see also Newman, "Forgotten Fifteen Million."
36 E. Steele, "Some Aspects of the Negro Market"; see also Lizabeth Cohen, *Consumers' Republic*, 323; and Dates, "Advertising."
37 Alexis, "Pathways to the Negro Market."
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40 Weems, *Desegregating the Dollar*, 54.
41 "The Forgotten 15,000,000 . . . Three Years Later," *Sponsor* 6 (July 28, 1952): 76–77, cited in Alexis, "Pathways to the Negro Market," 114–27, 121.
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50 Sullivan, "Don't Do This," 47.

51 Sullivan, "Don't Do This," 47; see also Weems, *Desegregating the Dollar*, 32–34; Chambers, *Madison Avenue*, 69–74.

52 See, for example, Cheddle, "Politics of the First"; an exception is Laila Haidarali, "Polishing Brown Diamonds," whose work ties modeling to the emergence of the "brownskin" ideal of African American femininity.

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107 Buszek, *Pin-up Grrrls*, 209.

108 May, *Homeward Bound*; for a critique and complication of May's argument, see Meyerowitz, *Not June Cleaver*. See also Vettel-Becker, *Shooting From the Hip*, ch. 4.

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110 Greer, "Image Matters," 151; see also Haidarali, "Polishing Brown Diamonds," 15–21.

111 Craig, *Ain't I A Beauty Queen?*; see also Kinloch, "Beauty, Femininity, and Black Bodies."

112 For a discussion of the relationship between discourses of racial progress and the work of African American beauty culturalists during Jim Crow, see Peiss, *Hope in a Jar,* 203–38; Gill, "First Thing"; Walker, *Style and Status*.

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114 Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 187.

115 White and White, *Stylin,'* 192; see also Gill, "First Thing."

116 McGuire, *At the Dark End of the Street.*

117 Ford, *Liberated Threads*, 69–71. For additional work on the politics of respectability, see Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability*; and L. Thompson, *Beyond the Black Lady*.

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123 Dorothea Towles, "Sex Pots' Have No Business Trying to Model," Pittsburgh Courier, July 7, 1956, pg. 1.

124 Dorothea Towles, "Sex Pots' Have No Business Trying to Model," Pittsburgh Courier, July 7, 1956, pg. 1.

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2 Quant, *Quant by Quant*, 73.

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16 Butler, "Imitation and Gender Insubordination," 317.
17 Mock, *Redefining Realness*, xviii; emphasis in source.
18 Mary Ann Zimmerman / Robin Gorman to Kris Thomas, "Breck 'Good Will,'" memo, November 5, 1990, Breck Collection, Box 1, Folder 13, Archives Center, National Museum of American History (hereafter given as NMAH); Kris Thomas to Mary Ann Zimmerman / Robin Gorman, "Importance of Beauty PR Re: The Breck Message," November 20 1990, Breck Collection, Box 1, Folder 13, Archives Center, NMAH.
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29 See chapter 4 of Ehrenreich, *Hearts of Men*; Preciado, *Pornotopia*; Watts, *Mr. Playboy*.
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