



Castor Resartus

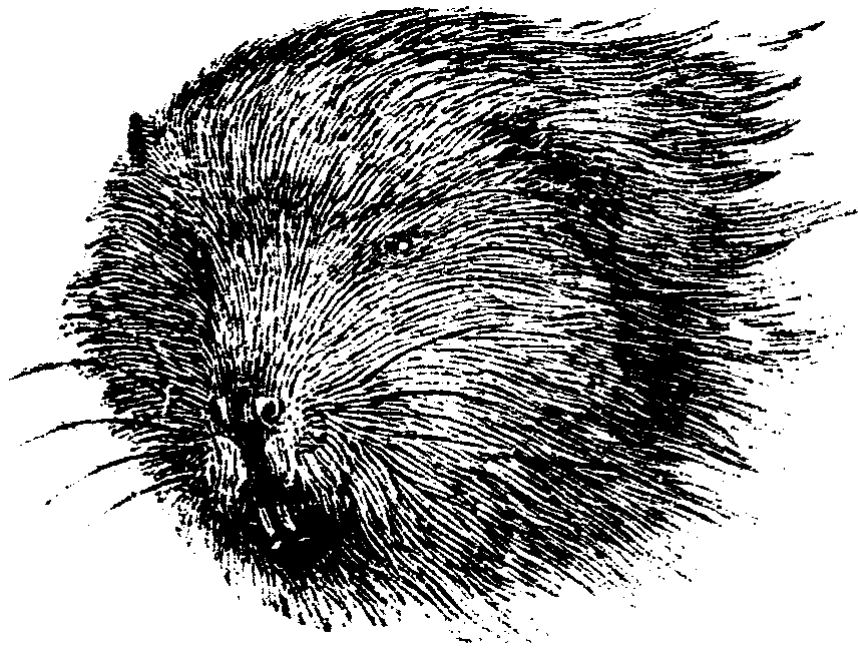
The
Beaver Hat
in
History

Transcribed and curated by Chris Willmore

Castor Resartus

OR

“THE BEAVER HAT RETAILORED”



AN ECONOMIC HISTORY IN MANY PARTS

STITCHED TOGETHER BY CHRIS WILLMORE
FROM THE WORDS OF THOSE WHO WERE THERE

Untitled image by “HTM”, from an ad for *Castorologia*
in the *Dominion Illustrated Monthly*, October, 1892



“Tommy Toddler’s dream”¹ (1895)

I wore a shiny beaver hat
Just like my father wears.
I had a great big silk cravat,
And, so, such lots of cares!
So heavy were my troubles that
I’d two or three gray hairs.

“The fellow who grins”² (1912)

It’s easy enough to be cheery
When life’s like a lover’s chat.
But the man who wins
Is the fellow who grins
When he starts out on a bright spring
morning arrayed in his finest regalia,
and by noon finds a torrent of April
rain, a February snow storm, and a
March wind playing hide and seek
with his brand new
Beaver hat!

¹ From Tommy Toddler’s Dream. (1895, April 2). *The Weekly News* (Comox), p. 7. Image by “Cole”, from the *Dominion Illustrated Monthly*, October 1892. Scanned from the collection of Chris Willmore.

² From THE HAPPY-DAY CLUB. (1912, July 11). *Mirror Journal* (Edmonton), p. 7.

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Transcribed, edited, annotated & curated by Chris Willmore
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Cover Image by Chris Willmore.

The Beaver and its Habits

“Our national emblematic animal”³ (1921)

It is not generally known that the beaver, our national emblematic animal, founded the great Astor fortune. It was with money obtained by buying and selling beaver skins that John Jacob Astor got his start. In fact, the beaver once had a very large place in the life of the continent, and it is estimated that over a hundred rivers and creeks in America bear its name. It is estimated that when the English speaking population of what is now Canada would not have made a good sized town, there were upwards of one hundred million beaver on this continent.

Beaver skins were one of the chief mediums of exchange among the earliest settlers of this country. They were the standard by which guns, sugar and cattle were valued, and for nearly 200 years were one of the most important exports of both countries. These skins were used chiefly in the manufacture of beaver hats such as Sir Oliver Cromwell wore, or as Shakespeare described as the headpiece of Hamlet's father.

Kingsford's "History of Canada" says that in the eighteenth century Canada exported moderate quantities of timber, wheat, ginseng root and other commodities, but from first to last she lived largely on beaver skins. Horace T. Martin, formerly Secretary of Agriculture for Canada, says of the beaver's part in Canadian development that from the beginning that animal "has been associated with the industrial and commercial development, and indirectly with the social life, the romance and, to a considerable extent, with the wars of the country."

The beaver is undoubtedly one of the most interesting and picturesque of common animals, and yet, contradictorily enough, one about which very little popular knowledge and a great deal of misinformation are current. He has been the object of legislation in the United States. Twenty-four states in all have voted him legal protection, and the Canadian Government has also passed laws aimed against the danger of his extermination.

It is when he stands erect that the beaver presents the best appearance. Then his rather awkward, powerful figure has the happy and childish eagerness of the chipmunk and the alert and capable attitude of the listening grizzly bear. The average beaver is about thirty-eight inches in length and weighs about the same number of pounds. The color of his fur is a reddish brown, sometimes shading into a dark brown and more rarely a black. His tail is his most conspicuous feature: it somewhat resembles the end of an oar in shape and is covered with a black skin that has the appearance of scales, though no scales actually exist. It serves its owner variously as rudder, stool, prop, scull and signal club with which he can thwack the water a resounding slap of warning, playfulness or derision. There is no basis in fact for the common belief that the beaver uses his tail for a trowel. The beavers' ears are short and rounded, his hind feet webbed like a duck's and his forepaws handlike. He

³ From FACTS ABOUT BEAVER. (1921, January 7). *Aurora Banner*, p. 3.

is accomplished in the use of his forepaws, handling mud and sticks in them with great dexterity. His teeth are large, strong, and have self-sharpening enamel edges.

Beavers are swift and agile swimmers and have no trouble in negotiating 200 yards under water without once coming to the surface for air. His food is almost entirely the inner bark of such water-loving trees as the aspen, the cottonwood and the willow. Every fall the members of all beaver colonies collect a pile of these woods sufficient to supply their needs throughout the winter months of ice-enforced inactivity. These food stores they anchor in the ponds formed by their dams.

The beaver lives in a house, or lodge, which he builds by clawing out a chamber in a domelike mound of sticks and mud. The diameter of these houses ranges from five to thirty-five feet, according to the number of beavers that are going to occupy them. The foundation is usually built on the bottom of the pond, the height of the portion above the waterline varying from three to seven feet. The walls of the house are made of mud and turf, reinforced with polelike sticks. The beavers keep these walls in repair, and when they are frozen they are as strong as concrete. A house commonly has two entrances, but may have as many as five. All these entrances are through the mouths of tunnels, which are dug upward from the bottom of the pond.

Water of some depth and area is as indispensable to beaver life as air is to ours. The beaver needs water as a refuge from his numerous and watchful enemies in the summer time, and in the winter months water is the inviolable bolt with which he safely seals his windowless, cell-like home. Volumes could be written on the uncanny engineering skill they display in building dams and in digging canals, either to lead water into a pond or to facilitate logging or food gathering operations from groves, both far and near. Beaver dams more than 2,000 feet in length have been built.

“There is no animal,” writes an authority, “below man in the entire range of mammalia which offers to our investigation such a series of works or presents such remarkable material for study and illustrations of animal psychology.”

“Formed by nature for social life” ⁴ (1780)

[CONTENT WARNING – RACISM]

[The beaver] possesses all the friendly dispositions fit for society, without being subject, as we are to the vices or misfortunes attendant upon it. Formed by nature for social life, he is endued with an instinct adapted to the preservation and propagation of his species. This animal, whose tender plaintive accents, and whose striking example, draw tears of admiration and pity from the humane philosopher, who contemplates his life and manners; this harmless animal, who never hurts any living creature, neither carnivorous nor sanguinary, is become the object of man’s most earnest pursuit, and the one which the savages hunt after with the greatest eagerness and cruelty: a circumstance owing to the unmerciful rapaciousness of the most polished nations of Europe.

⁴ From Abbe Raynal. (1780, August 23). LITERARY ARTICLE. *South-Carolina and American General Gazette*, p. 4. Written by Guillaume Thomas François Raynal (1713 – 1796).

The beaver is about three or four feet long, but his weight amounts to forty or sixty pounds, which is the consequence of the largeness of his muscles. His head, which he carries downwards, is like that of a rat, and his back raised in an arch above it like that of a mouse. Lucretius has observed, not that man has hands given him to make use of them, but that he has hands given him, and has made use of them. Thus the beaver has webs at his hinder feet, and he swims with them. The toes of his fore feet are separate, and answer the purpose of hands; the tail, which is flat, oval, and covered with scales, he uses to carry loads and to work with; he has four sharp incisors or cutting teeth, which serve him instead of carpenter's tools. All these instruments, which are in a manner useless while he lives alone, and do not then distinguish him from other animals, are of infinite service when he lives in society, and enable him to display a degree of ingenuity superior to all instinct.

Without passions, without a desire of doing injury to any, and without craft, when he does not live in society, he fiercely ventures to defend himself. He never bites unless he is caught [sic.]. But in the social state, in lieu of weapons, he has a variety of contrivances to secure himself without fighting, and to live without committing or suffering any injury. This peaceable and even tame animal is nevertheless independent; he is a slave to none, because all his wants are supplied by himself: he enters into society, but will not serve, nor does he pretend to command: and all labours are directed by a silent instinct.

It is the common want of subsistence and propagation that calls the beavers home, and collects them together in summer to build their towns against winter. As early as June or July, they come in from all quarters, and assemble to the number of two or three hundred; but always by the water side, because these republicans are to live on the water, to secure themselves from invasion. Sometimes they give the preference to still lakes in unfrequented districts, because there the waters are always at an equal height.

When they find no pools of standing water, they make one in the midst of streams, by means of a causeway or dam. The very plan of this contrivance implies such a complication of ideas, as our short-sighted reason would be apt to think above any capacity but that of an intelligent being. The first thing to be erected is a pile a hundred feet long, and twelve feet thick at the base, which shelves away to two or three feet in a slope answerable to the depth of the waters. To save work, or to facilitate their labour, they chase the shallowest part of the river. If they find a large tree by the water-side, they fell it, so that it falls across the stream. If it should be larger in circumference than a man's body, they saw it through, or rather gnaw the foot with their four sharp teeth. The branches are soon lopped off by these industrious workmen, who want to fashion it into a beam. A number of smaller trees are felled and prepared for the intended pile. Some drag these trees to the river side, others swim over them to the place where the causeway is to be raised.

But the question is, how these animals are to sink them in the water with the assistance only of their teeth, tail and feet? Their contrivance is this. With their nails they dig a hole in the ground, or at the bottom of the water. With their teeth they rest the large end of the stake against the bank of the river or against the great beam that

lies across. With their feet they raise the stake and sink it with the sharp end downwards into the hole, where it stands upright. With their tails they make mortar, with which they fill up all the vacancies between the stakes, which are bound together with twisted boughs; and thus the pile is constructed.

The slope of the dam is opposite to the current, to break more effectually the force of the water by a gradual resistance, and the stakes are driven in obliquely, in proportion to the inclination of the plane. The stakes are planted perpendicularly on the side where the water is to fall; and in order to open a drain which may lessen the effect of the slope and weight of the causeway, they make two or three openings at the top of it, by which part the waters of the river may run off.

When this work is finished by the whole body of the republic, every member considers of a lodging for himself. Each company builds a hut in the water upon the pile. These huts are from four to ten feet in diameter, upon an oval or round spot. Some are two or three stories high, according to the number of families or households. Each hut contains at least two or three, and some ten or fifteen. The walls, whether high or low, are about two feet thick, and are all arched at the top, and are perfectly neat and solid both within and without. They are varnished with a kind of stucco, impenetrable by the water and by the external air. Every apartment has two openings, one on the land side, to enable them to go out and fetch provisions; the other on that next the stream, to facilitate their escape, at the approach of the enemy, that is, of man, the destroyer of cities and commonwealths. The window of the house opens to the water. There they take the fresh air in the day time, plunged into the river up to their middle. In winter it serves to fence them against the ice, which collects to the thickness of two or three feet. The shelf, intended to prevent the ice from stopping up this window, rests upon two scales that slope so as to carry off the water from the house, and leave an outlet to escape, or to go and swim under the ice. The inside of the house has no other furniture than a flooring of grass, covered with the boughs of the fir-tree. No filth of any kind is ever seen in these apartments.

The materials for these buildings are always to be found in their neighbourhood. These are alders, poplars, and other trees, delighting in watery places, as these republicans do, who build their apartments of them. These citizens have the satisfaction, at the same time that they fashion the wood, to nourish themselves with it. Like certain savages of the frozen ocean, they eat the bark. The savages, indeed, do not like it till it is dried, pounded, and properly dressed; whereas the beavers chew it, and suck it when it is quite green. They lay up a provision of bark and tender twigs in separate store houses for every hut proportionable to the number of its inhabitants. Every beaver knows his own storehouse, and not one of them steals from that of his neighbour. Each party live in their own habitation, and are contented with it, though jealous of the property they have acquired in it by their labour. The provisions of the community are collected and expended without any contest. They are satisfied with that simple food which their labour prepares for them.

The only passion they have is that of conjugal affection, the basis and end of which is the increase of their species. Towards the end of winter, the mothers bring forth their young ones, which have been conceived in autumn; and while the father

ranges all the woods, allured by the sweets of the spring, leaving to his little family the room he took up in his narrow cell, the mother suckles and nurses them, to the number of two or three; then she takes them out along with her in her excursions, in search of cray and other fish, and green bark, to recruit her own strength, and to feed them till the season of labour returns.

Such is the system of the republican, industrious, intelligent beaver, skilled in architecture, provident and systematical in its plans of police and society, whose gentle and instructive manners we have been describing. Happy, if his coat did not tempt merciless and savage man to destroy his buildings and his race. It has frequently happened, when the Americans have demolished the settlements of the beavers, those indefatigable animals have had the resolution to rebuilt them in the very same situation for several summers successively. The winter is the time for attacking them. Experience then warns them of their danger. At the approach of the huntsmen one of them strikes a hard stroke with his tail upon the water; this signal spreads a general alarm throughout all the huts of the commonwealth, and every one tries to save himself under the ice. But it is very difficult to escape all the snares that are laid for this harmless tribe.

Sometimes the huntsmen lie in wait for them, but as these animals see and hear at a great distance, it seldom happens that they are shot by the water-side, and they never venture so far upon land as to be caught by surprise. If the beaver be wounded before he takes to the water, he has always time enough to plunge in; and, if he dies afterwards, he is lost, because he sinks, and never rises again.

A more certain way of catching beavers is, by laying traps in the woods, where they eat the bark of young trees. These traps are baited with fresh slips of wood, and as soon as the beavers touch them, a great weight falls and crushes their loins. The man, who is concealed near the place, hastens to it, seizes the animal, and having killed it carries it off.

There are other methods more commonly and successfully practised. The huts are sometimes attacked, in order to drive out the inhabitants, who are watched at the edges of the holes that have been bored in the ice, where they cannot avoid coming to take in fresh air. The instant they appear, they are killed. At other times, the animal, driven out of his retreat, is entangled in the nets spread for some toises⁵ round his hut, the ice being broken for that purpose. If the whole colony is to be taken at once, instead of breaking down the sluices to drown the inhabitants, a scheme, that might, perhaps, be tried with effect in Holland, the causeway is opened, in order to drain off the water from the pool where the beavers live. When they are thus left dry, defenceless, and unable to escape, they may be caught at pleasure, and destroyed at any time; but care is always taken to leave a sufficient number of males and females to preserve the breed; an act of generosity, which in reality proceeds only from avarice. The cruel foresight of man only spares a few in order to have the more to destroy. The beaver, whose plaintive cry seems to implore his clemency and pity, finds in the savage, rendered cruel by the Europeans, only an implacable enemy, whose

⁵ A toise is an old French unit of length equivalent to a little less than 2 meters.

enterprises are undertaken, not so much to supply his own wants, as to furnish superfluities to another world.

“Beaver ranching in Canada”⁶ (1920)

The conservation of wild life on the continent and the domestic cultivation of wild animals for their furs has of late been receiving widespread attention and encouragement both on account of the high prices prevailing and because it tends to offset the natural depletion by trap, gun and disease. The ceding of a thirty-year grazing lease to Vilhjamur Stefannson on the southern portion of Baffin Island, to raise reindeer and caribou is an indication of this, while the formation of muskrat farms has been much advocated on account of the profitable nature of the industry, a prominent factor of which is the economic maintenance of such an industry.

The rapid decline of the beaver throughout the continent and consistent high prices for the furs of these animals have drawn attention in their direction, and the feasibility of domesticating the beaver, or rather cultivating the animal in its wild state under domestic restraints, is receiving much consideration. A beaver ranch was established last fall on the ranch of H. Coles, a farmer of Milton, Prince Edward Island, his first pelts selling for from \$40 to \$60 apiece. The location for the ranch was an admirable one – the animals’ natural haunt – with abundant flowing water and an ample provision of natural sustenance. The busy little animals went right ahead with their dams; the special wire fencing used to enclose them and prevent possible migration did not apparently annoy them to any extent, and they continued to propagate and follow out their regular routine as if unhampered by the schemes of man.

The beaver, which was early recognized as typically emblematic of Canada from its [ubiquitousness]⁷, found a permanent memorial on the national insignia, and at one time was to be found in every part of the Dominion. It usually disappears with settlement, however, and statistics go to show that the supply of beaver in the wilds is rapidly diminishing, and that in a matter of twenty years will, unless conserved by the establishment of farms, have followed the buffalo into practical oblivion and extinction.

Beaver ranching is an industry which would receive every encouragement. The trapping of beaver has always been a profitable pursuit, while the high price of fur, which will doubtless hold, is sufficient encouragement. Given a careful choice of location, a ranch is economic of operation and can be profitably run on lines of little expense, after the initial outlay.

⁶ From *Beaver Ranching in Canada*. (1920, September 24). *Claresholm Review-Advertiser*, p. 3.

⁷ The original reads “umbiquitlousness”.

Histories of Hats and Beavers

Beavers, hats, and 14th century France⁸ (1903)

A little looking into records shows that the beavers were disappearing commercially from France only when the first American invasion of France was beginning with the trade in Canadian beaver skins. This was in the days of Louis XIV; but four hundred years earlier the Hatters' Guild had its regulations about the use of beaver for the headgear of men and women alike. In 1351 King John made his fool a present of a beaver hat trimmed with ermine and gold and pearls; and a year later, among the many hats given to Blanche de Bourbon on the occasion of her marriage with Peter the Cruel, King of Castille, there was again a beaver hat, trimmed with scarlet velvet embroidered with gold cupids and great pearls, and a forest scene where boars with pearl eyes wandered among gold flowers and other little "beastlets" (the description of the milliner's marvel takes twenty-three lines of the old chronicle). In 1385, when the fourteen-year-old Duchess Isabeau of France was married to the French King Charles VI, he gave her in one year's time ten beaver hats. The animals gradually died off before the greed of the hatters; and the later art works of "castors" and cheating half-woold "demi-castors" in the eighteenth century all come from the Canadian cousins.

"The Indian or fur trade"⁹ (1831)

[CONTENT WARNING – RACISM]

The Indian or fur trade commenced early in the 17th century, and was carried on by the early French emigrants. Quebec and Montreal were, at first, trading posts. The trade was then, as now, a barter of guns, cloth, ammunition, &c., for the beaver and other furs collected by the natives, and was effected by the intervention of the *voyageurs, engagés, or couriers des bois*. These men carried burdens of merchandise on their backs to the Indian camps, and exchanged their wares for peltries, with which they returned in the same manner. Shortly after the discovery of the Mississippi, permanent houses, and, in many places, stockade forts were built, and men of capital engaged in the trade. Detroit, Mackinac and Green Bay were settled in this manner. The manner of the fur trade has undergone no material alteration since. Traders now, at least with the more remote tribes, enter the Indian country with boats laden with goods, and manned by Canadian boatmen, who perform the same service above attributed to their ancestors. The *engages* are a hardy, patient and laborious race, habitually making exertions of which no other people are, perhaps, capable, and enduring all hardships and privations for small pay.

In 1670, shortly after the restoration of Charles II of England, he granted to prince Rupert and others, a charter, empowering them to trade, exclusively, with the

⁸ From PARIS OF THE ANCIENT DAY. (1903, April 1). *Wichita Eagle*, p. 9.

⁹ From FUR TRADE. (1831, April 14). *The Repertory*, p. 1.

aborigines on and about Hudson's Bay. A company, then and after called the *Hudson's Bay Company*, was formed in consequence. The trade was then more lucrative than at present. In the winter of 1783-4, another company was formed at Montreal, called the *North-west Fur Company*, which disputed the right of the Hudson's Bay [Company], and actively opposed it. The earl of Selkirk was, at that time, at the head of the Hudson's Bay, and conceived a plan of planting a colony on the Red River of Lake Winnipeg. Of this colony, the North-west Company was suspicious. In consequence of this, and the evil feelings naturally growing out of a contrariety of interests, a war ensued between the servants of the two parties, and a loose was given to outrage and barbarity. Wearied, at last, the companies united, and are now known by the name of the *Hudson's Bay Fur Company*. The colony established by Lord Selkirk soon broke up, the settlers coming to the United States.

Of all who have traded with the aborigines, the French were the most popular and successful. They did, and do, conform to the manners and feelings of the Indians, better than the English and Americans ever could. Most of the persons now engaged in the fur trade, in the region, north of the Missouri, are French; and they are much esteemed by the natives, with whom they frequently intermarry. The male offspring of these alliances, are commonly employed as interpreters, *engages*, &c. &c. They are handsome, athletic men. Mixing the blood seems to improve the race.

The Indian trade on the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi, with its branches, has long been in possession of the *North American Fur Company*, the principal directors of which are in the city of New York.

In the year 1822, a new company, entitled the *Columbian Fur Company*, was organized, to trade on the St. Peter's and Mississippi. It was projected by three individuals, who had been thrown out of employ by the union of the Hudson's Bay and North-west, as before mentioned. Its operations soon extended to the Missouri, whither its members went from the sources of St. Peter's with carts and wagons drawn by dogs. When it had, after three years' opposition, obtained a secure footing in the country, it joined with the North American. There was another company on the Missouri at the same time. Furs were also obtained from the upper Missouri and the Rocky mountains, as follows:-

Large bodies of men (under the pretence of trading with the Indians, to avoid the provisions of the law) were sent from St. Louis, provided with traps, guns, and all things necessary to hunters and trappers. They traveled in bodies from 50 to 200, by way of security against the attack of the savages, till they arrived at the place of their destination, when they separated, and pursued the fur clad animal singly, or in small parties. When their object was effected, they assembled with their peltry, and descended the Missouri. They did not always invade the privileges of the natives with impunity, but sometimes suffered severely in life and property. This system still continues, and its operatives form a distinct class in the state of Missouri.

The articles used in the Indian trade are chiefly these: coarse blue and red cloth and fine scarlets, guns, knives, blankets, traps, coarse cottons, powder and ball, hoes, hatchets, beads, vermilion, ribbons, kettles, &c. We know no Indians that buy house furniture, but the Saques and Foxes.

The furs given in return are those of the beaver (but this is scarce on this side of the Rocky mountains) otter, musk-rat, marten, bear, deer, lynx and buffalo. Raccoons are now of little value. The fur-clad animals, with the exception of the musk-rat, are now almost exterminated on the Mississippi and the lakes, owing entirely to the fur trade. The skins of the animals killed in summer are good for nothing; and the further north the furs are taken, the better is their quality.

The course of a trader in the North-west is this: He starts from Michilimackinac, or St. Louis, late in the summer, with a Mackinac boat, laden with goods. He takes with him an interpreter, commonly a half breed, and four or five *engages*. On his arrival at his wintering ground, his men build a store for the goods, an apartment for him, and another for themselves. These buildings are of rough logs, plastered with mud, and roofed with ash or linden slabs – the chimneys are of clay. Though rude in appearance, there is much comfort in them.

This done, the trader gives a great portion of his merchandise to the Indians on credit. These credits are from \$20 to \$200 in amount, according to the reputation of the applicant as a hunter. It is expected that the debtor will pay the following spring, though, as many neglect this part of the business, the trader is compelled to rate his goods very high. Thus the honest have to pay for the dishonest.

Ardent spirits were never much used among the remote tribes. It is only [at] the frontier, in the immediate vicinity of the white settlers, that the Indians get enough to do them physical injury, though, in the interior the traders, in the heat of opposition employed strong liquors to induce the savages to commit outrage or to defraud their creditors. By this means, the moral principle of the aborigines is overcome, and often destroyed. Spirit is commonly introduced into their country in the form of high wines, they being less bulky, and easier of transportation, than liquors of lower proof. Indians, after having once tasted [these], become extravagantly fond of them, and will make any sacrifice, or commit any crime, to obtain them.

An interpreter is necessary to a fur trade, whether he speaks the language of the tribe with which he deals himself, or not. It is the duty of the interpreter to take charge of the house, and carry on the business in the absence of the principal. He also visits the camps, and watches the debtors.

Those traders who are employed in the service of a company, as, for instance, the North American [or Hudson's Bay companies], are called *clerks* though they seldom use the pen. Many of them cannot write or read. They receive from \$300 to \$800 per annum each. Some venture into the Indian country on their own account; but are usually overcome by the opposition of the established companies, whose servants employ every means to ruin them.

In the region of the prairie, the dog sledges are used for transportation in the winter. The sledge is merely a flat board turned up in front, like the runner of a sledge [sic.]. The dogs are harnessed and driven tandem, and their strength and powers of endurance are very great.

The [American] laws regulating intercourse with Indians require the traders to remain in their houses, and not to visit the Indians in their camps; but they are universally disregarded. It is better for the savages that they should be. Traders are

always better clad and provided for traveling than Indians, and the latter are saved from the danger and hardship of exposure in the open prairie in winter. The competition that naturally results from the practice, is of advantage to them, as they get their wants supplied cheaper and more easily.

Those Indians who have substituted articles of European manufacture, for their primitive arms and vestments, are wholly dependent on the whites for their means of life, and an embargo on the trade is the greatest evil that can befall them. Did our limits permit, we could adduce instances.

The fur trade demoralizes all engaged in it. The way in which it operates on the Indians has been already partially explained. As to the traders, they are, generally, ignorant men, in whose breasts interests overcome religion & morals. As they are beyond the reach of law (at least, in the remote regions), they disregard it, and often commit or instigate actions that they would blush to avow in civilized society. Most of them are connected with Indian women, after the custom of the country. In consequence of their fur trade, the buffalo has receded hundreds of miles beyond his former haunts. Formerly, an Indian killed a buffalo, and made a garment of the skin, and fed on the flesh while it lasted. Now, he finds that a blanket is light and more convenient than a buffalo robe, and kills two or three large animals, with whose skins he may purchase it. To procure a gun he must kill ten. The same causes operate to destroy the other animals. Some few tribes, the Ottawas, for example, hunt on the different parts of their domains alternately and so preserve the game. But by far the greater part of the aborigines have no such regulation. The fur-clad animals are now to be found in abundance only in the far north, where the rigor of the climate and the difficulty of transportation prevent the free access of the trader, and on the Upper Missouri, and towards the Rocky Mountains. In the last mentioned of those retreats, the enterprise of the West is rapidly exterminating them; and the time is not, probably, far distant, when the fur trade will be spoken of as a thing that has existed within the territory of the United States [and Canada].

“Pedigree of hats”¹⁰ (1887)

As for the revival of real beaver hats, of which dark and distant rumors have lately been audible, we can but regard such a scheme as fraught with difficulties of an almost insurmountable nature. In the middle of the seventeenth century in France the principal source of wealth at La Rochelle was the manufacture of “chapeaux de castor.” Lower Canada then belonged to the French. The beaver skins were brought from the banks of the St. Lawrence to La Rochelle. Thence they were exported to Russia for the purpose of being dressed. They returned to France to be manufactured into soft and brilliantly shining hats, and then, having made a tour of the country, they again turned up at La Rochelle to be stiffened with gum for the Spanish market, the Dons preferring a hard, unbending and lusterless hat.

¹⁰ From PEDIGREE OF HATS. (1887, October 30). *Iowa State Register*, p. 7.

Hat making was really a splendid industry at the French seaport where the forces of Charles I came to such signal grief; but that senseless and malicious act of bigotry, the revocation of the edict of Nantes¹¹, completely ruined the French hat-making trade, which has been exclusively in the hands of the Huguenots. A large number of these persecuted religionists found refuge in England, while others emigrated to Brandenburg, in Prussia, where they found favor in the sight of King Frederick William, and prospered exceedingly. So depressed had become the beaver hat trade in France after the revocation of the edict that the very secrets of the processes of manufacture were lost until a Huguenot pervert [sic.] named Mathieu was persuaded to come over from the Patmos which he had found in England, and teach the French “chapeliers” how to work.

The days of beaver hats are gone, seemingly never to return. With all that Canada and the Hudson’s Bay Territory, Siberia and other chilly regions can do, there are not enough beavers to furnish hats even for the most fashionable sections of the community. Nearly the last appearance which George IV made in public was at Ascot races, and his Majesty then wore a brown beaver hat. Sir Francis Burdett was nearly the last gentleman who wore a white beaver, and the silk hat which supplanted the castor¹² must be now in about its jubilee.

Beaver hats, although they were long-lived, were very expensive articles, a really superior hat costing two or even three guineas; and a French dandy would, it may be apprehended, think twice before he disbursed between 50*l.* and 75*l.* for a “chapeau castor”. There were, to be sure, so far back as the time of Colbert “chapeaux demi-castor,” or hats composed half of beaver and half of silk; but the Minister pursued the manufacture with unrelenting severity, and the makers of a “demi-castor” were liable to a fine of 2,000 or 3,000*l.* and the loss of all their municipal rights; nor was the interdict on “half-beavers” removed until the time of the Revolution.

“Regulating the trade of the colonies”¹³ (1903)

Under cover of regulating the trade of the colonies, Great Britain levied heavy duties upon imports, and at the same time suppressed all attempts at home manufacture. Nor were the colonists allowed to trade with foreign countries or to send to England any merchandise unless it was carried by English vessels. It was a violation of law to manufacture an axe or a hammer, though the country was full of

¹¹ The Edict of Nantes (1598) gave the Protestant Huguenots a number of rights in Catholic France.

¹² Latin for ‘beaver’.

¹³ From LITTLE OLD NEW-YORK. (1903, September 27). *New York Daily Tribune*, p. 2.

iron, and in order to limit the manufacture of beaver hats¹⁴ two apprentices only were allowed to each hatter, and hats could not be sold from one colony to another¹⁵.

“The colony gets possession of these peltries”¹⁶ (1776)

New York, which stands at the distance of about two miles from the mouth of Hudson’s River, has, properly speaking, neither port or bason; but it does not want either, because its road is sufficient. It is from thence that 250 or 300 ships are dispatched every year for the different ports of Europe and America. England receives but a small part of them; but they are the richest, because they are those whose cargo consists in furs and beaver skins. The manner in which the colony gets possession of these peltries is now to be explained.

As soon as the Dutch had built New Amsterdam in a situation which they thought favourable for the intercourse with Europe, they next endeavoured to establish an advantageous trade there. The only thing at that time in request from North America was furs; but as the neighbouring savages offered but few, and those indifferent ones, there was a necessity of pushing to the north to have them better and in larger quantities. In consequence of this, a project was formed for an establishment on the banks of Hudson’s River, 150 miles distance from the capital. The circumstances fortunately proved favourable for obtaining the consent of the Iroquois, to whom the territory belonged. This brave nation happened to be then at war with the French, who were just arrived in Canada. Upon an agreement to supply them with the same arms that their enemies used, they allowed the Dutch to build Fort Orange, which was afterwards called Fort Albany. There was never the least dispute between the two nations; on the contrary, the Dutch, with the assistance of their powder, lead, and guns, which they used to give in exchange for skins, secured to themselves not only what they could get by their own hunting in all the five countries, but even the spoils collected by the Iroquois warriors in their expeditions.

Though the English upon their taking possession of the colony, maintained the union with the savages, they did not think seriously of extending the fur trade, till

¹⁴ “The manufacture of hats here [in Boston] is likewise a very considerable article; insomuch that vast quantities are shipped hence for the West-India islands, and all places on the main: They likewise send to Spain, Portugal, and even to Great Britain: For as they have the beaver fur very cheap, they endeavour to keep it amongst themselves, and hinder its being exported to England; by which they can afford to under sell what are made at home. For instance, I can buy a beaver hat here for three pounds currency, which is but fifteen shillings sterling, as good, if not better, than any made at London of a guinea value.” Extract of a Letter from Boston in New-England, January 20. 1731, 2. (1732, July 24). *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, p. 1.

¹⁵ “It is said strict orders are sent to the West-Indies, to observe and detect the New-England, New-York, and Philadelphia captains of vessels, in selling hats of their respective provinces, which is prohibited, under a very severe penalty, on the captain and all concerned in it, complaint having been made at home of great quantities being sent from those colonies, of the fine beaver kind, to the great prejudice of the beaver hat trade at home.” NEW-YORK, June 29. (1767, July 2). *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, p. 2.

¹⁶ From Abbe Raynal. (1776, August 16). ACCOUNT of the PROVINCE of NEW-YORK. *Edinburgh Advertiser*, p. 106.

the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685 introduced among them the art of making beaver hats. Their efforts were for a long time ineffectual, and there were chiefly two obstacles to their success. The French were accustomed to draw from Albany itself coverlets, thick worsted stuffs, different iron and copper manufactures, even arms and ammunition; all of which they could sell to the savages with so much the more advantage as these goods bought at Albany cost them one third less than they would have done any other way. Besides, the American nations, who were separated from New York by the country of the Iroquois, in which nobody chose to venture far, could hardly treat with any but the French.

Burnet, who was governor of the British colony in 1720, was either the first who saw the evil, or the first who ventured to strike at the root of it. He made the general assembly forbid all communication between Albany and Canada, and then obtained the consent of the Iroquois to build and fortify the factory of Oswego at his own expense, on that part of the Lake Ontario by which most of the savages must pass in their way to Montreal. In consequence of these two operations, the beavers and the other peltries were pretty equally divided between the French and British. The accession of Canada cannot but increase at present the share New York had in the trade, as the latter is better situated for it than the country which disputed it with her.

“This indispensable finish to dress”¹⁷ (1892)

“Aristotle said in his chapter on hats, that the history of this indispensable finish to dress would never be complete. Undoubtedly, some serious writers, learned men of the first order, have not hesitated in our day, in instituting an inquiry into the principal historic periods of fashion, to spend some time over the Petasus, that head covering as indispensable to the health of man as to the dignity of his bearing. But these are far from summary indications of a work in accord with the importance of the subject. Let us hope that the prophecy of the ancient philosopher will not be verified, and that one day all the documents on this subject will be collected with care. That which in our eyes is only a fragment, drawn by chance from an interesting commercial case, will become a paragraph of an honorable quarto.”

A Paragraph in the History of Beaver Hats – 1634.

-Anonymous.

The history of hats in different ages and different climes, would convey a great fund of information, and would doubtless mark the stages of civilization more clearly than the study of any other feature of our dress. At what time felted wool was first employed in making hats, it would be difficult to say, though it is known to have been used in Western Europe since the fourteenth century, when felted hats were articles of luxury, and worn only by the rich.

¹⁷ From Martin, H. T. (1892). *Castorologia*. Montreal: Wm. Drysdale & Co. By Horace T. Martin (1859 – c. 1905).

THE NATURE OF FELT

How felting was discovered may ever remain a secret, as history affords us only the traditions concerning St. Clement, which, though of much simple beauty, would scarcely satisfy a scientific enquiry. The story tells how St. Clement, a devout and generous priest, becoming weary and footsore while intent on one of his charity missions, found his sandaled feet so galled, that to proceed on his journey seemed impossible. He sought rest by the roadside, but his attention was distracted by the bleating of lambs, while beyond the hedge he beheld a fox chasing a lamb. With characteristic pity, obeying the impulse of his good heart, he cleared the hedge, frightened away the fox and saved the lamb, wherefore the grateful little creature crouched lovingly at his feet, and expressed its gratitude in eloquent glances. While fondling the lamb, St. Clement observed some loose wool which he gathered and examined. The texture was so lovely, that an inspiration suggested applying it to his lacerated feet. He bound his wounds with the soft wool, and was able to resume his pilgrimage. Reaching his destination, he removed the sandals, and instead of the fine soft wool, he discovered a piece of felted cloth.

This interesting story accounts for the first principles of felting, and moreover, St. Clement has become the patron saint of the "Hatter's Guild". In Ireland and Roman Catholic countries the festival of St. Clement is celebrated each year on the twenty-third day of November.

No further knowledge of felting was obtained till the microscope was introduced into manufactures, and the structure of fibers and tissues, both animal and vegetable, became clearly understood. Place a single particle of beaver fur under the microscope, and with a power giving magnification of about fifty diameters, the structure at once is discernible. Over the entire surface a series of scales appear to overlap each other, and the edges of these lying all one way, give the fiber the impulse to travel in the opposite direction, for the "staple" – as the edges are called – catches when pressed against, and forces the fiber onward, the disengaged edges lying flat the while; yet so firmly do they interlock, that the fiber will be invariably broken in the attempt to withdraw it. A quantity of fur or wool having this "staple" is pressed and worked together, especially with the assistance of steam or hot water, and the result is a piece of felted cloth, ready to be stretched into the shape of a hat or a boot, and dyed black, or colored to fancy.

PROPERTIES WHICH MADE THE BEAVER VALUABLE

What is generally called fur is woolly undercoat, the warm, soft, covering supposed to be universally present on animals, and this wool is more or less stapled. The beautiful fur of the beaver is most perfectly constructed for felting purposes, and very early was this property discovered; in fact, so universally was beaver-wool esteemed, that two hundred and fifty years ago, when the introduction of rabbit's fur and other adulterations affected the beaver trade, [the British] Parliament stepped in to prevent the abuse, and tried to maintain the purity of the beaver felt.

[DECREES BY FRANCE AND BRITAIN]

The interesting document, from which the introductory sentence is selected, gives some idea of the former importance of the beaver to the hatting trade. It is a

decree of the Court of France for the reduction in price of beaver hats, in which prayer is made “that the applicant (Liberti) may be permitted to give information of the treaties and conventions secretly acquired by monopoly between the master hatters who work in beaver, and Mathier d’Ustrelo, a foreigner; the said d’Ustrelo not to sell beaver skins except to them, and in reciprocation they have promised the said d’Ustrelo, not to buy beaver skins except from him. And to give information likewise of frauds perpetrated in the manufactures of the said hats, putting first a layer of beaver, which makes the inside of the hat, then a second, which is only English rabbit’s hair, and above that a third, which is beaver. And again, in order that all may conform to a general rule, that the master hatters will be forced to make a declaration if they wish to work in beaver, or in wool and rabbit’s hair, and [are] forbidden to work against the terms of their agreement, and that it will be enjoined on the master hatters who have made the choice of working in beaver, to put on each hat their particular mark before they are put in the dye, according to the statutes and decrees under penalty of confiscation and a fine.

“And further, that it may be permitted to the said Liberti to continue in the Hôpital de la Trinité, or such other place as it may please the Court to designate, the manufacture of beaver hats by all the masters and journeymen, who choose to work there, and will be qualified for the offers which the said Liberti makes to furnish them with prepared beaver, and to pay them for the workmanship of each hat well and duly made (which is the work of half a day) the sum of forty cents (quarante sols), and to supply for the present, fine and well-made hats to the public for the sum of quarante-quatre livres (about \$8.80), and in the month of January next, to give them for quarante livres (about \$8.00), and according to the quantity which will be forthcoming in the following years, to moderate the price in proportion; that the said Liberti may be permitted to seize and hold in the hatter’s shops, as well as in other places, beaver hats which they may find mixed, defective, falsified, and not marked with the customary marks of the masters who have made them, and that the penalties and fines will be awarded, half as the profit of the plaintiff, and the other half as the profit of the poor children of the Trinité, the costs deducted, and in addition, to ordain such rule for the public as it may please the Court of the one part, and the sworn master hatters of the town of Paris, appellees and defendants, of the other.”

Four years later than this – in 1638 – the British Parliament issued a proclamation, strictly forbidding the use of any material for the making of hats excepting “Beaver stuff” or “Beaver wool,” and we learn that in 1663, a good beaver hat was worth £4 5s., which very positively indicates the high esteem in which they were then held.

CONCERNING BEAVER HATS

Beaver hats had been introduced into general wear in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but in that period they assumed all manner of shapes and variety of color. Shortly afterwards brims were much broadened, and hung down when in wear. These broad brims continued to be worn, but the inconvenience of the wide flapping edge led to the turning up of first one and then two flaps, until in the reign of Queen Anne, a third flap was turned up, and the regular “cocked hat” or “continental hat” was

formed. In various styles the “cocked hat” remained fashionable during the whole of last century, and with the present [19th] century, came in the conventional “stove pipe” shape, which with infinite variety, has lasted to our own day. The shape of the hat was the fancy of a season, and even the most fractional variation in width of brim or height of crown, was sufficient to satisfy the demand for novelty. The general conception of a beaver hat is the well-known model adopted for civil use, but the pliable beaver felt has been subject to almost every modification a head covering could possibly assume. [...]

PROCESSES OF MANUFACTURE

Though apparently different, these several types all conform to one general system of manipulation, and as the introduction of machinery has brought about so many changes as to place the manufacture of the old felted beaver hat among the lost arts, it will be interesting to follow briefly the processes through which each of them has passed, and perhaps learn more to admire the dignity once attached to a “Beaver.”

The nature of the pelt, as it came from the trader, in the raw state, has already been implied; it was a rough, greasy skin, covered with coarse brownish hair, under which was the fine rich fur or wool. The skin was first shaved clean of both hair and fur, and consigned at once to distinct industries, so that for the moment we leave it, and consider the several stages through which the other parts were passed.

To separate the coarse hair from the wool, was managed in a very simple and effectual manner; this was done by means of the “blowing machine,” into which the mixed material was placed, and treated as follows:-

A revolving fan, working at great speed, drove a current of air through the receiving box and thence along an enclosed casing about a hundred feet in length. The force of the air carried the mixed material from the receiving box along the casing, but as the force of the draft diminished, the power of gravitation took the work upon itself of separating every fiber according to its weight, thus the heavy coarse hair and any foreign substance mixed with it, fell soonest, and was gathered into bins, while each succeeding grade of finer material was sorted and deposited each with its kind, and practically divided, so as to show every variety of quality contained in the original fleece. The finest and most valuable fur was, owing to its lightness, blown to the extreme edge of the casing, and freed from every impurity.

This simple contrivance achieved what apparently is beyond the appreciation of our most delicate mechanism, and this process practically determined the consequent quality of the finished product, as the next stages will show.

Taking the grade of wool required for the inside layer of the hat, to the “hat-forming” machine, and laying on the feeding apron, the necessary, this was gradually supplied to rollers, revolving at, say, four thousand [times] per minutes, and the fibers were thus separated and thrown towards the outlet of this machine, opposite to which was a slowly revolving copper cone. This cone was about three feet high, and was finely perforated, while within it an exhaust fan caused a current of air to pass from the outside through the perforations. By this means the fibers were drawn on to the cone and held in place till a delicate covering of fur overlapped the whole form, when a fine spray of boiling water turned on to this fur and cone caused the fur to “set” or

commence felting, holding together sufficiently to allow the delicate form to be handled and removed from the cone, furnishing the hood, or beaver hat, in its first form, and the remaining stages were merely to shape and to dress the surface.

By repeated applications of warmth, moisture and pressure, the felting was continued till the texture became firm and tough, and was ready to draw over a block or mold, on which the material was worked until it had the desired shape. This process required considerable skill, as the hat should be completely shaped before the hood lost the warmth and moisture necessary to keep it pliable; it stiffened when cold as a nature of the felt, but to produce a harder body, shellac was forced into the hood from the inner side. Then taking some of the finest fur and spreading it over the surface of the "body," by the application of warm water and careful manipulation, the staple was worked in so as to give the effect of fur growing all over the roughly formed hat, and in this shape it passed to the dye-room.

It need scarcely be stated that the machinery introduced in this description was comparatively of recent date, and that every advance in mechanical appliance thrust into disuse the earlier manual tools. Thus the blowing machine supplanted the old "bow"; and prior to the introduction of the hat-forming machine, the hatters' leather and the palm of the hands accomplished in a tedious way similar results. The process of felting by hand had the result of hardening the cuticle till the hatter's hand was quite corneous.

The dyeing is not peculiar to the texture, but is the same as applied to any woolen fabric, and though we are familiar to-day with only the somber black and occasional variety of shade in the case of natural wool, in olden times a great deal of taste was displayed in the matter of color.

To "dress" the hat it was placed on a revolving block, while the finisher applied brushes, irons, sandpaper, and velvet polishers, till the surface was so smooth, that an old-fashioned "beaver" would shine as brightly as a modern silk hat, while it had the exquisite beauty of the long velvety pile or fur. The trimming and binding were minor operations, though they helped to give the hat much of its style, and when the trimmer had done his work, the hat had received the finishing touch.

Simple as these various processes may seem, the making of a beaver hat was almost a lost art in the trade, when the fashion for beaver hats for ladies revived a score of years ago, and in consequence the manufacturers had to search the workhouses and almshouses for old hatters, and called once again to the bench the feeble hands which so long had been unemployed, yet whose training in the severe apprenticeship of olden days, had made the special work of each a matter of second nature, so that genuine "old beavers" could again be produced; but when the demand ceased, the trade again fell into decay, and if the call for old hatters should ever again rise, where shall they be found?

The old *habitant* in our back country cherishes his "chapeau de castor," which, carefully wrapped up the six Godless days, he unfolds on the seventh, and covering his grey hairs he totters to the village shrine, there to commune for a short hour with the old companions of his youth. One by one they drop out of the ranks and claim their small portion of the village churchyard. Their few worldly possessions are soon

divided among a numerous progeny, but none care for the legacy of the once-treasured *chapeau*, and moths and vermin soon reduce it to dust.

Though not strictly within the scope of this volume, it certainly will help the appreciation of both articles if the difference between the old “beaver” and the present silk hat be explained. The latter depends on a woven silk plush for its outside cover, and this fabric is weaved in lengths, having both the appearance and much of the character of a loose velvet. The “body” or form of the hat is made of layers of hatter’s cotton, a soft open texture, which coated with shellac, is bound on the block or form, and being thoroughly pliable, allowed to cool and harden. The silk plush is then cut; a circular piece for the crown, a broad band for the sides, and an open circle for the brim; these are carefully sewn together, drawn over the “body” and finished after the fashion of a “beaver”.

BEAVER WOOL, ADULTERATED AND FINALLY SUPPLANTED

About the middle of last century the hatting industry seems to have been in a very unsatisfactory state. In France, a law forbidding the export of beaver skins had the effect of establishing an artificial advantage in favor of the French manufacturers. England then allowed a drawback of duty on all exported beavers, which stimulated an export trade, while a gradual decrease in importation made prices too dear for the manufacture of pure beaver felts, and we read of mixtures of “*coney wool, goat’s wool and other materials*” in the efforts to produce a hat at a fixed price.

It should be observed here, that there existed a demand for beaver wool for felting purposes other than the uses in the hatter’s trade, and there seems to have been a limited quantity employed in Russia, in making cloth and other fabrics.

To return to the skins from which the fleece had been taken:-

The quantity of these must have been very considerable for many years, consequently, it is not surprising that a profitable commercial outlet was discovered. The trappers knew that from the cleanings and scrapings of beaver skin, a glue was obtainable, and they saved the scrapings of the skins to boil down for this purpose, applying it to their canoes whenever a reliable glue was necessary. In Europe, the skins were turned over to the glue-makers, and though the article may have answered the purpose well, and may have been sufficiently cheap and otherwise desirable, it is not a matter of loss to this industry that so few skins are now offered, as the enormous supplies of horns and hoofs must easily compensate for any shortage consequent on the altered uses of the beaver skins which to-day, the furrier claims as well as the fur. It is hard to admit that the usefulness of the beaver has passed, and the world unsympathetically banishes it without a thought of the wondrous value in [which] it has been [held]. But this is an unsentimental age, and progress is no respecter of persons or animals, so we must face the matter squarely and prepare to pay our tribute to the last of the great beaver host which will soon leave us forever.

“The first machinery”¹⁸ (1889)

The old beaver hat was made much in the same way that felt hats are now, only hand labor was used instead of machinery. A bow 7 feet long, with a single stout catgut string, was used to cause the felting of the beaver or coney fur. The vibrations of the bow made the fur to tangle until it was consolidated into a “bat.” This was then taken to the battery, a vessel containing scalding hot water with benches fixed round the rim, at which the hatters worked, dipping the “bat” into the water and rolling it to make the felting more complete.

The first machinery to do away with this tedious labor was devised in America and was introduced into England in 1858. It has been wonderfully improved of late years in connection with felt hat making, so that now rabbits’ skins or bales of wool go in at one door of a factory and come out at another made into hats of any desired shape or quality, almost without any more handling than the feeding of the machinery requires. The advantage in cheapness is of course enormous, but still the finest quality of pullovers are made by hand, and sell at the highest rates. [...]

It is said that the silk hat was worn in Florence about a century ago, but it may be doubted whether what we know now as a silk hat was known then. The uncle of the writer of this article is claimed to be the inventor and patentee of the silk plush used in the manufacture of our modern silk hat. He was a Spitalfields velvet weaver, and had several relations engaged in the beaver hat trade. His name was John Weise, and he was of French extraction. His idea was that a long silk nap might be given to velvet, and if used in the same way as a beaver hood would be much more glossy and becoming. After several attempts he succeeded, and patented the invention. It succeeded so well that he left the weaving trade and turned hatter. The French took up the idea in 1825 and improved upon it, and to this day a silk hat is called a Paris hat, but the best London makers have long occupied the premier position in the trade, and send large quantities of silk hats to Paris.

¹⁸ From HATS. (1889, January 15). *The Age*, p. 9.

“Enter the Silk Hat”¹⁹ (1895)

Let us now take the case of men’s hats²⁰. [...] The costliest hat in my youth was the beaver one. The last occasion when George IV. was seen in public was at Ascot races in 1828 or 1829. He wore a brown beaver hat, and brown beavers for a season or two were fashionable, but ultimately the black or the gray beaver resumed its sway. The very best ones were made entirely of the fur of the beaver, and cost from three to four guineas²¹; a second class beaver hat consisted of a body or foundation of rabbit’s fur, with a beaver nap, but the latter was frequently mixed with some other fur. This article could be purchased for 30 shillings.

The life of a real beaver hat extended about three years: the adulterated article wore out in about a twelvemonth; whereas the most economical of gentlemen at present can rarely consume fewer than four silk hats a year. If he pays ready money for his hats, he may obtain them for a guinea each; so that he stands, financially speaking, worse than that of a gentleman of the Georgian era, whose genuine beaver cost four guineas but lasted four years. This is one of the instances in which modern cheapness is only apparent.

Another occurs in that of the heavy brocaded silks, damasks and poplins which our grandmothers used to wear, and which they bequeathed to their daughters and granddaughters. What lady would think of wearing her grand-mother’s gown now a days? All dress fabrics are much cheaper now than they used to be; but the charges for dress-making more than tripled during the half century, and as the ladies of the present age require three times as many dresses as they formerly did they assuredly have not benefited to any appreciable extent by the prevailing cheapness.

As for the beaver hat, it was suddenly pushed from its stool, or rather, off its peg, by the silk hat, and it may not be generally known that, about the period of Her Majesty’s accession to the throne²², an enterprising tradesman in Milk street, Cheapside, advertised silk hats at the extraordinary low price of 4s. 9d. each. Cheaper hats than these I should say, are not attainable at present; but the silk hat of the stovepipe pattern has had during the last twenty years competition of ‘pot hats,’ wide-awakes, straw, Jim Crows, billycocks, pork pies, bowlers and so forth – all comfortable, all cheap, and all extensively patronized by the working and laboring classes.

¹⁹ From Sala, G. A. (1895, March 23). ENTER THE SILK HAT. *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 6. Written by George Augustus Sala (1828 – 1895).

²⁰ Women’s beaver hats (or at least, beaver-style hats) would remain fashionable for some time yet. From the same year: “[W]hite beaver hats with the brims lined [with] black velvet are extremely smart in appearance. White velvet bows or rosettes, combined with black ostrich feather ribs, and, perhaps, a jet buckle, form in conjunction the most appropriate trimming for white beaver hats.” FASHIONS. (1895, October 12). *Supplement to the Western Mail*, p. 4.

²¹ A guinea was worth 21 shillings, or £1.05.

²² In 1838.

The Hatter's Trade

“Very good and cheap”²³ (1739)

This is to give notice, that William Dubberly, hatter, continues the trade of hat-making, in the city of Williamsburg; by whom, gentlemen and others may be furnished with extraordinary good beaver hats, fit for any service; beaverets and castors, very good and cheap. Likewise women's hats, white or black, shag'd, or otherwise: He will engage the dye to hold a reasonable time, as well as any European hats whatever. He also dyes any manner of woollens and silks, silk stockings, &c. free from rotting, or the least impairing. He likewise buys beaver, raccoon, and hares' furs²⁴, and will give good encouragement to those that will supply him with such, provided they are caught in the winter quarter. Those gentlemen that please to make use of him in any of the above premises, may depend upon honest and faithful usage, by their humble servant, William Dubberly.

“Prize of £5”²⁵ (1748)

In 1748 [...] the now extinct Royal Dublin Society's Madden prize of £5 for the best six beaver hats for laymen was adjudged to Mr. George, of Little Ship-street, a young beginner. The £5 premium for the four best clergymen's beaver hats was adjudged to Mr. Champion, of Meath-street, and a note was appended that the extraordinary price of beaver for the last two years of the war has greatly raised the price of hats, but it was expected that the peace would reduce them to their former value. This serves to explain Dean Swift's bequeathing his best and second-best beaver hats to two of his clerical friends.

“At Shield's”²⁶ (1777)

At Shield's Bath Beaver Surtout Coat and French Cloak Warehouse, No. 24, Duke-street, West Smithfield, ready-made, or made to measure, surtout coats or French cloaks at the following prices, viz. a Bath beaver surtout coat, or French cloak, 10s. 6d. Second Sort 12s. Third Sort 14s. Fourth Sort 18s. Fifth Sort, made of the best super-fine West Country beaver, 1l. 1s. the best superfine Kersey beaver surtout coat, or French cloak, 1l. 4s., the best superfine ratteen ditto 1l. 6s., a fine hunter's cloth ditto 1l. 14s.

²³ From Dubberly, W. (1739, September 14). THIS is to give Notice. *Virginia Gazette*, p. 4.

²⁴ The focus on hares' furs would make sense if William Dubberly knew the process of *secretage*, or carroting, through which a 'beaver hat' could be made using a body made mostly of 'coney' (rabbit or hare) fur. Carroting is thought to have been developed in the early 18th century, but as its French name suggests, it remained a trade secret for some time.

²⁵ From OLD DUBLIN CHURCHES. (1879, June 7). *The Freeman's Journal*, p. 3.

²⁶ From At SHIELD's [Advertisement]. (1777, March 8). *London Public Advertiser*, p. 4.

“He makes beaver hats”²⁷ (1777)

John Creamer, hatter from Cork, at the Hat, Crown and Rabbits, Barronstrand Street, Waterford, next door to Mrs. Ryan’s, begs leave to acquaint the public, that he makes beaver hats for ladies and gentlemen, Caroline, &c. which he sells on the most reasonable terms. He hopes his long experience in said business, and the goodness of his work, will be a sufficient recommendation.

He also makes felts, cocks and dresses, hats in the newest fashion, and gives the highest price for beaver and rabbit²⁸ skins. Hats bespoke, done in the speediest manner on the shortest notice.

“The Irish hatter”²⁹ (1832)

We extract the following from a letter dated Kilkenny, May 14th, and addressed by Mr. John Byrne, of that city, to the Secretary of the Trades’ Union.

As a person connected with Kilkenny by birth and trade, I think myself justified in saying that Kilkenny is dreadfully injured by the removal of the Irish parliament – this I will prove by showing the state of trade here previous and subsequent to the Union [with Great Britain].

Before the Union there were employed in this town constantly from twenty to thirty men in manufacturing fine stuff hats alone, each of whom could earn from thirty to sixty shillings per week, according to the branch employed at, besides a large number of women employed as furriers, trimmers, and pickers, each of whom could earn from ten to fifteen shillings per week. Lest this fact might be disputed on the ground of non-consumption, let it be understood that Kilkenny, at that time, supplied not less than twelve towns in the provinces of Leinster and Munster with fine hats, which towns, as well as this, are now stocked with English hats which do much injury to the shopkeeper who manufactures.

There is now employed in this town, where there is a population of 30,000 persons, one solitary journeyman and three or four apprentices – and why this change? Because the justly called protection duty has been removed by an English parliament upon English hats coming to Ireland.

There is another matter which presses very much upon the Irish hatter, viz. – the Hudson’s Bay Company monopolize the beaver trade, the sales take place in London, the London hatter is on the spot, makes a selection and purchases at prime cost, whilst the Irish manufacturer is obliged to purchase his beaver from a Dublin or London merchant who will not sell unless at a profit (how could he?).

²⁷ From JOHN CREAMER [Advertisement]. (1777, September 5). *Waterford Chronicle*, p. 3.

²⁸ Given the date, it is tempting to speculate whether John Creamer made use of carroting. Carroting, or *secretage*, was a technique developed in the early 18th century that allowed rabbit fur to felt. Carroting eventually led to ‘beaver’ hats using rabbit fur felt for the body, and a small bit of beaver fur for the glossy ‘nap’.

²⁹ From REPEAL OF THE UNION. (1832, May 22). *Freeman’s Journal* (Dublin), p. 3.

There is not, I believe, more than one beaver merchant in Dublin, and I have known as much as nine shillings an ounce paid there for that article, or one hundred and forty-four shillings a pound, and a prime hat will require seven or eight shillings worth of this precious article alone, which, added to the many other materials of a hat, trimming, tools, wages, &c. &c. leaves a very small profit at the present day to the Irish hatter. Let it be remarked that beaver could be purchased thirty years ago for sixty shillings a pound.

I think, Sir, I have shown that during the time Irishmen legislated for Irishmen, the hat trade of Kilkenny was better than it has been at any time since.

Financing wholesale hat purchases in Montreal³⁰ (1833)

District of Montreal, Province of Lower Canada.

IN THE KING'S BENCH

Thursday, October 3, 1833

Present – His Honor the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Rolland.

The case of “Louis Blanchard against Thomas Mitchell Smith and Charles Lindsay,” having been called, Mr. Day and Messrs. Cherrier & Laberge, appeared as Counsel for the Plaintiff; and Mr. Walker and Mr. Lafontaine for the Defendants. Messrs. Jones and Sexton were the Defendant’s attorneys. [...]

The jury having been sworn, Mr. Day addressed the Court and Jury, for the plaintiff, as follows:-

[STATEMENT BY MR. DAY, COUNSEL FOR THE PLAINTIFF]

[...] The matter, gentlemen, upon which your decision is now called for, is a claim by Louis Blanchard, formerly a trader of this city [of Montreal,] against Messrs. Smith & Lindsay the Defendants, merchants of this city. [...] In order, gentlemen, to put you fully in possession of the facts from which the present contest has originated, it will be necessary to carry back your attention to a period as remote as the months of November and December 1829, and I have to crave your attention to the facts, as I shall successively detail them to you.

In the month of November, 1829, the Plaintiff, Mr. Blanchard, purchased of Messrs. Smith & Lindsay, the Defendants, a large quantity of hats at the value of £347, in payment of which he gave them two promissory notes payable in two and six months – the one becoming due in April 1830, and the other in the June following.

About a fortnight after his purchase from Smith & Lindsay, the Plaintiff, Blanchard, sold one half to he hats purchased by him to Mr. Stanley Bagg, a merchant of this city, for the same price which he himself had given for them to Smith & Lindsay; and you will observe, gentlemen, that by this transaction, Blanchard paid off a debt of £78 due by him to Bagg, and received that person’s note for the balance of about £95, payable at the same periods at which his notes to Smith & Lindsay would become due.

³⁰ From *Report of a case tried in the court of King’s Bench, for the District of Montreal*. (1833). Montreal: Andre H. Armour & Co.

About the 29th of December, a month or five weeks from the original purchase of the hats in question, Blanchard sold out his entire stock in trade to one Daniel Bridge (then a merchant hatter of good credit in this city), including a considerable quantity of old stock and the new hats from Smith & Lindsay, which he had on hand. The new hats constituted about one-third of Blanchard's entire stock in trade, and they were sold at the same price which he paid for them. The old stock sold well in consequence of being brought forward in connection with the new, and the sale appears to have been of a highly advantageous nature.

The entire amount of the sale to Bridge was £460, for which Bridge granted his promissory notes payable at 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 months; a considerable portion of which [were] endorsed with names of respectability and credit, and this portion was made payable at period which would have enabled Blanchard to make good his payments to Smith and Lindsay.

Such, gentlemen, was the posture of my client's affairs on the 29th of January, 1830. He had disposed advantageously of his purchases from the Defendants – he had approved securities ready and available to make good his first payment to the Defendants, and could look with confidence to a punctual discharge of his remaining obligations.

On the 29th of January, 1830, however, Mr. Smith, one of the Defendants, thought proper to make an affidavit *that he was credibly informed, and did verily and in his conscience believe that Blanchard intended to leave this Province of Lower Canada, whereby they the Defendants would be deprived of their remedy against him;* and upon this affidavit they sued out a writ of *capias* and *respondendum* for the amount of the notes granted by Blanchard to them, and neither of which was then due, or within half of the time of being due.³¹

On this process the Plaintiff was arrested, and lodged in the common gaol of this city, where he remained in confinement for a fortnight – when he procured his liberation by putting into the hands of those who were induced to come forward as bail, every sixpence he possessed, to indemnify them against any possible loss or injury they might sustain by their interference in his behalf. [...]

After remaining in gaol some twelve or fifteen days, he placed his monies and notes, to the amount of about £350, and also his books of account, containing the entry against his various customers, in the hands of Mr. T. S. Brown, of this city, who, in conjunction with Mr. Stanley Bagg, came forward and entered bail in his behalf.

The immediate and natural consequence of this hard necessity will readily suggest itself to you. The Plaintiff was at once and entirely thrown out of business – his hands were tied – his efforts were completely paralyzed – and he was obliged to seek out the situation of a clerk, which after the lapse of some months he obtained in

³¹ In the pleadings filed by the Defendants – declaring the grounds upon which they sought to establish a right to arrest Blanchard, and receive from him the amount of his notes, notwithstanding that they had not yet arrived at maturity – it is admitted by them that the notes would not in the ordinary course become due until the months of April and June following. But the Defendants alleged that they were entitled to claim *immediate* payment, because Blanchard was immediately *about to abscond*. Upon this pretended absconding, they seem to have placed their whole reliance, as no other act of *insolvency* was alleged. [From the main text of the original.]

a retailing establishment, and from which he barely derived the means of a scanty subsistence. This, however, was a result so necessary and obvious, that I need not dwell upon it, and I turn to circumstances of a more strikingly disastrous nature.

The Plaintiff in this cause, in the spring of the year 1829, had succeeded in opening a correspondence with Messrs. Midgely and Wilkinson, a mercantile house in Great Britain, of high respectability and very extensive business, from whom he had already received a small invoice of goods to the amount of £150 on very favorable terms of credit. So high, in fact, was the confidence he enjoyed with those gentlemen, as also with Mr. Leaycraft, a large dealer in hats and articles connected with this line of business, that towards the close at the month of December, 1829, he adopted the design of relinquishing his retail trade and manufacturing of hats, and of making importations in the spring of 1830, to be disposed of by wholesale.

With this view he availed himself of a favorable opportunity of disposing of his retail stock, a large portion of which was of an unsaleable nature, and also of his manufacturing utensils, for which in the wholesale trade he could have no use.

In the month of January, 1830, while engaged in making up orders for Messrs. Midgely & Wilkinson, to the amount of from £1,000 to £1,500, to be shipped to this country in the early spring vessels, and preparing remittances to accompany his orders, he was arrested and thrown into prison – his means were locked up in the manner already mentioned – he was deprived of the power of making remittances to meet his engagements in England, and consequently forfeited the confidence and lost the credit which he had previously enjoyed with his correspondents there – and which, as will appear from their letters, they were not only willing but anxious to continue towards him. The Plaintiff asks £5,000 to recompense him for an illegal arrest, and imprisonment without cause.³² [...]

[TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM SUTER]

Mr. William Suter was called, and examined by Mr. Walker:-

“I was a clerk in the employ of the Defendants in 1829 and 1820. They carried on the business of commission merchants. In the fall of 1829, they possessed a considerable quantity of hats, consigned to them from England, to be disposed of on commissions. They were to receive a commission of 5 per cent. It was not a guarantee commission. The guarantee commission, over and above the ordinary commission, is 2½ per cent. The Defendants did not guarantee the sale of the goods, and were not responsible for the London house.

“I remember well the circumstances connected with the sale of the hats to the Plaintiff. He called on the Defendants about the hats two or three times, accompanied by Mr. Bagg. I remember one occasion, when the Plaintiff and Bagg came down together, to examine the hats. I did not then understand which of the two wanted to purchase, but I am certain they came together. I was not present at the sale. It amounted to £360, at a credit of four and six months – this is the longest term they ever granted for goods of this description. Blanchard insisted on being allowed the longer credit, as he wished to retail the hats; and should he give a note for three

³² This sentence is not Mr. Day's. It is taken from Mr. Cherrier's reply to the Defendant's closing arguments, on p. 41 of the original. I've copied it here, as it succinctly sums up the Plaintiff's request.

months, he could not at that season of the year retail the hats. I was surprised, in my own mind, at this long credit; but I learn that it was granted at the instigation of Mr. Bagg, in whose employ the Plaintiff had been.

“The Plaintiff’s business was trifling; he had a small retail store. December to March are unfavorable months for retailing hats. At that time I am not aware that the Plaintiff possessed any means.

“He told Mr. Lindsay that his ability of paying for the hats, depended upon his retailing them. Up to this time he has not paid for them. I do not think Mr. Lindsay would have sold Plaintiff the hats, if it had not been for his representations about retailing them. [...]

“After the sale, [...] I had occasion to pass two or three times a day by Plaintiff’s store, over which his name continued; and I never supposed for an instant that Plaintiff had dispossessed himself of the hats, or of his business. [...] Feeling an interest in the sale of the hats, [...] I frequently looked into the shop – everything seemed to be going on as usual – there was no alteration in the shelves. The hats were fine beaver hats.

“After [a] communication by Vaughan³³ [...], I was directed to get information thereon, as we thought the debt in jeopardy. I then went to Blanchard’s store, and asked to see him. I was told Plaintiff was not there; that Plaintiff had nothing to do with the store and the business; but that it belonged to [a Mr.] Bridge. This was the first time I had heard of this transfer; and up to this period, I had thought the store was the Plaintiff’s.

“My impression was that Plaintiff intended to quit the Province. I apprised Mr. Smith of this, and he showed great repugnance to adopt proceedings; and I am certain that nothing short of the actual necessity, made him so act. I made inquiries as to Plaintiff’s credit; the results of which were very unsatisfactory, and confirmed my previous unfavorable opinion of him. The rest of my inquiries also tended to prove that his credit was bad, and his character doubtful. [...]

“The hats were invoiced as low as possible. Defendants would have been justified in exacting 50 per cent. more for the hats; but, in consequence of Mr. Lindsay being on the point of going to England, and wishing to close the sales previously, the hats were on that account sold lower than the usual rate. Had Plaintiff retailed the hats, he ought to have made 36 per cent. profit.

“I frequently met Plaintiff on the street after the sale to him, and he never acquainted me with his intention of changing his mode of dealing. The never told me of the transfer of half the hats at cost prices to Bagg. We heard of this first from Vaughan.

³³ MR. ANDREW SHAW – I know Mr. Vaughan; he was a merchant here, for many years. He was a wholesale dealer, and for some time a money broker. The latter business renders it necessary to possess a good capital. From Mr. Vaughan’s standing in the commercial world, and from his personal character, I should readily believe what he told me. [From the main text of the original.]

“The vendors of hats in this city, sell by wholesale and retail. A wholesale hatter, I should suppose, would require tools³⁴ and implements of trade. Exchange in this market is considered as a cash article. Exchange bills for nine months could only be obtained at a great sacrifice [discount]. I should doubt very much, if Bridge’s notes would have obtained Exchange at all.

“The 8th of January packet is considered a late conveyance for orders for goods, by the spring arrivals. Orders transmitted on the 1st of February, could not, I think, leave England, before the end of April, even if they were ready for shipping. Orders for spring arrivals ought to be sent by the end of March, or beginning of December. People who had but a scanty stock, ought to dispatch their orders early in the fall. If fine hats did not arrive early in the spring, it would be very disadvantageous to the importer.

“I never heard of such a transaction as that of Plaintiff’s sale to Bridge – it excited my suspicion immediately. It is not possible, I think, to dispose of such a trade, at such a time of the year, without a great sacrifice; and this it was that excited my suspicions.” [...]

[THE VERDICT]

The Jury then retired, and in an hour and a half returned into Court, with a verdict for the Plaintiff, and awarded him £200 for his damages. [...]

SALE AND TRANSFER BY MR. LOUIS BLANCHARD TO MR. DANIEL BRIDGE

On the 28th day of the month of December, in the year of our Lord 1829, before the undersigned Public Notaries, duly admitted and sworn, in and for the Province of Lower Canada, Lewis Blanchard, of the City of Montreal, merchant hatter, of the one part; and Daniel Bridge, of the same place, also merchant hatter, of the other part. Which said Lewis Blanchard, for and in consideration of the sum hereinafter mentioned, and to be paid as hereinafter stated; has voluntarily sold, transferred and made over, and by these presents doth make, sell, assign, make over and deliver, unto the said Daniel Bridge, present and accepting, all and every the goods mentioned and set forth in the schedule hereunto annexed, marked A, and all his the said Lewis Blanchard’s right, title, and interest therein and thereunto.

To hold and to the use of the said Daniel Bridge, his executors, administrators, and assigns, forever, the said goods as mentioned in the said schedule; with promise of warrantry against all former sales and demands; the present sale is thus made for and in consideration of the sum of 485 pounds 3 shillings and 4 pence, currency, on which sum the vendor acknowledges to have received the sum of 25 pounds 3 shillings and 4 pence, of which sum the purchaser is hereby acquitted and exonerated. And as to the balance the purchaser has paid the same by his promissory notes, of which a

³⁴ JAMES R. ORR. I am a partner in the house of Orr & Blackader, and deal in hats wholesale and retail. I am not aware of there being a wholesale hatter in Montreal. A variety of implements for manufacture, repair, and alteration of hats, are not requisite for a wholesale dealer, when the hats are completed and finished. The articles of tools sold by Blanchard to Bridge, would be necessary for unfinished hats – and all the wholesale dealers in the city possess them. [Form the main text of the original.]

copy will remain hereunto annexed,³⁵ which when paid will be in full payment of the said sum. This done and passed at the City of Montreal, at the office of N. B. Doucet, the day and year first above written; and the parties have signed with us the said Notaries, these presents, having been first duly read in their presence.

(Signed) Louis Blanchard, Daniel Bridge, G. D. Arnoldi, N.P., N. B. Doucet, N.P., as it appears on the original remaining in the subscribing Notaries' office.
N. B. DOUCET, N. P.

[SAMPLE NOTE]

Montreal, 24th December, 1829.

£50 0 0 Currency.

Seven months after date I promise to pay to Mr. L. Blanchard, or order, the sum of fifty pounds, currency, for value received.

(Signed) D. BRIDGE.

[SUMMARY TABLE OF THE NOTES PRESENTED]

				Montreal, 24th December, 1829.	
£	25	3		Wm. Thompson	
	25	3		P. Spink	
	50	4		Wm. Thompson	or order, the sum
	50	5		P. Spink	of fifty pounds,
	25	6	months after	L. Blanchard	currency, for
	25	6	date I promise	P. Spink	value received.
	50	7	to pay to Mr.	L. Blanchard	(Signed) D.
	50	8		L. Blanchard	BRIDGE.
	50	9		L. Blanchard	
	50	10		L. Blanchard	
	50	12		L. Blanchard	

³⁵ The notes were all of the following form: "Montreal, 24th December, 1829. £50 0 0 Currency. Seven months after date I promise to pay to Mr. L. Blanchard, or order, the sum of fifty pounds, currency, for value received. (Signed) D. BRIDGE."

³⁶ The total across all notes is £450.

[SCHEDULE A: ITEMS TO BE FORWARDED AND DELIVERED]³⁷

Count	Unit	Item	Unit cost		Dec. £	Total
			Shillings	Pence		
4	gallons	Alcohol	5	0	£0.25	£1.00
75		Band Boxes	0	5	£0.02	£1.56
44		Band Boxes	0	6	£0.03	£1.10
1		Band Boxes (2) and Basket	1	10	£0.09	£0.09
2	pieces	Band, Black	7	6	£0.38	£0.75
39	pieces	Banding	0	6	£0.03	£0.98
1		Banding	3	0	£0.15	£0.15
1		Bands	6	0	£0.30	£0.30
1		Basket	1	6	£0.08	£0.08
3		Baskets	0	10	£0.04	£0.13
2		Beating Boards and Pins	2	6	£0.13	£0.25
48		Beaver Hats	20	3	£1.01	£48.60
24		Beaver Hats	23	0.5	£1.15	£27.65
24		Beaver Hats	25	10	£1.29	£31.00
34		Beaver Hats	28	8	£1.43	£48.73
1		Bey	10	0	£0.50	£0.50
1		Black and Drab Hats	27	6	£1.38	£1.38
7		Black and Drab Hats	27	8	£1.38	£9.68
10		Black and Drab Hats	26	5	£1.32	£13.21
3		Black and Drab Hats	13	10	£0.69	£2.08
1		Black and Drab Hats	32	6	£1.63	£1.63
2		Black and Drab Hats (Mems.)	18	0	£0.90	£1.80
15		Black and Drab Hats (Smith)	25	0	£1.25	£18.75
6		Black and Drab Hats (Wm. R. & Co.)	18	1	£0.90	£5.43
1		Blacking Card	1	0	£0.05	£0.05
5		Block Bottoms	5	0	£0.25	£1.25
36		Blocks	7	6	£0.38	£13.50
320		Bodies	1	3	£0.06	£20.00
10		Bonnet Bodies, W. P.	2	3	£0.11	£1.13
2		Bonnet Bodies, W. P.	2	3	£0.11	£0.23
2		Bonnet Stands	2	6	£0.13	£0.25
1		Bonnet Stands	2	6	£0.13	£0.13

³⁷ In the table below, I've corrected numerous small typos, inconsistencies and minor math errors, while ensuring that, item by item, the total cost matches that given for the item in the original table. No such value was more than 1% off from the originally stated total, and by far most were a perfect match. The original table's totals add up to £484 0 3, item by item, and my total is equivalent to £482 18 0. The total given in the published table is £485 3 4.

5		Bonnets	9	6	£0.48	£2.38
50		Bonnets and Hats	8	2	£0.41	£20.42
11		Bonnets, Black, Trimmed	9	0	£0.45	£4.95
13		Bonnets, Black, Trimmed	8	0	£0.40	£5.20
1		Bonnets, Black, Trimmed	5	3	£0.26	£0.26
1		Bonnets, Drab, Trimmed	12	6	£0.63	£0.63
40		Bonnets, Old Stock	10	0	£0.50	£20.00
4		Bonnets, Old Stock, Trimmed	4	0	£0.20	£0.80
3		Bows and Strings	8	4	£0.42	£1.25
1		Brick Laying	75	0	£3.75	£3.75
1		Brick Laying	80	0	£4.00	£4.00
4		Bricks (1,000)	25	0	£1.25	£5.00
6		Brushes	5	0	£0.25	£1.50
2		Buckets	1	8	£0.08	£0.17
1		Bunk	10	0	£0.50	£0.50
18		Cap Straps	0	6	£0.03	£0.45
4		Caps	2	6	£0.13	£0.50
1		Carpenter's Work	200	0	£10.00	£10.00
1		Cloth	10	0	£0.50	£0.50
24		Cloth Caps	6	8	£0.33	£8.00
1		Coloring Kettle, Grates & c.	100	0	£5.00	£5.00
2	lb	Coney	10	4	£0.52	£1.03
3	lb	Coney	10	9.5	£0.54	£1.62
5	lb	Coney Wool	10	9.5	£0.54	£2.70
1		Cotton Balls	3	2	£0.16	£0.16
1		Desk and Stool	15	0	£0.75	£0.75
1		Doer	7	6	£0.38	£0.38
7		Drab Hats	8	2	£0.41	£2.86
24		Drab Silk Hats	6	8	£0.33	£8.00
15		Feathers	1	0	£0.05	£0.75
1		Finishing Bench	10	6	£0.53	£0.53
1		Glass and Putty	7	8	£0.38	£0.38
10	yards	Gloz Cambrics	0	10	£0.04	£0.42
1.75	yards	Gloz Cotton	5	0	£0.25	£0.44
1.5		Gross Bands	10	8	£0.53	£0.80
0.67		Gross Bands	14	0	£0.70	£0.47
1		Gross Binding	9	0	£0.45	£0.45
2.5		Gross Binding	11	6	£0.58	£1.44
1.24		Gross Binding	11	6	£0.58	£0.71
1		Gross Binding	14	0	£0.70	£0.70

3		Gross Black Batkles	4	3	£0.21	£0.64
16	lb	Gum shellac	2	0	£0.10	£1.60
1		Hardening Skin	4	0	£0.20	£0.20
3.75	lb	Hase Sildes	14	6	£0.73	£2.72
100		Hat Tips	0	2.25	£0.01	£0.94
10		Imitation Hats	9	0	£0.45	£4.50
5		Imitation Hats	6	3	£0.31	£1.56
16		Imitation Wool Hats	7	6	£0.38	£6.00
1		Iron at Door to Hay-house	15	0	£0.75	£0.75
228		Muskrats	0	10	£0.04	£9.50
337		Muskrats	0	9	£0.04	£12.64
16	oz	Muskrats	1	9	£0.09	£1.40
1		Painting Shelves	20	0	£1.00	£1.00
1		Pair Irons	15	0	£0.75	£0.75
1		Pair Raisin Cords	4	0	£0.20	£0.20
1		Pair Scales	6	3	£0.31	£0.31
2		Pairs Buckles	1	10.5	£0.09	£0.19
1		Paving Shop	20	0	£1.00	£1.00
7	yards	Persian	1	9	£0.09	£0.61
1		Piping Cord	70	0	£3.50	£3.50
1		Plank Kettle	10	0	£0.50	£0.50
17		Plated Beaver Hats, Plated	11	3	£0.56	£9.56
15		Plated Beaver Hats, Plated	10	8	£0.53	£8.00
2		Plated Hats	7	8	£0.38	£0.77
1		Puncheon	5	0	£0.25	£0.25
1		Rack	10	0	£0.50	£0.50
3	lb	Raisins	0	3	£0.01	£0.04
114	yards	Ribbon	0	3	£0.01	£1.43
1		Ribbon	5	6	£0.28	£0.28
10	yards	Ribbon	0	4.75	£0.02	£0.20
1		Ribbon	2	6	£0.13	£0.13
5.25	lb	Russia	14	3.5	£0.71	£3.75
2.25	oz	Russia	2	6	£0.13	£0.28
10	yards	Satin	3	5	£0.17	£1.71
6.5	yards	Satin	4	0	£0.20	£1.30
1		Sewer	1	6	£0.08	£0.08
1		Shelves	35	0	£1.75	£1.75
1		Shelves	15	0	£0.75	£0.75
1		Shelves in Window	4	0	£0.20	£0.20
1		Shovel	3	9	£0.19	£0.19

39		Skivers	3	4.5	£0.17	£6.58
1		Stamper	3	0	£0.15	£0.15
1		Steaming Box	3	0	£0.15	£0.15
1		Steaming Kettle	10	0	£0.50	£0.50
1		Steps and Sprinkler	6	0	£0.30	£0.30
1		Stiffening Table	5	0	£0.25	£0.25
11	dozen	Stitched Leather	2	8	£0.13	£1.47
16	dozen	Stitched Leather	2	2	£0.11	£1.73
		Stove and Pipes	11	0	£0.55	£0.00
1		Stove Pan	5	0	£0.25	£0.25
1		Stove Pipes	24	0	£1.20	£1.20
2.5	dozen	Strentches	5	0	£0.25	£0.63
1		Sundries	20	0	£1.00	£1.00
1		Sundries	1	6	£0.08	£0.08
1		Sundries	145	0	£7.25	£7.25
1		Thread	1	3	£0.06	£0.06
1		Tin Canister	7	6	£0.38	£0.38
1		Trunk	4	0	£0.20	£0.20
1		Tub	2	6	£0.13	£0.13
		Weights	4	0	£0.20	£0.00
1		Whirlygig	1	6	£0.08	£0.08
1		Window Blind	9	0	£0.45	£0.45
64		Wool Hats	1	3	£0.06	£4.00
44		Wool Hats	0	6	£0.03	£1.10
3		Wool Hats	1	3	£0.06	£0.19
		Total cost of all goods				£482.90
		By amount of Account, reduced by	252	11.5	£12.65	
		Discount	250	4.5	£12.52	£25.17
		Total cost net of discount & account				£457.74
		Plus discrepancy (rounding errors?)	45	2.5	£2.26	£2.26
						£460.00

“This ancient union”³⁸ (1834)

Sir – I have recently seen an advertisement in the *Staffordshire Advertiser*, stating that any quantity of hatters (provided they did not belong to the *Union*,) might have constant employ by applying to a person at Rugeley. Now, Sir, in justice to the general body of working hatters, I think it but fair to state *the Hatters’ Union* has existed since the year 1604, and is much to be distinguished from the injurious combinations now called *Trades’ Unions*; as assistance in money is only rendered whilst the working hatter is ill or on travel, when out of employ, or for the purpose of burial when he dies. To shew that the *Hatters’ Union* has not been very instrumental in raising the standard of wages, I am able to prove that the working Hatters in a neighbouring county, who have been lately turned off because they belonged to this *ancient union*, have made thousands of mens’ hats at 2½d. each, and at this rate a quick and skilful workman might get 12s. per week. I believe 180 men are now out of employ in one small town, because they belong to a Union which has had no worse effect than this. I have been credibly informed that a great Master Hatter has said *that he had ruined half of the Hatters in the Kingdom*. I cannot but see that the advantage which he has over others is in the diminished rate of wages, and I frankly own, that my own trade has been entirely ruined by such competition.

I put it to you, Sir, and the public, whether a fair and equitable division of profits between masters and men is not much more advantageous in the long run, and far more respectable in moral feeling.

I and my family before me have been Hatters as long as any house in the kingdom, and I know how to go into the Market as a buyer as cheap as any man, but I cannot find in my heart to reap profits at the expense of my work people, and have almost given up the trade.

Most sincerely wishing that unanimity may ever subsist between Master and Men, and that fair Trade times may yet revive, I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

A MASTER HATTER.

“An anti-unionist”³⁹ (1834)

Sir – In you paper of April 30th, is a letter signed “A Master Hatter.” The object of the writer appears to be a defence of the Hatters’ Union, and that defence he deemed requisite, in consequence of having seen an advertisement in the *Staffordshire Advertiser*, stating that any quantity of men might find constant employ, (provided they did not belong to the Union,) by applying to a person at Rugeley. Now, for myself, I should say the Rugeley master had a decided right to

³⁸ From A MASTER HATTER. (1834, April 30). TO THE EDITOR OF THE DERBY MERCURY. *Derby Mercury*, p. 2.

³⁹ From AN ANTI-UNIONIST. (1834, May 14). TO THE EDITOR OF THE DERBY MERCURY. *Derby Mercury*, p. 2.

employ what description of men he pleased. We will however pass over that point, and proceed to examine the defence *of the Hatters' Union*.

In the first place, we are told of its antiquity; but I doubt very much if your correspondent can prove that the code of laws now adopted by the Hatters' Union, is the same as that which was adopted at its commencement. Can he say how many revisions it has undergone, or that it has never undergone any? Did not the Hatters' Union partake of the general spirit about a year and a half ago, and in the mania for reform, was not their code of laws reformed? So much, then, for antiquity.

Your correspondent says, that assistance in money is only rendered whilst the working hatter is sick, on travel, in search of employment, or for the purpose of burial when he dies. Now, the Union has no rule making it imperative upon its members to provide for the sick, [or to] bury the dead; it is true facilities are afforded for traveling when in search of employment, but I have known members of the Union relieved as casual paupers, passed to their parish, and consigned to the workhouse. I at the present time know a poor man with a family, a member of the Hatters' Union, who has been sick for months, and has not received a single penny, nor is there one rule in the whole code of their laws that will enable him to enforce the payment of one.

Benevolence, Mr. Editor, is no part of their system; it is a system of dictation and intolerance. They hesitate not to say who a master shall employ, how he shall employ them, and what rate of wages he shall pay. They not only prohibit masters from taking apprentices, but they actually refuse to allow them the privilege of having their own sons instructed only in such cases as they think proper to allow. So far from the Union funds being appropriated to the purposes mentioned in your correspondent's letter, they have an article expressly providing, that in case any master shall infringe their laws, the men shall leave his employ, and be allowed a stated sum per week from the "Union Fund," till such time as the master is compelled to accede to their wishes, or till the men shall have got fresh employment.

I would now ask "A Master Hatter" where the tyranny exists, or by what process of reasoning he can justify the fact to which I have alluded. Whatever he may think of the workman's right to a fair and equitable share of the profits with the employer, I contend the workman has nothing to do with them. The workman has his labour to dispose of; the master has it to purchase; the price of it is of course like that of any other article regulated according to the quality and the demand for it. The master says what he is giving for work; the man does it at that rate, or leaves it. In all this I cannot see what the profits have to do with the affair. From my personal knowledge of the Hatters' Unions, I feel surprised there should be found any man, much less "A Master Hatter," (if such your correspondent be,) standing forth in their behalf, particularly on the score of justice. If "A Master Hatter" is just to himself, he will get better acquainted with the merits of the case he next advocates, before he again appears in public. I am, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

AN ANTI-UNIONIST.

“The Felt-maker’s Company”⁴⁰ (1834)

Sir Francis Palgrave had before him yesterday some important evidence relative to the injurious consequences which result from Trades’ Unions. It was given by Mr. Peachey, the clerk of the Felt-makers’ Company, who attended to afford the Commissioners [of the Corporation Commission] every information in his power relative to the affairs of the company, and to explain any points that might require elucidation in the answers that had been given by the master and court of assistants to the queries propounded to them by the Commissioners.

The information relative to the company, to the great power exercised by the union among the operative hatters over the masters, and the injury it produced on the trade, given by the clerk of the company to the commissioners, and by the court, is in substance as follows:-

The style by which the charter denominated the company was, “The Master, Wardens, and Commonalty of the Art and Mystery of the Felt-makers of London.” There were only two classes of members, liverymen, and freemen. The company possessed a livery by virtue of an order of the Court of Aldermen. The company was managed by a master, four wardens, and twenty-one assistants. No attempt had been made either by application to a court of law, or in any other way, to throw open the right of suffrage. The replies of the court of assistants relative to the internal management of the company, did not differ materially from those given by other companies.

Mr. Peachey alluded to the injurious effects produced by the union which existed among the hatters, and asked the Commissioners if evidence upon that point could be received?

Sir F. Palgrave considered evidence of this nature would be most important, and he should be glad to receive any information that could be given.

Mr. Peachey said the union which existed among the workmen in the different branches of the hat trade was one of the most oppressive. The union in the trade was distinct from any general trade-union. They were a body of much power, had considerable funds, and were extremely severe in their regulations. They carried their regulations into effect in opposition of the efforts of the masters. The by-laws of the company were disregarded by the union in regulating the number of apprentices taken by partners in a firm. If there were any number of partners in a firm in the hat trade, the union would not allow more than two apprentices, though there should be 100 men working on the premises. Efforts had been made to put down the power of the union, but without success; only three men in London had withstood the opposition of the trade-union.

One case of the exercise of the power of the body, was so remarkable that he would mention it. A workman took home to his employer three hats he had been ordered to make. The hats were badly made – and he might here mention, that a wide door was opened to fraud, in extricating beaver from the felt – and the master

⁴⁰ From FELT-MAKERS’ COMPANY. (1834, October 25). *London Morning Chronicle*, p. 4.

complained, and would not pay for the work. The master was summoned before the Court of Requests; and after the case had been fully gone into, the commissioners decided against the claim for pay, as the work was so badly done. The man, however, applied to the committee of the trade-union, and they decided that the commissioners of the Court of Requests had not acted right, and directed the master to pay the man for the work, and if he failed, threatened him that all his men should strike.

A strike did take place among all the men, and a bill of indictment for the conspiracy was preferred against the unionists, but owing to some unfortunate circumstances it was not proceeded with. Their funds were so large that strikes injured them but little. They furnished tickets for men out of work when they went round the country for employment, which ticket franked them to a bed, a good breakfast, and a shilling.

Another instance of the arbitrary conduct of the union was, where a hat-manufacturer of London had an establishment in the country where he did not employ all unionists, the union required the manufacturer to discharge the men who did not belong to the union, and on a refusal a strike took place. The effect of this union upon the hat trade was most injurious and oppressive: the men were enabled by it to keep up a rate of wages which were very high, and this shut out the English manufacturers from competing with foreigners in the markets abroad.

There were, no doubt, persons in the trade who could give the Commissioners much important information upon this subject, but they no doubt would not like to appear, lest they should be marked by the unionists.

Sir F. Palgrave said that the subject was one of so much interest, that the Commissioners would receive written information.

Mr. Peachey said it was his opinion, as well as the opinion of most persons in the trade, that the union was very injurious to the trade of the country.

Sir F. Palgrave asked whether, if increased powers were given to the company, they possessed the machinery for settling the disputes between masters and the unionists?

Mr. Peachey said he should not like to give an opinion on such an important point. The subject had certainly been considered by the members of the company, but it had never been brought formally before the court.

Mr. Woodthorpe put in copies of orders of the Court of Common Council of the 6th June, 1759, ordering that persons exercising the art and mystery of a felt-maker must become free of the company. Mr. Woodthorpe stated that persons in the hat-trade, applying to become free of the city, often slipped through his fingers, by their declaring that they were haberdashers of hats. A felt-maker was one who made the hat, and the haberdasher of hats was the person who prepared the linings, &c.

The charter of the Felt-maker's Company was originally denied, the Haberdashers' Company opposing it, as interfering with their craft, they being an ancient company. In 1613 it was ordered that the felt-makers should pay 1,500 l. for their being admitted into the corporation, but previously their charter had been denied, in direct opposition to several messages from the King, ordering that they should be admitted. This was in the times of James the First; but the corporation

would not obey the orders, and foreign felt-makers were allowed an admittance into the Haberdashers' Company. There were then constant disputes between the haberdashers and felt-makers. In 1650 the felt-makers were admitted into the corporation.

Sir F. Palgrave said this was certainly a very strong case as to the power of the corporations.

“Wanted immediately”⁴¹ (1834)

Wanted immediately, a respectable young woman, of good address, and who has been used to the beaver hat trade – none need apply whose character for honesty will not bear the strictest inquiry. Apply at the Ipswich Journal Office.

“Employment of females”⁴² (1841)

A word or two respecting the employment of females in factories:-

The texture of English society is such, that the number of reputable employments for females in the middle and humble ranks is very small. Most fathers and brothers are well aware of this; and women themselves, however desirous of contributing to their means of support, are cramped in their efforts by the limited range of avocations left open to them. The effect of this is such as never fails to result when the vineyard is too small for the labourers; the number of employments being few, so many females embark in them that the supply greatly exceeds the demand, and the value of female labour is thereby brought to a very low level.

Under such circumstances, it is important to inquire how far female labour may be available in factories where the subdivision of employments is carried out on a complete scale; and the hat manufactory now under consideration may afford some valuable hints on this point. The number of females employed here is not far short of two hundred, whose earnings vary from 8s. to 14s. per week. The degree of ingenuity required varies considerably, so as to give scope to different degrees of talent. Among the processes by which a beaver hat is produced, women and girls are employed in the following:- plucking the beaver skins; cropping off the fur; sorting various kinds of wool; plucking and cutting rabbit's wool; shearing the nap off the blocked hat (in some cases); picking out defective fibres of fur; and trimming. Other departments of the factory, unconnected with the manufacture of beaver hats, also give employment to numerous females.

Where a uniform system of supervision and kindness on the part of the proprietors is acted on, no unfavourable effects are to be feared from such an employment of females in a factory. We cannot dwell longer on this matter; but in endeavouring to solve the important problem, “How can all live – and live honestly?” the nature and extent of female employment becomes a prominent subject for thought.

⁴¹ From Wanted Immediately. (1834, November 15). *Ipswich Journal*, p. 3.

⁴² From EMPLOYMENT OF FEMALES. (1841, February 20). *Leicester Chronicle*, p. 4.

“Almost a dead trade”⁴³ (1850)

An account of what happened to a beaver hat town when fashion turned to silk.

Newcastle-under-Lyme is, in fact, the seat of a dying – almost a dead trade – that of the manufacture of beaver hats. Factories which once gave constant employment to hundreds of hands now provide fitful jobs for perhaps a dozen or a score; and workmen, who were once engaged in the production of the most expensive hats, now think themselves lucky if they can earn a pittance by the manufacture of coarse felt “wide awakes,” locally called “caps.” The introduction of silk hats has been, as I understand, the cause of this revulsion in the trade. The old beavers have all but gone out of use. The cheap silk hats manufactured in London, in Lancashire, and abroad, have completely supplanted the more expensive article, and ruined the staple trade of Newcastle.

Without much difficulty I found an intelligent operative hatter – one of the few still lingering about the scene of their former prosperity, and striving, by the profits of uncertain and ill-paid labor, to make both ends meet. His account of the state of the hatting trade in Newcastle-under-Lyme was nearly as follows:

“Out of the multitude of people engaged in the hatting business twenty years ago there are now, I should say, hardly a hundred left in Newcastle. The trade is gone away and ruined. Since the cheap silk hats came in, hardly anything else is made. If an order does come in, the wages are a mere nothing to what they used to be. The men struggle for the job, and so bring wages down. I mean the few of us who are left. The great body of the Newcastle hatters are gone long since. They had to take to all manner of trades – to do anything for a living. Some of them went to work in the clay-pits; others went to the brickfields. Some got to be potters; lots went to be cotton-spinners in Lancashire; others turned railway navies; and a good many went to London to work at silk-hatting if they could, or to do anything which might turn up. In fact, they’re all broken up and away. A good many of those who had the means went off to America, and some had to go to the workhouse. Of the hundred or so who are still here, the most are making felt caps, and some few have turned their hands to silk hats; but the silk is quite a different trade from the beaver; and it I shard for a grown-up man, who has served an apprenticeship, to set to and learn another craft.

“In the good days of the beaver trade, the hatters used to work, the most of them, in a factory, and a smaller number at their own homes, or in shops attached to them. These shops were principally at the backs of the houses. The owners of them were generally piece-masters, as they were called, and they had the privilege of taking apprentices. I am a piece-master; but of course there are no apprentices now. That is all over. The piece-masters worked for a factory. They got the materials from the manufacturer, and took back the finished goods.

⁴³ From LABOUR AND THE POOR. (1850, February 5). *The London Morning Chronicle*, p. 5.

“Besides the beavers, there was a common sort of hat manufactured to a very great extent in Newcastle. They were called ‘stuff hats’⁴⁴. I have known a single firm here to have upwards of 32,000 dozen of these hats on stock. They were exported to America and the West Indies for the slaves. Thirty years ago the prices paid for making the bodies of the stuff hats were 8s., 9s., and 10s. per dozen. The same work is done now-a-days for 2s. 9d. The old prices for making the body of a beaver hat were 2s. 6d. and 3s. a-piece; they are now made for 14d. and 15d., and sometimes for even less than that.

“When the hat trade was fairly broken up, and the people gone, a great swarm of Irish came, and took possession of the houses. In a district called the Blue-buildings, three-fourths of the people used to be English hatters, and now three-fourths, and more than that, are Irish. A few, but only a very few, of these Irish try to work at hatting; the great bulk of them go strolling about, begging, and collecting bones, rags, bottles, and the like. The few who work at hatting have been regularly brought up in the trade.

“The wages that a man can earn at cap-making are very low; he might almost as well be idle. The bulk of that trade is in Lancashire. I have said that a body-maker is now paid 2s. 9d. per dozen. It takes a good week’s work to make four dozen and a half. But there is little work even at this price. I have had only two dozen for the last 15 weeks, and there are many as ill off as I am. A ‘rougher’ would be paid about 5s. 6d. per dozen, and he would ‘rough’ from three dozen to four dozen a week. A finisher would have about 3s. per dozen, and he might turn out about seven dozen, or rather more, a week. The men who have learned silk hatting can’t make a pound a week. These are about the prices when there is work. We hope there will be some potteries started here soon. They talk about it, as soon as a new branch railway is opened. Then perhaps we should have a chance of turning our hands to something new, for there’s no use in talking about making a living in the hat trade any longer.”

I proceeded to several small shops where the caps, or wide-awakes, were manufactured, but found only one open. It was merely a miserable, crazy shed, crusted over with dirt from long neglect. Four or five men were at work within it. They made any sort of hats for which they could get an order; but the wide-awakes formed their staple trade. Working twelve hours a day, when they could get work, they assured me that they hardly earned 10s. a week. The hours some of the men labored, when an order came in, were excessive – sometimes from three in the morning until ten at night. “But, as I might well conceive,” they added, “it is not from over-work we suffer.”

⁴⁴ The bodies of stuff hats were made of rabbit fur, and they were often finished off with a fine beaver fur nap.

“The change in the hat trade”⁴⁵ (1850)

On Tuesday, J. Bowler, hat manufacturer of Southwark bridge-road, applied for his [first class bankruptcy] certificate. Mr. Cooke, for the assignees, opposed on the ground that the bankrupt had given a preference to his father. The balance-sheet showed debts of £[?]⁴⁶, capital, £731; profits, £7,381; good debts, £1,572, property, £1,932; trade expenses, £5,782; domestic ditto, £1,830.

Up to 1845 the bankrupt and his father had carried on business together; they then paid a composition of fifteen shillings, and the father retired, the bankrupt entering into a bond to allow him an annuity of £50, and also to pay him £1,180 in respect of money due to him. There had been other money transactions between them, and an assignment had been given to the father of the bankrupt's stock in trade and the lease of the premises. He had also made himself liable for the interest on a sum of £3,090 borrowed by the father; and, in preparing a statement of his affairs in 1848 for his creditors, had omitted this fact.

The bankrupt was examined as to these transactions, and also as to twenty-seven paintings which had been distributed by way of lottery by Mr. Edwin Fox, of Coleman-street, which he alleged to belong exclusively to his father. The only property he had in that concern was a Boydell's Shakespeare, which he had given his father in exchange for two paintings; these were accounted for in his balance-sheet. Only two tickets were sold for the distribution, and the pictures still remained with Mr. Fox.

He attributed the bankruptcy to the change in his trade which took place about 1847; it had begun in 1845, before they made the composition. Since then the most profitable part of their business, the beaver hat trade, had died away entirely, and the profit on silk hats was not so great.

Mr. Christmas, for the bankrupt, urged that the arrangements with the father had been entered into in the belief that they would ultimately benefit the bankrupt. The opposition was principally by Messrs. Lee, to whom the bankrupt owed £1,600, but who had received of him and his father about £100,000 in the way of business.

The change in the hat trade was evidently the cause of his failure. Finding there was no chance of doing any good here, he purposed to emigrate, but hoped the court would grant him his first-class certificate.

His honour thought the assignees had done right in bringing the case before the court, but the charges had been satisfactorily answered by the bankrupt. He could not grant a first-class certificate, as the failure had not wholly arisen from unavoidable misfortune. It was partly due, no doubt, to the alteration in the hat trade; but the improvident arrangement which the bankrupt had made with his father, and the representation to the creditors in which his was omitted were circumstances which could not be overlooked. The certificate would be granted as of the second class.

⁴⁵ From COURT OF BANKRUPTCY. (1850, March 17). *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, p. 4.

⁴⁶ The original is nearly illegible at this point. There appear to be five figures in the number, of which the last three are 320.

An Insolvent Beaver Hat Manufacturer⁴⁷ (1850)

In re THOMAS MARSHALL, jun., hatter and hosier, of Branstaple. This insolvent came up in custody, supported by Mr. G. W. Turner and opposed by Mr. Stogdon. He has been carrying on business since 1831, and his liabilities were stated at £2,493 7s. 10d., and his assets to £132 14s. 9d.

Mr. Stogdon said, he opposed for Mr. Ninam, the detaining creditor, a hat manufacturer, of Bristol, for £52 2s. 11d. debt and costs. This was the first transaction the insolvent had had with the detaining creditor, and he (Mr. Stogdon) relied on a remand under the discretionary clause.

The insolvent was then examined by Mr. Stogdon: He said that in January he was pressed by creditors for the payment of their debts (the detaining creditor having sued him in December previous and a defense entered to the action) and he sent his wife to her father to ask him to advance more money, which he refused; an offer of 2s. 6d. in the pound was made to the creditors, but as the whole of them refused to accede to the proposition, his father-in-law, Mr. Richards, took possession of the stock under a judgment bond for £1,800. The amount realized was about £186. His furniture was taken possession of by his wife under a settlement made at the time of his marriage, and which was now in her possession. The insolvent had paid £20 to Messrs. Brembridge and Toller for interest on money obtained for him by his father-in-law; £21 to Messrs. Milburn and Co., of London, for an acceptance given by his father-in-law for him, and similar other sums at the time of his being sued by the detaining creditor, by collecting his book debts.

The insolvent, who is a beaver hat manufacturer, attributed his first losses to the introduction of silk hats, which had entirely destroyed the beaver hat trade. The National Provincial Bank at Barnstaple in 1883 had advanced him £750 on his own security, when they refused to let him have any more money without security. His father-in-law became answerable for £700, and mortgaged his estate to pay off his debt, letting him have the remainder of the sum raised, the insolvent to pay the interest; he had had other sums since that time amounting in the whole to £1,310.

Mr. Stogdon called attention to the omission in the schedule of his reversionary interest in a policy of insurance held by Mr. Richards for £400. It set forth that his interest should cease on his becoming a bankrupt or compounding with his creditors, but nothing said as to his becoming an insolvent. The schedule was ordered to be amended on this point.

His Honor remarked on the insolvent's paying Messrs. Milburn and Co., their debt amounting to £21, when he was irretrievably bankrupt.

The father-in-law, (Mr. Richards) was then called by Mr. Turner to prove that the transactions between him and the insolvent were *bona fide* acts. He did not wish to come here, and that was the reason why he refused without being subpoenaed. He left Barnstaple for a few days before he was summoned, but his motive for so doing was not entirely to prevent being served; the account of the sale was handed in, from

⁴⁷ From EXETER DISTRICT COUNTY COURT. (1850, May 16). *The Exeter Flying Post*, p. 7.

which it appeared offers were made for the property at discounts varying from 30 to 70 per cent. off the invoice price. The property was then taken by Mr. Richards in a valuation of £296 12s. 6d.

Mr. Stogdon called attention to the fact that the father-in-law took the stock, the wife the furniture, and the insolvent the debts, by which bills had been paid that the father-in-law was answerable for, and not sixpence left for any other creditors. He also remarked on the dealings with Milburn and Mackintosh, when being sued by the detaining creditor. [...]

His Honor ordered the insolvent to be detained six months from the date of his vesting order under the discretionary clause. Mr. Ninam was appointed assignee.

“A marvelous story”⁴⁸ (1850)

Samuel Hickson, a young man, who was brought up at Marylebone, on Thursday, charged with robbing his master, a hatter, in Camden Town, of £3 14s., told a marvelous story of the way in which the money had been taken from him. He had been sent with some goods to a lady on Friday, the 14th ult., and his master had given him £3 14s., in order that he might, if required, give change for a £5 note. He delivered the property to the lady, and on his way home, as he was passing the Camden-road Villas, he was accosted by a flower-girl, who asked him to purchase a nosegay. He declined to do so, telling her he did not want anything of the sort, but she thrust the flowers to his nose, when he suddenly became insensible; and, on consciousness being restored, he found himself quite naked in a bed in a most miserable apartment.

There was a man there, who said to him, “So you are not dead yet?” and on his begging to be liberated, the man said, “No, we have not quite done with you.” He was kept secured in the room until Thursday week, when two men and three women brought him downstairs and put him into a court, and then he found that he was near the Southwark-bridge-road; the money had been taken from him, and the robbery was of course effected while he was in a state of stupefaction.

The magistrate did not seem to put much reliance on this romantic narrative, and as it turned out that Hickson had robbed his master on previous occasions, he was committed for trial.

“A twentieth of what it was”⁴⁹ (1850)

Details of London’s hat manufacturers at a time when technology turned.

The hat manufactories of London are to be found in the district to the left of the Blackfriars Road (as the bridge is crossed from the Middlesex side), stretching towards and beyond the Southwark-bridge-road to the High-street, Borough, and to Tooley-street. There are, moreover, no inconsiderable number of hat factories in

⁴⁸ From Samuel Hickson. (1850, July 18). *Trewman’s Exeter Flying Post*, p. 6.

⁴⁹ From LABOUR AND THE POOR. (1850, November 7). *The London Morning Chronicle*, p. 5.

Bermondsey. Hat making is almost entirely confined to the Surrey side of the Thames, and until within the last twenty years, or thereabouts, it was carried on chiefly in Bermondsey. In Bermondsey, however, there are still many large “hatteries;” one of them, the property of a wealthy Quaker firm, ranks among the largest in London, rarely employing, in the slackest seasons, fewer than 90 or 100 men, and sometimes as many as 300, with, of course, a proportionate number of the women who are employed in that trade. Although hat-making has experienced a migration, the tradesmen who supply the hatters with the materials of manufacture are still more thickly congregated in Bermondsey than everywhere else. These tradesmen comprise wool-staplers, hat-furriers, hat-curriers, hat-block makers, hat-druggists, hat-dyers, hat-lining makers, hat-bowstring makers, hat-trimming and buckle makers, hat-silk shag makers, and hat-brush makers. These several appellations indicate the character of the business carried on; only two of them require any explanation here.

The *hat furriery* business, as regards beaver skins, is now little more than a twentieth of what it was twelve years ago. The hat furriers remove the fur of the beaver, the hare, or the rabbit from the skin – which, when thus denuded, is called a pelt – and they prepare this fur for the uses of the hatter. An intelligent man calculated that from fifteen to twenty years ago, and for some years preceding, four millions of beavers were killed annually for the supply of the hat-makers of the United Kingdom.

“The earliest notice we find of beaver hats,” says an eminent authority, “is an inventory of the effects of Sir John Falstoffe in 1459. Philip Stubbs, in his ‘Anatomic of Abuses,’ published in 1585, mentions, amongst other varieties, beaver hats of 20, 30 and 40 shillings price, being fetched from beyond the seas.” In subsequent reigns, and particularly during the Commonwealth, the manufacture of both beaver and felted hats must have arrived at some importance; and not only the quality, but the shape of the hat began to possess an influence in denoting the religious or political bias of the wearer – a characteristic of this article of dress which obtains, to some extent, even at the present day.

“The furs now used for hat making,” writes Mr. M’Culloch, “are beaver, musquash, otter, nutria, hare, and rabbit; but each of these may be subdivided into twenty different sorts or classes.” The nutria, I may observe, is a species of otter. In 1787, the duty on beaver skins (undressed) was 8¼d.; in 1819, 8d.; and in 1844, 8d. on beaver skins from foreign countries, and 2d. from British possessions. The imported nutria skins were, in 1787, charged £27 10s. per cent.⁵⁰ duty; in 1819, £20 per cent. duty; in 1844, 1s. per 100 from foreign countries, and 6d. from British possessions. The operative hatters call foreign furs generally “beaver.” In 1787, the importation of felt, hair, wool or beaver hats was prohibited; in 1819, the duty was as high as 10s. 6d. a hat; in 1842, 2s. 6d. a hat, whether from foreign countries or our colonies. The duty in 1844, on hats made of silk, silk shag laid upon felt, linen, or other material, from whatever part imported, was fixed at 3s. 6d. each.

⁵⁰ Given the currency units, in this context ‘per cent.’ probably means ‘per 100’.

The estimated yearly value of the hat trade (exclusive of straw hats, or cloth caps) has been stated as £3,000,000. "In 1836," says Mr. McCulloch, "53,849 dozen hats were exported, of the real or declared value of £148,282; but in 1841, the exports only amounted to 22,522 dozen, of the value of £81,583; the falling off having been principally in the exports to the West Indies and Brazil."

I was told by practical men that one beaver-skin furnished the "nap" for two hats; and three tradesmen whom I conversed with calculated, without concert, that eight millions of beaver hats were made in the three kingdoms twenty years ago, as the export trade in those hats was then very considerable. Now the importation of beaver skins is, as I have said, but a twentieth of what it was before silk hats came into demand, from twelve to fifteen years ago. The trappers and hunters had more and more difficulty to keep up the supply of beaver skins – those animals being pursued so hotly and continuously that they were exterminated in many of their accustomed haunts, or retreated before their pursuers further into the interior of the American forests; and as the importation fell off the introduction of a new material became imperative.

The *Hat Currier* prepares the leather lining, which is made of sheep or well-grown lamb's skin. After the wool is removed the pelt is slit into two portions. The surface (to which the wool was attached) is called a skiver, and is dressed for the hat lining; the other division is usually curried as a "chamois," the common wash-leather used in cleaning plate, windows, &c., and is largely hawked.

The first process in the manufacture of silk or velvet hats – for they are identical – is "body-making." Silk and velvet hats are now the great staple of the trade. Calico, made for the purpose of silk hat body making, is steeped in a solution of gum shellac, and wrung whilst wet, after being thoroughly saturated; it is then dried on a frame. The part to form the brim and the "tip" (or crown) is subjected to the same process, the brims and tip being afterwards sewn to the body by women. When thoroughly dried, the body, &c., is put round a block, the desired shape of the hat, the ends being nicely fitted to adhere together by the application of the admixture just described; and the calico thus prepared is "ironed to make it firm." In an inferior silk that the sewing together of the ends soon becomes apparent. The heated irons used weigh 12 and 14 lb. The application of spirits of wine, or of naphtha, and after that of an oil varnish to the body, completes the "bodymaker's" work – and the hat, in its so far advanced state, then comes into the hands of the *finisher*. The master, or foreman, gives the finisher the quantity of "silk" required. This material is a silk plush, made for the purpose, the surface being that shown in the "nap" of the hat. This silk is cut "on the bias," as that "puts it on the stretch, and it sticks better." It is dampened on the underside, and so readily adheres to the prepared body – the adjoining parts of the silk, alike in the body and the brim, being "closed," in a good hat, with the utmost nicety. Any "bump," even the slightest, at this adjoinment, is bad workmanship, and the finisher may be twitted with being "fit for the fowls," or best suited to work for the slop-trade.

After this comes the *shaper's* art. He is considered the most accomplished workman, and, in the language of the trade, "puts the curl in." He forms the brim, to

make it assume and retain a graceful curve, by ironing it on blocks, and adjusting it, by his eye, to the shape required. This is the last process, as far as the men's labor is concerned. The irons used by the finishers and shapers weigh about 8 lbs.; they are provided by the employer, and cost about 2d. or 3d. per lb. The women's work is then again called into exercise to affix the linings. These are of silk, of muslin, or of glazed calico, as regards the body or upper part of the hat – and of light or dark colored, or black patent (glazed) leather attached above the interior of the brim, and coming immediately upon the head of the wearer. The "binding" of the hat and the ribbon round the brim edges is done at the same time by the workwoman.

Silk hats came into use, as I have said, upwards of twenty years ago, but they were then very hard, and often unsightly, the body being of willow, instead of as now of calico. The silk (Paris) hats were first introduced at the time I have mentioned, but were then expensive – almost the price of good beaver hats, which were retailed at from 21s. to 24s.

The making of the stuff or beaver⁵¹ hats, which were the staple of the trade until 12 years ago, is by another process [than the silk hats,] and one in some respects so different that old hands, when they could not get employment in "stuff," had almost to re-learn their craft on "silk." This they called being "whimsied."

In the making of stuff hats, the body is a substance of *felt*. This felt, for good beaver hats, is made of rabbits (always called coneys in the trade), or occasionally of hare's fur. It is separated, as far as the separation of the hairs is possible, into what may be best understood as "down," or clean down. This separation is effected by the workman very rapidly passing his bowstring gradually through this fur, and separating it so nicely that no dirt or extraneous matter of any kind be admixed. The bowstring (with its frame) used for this purpose resembles a child's bow on a large scale, and loosely strung.

The felt is then worked, I might say kneaded together, by being rolled in cotton cloths. It is then boiled, and is again rolled, or kneaded, by the hands. This rolling is generally an hour and a half's work, and the stuff is this way "shrunk," so that it will not further "shrink" or warp, or lose shape in the wear.

The application of the beaver's fur, or of any fur used in constructing the stuff hats, takes place next, the felt having been placed on the block. This "beaver" (as the fur is called) has been "blown" by the hat-maker, to "get the coarse hairs out of it;" and after it has been worked into a sort of pulp, by being rolled in strong hair cloths for an hour and a half or two hours, it is affixed by hand, and with hair cloths, to the hat body – the adhesion being accomplished with gum shellac, spirits of wine, and "turps" (turpentine), applied to the body. The preparation of this "nap" is really that of a fine soft loose felt, and it is so adapted for a "nap." The preparation of "turps," &c., is called a "proof," and the working hatter's labor is facilitated or obstructed by the quality of the "proof" supplied to him.

The beaver hat is the "skilled" manufacture of the trade. Its "body" is formed of one substance, there being no sewing in of the tips or of the brims, as in the

⁵¹ Though called 'beaver hats', 'stuff' hats were made mostly from rabbit or hare fur. Beaver fur, which was expensive, was used only in small quantities as a finishing touch. The process is explained below.

manufacture of silk hats. The beaver hat is moreover dyed by the class of tradesmen known as “hat dyers” after it has been made. In silk hats the dyer’s work is perfected in the manufacture of the silk plush.

The *plated* hat is an inferior stuff hat – Spanish, Kent, or Shropshire wool being used for the nap, or “plate,” instead of beaver’s fur. A small number of plated hats are made in London; the manufacture is the most considerable in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Staffordshire.

The number of hatters and hat manufacturers in Great Britain at the time of taking the last census was 18,012; of these, 16,635 were located in England; 447 resided in Wales; 818 in Scotland, and 82 in the British Isles. Of the whole number employed in Great Britain 14,000 were adult males, while nearly 2,000 were females of twenty years of age and upwards – the remaining 2,000 being young people of both sexes, in the proportion of three boys to one girl. The hatters and hat manufacturers of the metropolis in 1841 were 3,506 in number, of whom 2,600 were males of twenty years of age and upwards, the other 900 being composed of nearly 600 women, and upwards of 300 children.

The Government returns do not admit of any comparison being made between these numbers and those of the previous census; for, in the Occupation Abstract of 1831, the hatters are mixed up with the hosiers – the workmen employed in those two trades being lumped together, and computed at 2,662 individuals – while in the Occupation Abstract of 1841, the London hatters are given by themselves as before quoted, and the hosiers classed with the haberdashers. Nor can we separate the two last mentioned trades. For on referring to the first abstract we find that the haberdashers are there jumbled together with the linen-drapers; so that it is a matter of absolute impossibility to say whether the trade increased or not during the period above referred to. [...]

The hatters work by the piece, and have done so beyond the memory of the oldest members of the trade. The scale of prices I am enabled to give, through the courtesy of Mr. Holland, the secretary of the Hatters’ Society. Their present average earnings are shown in the statements I have collected.

**WAGES GIVEN FOR MAKING AND REPAIRING DIFFERENT KINDS OF HATS
IN THE METROPOLIS DURING THE UNDER-MENTIONED YEARS.**

Years	For finishing French or English short nap, per doz.	For making gossamer bodies, per doz.	For repairing stuff bodies, per doz.
1824-26	None.	None.	18s.
1834-36	8s., 10s., and 14s.	9s. and 10s.	15s. and 18s.
1844-46	9s., 11s., and 18s.	8s. and 9s.	8s.

The above statement represents the wages paid to society-men only, whose regulations I now subjoin:-

RESOLUTIONS OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE STUFF-HATTERS' SOCIETY AND THE SILK-HATTERS' PROTECTIVE UNION, AS SANCTIONED BY A GENERAL CONGRESS OF EACH BODY.

September, 1846.

1st. We mutually agree not to work in any shop where the prices are below 9s., 11s., and 13s. per doz. for French or English short-nap silk finishing; 8s. and 9s. per doz. gossamer body-making; and 8s. per doz. for preparing stuff bodies.

2nd. We mutually agree that in case of a strike by the members of one society, no man belonging to the other shall be allowed to go in, except when the object sought for by the men so striking would be positively injurious to the interest of the makers of the other society.

3rd. We mutually agree by every means in our power to suppress the system of out-door work, believing it to be pregnant with ruin to ourselves, and ultimately to employers.

4th. We mutually agree that if any man wishes to be asked for in any shop where there are none of the society employed to which he belongs, and the men of the shop refuse to ask for him, he shall get a man from the nearest shop where his own society men are employed to do so. But such man shall call down the regular short turn of the shop, who may, if he pleases, hear the man asked for, and see that nothing unfair takes place. In shops where both bodies are working, each shall ask for their own men.

5th. We mutually agree not to stand by more than two apprentices, either in silk or stuff, who shall serve seven years.

6th. We mutually agree to stand by each other's caulkers for contributions and other trade business.

7th. We mutually agree not to take any important step affecting the general interests of the trade without first communicating with each other.

8th. And in order to prevent any serious misunderstanding, and to avoid as much as possible the existence of any ill-feeling between the members of the two societies, we earnestly recommend the members of each not to give credence to idle rumours, but in all cases to apply to the committee, who will give correct information, and see that justice be done if an injury has been sustained.

Printed by order of the joint committee. January, 1846. [sic.]

The secretary of the Hatters' Society, in a written communication to me, says:- "The prices above-named would no doubt have been maintained if it had not been for the slop-workers, who will work at any price sooner than lose the job; as it is, we have been obliged to give way, particularly in the lower qualities."

These workmen carry on their trade in large rooms, generally well ventilated and commodious, but in some employs [the rooms are] dirty, dark, and confined. Each workman has his own "plank," or "bench," as it is called in other trades, for certain stages of his work; but the men, when engaged in working their "proofs," stand round a large tub, or open vat, the "liquor" in it steaming freely. In summer the heat is often excessive, as in so many stages of the manufacture the workmen require fires. The men work in trousers, flannel shirts, and slippers, or wooden clogs, their arms being

bared above the elbows. Notwithstanding the exposure to heat, I am assured that the hatters' is not an unhealthy calling, as their lives are of the average duration, and men of 65 are now working efficiently in the business.

Theses operatives used to drink great quantities of beer when at work – two pots, or even ten pints, a day being a frequent consumption by a man not accounted a “fudder.” There is now a great change in this respect, few drinking more than a pot a day whilst at work. In the larger shops, however, it is still the practice for a newcomer to pay his “footing,” which in this trade is called a “garnish.” A workman refusing to join in this conviviality is stigmatized as a “straight stick.” A first-rate workman informed me that 18 or 19 years ago he regularly spent 18s. a week in drink, but at that time he earned as much as £4 in a week, and very frequently £3. The same workman told me that at the Wheat Sheaf, a public-house near the Borough-market, 20 years back, the hatters used to be “dancing and footing it, and drinking, of course,” all the week long, but that now there is nothing of the kind.

In the London houses from 12 to 20 journeymen are more frequently employed in the “fair” trade than any larger or smaller number. The majority of these journeymen, perhaps three-fourths of them, are countrymen, chiefly from Cornwall, Gloucestershire, and Lancashire, with a few Scotchmen, and a very few Irishmen. A great number of hats, principally of the cheaper sorts, used to be sent from the country to London until eleven or twelve years ago, when the substitution of silk hats for stuff put an end to the trade, or nearly so, as the country hat-makers were not sufficiently skilled in the new manufacture. Winterbourne and Holland's Common in Gloucestershire, and Oldham and its neighboring villages in Lancashire, were places in which were many large hat factories, the trade being now in those localities only a tenth of what it was. “The stuff hands,” I was told by a hatter, himself acquainted with the Gloucestershire factories, “went into silk, such as could work on silk and get work; some emigrated, and some got navy's work on the railways.”

The demand for Paris hats, of which I have spoken, caused a number of hatters – one man said between 200 and 300 – to come from France to England⁵²; but coarse silk hats were introduced twenty years ago. These men soon became on good terms with the English workmen, and readily instructed them in the Parisian mode of workmanship. There are now about 20 Frenchmen to every 500 Englishmen in the “fair” trade, the Frenchmen being members of “society.” I heard of no foreigners in the slop or “foul” trade. The best silk plush is still imported from France; it is manufactured in Paris and Lyons. The “slop,” or underpaid hat makers are known as the “foul” trade, in contradistinction to the “fair” or “honorable” trade.

⁵² There is a long history of hatters being internationally mobile, as seen in this notice from 1765. “This week several Hat and Felt-makers who last summer embarked for Portugal, in hopes of employment, arrived in town from Lisbon. The beaver manufactories of that kingdom, which are as yet but in a state of infancy, not being sufficient to employ half the number of those that went over.” From the London Papers. (1765, March 13). *Caledonian Mercury*, p. 2. Cross-border poaching of workers also existed: “We are informed the Prussian agents have of late been very busy in finding out such persons in the hat-making business, who are now out of employ, in order to engage them to go over to Berlin, where good encouragement is offered to proficient in the different branches of the beaver manufactory, lately established in that city.” LONDON. (1765, March 26). *Leeds Intelligencer*, p. 1.

The way in which a hat-maker acquires a knowledge of his craft is by apprenticeship. In the strictest branch of the "fair" trade no man is admitted as a member of the "society" who has not served a seven years' apprenticeship; and no master, employing society men, can have more than two apprentices at one time besides the members of his own family whom he may choose "to put to the trade," and they must be regularly "bound." The number of apprentices is not influenced, as in the printers' and some other businesses, by the number of journeymen employed. Whether a master hatter employ one journeyman or 100, he is alike limited to two apprentices. Small as this number of apprenticeships may appear, it ensures a full supply of skilled laborers.

In the "foul" or slop trade, no regulations of the kind I have described exist. The workers in this trade are men who have served no apprenticeship, or who, from drunkenness or other causes, have not kept up their payments to the society, and have ceased to be members of it – or who have left other callings, such as that of weaving, to work as hatters; a course which is facilitated by the silk hat manufacture being a much easier or less skilled process than that of the stuff hat. I was told, indeed, that sweeps and costermongers had "turned foul hatters."

These men are somewhat equivalent to the garret masters in the cabinet-making business; but with this distinction, that the hatters do not *complete* the articles of manufacture as does the slop cabinet maker for the "slaughter-houses;" the "foul" hatter makes only "bodies." These are to be found about Brick-lane, Whitechapel, in Spitalfields, and in Lock's-fields, Walworth. They work in their own rooms – which the operatives in the fair trade never do – and have to find their own irons and materials. They are thus "little masters," as they nearly all work on their own account. Sometimes two or three work together in one small garret; for the landlord of the house, wretched as it may be, will sometimes object to their working in any part but a garret, on account of the fire and smoke. Sometimes a man works by himself. "It depends upon the number of planks there is convenience for," I was told; "but it's a saving in firing when more than one works in a room." The calico, gums, &c., for the manufacture of a dozen silk bodies cost 4s. 6d. or 5s. By close application from seven in the morning to ten at night a workman can make a dozen in a day, and for these he may receive 8s., which is about the rate of wages paid for the mere making in the "honorable" trade.

The slop-hands work very rapidly, taking little or no pains; they confine their labors solely to the making of silk hat bodies, as the material for the making of a beaver hat is too expensive for their means, and the skill required in its construction has not been attained by them. The bodies when completed are hawked to the trade, and the inferior workman, or "little master" as he may more properly be called, is of course exposed to the evils, delays, and hindrances which I have so often pointed out as inseparable from this business. These bodies are sold to the master hatters, especially the "cutting-shops," who furnish the low-priced hats, best known as the "four-and-nines." They are sometimes finished by workmen on the premises of the purchaser, such workmen receiving a much lower remuneration than is given in the

“fair” trade. Some of the bodies produced by this slop labor are, I am assured, “finished for superior work,” and sold at good prices.

The “foul” hatters are many of them young men, with a smaller proportion of married men among them than is common, perhaps, among handicraftsmen. When they are married, the wives have usually some slop employment. They very rarely finish a hat, unless when they avail themselves of a practice known in the trade as “malokering.” A maloker, frequently a Jew, collects old hats from door to door, and sells them to the dealers in Rosemary-lane. The slop hatter buys them of the dealer⁵³ at from 1s. 6d. to 5s. a dozen. If any of the silk be tolerably good, he strips it off, and puts it upon a new body, or “congles in” the old body (as the restiffening of it is called) and sells the hat new lined, re-dyed, and “trimmed up,” to the dealers in secondhand attire, or hawks it to the public houses, sometimes “swopping” it for an old hat and a shilling.

I heard the number of these little masters (who were unknown in the trade ten years ago) computed at 1,000 at the present time, and their earnings at from 10s. to 12s. a week, taking the year’s average. Previously to ten years back the little masters in the trade supplied the general public or worked to order as “out-door hands,” for the greater houses. A man “taking up the trade” has generally to supply three weeks’ or a month’s labor gratuitously to his instructor. A working hatter told me that in a fortnight’s time he could teach a quick lad how to make calico bodies for common silk hats well enough for the slop trade.

The working hatters in the honorable trade generally take some interest in politics, and are for the most part Protectionists, as they think protection would have “kept out the French hats.” Indeed, I did not meet with one Free-trader. I did not hear of their being more inclined to one particular amusement than to another, but a game at cards is common with them in the public-house when the day’s work is over. They are generally married men, and reside in the neighborhoods of the hatteries. Some of their wives are employed as hat binders and liners, but none, I am informed, work at slopwork. Among the hatters I found many intelligent men, but as a body they are certainly less advanced in education than some other classes of handicraftsmen. Some of them have saved money.

The hat manufacture is confined to the distinct branches of the body makers, the finishers, the shapers, and the binders and liners – the same woman being both binder and liner. There used to be a close distinction between the “stuff” (or beaver) and the “silk” workers, but it is becoming less and less observed, so many stuff workers having “to go to silk.”

From a *stuff body maker* I had the following account:-

“My father was a hatter,” he said, “and I was put as an errand boy to a hat dyer, and then I learned that business; but when I was twenty, I got myself apprenticed to a hat maker whom I knew, and who paid me the journeymen’s wages, by agreement, with a small deduction for himself. I did very well at this, as I had known the business pretty well before. I did so well, indeed, that I got married during

⁵³ This practice may be part of the reason why despite their abundance, a relatively small number of 19th century (and older) hats survived to the present day.

my apprenticeship. This was in the country, but near London, and I have worked in London thirteen years. I am now a stuff body maker, but can make silk bodies as well. I found it necessary to learn that, since the Paris hats came in, or I might have been out of work oft enough, there are so few beaver hats made now. I now earn 30s. and 32s. a week during the busy time, and not less than 20s. in the slack. The busy time is for six or seven months; but when there's a slack my employer divides the work among us in preference to discharging hands. We like that plan better than a smaller number being kept on at full work. I have two children, and do pretty well on my earnings. If ladies' beavers came into fashion again it would be a great thing for the trade, as, after the gentlemen's summer trade was over, they would come in. I wish they would become fashionable, and in my opinion a handsome lady looks handsomest in a beaver. When beaver bonnets were last in they were so frightfully big that I'm afraid ladies got to dislike them, but the fashion may come round again."

Another stuff body maker, in better employ, averaged 36s. a week; he did average 55s. to 60s. twenty years back.

The earnings of the *finishers* and *shapers* are higher than those of the body-makers, in the proportion of 40s. to 30s., or thereabouts; so that a clever body-maker generally aims at following one or other of those branches. From a shaper I had the following statement:-

"I served my apprenticeship in London, and have been a journeyman, off and on, in town, for twenty-two years. I could earn three guineas a week twenty years ago, and seldom earned less than £2. I saved money then, and might have saved more, but I am well satisfied as it is, and needn't have much fear when a rainy day comes. The trade is not what it was, but I make from 35s. to 40s. still in a busy time, and from 20s. to 25s. or 28s. in a slack. Hatters are an independents et of men still, but they were more so. If a master said a word that wasn't deserved, when I first new the trade, a journeyman would put on his coat and walk out, and perhaps get work at the next shop. It's different now. The 'fouls' have become more numerous, and we are afraid of letting them into good shops, though I don't know why we should be afraid, for few of them can work well enough. None indeed can work well enough on the best stuff. There used to be far more drinking among hatters when I was a lad. I have known some of them to be steady and industrious for the week, and on a Saturday night order 'a bottle of wine in a white bottle' (decanter), just for themselves. A man was almost forced to drink a lot of beer at that time in a workshop, or he would be counted a sneak. Now we do just as we like in that way.

"I am not a shaper in silk, but I am master of all branches of the business. There has been very little change in the fashion the brims are worn in, during my time. Not in the best work. If you see hats with odd shapes in a shop window, marked 'the slap-up,' or 'the Corinthian,' they're slop-made things generally, and don't take. Working hatters have been greatly affected in the way of their earnings from the French hats. In my opinion they've been reduced in their earnings beyond what good they get from cheap provisions. There's less employ, for one thing – as a man will make three good silk hats, and some will make four, in as short a time as he can make two good stuff hats. But we must make the best of it."

A *finisher* gave me an account of his earnings, which were about the same as those of the shaper.

The hat-binding and lining is done entirely by women. They have no recognized scale of prices, the societies of the hatters not interfering in any manner with the remuneration of the “trimmers,” as these women are usually called in the trade. Of these workmen, whose numbers I heard calculated at 1,000, perhaps three-fourths are the wives and daughters of journeymen hatters. About a tenth, or more than a tenth, of this body of binders work on the employers’ premises, and they are the best paid of any – receiving about 4s. 6d., where a woman doing “out-door work” (as hat-binding when pursued in her own abode is termed) receives 2s. 6d. The low-priced hat makers, who supply the cheap warehouses and the “cutting shops,” pay very low wages for binding. Some of them give out several dozen hats at a time to one trimmer, at 2s. a dozen or less, and the binder undertakes to “have them in” at a fixed time. In order to be “to time” (or she would lose her work), the first contractor gives out such a quantity as she finds suitable at 1s. 6d. a dozen, and this practice is carried on to a great extent. To bind and line six hats in a day of ten hours’ labour, is considered good work in the fair trade. The lining of silk, or of glazed calico, is inserted in the body or upper part of the hat; the leather lining is sewn to the foot of the brim, and the edge of the brim is bound round with ribbon.

From a highly respectable woman, whom I found at work, assisted by one of her daughters, a young girl of 17 or 18, I had the following account of hat binding, which may be taken as a correct statement of the average earnings of the out-door workwomen in the fair trade:-

“I have been a binder,” she said, “for twenty years. I was brought up to it by my friends, who were in the line, and soon after I worked for myself I got married. I have worked at it ever since, except when the care of my children prevented me. I married a journeyman hatter. He is now on three days’ work a week, and earns 13s. or 14s., or a little more, in those days. I think most hat binders marry hatters. I have earned 30s. a week fifteen or eighteen years ago, but now I must work hard indeed to earn 10s. Sometimes, when work is slack, I earn 6s. a week. Out of that I have to provide my own thread, which costs 2d. to 3d. for a dozen hats.

“Prices for binding have fallen gradually and gradually since the silk hats came in, and there have been more hands brought in or come in as binders. Ten years ago, or rather more, I had 6s. a dozen for binding and lining, where I now have 2s. 6d. or 3d. I once left a shop because I was paid only 4s. and 4s. 6d. a dozen, and now they are done for that shop at 2s. 6d. and 3d. – poor women undersell one another so. They go to the master’s and offer to do binding at next to nothing, and so prices have fallen. I generally work ten, and sometimes thirteen, hours a day. I believe it’s women who have not been regularly brought up to the hat binding that undersell us. I have heard that some of them are on the streets, but I think not any who were brought up among their friends as hat-binders. They would suffer much before that, I’m satisfied.

“I have 3s. 6d. a dozen for binding these hats (pointing to a heap), which are the largest size; smaller sizes run 2d. or 3d. a dozen less. Most shops have some difference in their prices to trimmers. When silk hats first came in it was very hard

work for the fingers – it was like sewing through a piece of board; now it's quite easy in comparison. We are forced to put up with such prices as we can get – even the best hands among us are, and there's a great difference both in neatness and quickness; for if I myself, for instance, refused to take a lower price, there's plenty will jump at it. So we injure one another, and make rich people richer. With our family my husband and I did better when wages [were] good and work plenty, and bread and meat dearer, than now that bread is cheap and wages and employment fallen off. With what we earn at present we couldn't have clothed and educated our children so decently as we have.”

A pale and sickly-looking woman, of 35 or 40, gave me the following account. Her room was decently, but sparsely, furnished. There was only a bed, three chairs, a small table, and a tea-tray, with the colored remains of some bird upon it, over the mantelshelf. There was no uncleanliness. My informant's statement shows the lower depth of the hat-trimming trade. She said:-

“I was brought up to the hat-trimming, but have suffered so much from ill health that, though I did well when I was younger, 10 or 12 years ago, I always lost my connection, and had to find it again. I did middling, somehow, however, until two years back; an aunt helped me sometimes, but she's dead. Twelve years ago I earned from 18s. to 22s. a week at hat-trimming; sometimes more, and seldom, perhaps never, less than 18s., for I'm known as a good binder. Now, take the year through, I don't earn more than 5s. a week, perhaps not so much; for though I sometimes make 6s., or 6s. 6d., or even 7s. 6d. a week, some weeks I make only 4s., and for ten days this year I had nothing to do. I shall make 6s. 9d. this week, and as much next, I expect, for work wanted in a hurry. I mean 6s. 9d. over what it cost me for thread, but not for fire and candle.

“I have been forced to have relief from the parish. I have generally to look out for work and call at the shops or trimmers I think are likeliest to have any, and I offer to work very cheap. Not long since I took four dozen to trim at 1s. 6d. and 1s. 8d. a dozen, at second hand, from Mrs. —. I don't know exactly what she had. I did them all myself by working 18 hours a day. I must live, and I can't live if I ask fair wages, because I can't get them. I'm a very small eater, which is one thing. I live on little besides tea and bread and butter, or dripping⁵⁴ in cold weather, when I toast the bread. My rent is 1s. 6d. I sometimes think I'll go into the workhouse, or I shan't live long. My work's uncertain, besides being badly paid. Really, I do hope that things are at the worst, but I thought so long before. I can read and write, but don't know any good that's done me. If I was sick, I must apply at once to Mr. —; he's the relieving officer. If bread was any dearer, I should just die out through starvation, for I don't suppose I could earn more then, perhaps not so much. I sew tips and brims, as well as trim and bind. I have 1s. a dozen for tips and trims and can do 15 or 16 in a day. I used to have 1s. 6d. a dozen.”

I have already spoken of the little masters. They are divisible under two heads. Some, and for the most part elderly men, are little masters, working for the general public, or rather for a “connection” (though with no shop or even a window for

⁵⁴ Probably beef drippings.

display); and they employ from one to seven hands, or carry on their business by their personal labor, altogether unaided, in the slackest times. In those times they work both on their own account and on speculation; providing their own material, when speculating in their labor, and hawking their manufacture for sale to the lower priced hatmakers, or to the better hatmakers inclined to give a tolerable price – or what they account tolerable – for skilled labor. They speculate principally in silk bodies; some, however, finish the hat. From one of the better class of little masters I had this statement. My informant was an elderly man, residing in a comfortable house, and had known the trade familiarly for many years:-

“I started as a little master,” he said, “about 20 years back. I supply the trade with bodies sometimes, and find my own material. Mine is very uncertain work – it’s mostly a summer trade. I work for my private customers, or for the trade, on order; and I make bodies to carry out to the trade for sale on speculation. I have earned £3, £3 5s., and £2 18s., when a journeyman at —’s. If a man didn’t earn his £2 a week in those days, he was reckoned not worth his plank room. That’s far better than being a little master, as far as money goes, for I consider that one week with another, for all I have a connection, I only make 22s. I mightn’t have started for myself, but I fell in with some overbearing masters and foremen. I’ve had as many as four journeymen working upstairs, and four downstairs, for me in this house; now I’ve only myself; but the brisk season’s over. I get 10s. 6d. a dozen for my bodies, and am oft enough bid 8s. 6d., because bodies can be bought for less than that, but they’re rubbish. There’s Mr. —, he’ll give 8s. a dozen always for the better sort of bodies, and I’ve gone to him sometimes in a pet, and as a last resource.

“Though mine are real good bodies, a master or foreman will ‘star them’ (crush them), pretending to examine their quality, but just to show his power – foremen are worse than masters that way – and then I have to make them over again partly. Out of six dozen I’ve taken into —’s, I’ve had three dozen starred, and had to take them back. It was nothing but to show power. I can make a dozen of my bodies in a day and a half. A young fellow by working very long hours may make a dozen, but they’re only fit for the lowest gossamers, the ‘four-and-nines.’ They’re bad work; there’s too much water used in them.

“There’s such a difference in trade, that I could keep a wife and five children better nineteen years ago – my youngest is turned 19 – than I can keep myself now. I think little masters are increasing. I used to reckon that master hatters got 12s. a hat profit on the best stuff, and that was one thing to tempt me to start for myself; but a little master can’t command a trade in the best articles. I reckon there’s 2s. profit a hat in silk; but at this part (Walworth), if you walk out, you’ll see 500 silks to 20 stuffs. A stuff will wear two silks at least. A four-and-nine can be supplied to a shopkeeper at 3d. 6d.”

The other, and by far the most numerous, class of little masters I have already described. From one of the class I received the following account. He was a pale, weak-eyed looking man, with a stoop, as if contracted by leaning over his work. When I saw him, he was busy at work in the garret of an old and apparently frail house, the narrow stairs seeming to bend under the tread. The walls of his room had been

recently whitewashed. A penny sheet almanac was pinned over the fireplace and was almost illegible from the smoke it was exposed to, "when the wind was in the north," the man said. The furniture was a small bed, covered by a thin but clean rug, on a heavy old frame, a table, two chairs, a stool, a hatter's plank, fitted below the small window, a kettle, a gridiron, and a few pots and pans.

I was a weaver in the north," he said; "never mind where. I left home in a bit of a scrape, but for nothing dishonest, and so we'll say nothing about that. I had £9 or £10 to call my own, fairly, and I came to London, as fools often do. I found I could as soon have got work at being a lawyer as at my own trade – so, as I had an acquaintance with a hatter, he said to me, 'learn hatting.' I bargained with him, and wish I hadn't. I paid my friend, for learning me a bad trade, two guineas; he wanted £3, and then 50s. It's between three and four years ago, and I worked for him a month for nothing, finding myself. Before my month was up my money ran taper, and I was afraid I shouldn't have enough left to start me, but I had. I took this very room as you see me in, and gave 30s. for the sticks, just as an old cobbler, that died in that very bed, had left them. The landlady took his traps for burying him. She's really a good soul.

"That was £2 2s. gone; and two hat irons, one 14 lb. and the other 10 lb., cost me 2s. 9d. at a sale. They are old things. Here they are still. But they cost 3d. a pound new. I got twelve blocks at 1s. a-piece second-hand. They cost 4s. to 5s. a-piece new, and they would have been about as cheap new, for they wasn't just in the fashion; two of them in particular, and I paid 2s. a-piece to get them 'turned down' again, and put into the fashionable shape, for you must work fashionable. A plank and a table cost me 4s. 9d., second-hand of course. I paid 5s. for the calico and gums to make my first twelve bodies to begin with, and I set to work. The bigger fool for it. It took me a day and a half, or 19 hours to make the dozen – I can do it in 13 or 14 hours now – and I took them to Mr. — for sale. I asked him 8s. 6d., as I thought he would reckon that low, and it would recommend me, for my friend got 10s. Mr. — said 'Pooh, I can get better at 7s.,' but I got 7s. 6d. for them; and if I had asked him 7s., he'd have said 'I can get better at 6s.'

"I carry on this way still. I had a bit of demand the autumn before last for bodies, and I got a man to help me, and I made 18s. a week for four weeks, and 16s. for the next week, and the next week to that only 4s. I can't tell what made it brisk, exactly; but I thought I was doing rarely, and I took an apprentice; his parents is poor people, close by. I gave him nothing. I was to teach him his trade – there's no indenture or anything of that sort – for two months, and then he was to have half of what he brought me in; but he and his father and mother cut away after I'd had him three weeks, and I've never seen him since.

"I've gone on this way all along, living hand to mouth very often. I'm not treated like a Christian by some of the shops I take my bodies to. Last winter I was often starving. I've gone out with half-a-dozen bodies in a morning, and have brought them back at night, without a farthing in my pocket: of course I couldn't break my fast. I've gone to bed to try to sleep off the hunger – gone there at four o'clock, as I had neither fire nor candle, and have kept waking every hour, a dreaming that I was eating and

drinking. I suppose it was the gnawing at my stomach that caused the dream. I was three weeks in arrear for rent, too, at 18d. a week, but my landlady's very good.

"I hardly know what I make a week, take the year through; perhaps 6s. or 7s. a week; some weeks only 4s., some weeks 10s. or 12s., or more. I've been rather in luck these three or four last weeks as I haven't made – that is, I haven't cleared – less than 10s. 6d. a week. But if I do make 10s. at this time (October), what is it? Fire costs me 5d. a day – say for six days. I'm out the rest of the week, when I'm busiest. That's 2s. 6d.; candles is 1s. for the time I'm at work; rent's 1s. 6d., and 3d. extra to rub off an arrear that's out this week. How much is that?"

"5s. 3d.," [I answered him.]

"Then there's 5s. 3d. left to live on. I live mostly on coffee, three times a day, with bread and butter. If I can't afford butter, I toast the bread. I gave ½d. for this old fork to do it with. It's better that way than dry. Sometimes I have one or two, or three, fresh or salt herrings for dinner, that cost 1½ d. or 2d.; or sometimes only 1d., or ½ lb. of beef sausages, that cost 2d. common, or 2½d. better; but what's ½ lb. sausages for a man like me, that, when it's wanted, gets out of bed at daylight, and goes to his plank? That sort of living costs 7d. or 8d., or 9d. a day. Beer I very seldom taste. Tobacco 2d. for three days: it puts off the hunger. I've always worked by myself, but perhaps I could do better at working with two or three mates. Sometimes my bodies have been starved, and I've had to set to work, half starving, on a Sunday, to make them good again; but that hasn't happened lately."

"Puff extraordinary"⁵⁵ (1867)

The afflicted widow, the disconsolate family, the lamented Mr. Edward Jones, and the beaver hat trade, are somewhat "mixed" in the following extract from the columns of an English paper, and after vain endeavors on our part, we must leave our readers to class it as either an "obituary," a "token of affection" or a "puff extraordinary":

Died, on the 11th ult., at his shop on Fleet Street, Mr. Edward Jones, much respected by all that knew and dealt with him. As a man, he was amiable; as a hatter, upright and moderate. His virtues were beyond all price, and his beaver hats were only £1 4s. each. He has left a widow to deplore his loss, and a large stock to be sold cheap for the benefit of his family. He was snatched to the other world in the prime of his life, and just as he had concluded an extensive purchase of felt, which he got so cheap that the widow can supply hats at a more moderate charge than any other house in London. His disconsolate family will carry on the business with punctuality.

⁵⁵ From A MIXTURE. (1867, October 19). *The Ottawa (Illinois) Free Trader*, p. 7.

Depression in Warwickshire⁵⁶ (1879)

This article is about Atherstone, a town in Warwickshire, England.

HAT TRADE – This branch of industry is in a very depressed state. Hands and machinery are only partially employed. Much disappointment has been experienced in the sudden stoppage in the demand for the old beaver hat and bonnet introduced a short time ago. Some of the manufacturers expended considerable sums in order to reinstate the old fashion again. So sanguine were many, that they made great sacrifices in order to obtain a full knowledge of this new branch of industry – becoming apprentices for a short period and accepting only nominal wages to enable them to gain employment at this work, which, it was said, would soon supersede all others. Much, however, as was the desire to cultivate the beaver trade, it has all of a sudden collapsed. No revival in the ordinary hat trade may be expected until after Christmas.

“The poor hatter”⁵⁷ (1883)

In these later years of diminishing prestige, an old hatter, or hat-mender, has sought refuge in the lower story of one of the tumble-down tenements in the nook of London I describe, [near the New Law Courts,]⁵⁸ and frequently, while passing the narrow windows that serve for show-space to his meager shop, I have been arrested by the old man’s pinched and perky little face, and have determined to try at some moment to have some talk with one whose mode of life had certain peculiarities that awakened curiosity. [...]

A heavy shower, such as took the bloom off a “beaver” which I had regarded with some affection, furnished both necessity and excuse for a visit, and hence the other morning I found myself knocking at the hold hatter’s door. It was a rickety old door, that would have made way, bolts and all, with a vigorous push, but it was so constructed that it opened only from within: and though this peculiarity might be due to the rack and ruin into which the whole house had fallen, I was not wrong in instantly inferring that it was designed to afford the inmate protection in his stronghold.

“That’s an odd sort of door for a place of business,” I remarked, as soon as I entered.

“Yes,” replied the hatter, “but you see, there are odd people about now. Did you hear of that affair over Waterloo Bridge? An old party knocked down insensible in her own house and robbed.” I answered that I had heard of it, and then the old man went on to detail, with every expression of horror, the cases of robbery he had recently read of, adding, in a last word, “It’s been a bad winter for men, and maybe the poor fellows are at their wits’ ends to know how to get a bite and sup; but they need never

⁵⁶ From ATHERSTONE. (1879, December 5). *Daily Mercury* (Leeds), p. 2.

⁵⁷ From THE POOR HATTER. (1883, January 15). *Liverpool Mercury*, p. 7.

⁵⁸ Mentioned earlier in the original article.

murder quiet folks in their own houses, and I hear they're going to get the lash for it." So it was from fear of robbery with violence in this quiet corner, and in midday, that the old man had taken the thumb-latch off his outer door.

I looked about the musty little crib, and wondered who in London could be so poor that he would be tempted to come here and steal. It was an irregular apartment, not more than 12 ft. by 12 ft. at its utmost limits, with a ceiling so low that a man of average stature could barely stand erect under it, and so worn that the plaster bulged down in patches, and disclosed the dry black laths where it had fallen in flakes. The floor was as undulant as the pavement of St. Mark's, but with something less than its wavy charm – the flags being cracked and broken, and the damp earth itself creeping up in the widening chinks. A wooden partition passed across the room, dividing it into about equal parts, the front portion constituting the shop, and the back, which was destitute of access or egress for natural light or air, was (as the occupant presently told me) used as his bedchamber. In one corner a small fire was burning, and this was so positioned as to serve at once to warm both compartments and to shed upon the inner one the only sufficient light it could ever have.

About the walls were hung, and piled on each other over every available inch of the scanty space were standing, countless old hats of types and patterns of every conceivable degree of superannuated and forgotten antiquity. There was the venerable and veritable long-crowned and broad-brimmed beaver, made memorable in bygone days by the fashionable Count D'Orsay, as well as the subjugated slouch of the portentous design and proportions that had once graced the head of the Seer of Chelsea; but never an example of any kind or sort of head-gear that could be supposed to have been seen inside of the hatter's in Sackville Street any time this half score years.

The bed in that hidden chamber was, as I afterwards found, a rough shakedown on a low wooden bench, huddled up in a corner which was so dark that the eye had need to take its surroundings on credit. There was no chair in this sleeping compartment, but a log of wood about a foot deep, that had been long ago cut from the trunk of a tree, served as a seat, and perched against the wall was fixed a bracketed board that did duty for a table; over all – except, perhaps, the articles in daily use – was the accumulated dust of years which, with the further accessories of numberless cobwebs, disputed with the old hats and one solitary glass photograph of a young sailor the decorative attractions of the tenement. And this was the refuge that needed to be guarded from assault! Cozy on this cold January morning it was; musty and stifling it must be in warmer weather. [...]

A couple of cats dozed on the bare hearth; the one with that wakeful slyness that proverbially belongs to the British lion, the other with that soporific soundness that seems to give the lie to Shakespeare's maxim that "care killed a cat."

"I call the little one Dick," said the old man. "Dick," he cried, and the cat leaped up to the bench at which he was working, and purred against his arm. "The other one's Jack. Jack," he exclaimed, but the comfortable creature gave a perceptible stir, and composed itself afresh to sleep.

"Jack is an uncommon name for a cat," I remarked.

“Well, you see, sir, you see it’s called – it’s called after – someone.”

There was a touch of sadness in the hatter’s manner as he said this that awakened curiosity, but he offered no further explanation, and it was impossible to pursue the inquiry.

I looked at the old man as he stood at his board smoothing the ruffled nap of my hat with hot irons, and thought how exactly he was of that antiquated type of city character that Dickens liked best to encounter. Very short and very slight, with a wee-featured face pursed and pinched, and bringing to mind some of the portraits of Pope, with startled eyes which in their look of surprise, if not of inspiration, were like the eyes of Blake, this little man had assuredly never so much as heard of either of the persons of whose lineaments he reminded me, albeit one of the two had, within his time, lived and died in as cheerless a home as his own in Fountain-court hard by. Of years not fewer than three score and ten, he had probably worked his whole life long at that little bench in his threadbare suits of faded black and dusty paper caps.

“I should think you’re a Londoner born,” I said.

“Yes, I was born and bred in London – born and bred,” he repeated with as much emphasis on the latter word as if in his poor case it could have carried a thrill of rapture to one who understood it in the only sense known to Fred Archer.

“And you’ve never lived out of it,” I hazarded.

“No, never been out of it; wait, yes, I was once at Brighton; just for the day you know, and back at night; and dearie me, how the fresh air knocked me up. I was asleep in the train coming home, and I couldn’t work for a bit after, so you see I’m not much of a traveler,” the old man added, in a tone suggesting a sense of shame; “I don’t know much of the world.”

“You might travel all the world wide and not know another London,” I replied.

“Really, now,” said the hatter, raising his eyes from his work with a look of astonishment. “Perhaps *you’re* a traveler, now.”

I answered that I had traveled a little.

“Foreign?” he asked. I nodded a qualified assent, and the old man dropped at once into a more solemn mood. “I *had* a boy what was a great traveler,” he said at length with just a touch of emotion in his voice. “I brought him up to my own trade, and he stopped with me till he was a matter of thirteen years old. Then he got to going of nights down to London Bridge, to see the ships and sail in the boats, and I couldn’t keep him any longer. He wanted to go to see, and it weren’t any use his mother and me talking – his mother was living then – he would go. I said to him, ‘Jack, my boy’ – *his* name was Jack, sir – ‘Jack,’ I used to say, ‘you’d better stay with your father and learn his bit o’ trade;’ but no use. ‘I just want to see the world,’ he’d say; and he went and did see it. He saw the Indies, and China, and Australia, and – and I couldn’t tell you all. He was a great traveler, was Jack.”

“And what then?” I asked, looking for the usual sequel.

“Then he came home, and after a few years he got married; and wouldn’t go to sea anymore, but took to building them scaffolds,” pointing to the remaining scaffolding of the Law Courts, “and one morning just after breakfast – the sun was a-shining – bright summer morning as ever was – they come and told me Jack had

fallen off a plank and was killed. Aye, sure enough Jack was dead – fine young fellow, five feet seven high, and strong as a horse.”

“Was Jack your only son?” I asked.

“Yes, sir; I had four daughters, but Jack was my only son, and a great traveler he was.”

I thought there was something unutterably pathetic in this little picture of humble city life. Here was an old father, bereft now of all his children, living this solitary life in a cheerless corner of London, knowing nothing of the great world that lies without the limits of the city wherein he was born, and probably only the squalid side of the great world, within them, yet cherishing in his secret and tattered old soul the fond but lost ideal of a great traveler who in fact was an everyday British sailor.

Jack was in his eyes not only his son, but the greatest man that had ever come within the narrow range of that ken of his wherein he might know men for what they are; and the memory of the great traveler who was his kinsman was there, lighting up with an unceasing radiation of touching joy the dun chambers of his home and heart.

How it would shatter his poor life if someone were to tell him that, after all, Jack was not a great traveler! Jack sleeping on the warm hearth and the other Jack in the glass photograph against the wall were to the old man the visible emblems of his lost ideal; and what would have been the life of this worn-out little toiler among men but for their cheering presence and the more spiritual presence of the dearer thing they were there to represent? In the homes of the city poor there must be many such mementoes, which the homes of the rich can better spare.

My hat was now dressed to the workman’s satisfaction, and I was about to leave.

“I suppose you go out for a walk sometimes,” I said.

“Sometimes at night,” the old man replied. “I go to my daughter’s on the Surrey side – a matter of two miles away.”

“And can you walk both ways?” I asked.

“Sometimes I take the ‘bus back, and sometimes when I’ve not got – depends upon circumstances, sir.” With gentlemanly delicacy the hatter tried to conceal his poverty.

“I trust you won’t be disturbed in your little house,” I said in a last word: “no doubt you’ve been here a long time.”

“Forty years, sir, but they’ve bought the ground for warehouses, and I’ve got to clear away this summer – cruel hard on an old chap, sir – cruel hard.”

Prices, Reactions and Consequences

“Cheaper than the English”⁵⁹ (1750)

We are assured that a very large quantity of fine hats were lately sent from hence for Portugal, which were all returned upon the owner; not for any objection against the goodness either of the materials or workmanship, but merely because the French had stocked the market with goods of the same qualities at 20 to 25 per cent. cheaper than the English manufacturer could afford them.

The true reasons of this seem to be these two:

1. That the Company, with an exclusive charter for trading in Hudson’s Bay, do not bring over sufficient quantities of the beaver wool, but only so much as serves to enrich themselves by selling it at high prices on account of the scarcity their own conduct makes⁶⁰.

2. The neglect of the expedition against Canada, during the war, which, if it had been crowned with success, and the benefits of it had not been given up by a peace, would have thrown the whole trade of beaver-wool into our hands.

“At an advanced price”⁶¹ (1751)

We hear that at the public sale of the Hudson’s Bay Company on Thursday last, the parchment beaver⁶² was wholly bought up for exportation at an advanced price of 75 per cent. which, together with the advance on the sale of that company in November last, has more than doubled the price of that commodity, and rendered it impossible for the manufacturers in England to purchase, whereby several poor families dependent thereon, are rendered incapable of getting a livelihood.

“The secret history of the beaver trade”⁶³ (1752)

According to some *intimations* from a certain quarter, where those things should be *best understood*, the *secret history* of the *beaver trade* is in great forwardness; from whence it will appear, that tho’ the *French* purchase goods of *us*, with which they purchase that *valuable fur* from the *Indians*,⁶⁴ yet when they have *thus* purchased it, they are able (thanks to our *heavy duties*!) to *undersell* us.

⁵⁹ From Extract of a Letter from Madrid, August 17. (1750, November 8). *Pennsylvania Gazette*, p. 2.

⁶⁰ The Hudson’s Bay company is here accused of acting in the fashion of a textbook monopolist.

⁶¹ From LONDON. (1751, March 9). *Newcastle Courant*, p. 3.

⁶² Also called *castor sec*, this type of beaver fur does not felt as easily as *castor gras*, or ‘coat beaver’. Coat beaver was only used by hatters, whereas parchment beaver was used by both hatters and makers of fur garments.

⁶³ From LONDON. (1752, October 14). *Newcastle Courant*, p. 2.

⁶⁴ “The Indians [in Quebec] bring us in great quantities of beaver, partridges, &c., and begin to be very fond of English money. They of this neighbourhood in every respect live like the Canadians, have their houses built and furnished after the same manner, plow their ground, sow corn, &c. and are more industrious in the chase than they; they all speak French, and have a handsome church in the village

“They can afford to put more beaver in them”⁶⁵ (1752)

The Committee, to whom the petition of the manufacturers, and others concerned in the making and vending of beaver hats, and hats made of coney’s-wool, goat’s-wool, and other materials, whose names are there underwritten, on behalf of themselves, and the rest of the said trade in Great Britain; and also the petition of the manufacturers, and others concerned in the making and vending of beaver hats, and hats made of coney’s-wool, goat’s-wool, and other materials, in and near the city of Chester, whose names are there underwritten, on behalf of themselves, and the rest of the said trade in Great Britain, and also the petition of the manufacturers, and others concerned in the making and vending of beaver hats, and hats made of coney’s-wool, and other materials, in the town and neighbourhood of Manchester, in the county of Lancaster, whose names are there underwritten, on behalf of themselves, and the rest of the said trade in Great Britain; were referred; have, pursuant to the order of the House, examined the matter of the said several petitions; a state whereof is as follows:

In order to show, that the art of making hats has arrived to great perfection in this kingdom; and that considerable quantities have been therefore exported, the agent for the petitioners called Mr. James Rosseter, hat-maker: Who said, that the making [of] beaver hats in England has arrived at very great perfection; and that, about twenty years ago, our hats were in greater reputation abroad than the French hats, or any other; but that of late the French hats are in greater credit than ours: That he had employed French, Germans, and Swiss; but he esteems Englishmen the best workmen:

That the reason the French hats are now in greater credit than ours, is, there is a great manufactory set up in France; and the manufacturers there can get beaver-wool for 18s. a pound, that we give 32s. for and which formerly used to be at 13 or 14s. a pound, by which means they can use more beaver, and consequently make their commodity better, at the price than we can do:

That he had been concerned in exporting hats upwards of thirty years; and has exported small parcels to all parts of Europe, but principally to Spain and Portugal, to the annual amount of eight or ten thousand pounds: That this trade used to be very advantageous to the public; for that, in the house whereto he belonged, they used sometimes to employ 100 poor persons.

Mr. Henry Butler, hat-maker, said, he had been concerned in exporting beaver hats upwards of twenty years: That he formerly exported them to Spain, Portugal, Holland, Germany, and all up the Straits, and sometimes to France, to the amount, in the whole, of from four to six thousand pounds *per annum*; the beaver in which

of Loretto, where I have sometimes been to see their ceremonies and entertainments, which are curious enough.” LONDON. (1761, July 11). *Newcastle Courant*, p. 2.

⁶⁵ From House of Commons (Great Britain). (1752). *Report upon the petitions relating to the manufacture of hats*. London: Parliament of Great Britain.

was worth two thousand pounds: That he speaks to all sorts of hats, but that the major part of them had beaver in them, more or less:

That, in this trade, he used to employ near an hundred persons; and that now he does not employ above fifty or sixty, having lost the Dutch trade, on account of the dearness of materials; that the witness is acquainted with the state of the trade in general; and that it is upon the decline, and has been so these two years, owing to the dearness of our materials, particularly beaver:

That there are several manufactories of hats set up abroad; particularly a very great one in France, which, of all others, is the most prejudicial to us, as the French now buy beaver for six shillings a pound, upon the pelt, for which we give eleven shillings; and consequently, they under-sell us at foreign markets.

Mr. William Estcutt, hat-maker, said, that he had been in business about twenty-five years, and had exported hats to Holland, Portugal, Spain, and Leghorn: That he used to export from four to six thousand pounds value *per annum*; but that our foreign trade is upon the decline, and has been so since the conclusion of the peace; and the dearness of beaver is the principal cause:

That the French out-work us, as they have their materials (particularly beaver) cheaper than we; and by that means, they make their manufactures finer than ours, as they can afford to put more beaver in them.

That beaver-wool is thirty-two shillings a pound, which (except the last year, when it was from forty to fifty shillings a pound) is much the same price it has been at these two or three years; but that, about ten years ago, the average price was from sixteen to twenty shillings a pound; and that, in a hat worth seven shillings, at the price beaver now is, the manufacturers can't afford to make use of any.

That the witness had advice, the latter end of last summer, from his correspondent in France, that the price of beaver-wool there was from sixteen to eighteen shillings a pound; and at the same time it sold here, at the Hudson's Bay sale, from forty to fifty shillings; nor could the manufacturers get it at that price, foreigners buying it from them; and it is to foreigners being allowed to buy it, that the witness attributed the rise.

That the reason of its rise within these three or four years, is owing to the small importation and the large exportation thereof; for that, in general, the importation is less, as well from Hudson's Bay, as from other places:

That beaver is exported to Holland and Flanders, but that, if the exportation was prohibited, we should be the manufacturers of hats for those places.

Mr. Richard Crafton, hatter, said, that he had been concerned in exporting beaver hats, on his own account, about ten years; and with his father, before that time, seven or eight years: That he used to export them to Holland, France, Leghorn, Spain, and Portugal, to the amount of about four thousand pounds *per annum*; but that the trade of the house in which he is concerned, is considerably on the decline, and has been so these six years; and at present they don't export one-half of what they did:

That several manufactories have been set up abroad; particularly a very great one in France, which is the manufactory that affects our trade the most; and the

principal reason why the French manufactory affects our trade the most, is, they have their beaver much cheaper than we, and, by that means, under-sell us at foreign markets; that parchment beaver has advanced here, within these two years, upwards of 75 per cent.; that in France it is from 6s. to 6s. 6d. a pound, upon the skin; and here, the last November sale, it was 11s. or thereabouts; and the March sale before that, it was upwards of sixteen shillings.

That the manufacturers here mix beaver with other materials, upon account of the fineness of the goods, as well as the colour; and the excessive price of beaver has obliged them to put less of it in the hats, and consequently make them worse.

That, the last March sale, the price of parchment beaver was, upon an average, about 16s. a pound, and coat beaver 7s. 3d.; and, at the last November sale, the parchment beaver was about 11s. and the coat beaver then about 8s.:

That he believed, upon an average, rather more than half the coat beaver imported is again exported, and all the cubs, and most of the parchment.

And being asked, how he knew what quantity of beaver was exported? He said, that there were some brokers, who, he apprehended, always bought for exportation; and from the quantity they bought he formed his judgment.

Then Mr. Rosseter was asked, what the price of coat beaver was in 1745? He said, it was about 4s. 6d. a pound.

Mr. Crafton said, that the importation of coat beaver is not above one quarter of the importation of parchment; and that coat beaver is never used but in hats:

That the average price of hats, usually exported from his house is about 9s. apiece; and, when beaver is cheap, he puts in such a hat about an ounce and a half, besides about four ounces of coney's-wool, and other materials.

Mr. Thomas Lawford, hat-maker, being examined, said, that he was bred in the greatest house for the exportation of hats in Europe; that his master traded up the Straits, and, he believed, did not export thither so little as 12,000l. worth in a year; but that he speaks to twenty years ago; and at that time they used to employ about 120 or 130 of all sorts of people: And, upon inquiry, he does not find any of that trade here now.

Captain Richard Pridie said, he had carried hats to Cadiz, some in the year 1749, worth from 8s. to 18s. 6d. apiece; and was forced to bring them back, though he offered them at prime cost; and the reason he could not dispose of them was, that the French hats were 10 or 15 per cent. better than his, even at prime cost; but that this was the only time he ever carried hats to Cadiz.

Mr. Rosseter said, the reason of the advance of the price of beaver was owing to the great demand for exportation, and also the decrease of the importation: That he apprehended one reason of the great demand for exportation of beaver, from hence was, that the French prohibited the exportation⁶⁶ of beaver from thence; so that this

⁶⁶ Probably a misguided attempt at protectionism. "Though the lands about Montreal produce Indian corn in abundance, and all the vegetables of Europe flourish in it, yet the French have never been able to establish any staple commodity to answer their demands on their mother country. Their trade with the Indians produces all their returns to that market. The furs of the beaver, with those of foxes and raccoons, the skins of deer, and all the branches of the peltry, together with what corn and lumber

was the only market for foreigners: Another reason was, that there is an encouragement of a drawback of 4d. 4/12 on each skin; and that the duty on each skin is 7d. 12/20; and that the duty and drawback are the same on a cub's skin as on a full-grown skin, although, upon an average, two cubs' skins don't weigh [as much as] one full-grown skin: So that, in effect, the drawback is double on cub's-wool, to what it is on the wool of a grown skin: And this, the witness said, he apprehended, was the reason, why foreigners always gave a larger price, in proportion, for cubs than grown skins, though the quality of the wool of a cub is not so good as the wool of a grown skin: That, if the drawback was taken off, he imagined cubs would not be bought for exportation; and that would leave a larger quantity of beaver in the market, and, of consequence, somewhat lower the price to manufacturers.

That he had heard, that, in the year 1749, the quantity of beaver imported into France, upon the skin, was 200,000 pounds' weight; and that beaver is prohibited from being exported from thence under very severe penalties; and that, the witness said, he apprehended, was another cause of the decrease in our trade, as the French bough tit at seven livres and a half, a pound upon the skin in the year 1749, when at the same time it was here upwards of seven shillings; and that they can buy beaver at any time, and in any quantity they please, when we are confined to the sales of the Hudson's Bay Company, which are only twice a year, and to a small quantity that comes from New York: It is to this, together with the difference in the price of labour, he attributes the French being able to under-sell us: And that he had received frequent advices from abroad, that we were in danger of losing our whole export trade: And he said, we have already lost the Cadiz trade:

That, in his own export trade only, he consumed 600 pounds of beaver wool annually; but that, if beaver here was at the price it used to be, and now is in France, he should be able to extend his export trade to three times what it is at present, and, consequently, consume a much larger quantity of beaver, and coney-wool also:

That formerly he had large orders for beaver hats, from 25 to 27s. apiece, for exportation; and had exported 1000 such in a year: But that trade is now entirely lost, and in the hands of the French.

Mr. Estcutt, being again examined, was asked, to what cause he attributed the advanced price of beaver here? He informed your Committee, that, as this was the only market open to foreigners (the French prohibiting beaver from being exported), it was that, together with the diminution of the importation into England, and the great demand for exportation, he looked upon to be the cause of the great advance of the price of beaver: And that, he apprehended, the reason of the great demand of beaver for exportation was owing to several manufactories set up abroad, which take a great deal from our market, and to a great quantity exported to Russia for clothes, and to the drawback allowed on exportation; and that there is the same drawback on a cub as on a grown beaver, which makes almost the whole of the cubs exported:

they can send to the West Indies, constitute their whole stock of merchandise; and these have been found sufficient to render their lives agreeable in this fruitful country." LONDON. (1760, October 6). *London Public Advertiser*, p. 2.

That the wool of a cub is not quite half so much as that of a grown beaver; so that the drawback on the cubs' wool is above double to that on the grown beaver:

That, if the drawback was taken off, he thinks it would lessen the exportation of beaver, as by that means all the cubs would be left in the market, and, consequently, would somewhat lower the price of beaver: That, if beaver was at the price it used to be, he should use more than triple the quantity he now does in his trade.

And being asked, if the price of New York beaver had not risen of late? he said, it always rises in proportion to the Hudson's Bay beaver, though it is not so good in quality:

That he was informed by his correspondents in France, that there was annually imported thither, by their Canada Company, 120 or 130,000 skins of parchment-beaver; which, as it is prohibited to be exported from thence, he looked upon as another cause of the great demand for exportation from hence:

That the witness desired his correspondent to let him know the price of beaver in France, at the time beaver was sold here at 16s. a pound; and he was then informed it was sold in France from 6s. to 6s. 6d. a pound: This was in October 1750, and it continued so for nine months; which, he said, was a demonstration to him that no beaver was exported from France in that time:

That the French manufacturers have the advantage of buying beaver at any time, and in any quantity they please, of their Canada Company; and that we can only buy it of the Hudson's Bay Company twice in a year.

That he believed the Company sold all their beaver at those two sales; yet, nevertheless, he thought the French had the advantage of us, as they can always buy a lot at a time: That the French East India Company fix the price of their beaver from five to seven livres a pound; which price continued for nine months the last year.

And being asked, if at a public sale there was any such thing as a person keeping up the price of a commodity? He said, no doubt but there was; and there was scarce one public sale without it: And that he thought, if the exportation of beaver was prohibited here, it would not bear the price it does.

And being asked, if the Hudson's Bay Company were to fix a price on beaver, at 100 per cent. profit to themselves, it would be so dear as at present? He said, he thought not; for he believed they got above 100 per cent.

He was then asked, if he thought they got 50 per cent. exclusive of all expenses? He said, he believed they did; and that if the exportation of beaver was prohibited here, it certainly would not bear the same price it now does: But he could not tell whether, if the price were reduced, we should have the same quantity from New York we now have; yet he thinks, if we had beaver as cheap as they have in France, we could undersell the French at foreign markets, notwithstanding the difference of the price of labour:

That formerly we used to export beaver hats of 27s. apiece; but that very few of that price are exported now; and that if hats of the same quality were made now, they would cost near 40s. apiece:

That the witness has had frequent advices from abroad, that we are in danger of losing our export trade, and that he feel sit very sensibly, having lost great part of his own:

That he attributes the loss of our export trade in general to the high price of beaver, for, with the fine hats, we used to send coarse ones; and now the coarse trade is lost with the fine:

That the price of labour is much the same of late as it has been for some time; and he did not think the number of hat-makers had greatly increased: That there were indeed a greater number at Manchester than usual; but that they are gone from other places to fix there.

Mr. John Butler, clerk of the Hatters' Company, said, he had been clerk of the Company seven years: That the jurisdiction of the Company reached ten miles round London; and within these limits none but a free hatter can work, if the Company please: That no hatter, though free, can have above two apprentices at a time; and he has known persons prosecuted for working within the limits of the Company's jurisdiction; and upon that they have been convicted, and that no person, not being a Freeman, can work as a Journeyman, even with a free hatter: Yet, he said, that, though this is the law, it is sometimes winked at: That one Duffield was prosecuted, and convicted, for working within the Company's jurisdiction; and said, he believed, if the Company were informed of any person working within the said limits, they would order him to be prosecuted: That he spoke in relation to the Master Hatters, and not to the Journeymen, though there is a penalty on both: The penalty on the Journeyman being 20s. a month, and on the Master who employs him 5l. a month.

Mr. Estcutt, being asked, if it would not be of benefit to the trade, if the penalty was taken off? He said, he believed it would; but he did not think the Freemen desired to have it taken off: That, at present, he himself employs six foreigners to one Freeman; and that, in general, more foreigners than Freemen are employed; and he does not hear of any prosecutions likely to issue on that account.

Then the agent for the petitioners observed to your Committee that, by the account laid before your Committee, from the Commissioners of the Customs, it appeared, that from Christmas 1729 to Christmas 1739, there were annually imported, upon a medium, 86,603 skins. And that the annual exportation, in that time, was 32,294 skins: So that there remained in the market, for the use of the manufacturers, annually on a medium, during these ten years, 35,769 skins. And from Christmas 1739 to Christmas 1749, the annual importation, upon a medium, was 63,510 skins: And the annual exportation, on a medium, was 34,441 skins: So that there remained in the market, for the manufacturers annually, for these last ten years, upon a medium, only 29,069 skins. The difference between the quantity at market, during the first ten years, and the last ten years, is annually, upon a medium, 24,700 skins.

The importation in the year 1750 was 62,043 skins, and the exportation 35,393; so that there only remained for the use of the manufacturers, in the year 1750, 26,650 skins. From which it appeared, that there remained annually, for the use of the

manufacturers, from Christmas 1729 to 1739 on an average, more than twice as many as remained in the year 1750.

And, by an account of beaver-wool exported, it appeared, that from Christmas 1729 to Christmas 1739, only 8,008 pounds' weight of beaver-wool was exported. But from Christmas 1739 to Christmas 1749, the quantity of beaver-wool exported was 13,921 pounds weight; which is an increase of the exportation, in these last ten years, of 5,913 pounds weight of beaver-wool.

And, with regard to the loss the public sustain by the exportation of unmanufactured beaver skins and wool, Mr. Rosseter said, he had made a calculation on his own business upon 6,000 Hudson's Bay beaver skins, by which it appeared, that 6,000 skins, sold at 6s. a pound, would amount to 2,700l.; and the charge (chiefly wages) of manufacturing them into hats, from 7s. to 12s. or 13s. apiece, mixed with coney-wool, and other materials, would amount to 3,750l. besides the coney-wool, goats'-wool, and other materials, about 3,075l. more; to which he added a profit of about 8 per cent. and that makes the beaver, and the wages upon the beaver, exclusive of the coney-wool, goats'-wool, and other materials, to bring in 7,212l. to the nation, on the exportation of 6,000 beaver skins manufactured into hats; but if 6,000 beaver skins are sold, for exportation, at 6s. 6d. a pound, they will bring into the nation only 2,810l., so that the difference to the nation on 6,000 beaver skins, manufactured into hats for exportation, is 4,402l. This difference is exclusive of the coney-wool, which, if worked up with it, will be an addition of 2,750l. and in this manufacture of 6,000 skins, 120 people would be employed all the year, work[ing] as hard as they could.

Besides, there are numbers of persons employed in warrens, and dressing of pelts, or beaver skins, which, when dressed here, pay a duty to the revenue of 2s. a dozen; which is a loss to the nation, if exported unmanufactured: And to them may be added, people employed in making blocks⁶⁷, and other working utensils, and of linings of silk and linen, and other trimmings: Therefore, he apprehends, the loss to the public on 6,000 skins, taking in all circumstances, is about 8,000l.

And when he said, he valued the coney-wool, which would be worked up with these 6,000 skins, at 9s. a pound unmanufactured: But, if the beaver hat trade for exportation was lost, the price of coney-wool would be so reduced as not to sell, unmanufactured for exportation, at more than 5s. 3d. or 5s. 6d. a pound.

That he had made this calculation upon his own business only; but that it would be the same on any other house:

That he is very certain, if we could get beaver upon as reasonable terms as the French, we could regain our export trade, we having much the advantage over them in ingenuity:

That, if beaver continues here at the price it now is, we shall lose our export trade to all parts of his Majesty's Dominions:

That, he thinks, if we could get beaver upon reasonable terms, it would be for the benefit of the landed interest, as, by increasing the consumption of coney-wool, it would make warrens more valuable:

⁶⁷ Probably hat blocks, used for shaping the crown.

That the whole trade use about 30 or 40,000 skins in a year: That in a beaver hat, made for exportation, the witness said, he generally put about 10 or 12 ounces of beaver; but that in the general run of such hats, for home consumption, he puts about 7 or 8 ounces; which hat is worth from 23s. to 25s.

Mr. Lowford said, that, since beaver was so dear, few hats were made all beaver for home consumption; but that there are few made for the town consumption with less than 9 or 10 ounces: That he paid for dyeing upwards of 500 dozen of hats the last year, and that above 250 dozen of them were above one-half beaver.

That, if beaver was at 6s. or 6s. 6d. a pound, upon the skin, we could consume it all in the manufacture of hats; but the demand for hats abroad now fails.

And being asked, why did they not consume it all in the years 1737, 1738, and 1739, when it was 5s. a pound? He said, he thought the reason was, our hats being then very narrow, and [having] low crowns. And the agent for the petitioners observed, upon this occasion, that in those years the quantity left in the market, for the use of the manufacturers, was, upon a medium, near equal to the quantity imported in the year 1750.

Mr. Crofton said, that if beaver was at 6s. or 6s. 6d. a pound, he thinks the trade would consume all that has been imported for seven years: That, he thinks, the Body of Hatters would contract for it all, for that he would be one that would.

“Considerations”⁶⁸ (1752?)

Beaver has for many years past been imported into England, in greater or less degree, from all or most of the British settlements on the continent of North America; viz. from Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, New England, Hudson’s Bay and Newfoundland, as appears by the custom-house accounts of the imports thereof.

The Hudson’s Bay trade being in the hands of a company, they are obliged to bring all their beaver to England: But the said other colonies in America are under no such restraint, and do manufacture the beaver there themselves into hats, or otherwise dispose thereof, as they find it most for their interest, notwithstanding any law to the contrary: And nothing but the profit to arise from beaver in England, will induce them to bring it hither.

Of the beaver imported into England, considerable part has always been exported abroad, chiefly for garments: And the lowest prices have never induced the Hatters here, to take off anything near the quantity imported; so that if foreigners had not taken off the surplus quantity, it must have stopped the importation.

The Hatters are now applying to the Legislature, to discourage the exportation of beaver from England, and thereby to reduce the price of it: And, as the grounds for such their application have, in a printed case delivered by them, suggested that the foreign hat trade of late years declined, and that owing principally to the dearness of beaver.

⁶⁸ From *Some considerations on the importation and exportation of beaver; with remarks on the hatter’s case.* (n.d. [1752?]). No publisher listed.

As to the truth of which pretense, that the foreign hat trade has declined of late years, the following remarks are made: And the policy of giving into a measure, to reduce the price of beaver, by discouraging the exportation, is submitted to consideration.

That the foreign trade for castor and beaver hats has not, of late years, declined, appears most manifest from the custom house accounts of the exports thereof; which, on the contrary, show the exports have increased within these twenty years, to near double what they were.

And, in confirmation of the hatter's trade being increased, they are, at this time, forced to employ therein great numbers of persons non-freemen; and there is not the least complaint of any of their hands being out of work.

That, further, the foreign trade, in general, for hats, does not depend so much on beaver, how specious a pretense soever that may be made by the Hatters; as is apparent from the continual increase of the exportation of hats for these twenty years past; and the two last years being the greatest of all.

And though the import of beaver has been less of late, and particularly from New York, and the rest of the northern colonies; yet, within these two years, the advance on the price has brought a considerable increase from thence: And a prohibition of the export of beaver from England, or other discouragement, to reduce the price of there, which is what the Hatters aim at, can never be a means of increasing the import into England, but must necessarily be attended with quite the contrary effect, to the loss of this nation; since all the beaver that is imported from America is purchased by the produce, labor, and manufacture of Great Britain.

“Observations upon a paper”⁶⁹ (1752?)

The author of the said paper⁷⁰ asserts, “That the North American colonies, not being under the same restraint as the Hudson's Bay Company, either manufacture the beaver there themselves, or otherwise dispose thereof, as they find it most for their interest, notwithstanding any law to the contrary,” from whence he concludes, “that nothing but the profit to arise from beaver in England will induce them to bring it hither.”

How much the said colonies are obliged to the author for this candid information, that they carry on a clandestine illicit trade, to the prejudice of their mother-country, is left to them to determine; and whether, if any such trade is carried on by the said colonies, some further means of preventing it, than what are provided by the Act of the 8th Geo., the First, Cap. 15⁷¹ may not be well worthy the attention

⁶⁹ From *Observations upon a paper, intituled, [sic.] ‘Some Considerations on the Importation and Exportation of Beaver; with Remarks on the Hatters Case.’* [Pamphlet]. (n.d. [1752 ?]). No publisher listed.

⁷⁰ *Some considerations on the importation and exportation of beaver; with remarks on the hatter's case*, transcribed above as “Considerations” (1752?).

⁷¹ The Silk Subsidies, Various Duties, Import of Furs, etc. Act 1721.

of Parliament, must likewise be submitted: But why so much greater a profit should now be necessary to induce the northern colonies to send their beaver to England, than was formerly necessary for that purpose, as it is notorious that they have constantly exported it, when at a much lower price than what is now even desired by the manufacturers here [in England], the author would do well to explain.

“That of the beaver imported into England” (from Hudson’s Bay) “considerable part has always been exported,” will be admitted; but the author has forgot to inform his readers, that of the beaver imported from New York, and the other northern colonies, very little (if any) was exported till within these two years; and that the quantity so exported was bought up on speculation, upon account of the high price it bore in the market: From whence it may very fairly be concluded, that the discouraging of the exportation of beaver can in no degree affect the importation from those colonies, as they do not import it hither with a view to exportation.

The author has likewise forgot to mention another very material circumstance in the present question; namely, that, since the northern colonies have found out the art of manufacturing their beaver into hats, not only the quantity imported from thence has considerably decreased, but the quality of the beaver has been also much worse than formerly, those colonies exporting only the refuse part of their beaver, which they can’t make use of to so great advantage in their own manufacture: The danger therefore of lessening the importation of beaver from the northern colonies, by reducing the price, and the loss to this nation, in consequence thereof, suggested by the author, must, upon the slightest consideration imaginable, appear to be merely chimerical. How far, indeed, the reduction of the price of beaver may affect the private interest of the Hudson’s Bay Company, the manufacturers here do not pretend to determine.

“That the hatters did not take off the whole quantity of beaver imported, even when the price was lowest,” is undoubtedly true: But here another fallacy occurs in the author’s conclusion, “That, if foreigners had taken off the surplus, it must have stopped the importation”: For how was it possible for the hatters to take off the whole quantity imported, had they been able to manufacture it, when a great part was always bought up for exportation, which it was out of their power to prevent? And even in a supposition, that they *could* not *then* consume the whole, what argument can be drawn from thence, to prove, they cannot consume the whole now; when it is notorious, that the quantity left in the market, for the use of the manufacturers here, was, in several of the years alluded to by the author, greater than the whole quantity now imported? On the contrary, if no larger quantity of beaver should be imported for the future, than what has been imported for some years past, the manufacturers will undertake to consume the whole in the making of hats; and are ready to contract for the same, if the price be reduced as low, as it was, upon a medium, during twenty years preceding the year 1751; and, consequently, no surplus will then remain for exportation. The policy therefore of endeavoring to reduce the price of beaver, by discouraging the exportation, is as apparent, as the policy of prohibiting the exportation of wool; the former being a material necessary for the manufacture of hats for exportation, as the latter for the manufacture of cloth.

As to the assertion of the author, founded upon the custom house accounts of the exports of hats, "That the foreign trade has in late years increased," it may be observed, that, were the authenticity of that account admitted (as it is not), the fact is very far from being as the author suggests: For although, since the conclusion of the late Peace,⁷² the manufacturers have made several efforts to recover their trade with Spain, lost during the war, and for that purpose sent considerable quantities of hats thither; yet, unfortunately, great numbers of those hats were returned, and many of them still remain there unsold: So that the number of hats specified in the said account to have been exported (were the same true) is far from being a proof of an increase in the foreign trade: But when it is considered, that, in the said account, beaver and castor hats are blended together without distinction, and that persons shipping hats for exportation, commonly enter a much larger quantity, than what is really shipped (as no duty is paid on the export of hats) very little regard ought to be paid to that account.

On the contrary, that the foreign trade for beaver hats has of late years declined, is apparent, not only from the evidence now before the House, but from the small quantity of beaver left in the market, for several years past, for the use of the manufacturers; so that, had the *number* of hats exported been equal to what it was formerly (which is very far from being the case), yet the *value* of them much be much less.

In answer to the author's remark, "That the great numbers of non-freemen are now employed in the manufacture of hats," it is sufficient to observe, that the Master Hatters of *London* do not only at this time, but always did, employ a much greater number of non-freemen, than freemen; and that all the former, and great part of the latter, were formerly employed in the making of beaver and fine castor hats, chiefly for exportation; whereas now very few are employed in that species of the manufacture, and those only for home consumption.

If, therefore, a prohibition of the export of beaver should not be a means of increasing the import (as is suggested by the said paper), it must necessarily be a means of reducing the price; and thereby enable the British manufacturers to regain their export trade, now almost wholly engrossed by their most dangerous rivals: And it is submitted to consideration, whether, as the whole fur trade is confined to Great Britain and France (the latter of which totally prohibits the exportation of beaver), it be not for the interest of this Kingdom, that our own manufacturers should be furnished with this useful commodity at a cheaper rate than foreigners, as this is the only market at which they can be supplied; and, whether it be consistent with the policy of a trading nation, to suffer so valuable a branch of commerce to be lost, by encouraging the exportation of a material essentially necessary to its preservation, merely for the sake of continuing to a few merchants the advantages arising from these foreign commissions?

⁷² Probably end of the War of Austrian Succession (1740 – 1748), in which Britain fought against Spain.

“The stock of two hatmakers left off Trade”⁷³ (1758)

For sale by the candle, at the New York Coffeehouse in Sweeting’s Alley, near the Royal Exchange, on Wednesday next, at five in the afternoon, viz. by order of the assignees, the stock in trade of Mr. Sam Edgely, hatmaker, of Manchester, a bankrupt: Also the stock of two hatmakers left off Trade; consisting of hats, wool, &c. likewise:

- 9 bales goat's wool
- 6 bags Vigonia [sic.] wool
- 30 sacks verdigris
- 2,000 Russia hare skins
- 217 Hudson's Bay coat beaver
Hudson's Bay parchment
- 10 beaver
- 32 lb. Beaver
- 50 lb. Coney wool
- 120 Russia hare's wool

The aforesaid goods to be seen from Monday morning to the time of sale, viz. the goat’s wool Lot 1 to 5, at Billiter Lane warehouse; the hare skins at Mr. James Mathias’s in Freeman’s Court, Cornhill; the rest at Dyer’s Hall Wharf, Thames Street; where catalogs may be had, at the place of sale, and of Samuel Robinson, broker, in Watling Street.

Immediately after the above will be sold, 6 Hhds. Carolina deer skins, lately landed out of the Marquis de Salha, taken by the St. George privateer. To be seen from Monday till the time of sale, at No. 70, Porter’s Key, near the custom house.

“Taken by the Charming Nancy Privateer”⁷⁴ (1758)

For SALE by the CANDLE,
At Garraway’s Coffee-house in Exchange Alley,
Thursday October 19, at Five o’Clock in the Afternoon,
THE following BEAVER SKINS, being the Remainder of the Cargo of LE MARIE ANNE, a French Prize, from Canada, taken by the Charming Nancy Privateer, William Snow, Commander, viz. About 13000 Parchment, 4000 Cub, 1400 Coat, Beaver Skins.

Catalogues of which will be timely delivered by
BEN J. VAUGHAN and SAMUEL ROBINSON, Brokers.

⁷³ From For SALE by the CANDLE. (1758, March 11). *Public Advertiser* (London), p. 4.

⁷⁴ From For SALE by the CANDLE [Advertisement]. (1758, October 12). *London Public Advertiser*, p. 4. A privateer can be thought of as a legally commissioned pirate. Note the division of beaver skins into parchment (castor sec), cub (young) and coat (castor gras) types.

“Taken by the Antelope Man of War”⁷⁵ (1759)

For SALE by the CANDLE,
At Garraway’s Coffee-house in Exchange Alley,
This Day May 10, at Five o’Clock in the Afternoon,
THE following Goods, viz. Skins, 6060 Parchment Beaver, 3225 Cub ditto, 131 Coat ditto, 383 Bear, 642 Raccoon, 281 Martin, 49 Mink, 70 Cat, 59 Otter, 37 Fox, 82 Musquash, 3 Wolf, 5 Seal. Being the Cargo of the Belliqueux, from Canada, taken by the Antelope Man of War, Capt. Saumarez.

The aforesaid Goods to be seen to the Time of Sale, at Dyers Hall Wharf, Thames-street, where Catalogues may be had, at the Place of Sale, and of
MARK HUDSON, BEN J. VAUGHAN and SON,
and SAMUEL ROBINSON, Brokers.

“They cannot supply their home demand”⁷⁶ (1760)

It has been said, that hats are manufactured in New England even for exportation. It is true, there have been ever since the first settlement of that country, a few hatters here, drawn thither probably at first by the facility of getting beaver, while the woods were but little cleared, and there was plenty of those animals. The case is greatly altered now. The beaver skins are not now to be had in New England, but from very remote places and at great prices. The trade is accordingly declining there, so that, far from being able to make hats in any quantity for exportation, they cannot supply⁷⁷ their home demand. In fact, the Colonies are so little suited for establishing of manufactures, that they are continually losing the few branches they accidentally gain. Thee working braziers, cutlers, and pewterers, as well as hatters, who have happened to go over from time to time and settle in the Colonies, gradually drop the working part of their business, and import their respective goods from England, whence they can have them cheaper and better than they can make them. They continue their shops indeed, in the same way of dealing, but become *sellers* of braziers, cutlery, pewter, hats, &c. brought from England, instead of being *makers* of those goods.

⁷⁵ From For SALE by the CANDLE [Advertisement]. (1759, May 10). *London Public Advertiser*, p. 4.

⁷⁶ From PRESENT. (1760, April 28). *London Public Advertiser*, p. 2.

⁷⁷ “As I have not been able for some years past to furnish beaver hats (occasioned by the scarcity of beaver) I hereby acquaint my old customers and others, that I can now supply them with beaver, or any other sort of hats, as good and as cheap as can be bought any where else, for ready money, or short credit. I can likewise furnish gold or silver lace for hats.” Reynolds, W. (1761, August 27). Annapolis, August 19, 1761 [Advertisement]. *Maryland Gazette*, p. 3.

“Some specious and alluring substitute”⁷⁸ (1764)

The whole fur-trade, by the acquisition of Canada, being held in the hands of the English⁷⁹, France, fertile in resources, has been endeavoring ever since the peace, to supply the want of that useful commodity by some specious and alluring substitute. To this we owe that inundation of feather-muffs of all colors, which for these two last winters I have seen with grief and indignation in every Milliner’s shop, and on every fashionable lady’s arm. If my fair countrywomen know not that they are French, I grieve at their ignorance; if they do, and yet give them the preference, I am indignant at their folly.

But fain would I persuade myself that this pernicious fashion is owing only to heedlessness and inattention, and that the ladies of this island⁸⁰ have hearts so truly English, that, if they knew the origin of these muffs, they would immediately discountenance them, as they would blush to have it said, that like silly birds, they were ensnared by painted feathers and were instrumental in rendering a conquest, purchased with the blood of a Wolfe, a Howe, &c. rather burdensome than advantageous: for such, undoubtedly, must Canada prove, should the merchants, who trade thither, find no markets for their furs; and should it also become fashionable for English gentlemen (in humble imitation of the ladies) to wear (instead of beaver) feather hats, an event which perhaps may not be far distant, as we have been told that the French have, for some time past, been laboring to establish such a manufacture, and as we know that they have long furnished our pretty fellows with *Chapeaux pour le bras*.

But surely fashions so prejudicial in their consequences, are not unworthy the notice of the legislature, and should, me thinks, be restrained (like the wearing of cambric or drinking of claret) by some penalty, or such high duties as may confine them at least to persons of ample fortune.

In the meantime, as these French novelties are wholly superfluous, our own furs being (if not so beautiful) at least as warm as feathers, it is my ardent wish, that if an attention to their country’s advantage is ineffectual, every husband would use his influence, and every parent his authority, to induce their wives and daughters to encourage in this, and in all other instances, our home manufactures, instead of meanly receiving from a conquered enemy, the laws even of dress. And sure I am, that if the Spectator (of patriot memory) were now in being, he would have given strict orders to his agent, Charles Lilly, to make a seizure of all such muffs and hats, and would never have laid down his pen till such feathers became as unfashionable as ruffs and farthingales.

⁷⁸ From GRITO. (1764, March 24). To the PRINTER, &c. *The Caledonian Mercury*, p. 1.

⁷⁹ In 1763, France surrendered nearly all its North American territories to England. This was a serious blow to their fur industry, as it cut off their supply from New France.

⁸⁰ Scotland.

“A new species of smuggling”⁸¹ (1764)

The price of furs is at present so considerably increased in France, since the cession of all North America to England, that we are advised, by letters from Paris, that several beaver manufacturers cannot carry on business as usual; to supply whom, a new species of smuggling has been invented, that of importing beaver and furs trafficked with the English in Newfoundland, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, for the manufactures of France, carried over in their fishing vessels.

Should this pernicious intercourse be suffered to continue, Great Britain may still be rivaled by France in the fur trade, notwithstanding the latter do not at this time possess one inch of seacoast on the western continent.

“So greatly are they pinched”⁸² (1764)

At some late sales of American furs, great quantities have been bought up by French agents, at so high a price as 1 l. 17 s. per lb. the best beaver: So greatly are they pinched to carry on this valuable manufactory, since the cession of Canada to Great Britain.

“The little they possess”⁸³ (1764)

By recent letters from France it appears, that the whole value of furs, beaver, and deerskins, imported into that kingdom from Louisiana, and the little they possess on the banks of the Mississippi, since the peace, does not exceed 25,000 l. whereas, during their late possession of Canada, they annually imported from that province only, in the above articles, to the amount of 135,000 l.

English Hats and Portugal⁸⁴ (1767)

Sir, In your paper of Thursday last, I observed the following paragraph: “If we may credit some accounts, our trade to Portugal is not likely to be so considerable as heretofore, not owing as she has been represented so much to the aversion of the Portuguese to the English, as to their being able to furnish themselves with the manufactures they formerly took from us; some few years since one house in this city was said to furnish Portugal annually with hats to the amount of between seven and eight thousand pounds, which branch is now entirely lost, the Portuguese having since established manufactories of their own whereby they are enabled to supply themselves at a cheaper rate than when they imported that Article of Commerce from foreign Countries.”

⁸¹ From LONDON. (1764, August 10). *Derby Mercury*, p. 3.

⁸² From LONDON. (1764, October 25). *Pennsylvania Gazette*, p. 2.

⁸³ From LONDON. (1764, November 3). *Caledonian Mercury*, p. 2.

⁸⁴ From T.D. (1767, March 20). To the Printer of the Public Advertiser. *The London Public Advertiser*, p. 2.

Upon finding that the writer of this paragraph has been so very careful as to publish it in two of our papers on the same day, I am induced to believe that he must be a Portuguese or a Person particularly interested in the affairs of Portugal, an enemy to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain, or a friend to those of France; and therefore think it ought not to pass without remark. And as the author has particularly confined himself to the article of hats, I shall do the same, by setting that trade with Portugal in its true light, in order that the public may be undeceived, and our government may be informed that the very great loss which the English trade has lately suffered in this article, is not owing in any degree to the Portuguese having set up manufactories of their own, but to the favor which has been shewn by that Court and Ministry to the French manufactures, in preference to the English.

Felt hats, which are hats made of lamb's wool, are a manufacture which the Portuguese have been long in possession of; their prohibition of these therefore is not the subject of complaint. The finer sorts called Castor and Beaver hats, which are worn in the Kingdom of Portugal and its rich and extensive Colonies, have for near a century been wholly supplied from England, 'till within about seventeen years ago, when the French began to rival the English in their manufacture. And though the French while in possession of Canada, had the advantage of procuring beaver from 50 to 70 per Cent. cheaper than the English, yet the English hatters (to their Credit) maintained their ground in Portugal 'till within the last ten years. So lately as the year 1756, the exports to Portugal, as appears from the custom-house accounts laid three years ago before Parliament, amounted to 257,916 Castor and Beaver hats in one year; to which ought to be added at least one-fourth more, which are not included in that account. The invoice charge of those hats upon the lowest computation, must have been one hundred and forty-five thousand pounds: The declension of this trade since that time is so very amazing, that from the same accounts laid before Parliament it appears, that the export from hence to Portugal did not in the year 1763 exceed 1,100 hats; the value of which will hardly amount to five hundred pounds! Nor is there any reason to believe that the trade has increased in any of the succeeding years.

A manufactory of Castor and Beaver hats was established a few years ago in Portugal, upon the estate of a Minister (well known to have a firm dislike to the English) under the direction of a French Master Hat-maker, who with a number of workmen, were invited and encouraged to leave Paris and settle there. But the want of furs and other necessaries has constantly prevented their being able to make more than about 11,000 hats annually, which may be valued at near five thousand pounds sterling. It is a fact well known to those who are conversant in the trade, that the Portuguese have no manufactory of Castor and Beaver hats except that at Pombal; and as the whole number annually made there, added to the 1,100 imported from England, amount only to 12,100 hats, the reader plainly sees that the diminution of the English exportation from 257,916 to 1,100 Hats, is not owing to the erection of Portuguese manufactories but to the encouragement of other foreign imports, and these are well known to be French. The loss of the English trade in this single article amounts to 139,500l. sterling *per annum*, exclusive of the freight and commission;

and the whole weight of this has, in the course of about seven years, been taken out of the English scale and thrown into the French, by the example and favor of the Court of Portugal, at the instigation of a Minister known to be the determined enemy to this country.

Strange to believe, that though England supplied Portugal with fine hats when beaver was cheaper by 50 to 70 per cent. in France than it was in England; yet now when Great Britain is possessed of all the beaver countries, and when a very wise regulation has been made in favor of the English Hat Trade, by which beaver is become so much cheaper here than it is in France, and by which we are enabled to supply the Portuguese better than the French can; yet such is the favor and preference given to France, that the Portuguese will not buy English hats! and with equal truth may it be said they will not buy other articles from England which they can get from France! Such are the returns made for the obligations they owe to this nation, which alone receives their natural produce of wine, &c. which has on all occasions (regardless of expense) defended them by sea and land! which in their calamity of the Earthquake⁸⁵ presented them with 100,000l. which lately preserved the Crown of Portugal to the Braganza family! and made peace for them! and which has since been strengthening them against any future attempts, by furnishing them with officers, ammunition and military stores of all sorts! But to answer what purpose, unless we were esteemed, preferred, and treated as a nation favored in our commerce, I leave to those to answer who are better versed in politics, than,

Sir, your humble Servant,

T.D.

“Strict orders”⁸⁶ (1767)

It is said strict orders are sent to the West Indies, to observe and detect the New England, New York, and Philadelphia captains of vessels, in selling hats of their respective provinces, which is prohibited, under a very severe penalty, on the captain and all concerned in it, complaint having been made at home [Britain] of great quantities being sent from those colonies, of the fine beaver kind, to the great prejudice of the beaver hat trade at home.

“Condemned there a French ship and cargo”⁸⁷ (1768)

New York, Nov. 7. Captain Sheldon, from Newfoundland, in seventeen days, informs us, that a [ship] from Philadelphia was just arrived there, and that Governor Palliser had lately condemned there a French ship and cargo, which he found out of her limits for having six beaver skins on board; the vessel was afterwards cleared, and gone out of port, but the cargo detained.

⁸⁵ The Lisbon earthquake of 1755.

⁸⁶ From NEW-YORK. (1767, July 9). *Maryland Gazette*, p. 2.

⁸⁷ From AMERICA. (1768, January 20). *Caledonian Mercury*, p. 2.

“Restraining that manufacture”⁸⁸ (1768)

There cannot be a stronger natural right than that of a man’s making the best profit he can of the natural produce of his lands, provided he does not thereby hurt the state in general. Iron is to be found everywhere in America, and beaver furs are the natural produce of that country: Hats and nails, and steel, are wanted there as well as here. It is of no importance to the common welfare of the empire, whether a subject of the King’s gets his living by making hats on this or that side of the water. Yet the hatters of England have prevailed to obtain an Act in their own favour, restraining that manufacture in America, in order to oblige the Americans to send their beaver to England to be manufactured, and purchase back the hats, loaded with the charges of a double transportation.

“Our illustrious Empress”⁸⁹ (1772)

Our illustrious Empress⁹⁰ is not less attentive to the great concerns of commerce than she is to those of arms. The new manufactory of beaver hats, which has been established here under the auspices and protection of her Imperial Majesty, goes on with rapid and surprising success. Her Majesty has most munificently rewarded the Inventors, or rather the Introducers of that new manufactory into the Russian empire. If we continue to go on with the same success, we shall soon monopolize the whole European trade in this article, as we make these hats full as good as the English Hatters do, if not better, and actually sell them one hundred and fifty per cent. cheaper than the English merchants do, notwithstanding we purchase two thirds of our beaver from England.

“Due restrictions”⁹¹ (1788)

Whereas a commercial intercourse with the neighbouring states, to a certain extent, was opened in the course of last year, and it is conceived that it may, under due restrictions, be made useful to this province [of Quebec] and to Great Britain.

Be it enacted therefore by his excellency the governor and the legislative council, and it is thereby enacted by the authority of the same, [...] That the exportation of beaver, peltries and furs into any of the neighbouring states be prohibited, and that the same shall be liable to seizure and forfeiture upon due proof of their being in the way towards either of the said states, with intent to be exported to the same by land or water; and it shall be conclusive of such intent, if any person be found in the way to either of the said states, in any place between the south side

⁸⁸ From F † S. (1768, April 28). The Waves never rise but when the Winds blow. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, p. 1.

⁸⁹ From Extract of a letter from Petersburg, dated April 10, to a Merchant in London. (1772, May 16). *The Caledonian Mercury*, p. 2.

⁹⁰ Catherine the Great, Empress of Russia from 1762 to 1796.

⁹¹ From AMERICA. (1788, May 19). *Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser*, p. 2.

of the river St. Lawrence, and the southernmost extent of his Majesty's government, with beaver, furs or peltries, and without a certificate from one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, certifying that oath has been made before him, by the owner or proprietor, or his factor or agent, that the same beaver, peltries and furs are not intended for such exportation: and every person aiding and assisting, and directly or indirectly interested or concerned in any attempt to make such exportation, shall incur a fine of ten shillings for every pound of beaver, and ten shillings for every skin of furs or peltries to be exported, or attempted and intended to be exported.

And for prohibiting still more effectually the exportation of beaver, peltries and furs, be it also enacted by the same authority, That all and every person or persons who shall export, or shall be aiding or assisting, or directly or indirectly interested and concerned in exporting to any of the said states by any route from any other part of his Majesty's government, to the westward of St. Regis, any beaver, furs or peltries of any kind, such person or persons shall forfeit and become liable to pay thrice the fines and penalties above-mentioned.

“Retrenchment in hats”⁹² (1817)

At this crisis of pecuniary distress it is incumbent on every man to think for himself, and to lay out his money to the best advantage. The silk hats manufactured by Richards and Co. are superior to beaver in every respect, viz. in beauty, colour, shape, &c.; they will wear double the time, and then repair and look like new; they will never sustain injury by rain – it will be found the cheapest hat ever offered to the public. Price 26s. 593, Strand, opposite Cecil-street.

“At the partial fall of the beaver market”⁹³ (1818)

T. Ellyett begs to announce to his numerous friends, and the public, that, having secured a new and very extensive stock of prime hats, manufactured from the best materials, at the partial fall of the beaver market, previous to the late extraordinary advance, he is determined to render gentlemen's real superfine hats, and ladies' and children's fancy hats and bonnets, finished in the first style of fashion, with all descriptions of men's, youths', and boys' hats (warranted to wear well) at such prices as will ensure a considerable saving.

⁹² From RETRENCHMENT IN HATS [Advertisement]. (1817, August 22). *London Morning Chronicle*, p. 1.

⁹³ From Portsea Cheap Fashionable Manufactory for GOOD HATS [Advertisement]. (1818, March 30). *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle and General Advertiser for Hants, Sussex, Surrey, Dorset, and Wilts.*, p. 3.

“Four brown beaver bonnets”⁹⁴ (1820)

Mrs. Sarah Tenant, a fashionable and elegantly dressed female, was put to the bar with John Moore, a man advanced in years, and dressed *shabby-genteel*.

Mr. William Launce, hatter, Blackman-street, Borough, stated, that on Monday morning, the 3d of January, the female servant of the prisoner called at his shop and ordered some bonnets to be sent to her mistress, No. 6, Albany-row, Kent-road. He sent his shopman with four brown beaver bonnets, and he returned, saying the lady had made a choice of two, one she kept, and the other was sent back to be altered, with directions for it to be sent back in an hour, when they should be paid for. The bonnet was sent in an hour, and his shopman was told that Mrs. Tenant was from home, but if he called in the morning he should be paid. The shopman accordingly called in the morning, and found that the female prisoner had absconded from the hose, and had taken with her all the furniture which the house contained. He never parted with his goods except in expectation of being paid ready money for them; he did not part with them on credit; his shopman was furnished with a stamp receipt to give on the money being received. He afterwards learned that Mrs. Tenant had removed to Blue Anchor-lane, Bermondsey, and obtained a search warrant to search for his bonnets.

“A most extraordinary robbery”⁹⁵ (1824)

Robbery—Whereas a most extraordinary robbery or theft was committed last autumn, by extracting from two puncheons, containing together 636 skins Parchment Beaver weighing 800 pounds, marked HCC Nos. 34 and 38, the whole of their contents, and replacing the same with stable litter, horse dung, and hay;—

The said puncheons having formed part of an invoice of thirty-eight puncheons [of] furs, fifteen containing Parchment Beaver which were forwarded from Montreal in October last to La Prairie, thence to Saint John’s — there embarked on board the steamboat commanded by Captain Sherman — by him delivered to Mr. Ezra Smith, Whitehall, and there consigned to Messrs. French & Hart, of Troy; who shipped them to New York, addressed to Messrs. H. Cary & Co., who received the same on the 24th November, 1823, and forwarded them to London, where the fraud was discovered on opening the puncheons,—

A reward is therefore hereby offered, of FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS, for the discovery and conviction of the person or persons who committed the said robbery or theft. And the reward will be extended to ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS, if in consequence of the information obtained the property shall be recovered;— or if not the whole, then in proportion to the part thereof recovered. Information to be given to Messrs. M’Gillivrays, Thain & Co. of Montreal, to Messrs. H. Cary & Co. New York, or the subscribers.

Josiah Bradlee & Co. at Boston.

⁹⁴ From

⁹⁵ From Robbery. (1824, August 3). *United States Gazette*, p. 2.

“The Ontario Straw Works”⁹⁶ (1879)

While in Toronto, on Tuesday last, Sir Leonard Tilley, accompanied by several members of Parliament and other prominent gentlemen, visited a number of the leading manufactories in [Toronto]. [...] The party drove to the Ontario Straw Works, situated on North Street. There they were received by the managers, Mr. Geo. Hastings and Mr. Robert Crean. The works consist of neat wooden buildings kept in the best of order. Within their walls in the busy season about a hundred girls and twenty men are employed in the manufacture of men’s straw hats, women’s and girl’s felt hats, and Moscow beaver hats.

“Are you charging more for your goods this year than you charged before the present tariff was introduced?” Mr. Hastings was asked.

“No,” he replied, “we have not raised the prices and in some cases, as we get a better market now, we have reduced. Moscow beaver hats, for instance, were \$9 a dozen wholesale last year: this year we sell them at \$5.50. The Americans are offering them now at \$5, which with freight and duty, is much higher than we can afford to sell them for.”

These beaver hats, it was afterwards explained, could not be well made in Canada last year, as there was not sufficient protection from the United States. Now, however, they can be made.

“On the whole,” said Mr. Hastings, just before the party left, “we are better off under the N. P.⁹⁷ than before, but we would like to get felt cloth and buckram in on a lower duty, as they are raw materials and not made in Canada.”

Being further questioned as to prices, he said one effect of the tariff had been to bring down the prices of the American manufactured articles.

“Why,” he said, “one class of goods that I know of, the Americans are selling at \$5.50 a dozen in their own market, but, finding that Canadians are beginning to make in that line, they now offered to sell in Canada at \$4.50 a dozen. They do this in order to get over our tariff.”

“Which,” remarked one of the party, amid much merriment, “proves that the consumer always pays the duty.”

“On these goods,” Mr. Hastings added, “the duty on their value in the United States should be paid.”

To this Sir Leonard Tilley agreed, stating that the duty should be charged on the price in the American market, and not on the price that the goods are sold for to Canada.

The party then departed.

⁹⁶ From TORONTO INDUSTRIES. (1879, October 23). *Ottawa Daily Citizen*, p. 4.

⁹⁷ National Policy.

“Destitution among the Indians”⁹⁸ (1888)

A terrible tale of starvation and destitution among the Indians comes from Athabasca and the Peace River country. It comes in the form of a petition to the minister of the interior of Canada and is signed by the Anglican bishop for that diocese, six clergymen and missionaries and several justices of the peace. It is an official document passed by the synod of Athabasca diocese. It sets forth that, owing to the scarcity of beaver and other small game, the Indians, both last winter and summer, have been in a state of starvation. Both the food supply of the Indians and their power of procuring clothing has been affected. They are now in a complete state of destitution, and unable to provide themselves with clothing, ammunition, etc., for the winter.

“Beaver skins have advanced”⁹⁹ (1891)

Beaver skins have advanced fully 10 per cent. at the Hudson’s Bay Company’s first fur sale of the season. After beaver hats and beaver cloth went out of fashion, to the sorrow of Hexham among other places, there was a long period of depression in the beaver skin trade. But, latterly, there has been a great increase in the demand for these skins, and it evidently continues.

⁹⁸ From EATING HUMAN FLESH. (1888, September 28). *St. Paul Daily Globe*, p. 1.

⁹⁹ From Beaver Skins. (1891, January 27). *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, p. 4.

Technological Change

Patent Water-Proof Beaver Hats¹⁰⁰ (1799)

Many fruitless attempts have been made to produce a Beaver Hat waterproof; and the ill success is very obvious, since every material hitherto used with beaver, as well as itself, is in its very nature absorbent. It is therefore self-evident, that, however thick and heavy this compound substance may be, it cannot for any length of time resist wet. The pores, in the first instance, in order to give a firmness to the form, are saturated with a glutinous substance, which, when wet, oozes to the surface; the rainwater insinuates itself in its stead, and the hat at once loses the shape, becomes leaky, and disfigured with spots. Water-proof Hats of other materials have been also attempted; and although some of the above objections may in part have been obviated, it has been done by substituting others still greater, the hat being painfully unpliant, and the weight very great.

To say that all of the above objections are fully remedied in the article now offered, might be thought arrogant and presuming, although it might be fully proved. This Hat is made of two distinct bodies, or caps, of different materials, each suitable to the intended purpose; the inner body to afford a firm consistency to the shape, and the outer coat to give beauty. These two united by a strong cement, the tenacity of which unites them as one substance, opposes an effectual resistance to the wet penetrating, and prevents the glutinous particles of the inner cap from rising to the surface. The fitness of each material to its ultimate use has been well considered; they are now offered combined in a Water-proof Beaver Hat, presumed to be the most perfect of the kind ever produced. It is at once beautiful in appearance, waterproof, light and pleasant to the wearer; though the crown is as firm as a hunting cap, [it] will retain its shape in all weather, and never be spotted by rain. The above Hat may be seen in the different progressive stages of manufacture; where also are sold, Ladies', Gentlemen's, Children's and Servants' Beaver Hats of the first quality and fashion.

Lightweight Gentlemen's Beaver Hats¹⁰¹ (1799)

T. BREACH, Ladies' and Gentlemen's Hatter, has now on sale an elegant and extensive assortment of ladies' beaver bonnets, riding hats, caps, &c. In fancying the above fashionable articles great pains have been taken to unite elegance with simplicity. These articles are prepared in a new and delicate color, with a view to remedy the inconvenience of Black Hats during the Summer Season.

Gentlemen's Summer Hats. The decided preference and universal use of Black Beaver Hats by Gentlemen have induced T. Breach to render this article for Summer

¹⁰⁰ From Breach, T. (1799, March 2). PATENT WATER-PROOF BEAVER HATS [Advertisement]. *The London Times*, p. 1. By Thomas Breach, whose business was at No. 46, New Bond-Street.

¹⁰¹ From Breach, T. (1799, April 27). No. 46, NEW BOND-STREET [Advertisement]. *The London Times*, p. 2.

wear as little inconvenient as possible, by greatly reducing the weight, and by the means of a very simple contrivance admitting the external air to circulate freely in the Crown. Any Gentleman giving this article a trial will soon find his comfort in the experiment. These are not so heavy as Straw Hats, and as to appearance no one will dispute the superiority.

Gentlemen's Patent Waterproof Beaver Hats on an entire new principle; Military Hats, Children's Hats, Livery Hats, &c. – N.B. A great variety of Girls' Beaver Bonnets.

William Hance's Improved Beaver Hats¹⁰² (1808)

By the King's Royal Letters Patent. – Improved Beaver Hats. – William Hance and Co. beg leave to return their most grateful thanks to their Friends and the Public in general, for the very great encouragement they have experienced in the sale of their much-improved Patent Beaver Hats.

The frequent and general complaint of beaver hats turning brown, and wearing greasy, was an inducement to the Patentees to invent a new mode of making them, by which these defects might be remedied; and they have the satisfaction of saying their expectations are fully answered. The peculiar manner in which the Patent Beaver Hats are manufactured, renders them the most complete ever yet invented, as the nap will not stick down after the heaviest shower of rain; for, by brushing, it will flow, and retain all the beauty of a new hat; they never wear greasy, are more durable and better shape, the color is preserved, and will keep its luster much longer than other beaver hats.

“New improved patent hats”¹⁰³ (1817)

New improved patent hats, to be had exclusively of Robert Franks, No. 4, Beech-street, Barbican. The improved patent light elastic silk hats, on real waterproof beaver bodies, infinitely excel all others hitherto manufactured, in durability, quality and elasticity, and are peculiar for retaining their shape and colour in any climate. These hats are perfectly original; therefore, to be genuine, must alone be obtained at this warehouse, price 14s. – N.B. These improved hats will repair and be in every respect equal to new. Also gentlemen's best superfine beaver hats, 16s. 18s. and 20s. all warranted London manufacture. – Through the frequency of mistakes, the public are requested to be very particular to the initial and number, as Robt. Franks has no connection whatever with any other retail house in London.

¹⁰² From William Hance and Co. (1808, January 28). By the King's Royal Letters Patent [Advertisement]. *The London Times*, p. 1.

¹⁰³ From NEW IMPROVED PATENT HATS [Advertisement]. (1817, August 22). *London Morning Chronicle*, p. 1.

“The principal material is silk”¹⁰⁴ (1819)

The new patent hat, manufactured by Galon and Co., has risen to a degree of celebrity quite unexampled, from its combining every requisite a hat ought to possess; the principal material is silk; in appearance it surpasses the finest beaver, is equally light, and will wear twice as long; its beautiful colour and shape it retains to the last, resists all weather, and, unlike the beaver, it never spots with rain; price 26s. The patent hat is sold wholesale and retail at 424, Strand, corner of Bedford-street; and 10, College-green, Dublin.

“Patent fur cutting machine”¹⁰⁵ (1820)

Patent Fur Cutting Machine – To beaver cutters, furriers, hatmakers, &c., foreign and domestic. – By Mr. Burrell, at Garraway’s, on Friday, March 17, at 6 in the evening, unless previously disposed of by private contract.

One fourth part or share of the patent right, so far as it relates to the machine for cutting furs from peltry, now and long since in beneficial operation, in the concern of Messrs. Moxon, of Martin’s-lane, Cannon-street (to whom the other 3 fourth parts of the patent belong): with the rights, privileges, and benefits hereunto belonging: and also a capital machine, built under the patent by Mr. Donkin, at great expense, and ready for immediate use: this machine is considered by competent judges to be not only the most simple in its construction, but also the most efficacious in its operation, of any hitherto invented for the above purpose: and its rate of work is about 5 minutes for a moderately-sized beaver-skin: in the manufacturing of an article so valuable as beaver is, the savings in the expense of labour, though great, is of minor consideration, when compared with the obvious advantages offered by the prevention of fraud in the important process of cutting: and the value of this machine is best evinced by the deservedly high character which it has conferred on the article manufactured by its operation by the Messrs. Moxon: this invention offers an advantageous speculation for the continental market, particularly Lisbon, Paris, Amsterdam, Berlin, and Petersburg. To be viewed two days before the sale, and in the meantime applications, with real names, may be made by letters, post-paid, addressed to Mr. Burrell, Throgmorton-street.

Patent Oval Shape Beaver Hats¹⁰⁶ (1820)

Nathaniel Dando and Co. Oval Hat Manufacturers, Original Inventors, and only Makers of the Improved Oval Shape Beaver Hat, No. 42, Cheapside, London, again beg leave to introduce to the notice of the Public, their Patent Improved Oval

¹⁰⁴ From THE new Patent HAT. [Advertisement]. (1819, September 29). *London Times*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁵ From Patent Fur Cutting Machine [Advertisement]. (1820, February 19). *London Times*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁶ From Nathaniel Dando and Co. (1820, July 24). London Patent Improved Oval Shape BEAVER HATS, manufactured upon Blocks the exact Shape of the Head, and warranted to retain their Form [Advertisement]. *The Hampshire Telegraph and Naval Chronicle*, p. 1.

Shape Beaver, assuring their Friends that they have now completely effected that desideratum of making a Hat so near the Shape of the Head, that it is worn without being felt; thereby preventing those frequent head-aches, and unpleasant sensations, so often experienced by wearing the Common Round Shaped Hat, on an Oval Head, which must of course cause an unequal pressure upon the veins, thereby obstructing the free circulation of the blood, in the vessels of the Head, and often producing most serious consequences.

N. Dando and Co. beg to refer to the many Medical Gentlemen, of the first Eminence, who are wearing and recommending their Oval Shaped Beaver Hats, for their peculiar ease and comfort.

Merchants and the Trade can be supplied with the Improved Oval Shape Beaver Hats, only by Messrs. Nathaniel Dando and Co. 42, Cheapside, London, and the Public by the most respectable Hatters in the Kingdom.

A brief explanation of the Superiority of the improved Oval shape Beaver Hat, to the common Hat.

The natural shape of the common Hat, from its being made on a perfectly *round* block, and brought to the oval shape of the head by the hands and the use of a screw, is liable by wear, or when exposed to the damp or rain to get soft, flap in the brim, and return to its natural round form; thus losing its shape by its being *artificially produced*.

The improved Oval-shape Beaver Hat, being manufactured and finished upon an *oval block*, made to the exact shape of the head (most of which are from one inch to one inch and a half oval) *will not lose its shape*, not being artificially produced with the hands and screw, as is the case with the common Hat; but manufactured from its first state in the shape required to be worn, nor is its shape liable to be affected by damp or rain.

“Newly-invented hat”¹⁰⁷ (1828)

Newly invented hat, made on Leghorn Bodies, surpassing anything yet introduced for beauty and elegance, warranted waterproof, and lighter than Beaver, weighing only from five to six ounces, price 21s.

R. Hoskin respectfully begs to inform his friends and the public that he has succeeded in manufacturing the above article, so that they will maintain their shape, and resist the weather, and, at the present season, when light hats are wanted, R. H. feels confident that the above article will be preferred to any other description of hat yet invented, as they will far surpass in appearance the finest Beaver Hats.

R. H. takes this opportunity of informing the gentlemen of Liverpool that he has received a fresh supply of fine London Beaver Hats, both Drab and Black, 20s. to 26s. of the various favourite makes: also, his Improved Silk Hats on Beaver Bodies, completely waterproof, and which he warrants to resist twenty-four hours constant rain, and are too well known by those who have worn them to require any comment,

¹⁰⁷ From ST. GEORGE'S HAT MART [Advertisement]. (1828, May 16). *Liverpool Mercury*, p. 1.

price 18s. and 21s. Silk Hats, from 9s. 6d. to 14s. Hats covered with Silk, at 10s. and 12s., rendered waterproof and equal to new.

N.B. From some puffing advertisements, put forth lately in this town, professing to sell the best London Beaver Hats at 21s., R. H. feels it his duty to contradict the assertion, it being impossible; and, as a proof, pledges himself that the respectable London manufacturers are charging the best goods 22s. and some of them 22s. 6d.; add to this the carriage, and it will at once show the impossibility; and, as a farther proof of the assertion, he will engage to sell an article equal to the boasted London Beaver Hats at 21s. for 16s.

The *Britannica* on hats and hat-making¹⁰⁸ (1856)

“Hat” is a term of Saxon derivation, from *haet*, a cover for the head. It is sometimes called *castor*, from it being made of the fur of the castor or beaver. As a piece of dress, the period of its introduction is not certain, although it may with great probability be referred to the early distinctions of Roman Catholic dignitaries. Froissart chronicles, that it was “said to the cardinals, Sirs, advise you if you deliver us a Pope Roman, we be content, or else we will make your heads redder than your hats be;” from which, and from many other documents, it appears that at this period, as well as for some centuries after, hats were generally of a scarlet or red color, and made of “a fine kind of hair matted together”.

A “hat of beaver,,” about the middle of the twelfth century, was worn by some one of the “nobles of the land, met at Clarendon;” and Froissart describes hats and plumes which were worn at Edward’s Court in 1340, when the Garter order was instituted. In the Diary of Henry’s secretary, there is “a scarlet beaver hat” presented on New Year’s Day, 1443. Even at this early period hats were of various shapes, both in the crowns and the brims; the latter being chiefly broad, sometimes narrowing towards the back, and a little bent up and scooped in front. In Henry’s privy purse expenses, during his congress with Francis I in 1520 or 1521, there is “paid for a hat and plume for the king, in Boleyn, 15,” and in Wolsey’s inventory, taking on his resigning the great seal to Sir Thomas More, there are no fewer than five mentioned.

The fashion of this article was then much more diversely capricious than even now, as will appear from an extract from Stubbs’ *Anatomie of Abuses*, published about 1585:

“Sometimes they use them sharp on the crown, peaking up like the spire or shaft of a steeple, standing a quarter of a yard above the crown of their heads; some more, some less, as please the fantasies of their inconsistent minds. Othersome be flat, and broad on the crown, like the battlements of a house. Another sort have round crowns, sometimes with one kind of hand, sometimes with another; now black, now white, now russet, now red, now green, now yellow; now this, now that; never content with one color or fashion two days to an end. And as the fashions be rare and strange, so is the stuff whereof their hats be made diverse also; for some are silk, some of

¹⁰⁸ From C. T. (1856). *Hat*. In *The Encyclopaedia Britannica or Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature* [8th ed.]. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black.

velvet, some of taffeta, some of sarsenet, some of wool, and, which is more curious, some of a certain kind of fine hair; these they call beaver hats, of 20, 30 or 40 shillings price, fetched from beyond the seas, from whence a great sort of other vanities do come besides; and so common a thing it is, that every serving man, countryman, and other, even all indifferently, do wear of these hats.”

About the beginning of 1700, the crowns of hats were mostly round, much lower than before, and had very broad brims, resembling what are now occasionally called Quakers’ hats, the protrusive encumbrance of which soon suggested the convenience of their being turned up in front; fashion dictated the upbending of another side or flap, and ultimately a third, so that by this progress, in 1704, the regular three-cocked hat became the order of the day, when feathers ceased to be usually worn. Near the middle of the eighteenth century, a round-edged but flat-topped and full-brimmed hat got into very general use, and the flat and other cocked hats now dwindled almost into a mere distinction of real or assumed rank. Twenty-five years after this, a very near reproach to that of the present times became fashionable, and, within ten years, altogether superseded the ordinary use of the cumbrous and antique cock.

Plumes, jewels, silk loops, rosettes, badges, gold and silver bands and loops, have at various period ornamented this article of dress; metal bands and loops being now esteemed proper only to naval and military “men of honor,” and the humble liveried attendants on state, rank, and official dignity. The *opera* or soft-folding hat is the only relic at present in general use of the hats worn by our grandfathers, although it is not improbable that the mutations of fashion may reintroduce the elegant Spanish hat as the precursor perhaps of several other styles, as well as the cocked hat, which are not yet entirely discarded.

In the Great Exhibition of 1851 several novel styles of hat were introduced by British exhibitors. It is remarked in the Jury Report respecting them that “in an article of fashion and such constant use as hats, it does not appear to be easy to change the habits and tastes of the wearers, or to induce them to adopt a new costume.

Until recent times hats were chiefly produced by the art of felting, an art which some persons supposed to have been practiced by the nations of antiquity. It is thought that *lana coacta*, used for soldiers’ cloaks and for Lacedemonian hats, was felted wool, but others state that it was only knitted wool. In Roman Catholic countries St. Clement is the reputed inventor of felt. This personage is said to have put carded wool into his sandals to protect his feet during a pilgrimage, and that the effect of the moisture, warmth, and friction converted the wool to a felted cloth. The hatters’ annual festival is on the 23d November, St. Clement’s Day.

HAT-MAKING

Hat-making embraces two distinct kinds of manufacture, viz., of *felted*, and *covered* hats; the covering of the latter being generally plush. *Felted* hats comprehend two classes, differing chiefly in the materials used in making [them], the processes being nearly identical. The lower class is marked by inferior ingredients, unmixed with beaver, and embraces *wool*, *plated*, and *short nap* hats. *Wool* hats are made entirely of coarse native wool and hair stiffened with glue. Before the Emancipation

Act these hats were largely exported for negroes' wear; but the manufacture is now almost extinct. *Plates* have a *nap* or pile rather finer than their body, and are sometimes *waterproof* stiffened. *Short naps* are distinguished from *plates* by additional kinds of wool, viz., hare's back, seal, neuter or nutria, musquash (Muscovy cat), and all are waterproof stiffened.

The second class may be said to comprehend two orders, called *stuff* and *beaver* hats. The first includes mottled and stuff bodies. The latter term is not used generally, as all *stuffs* are understood to be of this sort when *mottled* is not expressed. *Mottled bodies* are chiefly made of fine Spanish wool, and inferior rabbit down or coney wool. *Stuff bodies* consist of the best hare, Saxony, and red wools, mixed with Cashmere hair and silks. *Stuff hats* are *napped*, that is, covered with pile of mixed seal, neuter, hare-back, inferior beaver, and musquash. *Beaver hats* are, or ought to be, napped with beaver only; the lower priced qualities with *brown whooms* taken from the back; the more valuable kinds with *cheek* and *white whooms*, such being the finest parts of the fur found on the belly and cheeks of the beaver.

[THE MANUFACTURE OF A BEAVER HAT]

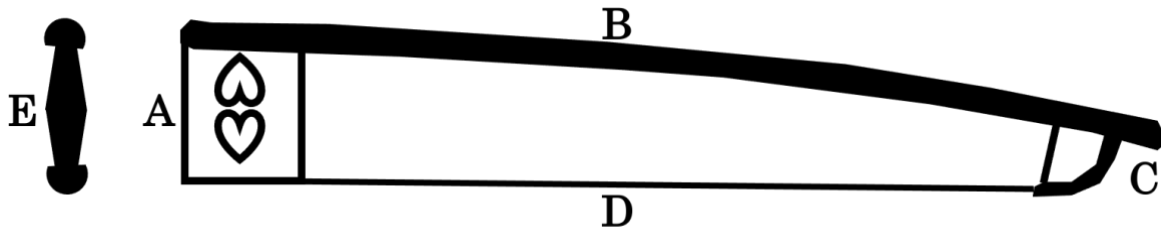
The manufacture of a beaver hat involves a number of curious and interesting processes, the most important of which is *felting*, or the art of combining animal fibers in such a way as to form, without weaving, a thick compact cloth. The felting property of animal fibers depends on their peculiar structure, which, as revealed by the microscope, appears to be notched or jagged at the edges with teeth directed from the root to the extremity. Wool in the yolk, or with the natural grease adhering to it, does not readily felt, the jagged portions being smoothed over or filled up with the oil; but when the fibers of clean wool or hair are made to undergo a gentle friction under the influence of moisture and heat, they readily felt together.

Several of the furs mentioned above [...] are used for hats. The beaver has been so assiduously hunted during many years that it is now becoming a rarity, and the fur of other animals is substituted for it. The coypu furnishes nutria skin; the musquash or muskrat, the hare, and the rabbit, yield fur for the nap of the hat, while the body is made of lamb's wool, or of the woolly hair of the llama or vicuna.

A beaver hat, properly so called, has a body or foundation of rabbits' fur, with a beaver nap, although the beaver, for the reason above stated, is often mixed with a more common fur. Such a hat has a pleasant softness and plasticity, and readily molds itself to the shape of the head, presenting a marked contrast to the hard, horny, silk hat, which has nearly superseded it. Still, however, there must always be certain persons who, not objecting to the price, will continue to keep alive this the most interesting branch of the hat manufacture, and it is our duty to describe its processes.

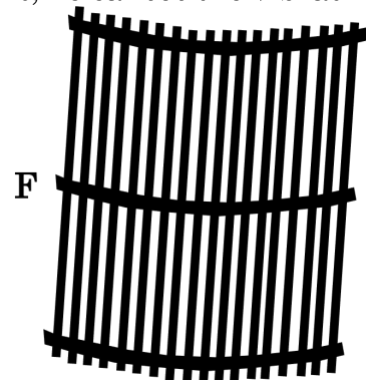
The beaver hat, with the body of rabbits' fur and a beaver nap, may be regarded as the highest achievement of the hatter. A cheaper kind has the body of lamb's wool, and the nap of some fur cheaper than beaver. Such is the *plate* hat, so called from an analogy with plated metal goods, the exposed surface being of the more valuable material upon an inferior base or foundation. A notice of the mode of preparing a plate hat will sufficiently show the nature of the processes concerned in the manufacture of a beaver hat.

In preparing this fur plate, the hatter weighs out an ounce of cotton wool, which last ingredient serves the temporary purpose of preventing the surfaces of the beaver from felting together instead of adhering to the body. These three substances are spread out and combined by the operation of bowing.



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The bow or stang, ABC, is about seven feet long, and is usually of ash: A is called the *breech*, and C the *cock*. The stang is suspended by a string over the bench where the operation is performed. It stretches a single cord of cat-gut, D, which the workman vibrates by means of a wooden pin, E, furnished with half a knob at each end. Holding the bow in his left hand and the pin in his right, he causes the vibrating string to come in contact with the heap of tangled fur, which does not cover a space greater than that of the hand. At each vibration some of the filaments start up to the height of a few inches, and fall away from the mass, a little to the right of the bow, their excursions being restrained by a concave frame of wicker-work F, called the *basket*. In the course of a few minutes the fibers are completely separated, and spread over a considerable space. They are then divided as nearly as possible, and one half laid aside, whilst the other is again bowed.

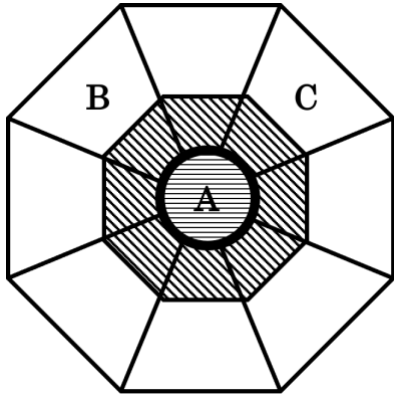


In this second operation, partly by the bowing, but chiefly by the *gathering*, or patting use of the basket, the stuff is loosely matted into a conical figure, about fifty by thirty-six inches, called a *bat*. In this formation care is taken to work about two-thirds of the wools down towards what is intended for the brim, which being effected, greater density is induced by gentle pressure with the basket. It is then covered with a wettish linen cloth, upon which is the *hardening skin*, a piece of dry half-tanned horse hide. On this the workman presses or *bakes* for seven or eight minutes, until the stuff adheres closely to the camp cloth, in which it is then doubled up, freely pressed with the hand, and laid aside. By this process, called *basoning* (from a metal plate, or bason, used for like purposes in making *wool* hats), the bat has become compactly felted and thinned toward the sides and point.

The other half of the flocked stuff is next subjected to precisely the same processes; after which, a cone-shaped slip of stiff paper is laid on its surface, and the sides of the bat are folded over its edges to its form and size. It is then laid paper-side downward upon the first bat, which is now replaced on the hurdle, and its edges are

¹⁰⁹ Images in this article by Chris Willmore based on the original.

transversely doubled over the introverted side-lays of the second bat, thus giving equal thickness to the whole *body*. In this condition it is reintroduced between folds of damp linen cloth, and again hardened, so as to unite both halves, the knitting together of which is quickly effected. The paper is now withdrawn; and the body, being folded into three plies, is removed to the plank or battery room.



The battery consists of an open iron boiler or kettle A, with shelves B, C, partly of mahogany and partly of lead, sloping down to it. The liquor in the battery is of a scalding heat, and consists of pure soft water, about half a gill of oil of vitriol as an astringent, and a full handful of oatmeal to correct its corrosive tendencies. Herein the body is imbued, and then withdrawn to the plank to partially cool and drain, when it is unfolded, rolled gently with a pin tapering towards the ends, turned, and worked in every direction, to toughen, shrink, and at the same time prevent adhesion of its sides.

Stopping or thickening the thin spots which now appear on looking through the body, is carefully performed by dabbing on additional stuff in successive supplies from the hot liquor, with a brush frequently dipped into the kettle, until the body be shrunk sufficiently (about one half), and thoroughly equalized. When quite dried, *stiffening* is performed with a brush dipped into a glutinous pulpy composition, and rubbed into the body; the surface intended for the inside having much more laid on it than the outer, while the brim is made to absorb many times the quantity applied to any other part. This viscous matter contains *proofing*, or those ingredients which render the hat waterproof.

On being again dried, the body is ready to be *covered*, and is once more taken to the battery. The first cover of beaver or napping, which has been previously *bowed*, is strewn equally over the body, and patted with the brush charged with hot liquor, until incorporated; the *cut* ends only in inserting themselves. The body is now put into a coarse hair-cloth dipped and rolled in the hot liquor, until the beaver is quite worked in. This is called *rolling off*, or *ruffing*. A stripe for the brim, round the edge of the inside, is treated in like manner, and is thus prepared for the second cover, which is applied and worked in similarly; the rolling, &c., being continued until the whole has become incorporated, and a clean, regular, close, and well-felted *hood* is the result. The dry hood, after having the nap beat up and freed, is clipped to the desired length by means of shears, or by the clipping machine, which is preferable on account of its performing the work with greater speed and regularity. When the nap is thus disposed of, the hood is soaked in the battery kettle, then *drawn down* on a block to the size and shape wanted, and firmly tied at the bottom with a cord, around which the brim is left in a frilled condition.

[DYEING]

Dyeing is the next step. A *suit*, or six dozen, all mounted on the crown-blocks and hung round a circular frame, are put into the dye kettle, and allowed to remain three-quarters of an hour in the liquor, which is kept as near as possible one degree

below the boiling point. These being taken out and set in the yard to cool, another suit is introduced for a like period; and the various suits are so treated at least twelve times in successive order. Each of the first four steepings of every suit is accompanied by about 7 lbs. of copperas, and 2 lbs. of verdigris.

The body is then washed and brushed out in changes of hot water, until it ceases to give off color. When thus thoroughly cleansed, it is steamed on a block, shaped as the hat it is wished to be when complete; and in the finishing shop, by heavy (21-pound) heated irons and moisture, the frilled brim is shrunk until rendered quite level, the nap gently raised all over with a fine wire card, and brushed and ironed smooth in a uniform direction. Machinery is sometimes employed for these purposes.

The tip, a thin lath sheet, is then fitted and stuck to the inside of the crown, and *robbed* or secured all round the edges by stripes of prepared paper. When thus *got down*, it is sent to the *picker*, who with tweezers extracts the *kemps*, vulgarly called "grey hairs," or the coarse hairs that have escaped the search of the machine used in blowing the beaver, so as to separate them from its fine parts.

This being carefully accomplished, the hat is transferred to the finisher, who, with a plush cushion or *velure*, a brush, and hot iron, imparts to it a bright sleekly luster. The *shaper* then rounds the brim with a knife and notched segment to the breadth wanted; and shapes it in varied styles by means of a hot iron and damp, with about a foot length of rope, over which the *curl* is laid. The *trimming* is next done, when the *tipper off* corrects the twists, smooths the ruffled nap caused by trimming, and *papers* it up with tissue and cartridge, which completes it for the retailer.

Dyestuffs for a gross of beaver hats – About 180 gallons of pure soft water, 1½ cwt. of best Campeachy logwood, 8 lbs. of oxide of copper, and 30 lbs. of copperas. It is to be observed, however, that some put the chips, others only the juice, of the logwood into the dye-kettle. Galls are now disused.

Stiffening stuffs – Makers differ in the proportions, but the ingredients are shellac, rosin, mastic, sandarach, and elemi, all churned until dissolved. A quantity of this is then melted over steam, sieved, put in hot, and well mixed.

Cleaning stuffs – These are now seldom considered necessary. Half a pound of borax, diluted in five gallons of water, into which the stiffened nap is dipped, and then well brushed.

The trade is now almost exclusively occupied in the manufacture of silk hats, which forms a distinct branch; and scarcely in any respect in its earlier stages, resembles the beaver hat manufacture.

“The felt industry”¹¹⁰ (1892)

Great improvements have been made of late years in the felting industry. Felt is composed of wool, fur or hair, of which the fibres are so entangled and interlaced that they cannot readily be separated, and this is done without spinning or weaving. Its use for caps, hosiery, floor cloth, cloaks and tents has long been known in the East by the nomads of the desert.

At present it is largely made from waste wool, which is first deprived of its oil, then carded and placed in a machine. Here it is kept wet with hot water and subjected to the process of beating by which the fibres are made to move upon each other until the interlocking of their parts and the curling of the fibre itself unite the whole into a compact sheet of felt. The “fulling” of cloth is but a partial felting of wool already woven. This felted wool is used for carpets, carpet covers, coarse hats, carriage linings, pads in saddlery, shoulder pads for men’s clothing, slippers and shoes and even for cloaks and other garments. The cheapest woolen rages and other articles are worked into felt for covering steam boilers, although felt is gradually superseded for that purpose by asbestos. Roofing felt is a coarse kind, usually coated and filled with coal tar, and sometimes with tar and powdered slate. Felt stiffened with dextrin is used for making surgeons’ splints.

By far the most important use to which felt is put is that of making hats. Technically felt hats are of three kinds, “plain soft,” “plain hard” and “napped” or “ruffled.” The quality of felt hats has a wide range, and in the finer and more expensive qualities the entire body is composed of fur. For commoner qualities a mixture of fur and Saxony wool is used, and for the lowest kinds wool alone is employed.

The fur used by hatters consists principally of the hair of rabbits (technically called coneys) and hares, with some portion of nutria, musquash and beaver hair, and generally any parings and cuttings that can be obtained from furriers. Furs intended for felting are deprived of their long, coarse hairs, after which they are treated with a solution of nitrate of mercury, an operation called carroting or “secretage,” which greatly increases the felting properties of the fur. The fur is then cut by hand or machine from the skin, and in this state it is delivered to the hatmaker.

¹¹⁰ From *The Felt Industry*. (1892, September 28). *Abbeville Press and Banner*, p. 7.



Two Canadian women, ca. 1910. Collection of C. Willmore.

Changing Fashions

“The history of the hat”¹¹¹ (1762)

The first wise wight who painfully struck out
That graceful ornament of man, the hat,
Wore it plain white, flapped, slouched about his ears,
And was delighted with the air it gave him.

He died, and left the slouch hat to his son.
The son, who found a flapping beaver awkward,
Cocked up two sides, then clapped it on his head;
Walked out, and was the wonder of the crowd.

He died, and let his heir the two-side beaver.
The heir disliked it, made a new improvement,
Adding a third side to complete its fashion;
Now (cried the crowd) the hat is truly fine!
“This man has sense, and does his country honour.”

He died, and left his heir the three side hat.
The hat was now become the worse for wear;
No wonder – it had seen four generations.

The next heir dyed it black; “Improvement rare!”
Cried the pleased mob, delighted with the change:
Then bellowed out applause, “Down with the whites,
Lucky discovery! Now black hats for ever.”

He too departed, and his heir bemoaning
The shabbiness of such a long worn fly-flap,
New-moulded it, and turned it inside out,
Then clapped a silken edging round its border.
“What do we see? What magic art is this!
A span-new hat, and shining on its edge!
O happy man, how fruitful in invention!”

¹¹¹ From *The History of the Hat*, translated from the German. (1762, March 12). *London Public Advertiser*, p. 2.

He died, and left his heir the wondrous hat.
By good improvements artists are made rich;
The joyful heir the binding ripping off,
Sewed on a golden lace and burnished button,
Then slipped it sideways on his powdered locks.
The people shout, "Now is the art complete!
Now wit has seen its height! Oh blessed of men!"

This genius also died, and left his hat,
A gold-laced hat, to all the beaux of Europe.

What farther changes happened to the hat?
Succeeding heirs preserved its perfect shape:
The outworks new, the hat itself though old.
But why this tedious tale of such a toy?
THE HAT'S AN EMBLEM OF PHILOSOPHY.

"Ensigns of vanity"¹¹² (1583)

Sometimes [the English] wear [hats] sharp on the crown, peaking up like a spear, or shaft of a steeple, standing a quarter of a yard above the crowns of their heads; some more, some less, as please the fantasies of their wandering minds. Othersome be flat and broad on the crown, like the battlements of a house. Another sort have round crowns, sometimes with one kind of band, sometimes with another; now black, now white, now russet, now red, now green, now yellow, now this, now that, never content with one color or fashion two months to an end. And thus in vanity they spend the Lord his treasure, consuming their golden years and silver days in wickedness & sin.

And as the fashions be rare and strange, so are the things whereof their hats be made, diverse also; for some are of silk, some of velvet, some of taffeta, some of sarcenet, some of wool: & which is more curious, some of a certain kind of fine hair, far-fetched and dear bought, you may be sure. These they call beaver hats of 20, 30, or 40 shillings price fetched from beyond the seas, from whence a great sort of other varieties do come besides.

And so common a thing it is, that every serving man, countryman and other, even all indifferently, do wear of these hats. For he is of no account or estimation amongst men, if he has not a velvet or a taffeta hat, and that must be pinked and cunningly carved of the best fashion; And good profitable hats be they, for the longer you wear them the fewer holes they have.

Besides this, of late there is a new fashion of wearing their hats sprung up amongst them, which they father upon the Frenchmen, namely to wear them without

¹¹² From Stubbs, P. (1877). Philip Stubbe's Anatomy of the abuses in England in Shakespeare's youth, A.D. 1583. Britain (?): John Childs and Son. Originally printed in 1583. Written by Phillip Stubbes (c. 1555 – c. 1610).

bands; but how unseemly (I will not say how assy) a fashion that is, let the wife judge. Notwithstanding, however it be, if it please them, it shall not displease me.

Another sort (as fantastical as the rest) are content with no kind of hat without a great bunch of feathers of diverse and sundry colors, peaking on top of their heads, not unlike (I dare not say) cockscombs, but as sterns of pride and ensigns of vanity, and these fluttering sails and feathered flags of defiance to virtue (for so they are) are so advanced in [England], that every child has them in his hat or cap: many get good living by dyeing and selling of them, and not a few prove themselves more than fools in wearing of them.

“Prohibiting the use of the cloak and broad beaver”¹¹³ (1766)

The riot¹¹⁴ in Spain took its rise from several oppressive and disagreeable acts of the King’s Italian Minister, in particular that for prohibiting the use of the cloak and broad beaver: That a young gentleman being stopped near the palace by a sentinel for not complying with the order, he attempted to stab the sentinel for intercepting him, who immediately presented his musket, but did not fire. The gentleman thereupon gave a whistle, the signal agreed on, and in a few minutes some hundreds assembled, who were fired upon by the guards, and, after several were killed, the rest were dispersed. They soon assembled, however, again in prodigious bodies, and overpowered the guards, after an obstinate engagement, in which, it is said, 70 or 80 of the soldiers were killed. They then proceeded to the house of the Marquis de Squilace, who escaped out of it by a back way, having sent his carriage, with the blinds up, a contrary road, in order to deceive the populace; which stratagem taking, they followed the carriage, thinking to have met with the Minister, and coming up with it, tore it to pieces. They then pulled down the Marquis’s house, and afterwards pursued him to the Dutch Ambassador’s, where he had taken refuge, but escaped also from thence on the appearance of the rioters. The populace being then assured, by the Dutch Ambassador that the Minister was not at his house, they went to the Royal Palace, and insisted on speaking with his Majesty, which being granted, they said they had three things to propose, which if his Majesty would agree to they would disperse, and continue good subjects: The first was, that his Majesty should discharge his Italian Ministers, as they were determined to be governed only by their own countrymen; that the several offensive edicts passed should be repealed; and thirdly, that his Majesty should give his Royal word never after to call any person to account for what had that day passed. These articles being all complied with, the rioters immediately dispersed, and in a few hours after, the city was as calm as if nothing had happened. On their return from the Royal Palace, they met the English Ambassador; Lord Rochford, whom they obliged to put on his cloak and beaver, which he readily complied with; and they then suffered his Lordship to pass, crying out, “No French fashions; peace with England, and war with all the world beside.”

¹¹³ From FRIDAYS AND SATURDAY’S POSTS. (1766, April 22). *Leeds Intelligencer*, p. 2.

¹¹⁴ A riot caused partly as the result of sumptuary laws restricting the wearing of beaver hats.

“A full blue Bath beaver great-coat”¹¹⁵ (1767)

Whereas a full blue Bath Beaver Great-Coat, new made, with a cape to pull up, the sleeves lined with blue glazed linen, shalloon¹¹⁶ pockets, and no lining down before, was this evening, by mistake, exchanged by a gentleman of Oxford (at the Crown and Thistle Inn) for a coat of the same colour; this is therefore to beg the favour that the gentleman will please to return the coat at the said Inn, that the mistake may be rectified.

“Black glossy beaver round hats”¹¹⁷ (1887)

Black glossy beaver round hats have become fashionable for young women, and are not only taking the place of felt hats, but also rival the soft-crowned velvet round hats that are made for dressy occasions. They are now seen with afternoon visiting costumes, and at the theatre with elaborate dresses of velvet and plush; for instance, a sage green plush dress with panels of white moiré and a border of brown fur and the handsomest pointed passementerie is now worn with a black beaver round hat and a brown velvet jacket. Formerly such a hat and coat were only thought suitable for cloth or homespun dresses for the street, while a rich wrap of fur, or of velvet, or of the plush of the gown would have accompanied the plush and moiré dress, and a bonnet of velvet would have been used.

“A memory of long ago”¹¹⁸ (1888)

Many years ago, whilst turning out an old clothes chest, I came across two strange-looking head coverings, small as to size and quaint in relation to shape. They were very pliable, white, and fluffy. They were relics of two young relatives. They were “beaver bonnets,” not the fur so called, but of material corresponding to that of which men’s hats were manufactured before silk hats were invented.

Yesterday, passing along Regent Street, a lady passed me wearing a black beaver hat, at once recalling a memory of long ago. The shape of the hat was that immortalised by the beautiful Duchess of Devonshire and was worn as we see it in the portraits¹¹⁹ of that fair dame, the brim nearly touching the right shoulder, and so titled that the left side of the wearer’s head was entirely uncovered. The hat was trimmed solely with long black feathers, establishing another point of resemblance, and was so striking in appearance, that almost everyone turned to look after the lady – a dashing American, who bore all the criticism of eyes and tongues with perfect *sangfroid*.

¹¹⁵ From ABINGDON [Advertisement]. (1767, February 28). *Oxford Journal*, p. 3.

¹¹⁶ A wool fabric used as liner.

¹¹⁷ From MILLINERY AND HAIR DRESSING. (1887, January 22). *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*, p. 8.

¹¹⁸ From LADY. (1888, September 21). FEMININE FASHIONS AND FANCIES. *Newc. Courant*, p. 3.

¹¹⁹ See for example Thomas Gainsborough’s *Duchess of Devonshire* (1787).

At Lewis and Allenby's I noticed a green beaver hat of similar shape, but a band of embroidery went round the crown, and instead of long plumes there was a cluster of ostrich feather tips at the sides.

Beaver hats are, I imagine, almost as indestructible as felt, and in an old fashion journal – date 1820 – I read an advertisement to the effect that H. Williams, of High Street, Borough, guarantees to clean white beaver hats and bonnets equal to new. As white millinery will, it is said, be fashionable this winter, it is well that dwellers in towns should be able to procure headgears that will, if white, “clean equal to new.”

“Good news for the ladies”¹²⁰ (1891)

Good news for the ladies. Their newest fashion has the rare benediction of the *Lancet*. According to the medical journal they are about to devote themselves to beaver hats. I have seen but little sign of this change in the streets of late. The fashionable lady has concealed what she is pleased to call her bonnet amid the folds of her hair. For all the world she might as well go bonnetless; and the *Lancet* declares that protection is wanted for the head, and that the fleeting fashion of the year has been the cause of much trouble. But for the beaver hat, which is to replace the invisible bonnet, the *Lancet* develops an enthusiasm which may possibly check the adoption of the new mode. For what lady ever yet wore a bonnet that was approved by her doctor? The beaver hat has only to be called the sanitary hat to make every fashionable lady avoid it as though it were a respirator.

“Fashion and hygiene”¹²¹ (1891)

It is satisfactory to find that fashion has at last brought in a reasonable covering for the head to which the most fastidious lady would find it difficult to make exception. The old beaver hat has come in again, and bids fair to rival most of the other head-coverings, whether in the form of bonnet or hat; for, indeed, beaver is a material which admits of being moulded into almost any shape or form, and remoulded time after time when it has been seen sufficiently often on any individual head to make it distasteful.

The particular suitability of beaver in this or that design, or in this or that colour, for this or that configuration of face or tint of complexion, is not a matter we are much concerned with, though we see no reason why it should not be adapted to any requirements; but it is with the material as a healthy head-covering, either during the approaching inclement period of the year or during finer weather even, that we interest ourselves. For years past ladies have been led by fashion to display entire disregard to the elementary principles which should guide them in this respect, for it may be said they have not adopted any real head-covering either for themselves or their daughters.

¹²⁰ From OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENCE. (1891, August 29). *Liverpool Mercury*, p. 5.

¹²¹ From FASHION AND HYGIENE. (1891, August 29). *The Lancet*, p. 503.

While we avow, on the one hand, that we are in no way indifferent to the elegant appearance of the fair sex, and do not desire to detract from their fascinations, we, on the other hand, know of so many lamentable results in sickness and suffering that we cannot fail to impress on those of our readers who have reasonable influence over their lady patients (as most successful practitioners have) that they now have a favourable opportunity of calling the attention of their fairer patients to the hygienic improvements this autumn is likely to bring about in the material for ladies' hats and bonnets. It may seem a small matter for us to concern ourselves with or draw attention to, but we nevertheless hope that small as it may appear, it will not be without influence in the fashions of the approaching autumn in ladies' head-coverings. We have had submitted to us recently three specimens of beaver hats, fitted to suit ladies from girlhood to middle life, which seem to be unexceptionable. Now that hygiene has been so recently brought under public notice, the public mind will have been prepared to consider it even in a matter apparently as non-medical as the fashion in ladies' hats and bonnets.

“A reminder”¹²² (1906)

Two girls were going down the street when they passed a man wearing a green vest and a beaver hat.

“Oh!” said the one. “Just see what that man is sporting.”

“Yes,” said the other, “that reminds me; I’ve got to buy some quinine.”

“How does that remind you?”

“Oh, just the bad taste.”

“Danger that the art would disappear”¹²³ (1908)

A few London firms still manufacture beaver hats, for some determined old gentlemen cheerfully pay their two guineas for the beaver article, rather than follow in the footsteps of fashion. There are only about half a dozen men in London who can make these hats, and as some time ago there was danger that the art would disappear, apprentices were hurriedly brought in and initiated into the mysteries of the manufacture of the beaver.

¹²² From A Reminder. (1906, December 8). *The Week* (B.C.), p. 2.

¹²³ From SILK HATS AND THEIR MAKERS. (1908, October 25). *New York Daily Tribune*, p. 4.

“Beaver hats and plumes”¹²⁴ (1909)

The beaver hats have done much to make the short and full plumes popular. The short plumes are used more than the long, because feathers are trimmed in the back instead of on the side or in front. Hats made of the same material are considered smart for tailor suits and semi-dress. They are given a simpler appearance by being turned up stiffly to one side and down on the other. These hats are pretty and fetching, and are simply trimmed with a band of satin ribbon and a bow. They are usually faced with a satin edge of the same color.

“Fashion’s whim has created a scarcity”¹²⁵ (1909)

Fashion’s whim has created a scarcity of beaver hats for women in St. Louis. Beaver hats suddenly became stylish this fall after they had been practically ignored for several years. Everybody wanted black or blue beavers and those colors were first to go out of the market. Gray beavers then became the choice until all of that color obtainable had been sold. Now the few browns and whites are offered as a substitute for those who must have beaver hats.

Wholesale stores say they can give no definite idea as to when they can get sufficient cloth to make enough hats to ease the market. The beaver cloth from which the hats are made is manufactured by a slow process. The cloth must be specially made, stretched and dried and then the beaver fur is blown on the narrow strips of cloth. It is then ready for the hat factories.

“Many in Number and so Absolutely Unlike” (1909)¹²⁶

A great deal is said and written of the responsibilities, the cares and perplexities which the rich man of today has to contend with, but it may be questioned if he has any more nerve racking, puzzling problems to face than the rich woman of today, who realizes to the uttermost how essential it is to be smartly gowned after fashion’s latest edict. One reason for the strain being so wearying, so incessant, is the constant changing of the styles and the consequent terrible uncertainty as to whether the expensive hat purchased on Monday is in fashion the following Saturday, with such lightning rapidity do all fashions change at present, especially the fashions in millinery. Enormous picture hats are replaced in favor by the most minute close-fitting toques, turbans, and let it be said with bated breath, by bonnets, for every sign and indication is pointing the way to the return of the loose fitting bonnet.

Wide brims that stand out at the back, mushroom shapes, both tabooed months ago, are now triumphantly displayed as among the newest models. Crowns vary from the exaggerated large, soft ones to the hard, stiff, comparatively small, and are

¹²⁴ From BEAVER HATS AND PLUMES. (1909, October 18). *Shawnee News*, p. 6.

¹²⁵ From RUSH FOR BEAVER HATS CLEANS OUT THE MARKET. (1909, October 20). *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, p. 6.

¹²⁶ From DAME FASHION’S DECREES. (1909, December 31). *The Crossfield Chronicle*, p. 5.

entirely lost to view under the shaped fold of whatever material the hat may be composed. And the materials are so many in number and so absolutely unlike. Satin, hatters' plush, velvet, plain or mirror beaver and felt all are in fashion, and often one or two of these fabrics are combined. Hatters' plush, for instance, while an effective is not always a becoming material, so the crown of the hat may be made of it, but the brim will be of velvet, so much softer and more becoming, while with satin there will also be velvet.

Tulle and maline net¹²⁷ are not materials generally associated with winter, but tulle combined with velvet or fur is immensely smart at this moment, and so are velvet and beaver, satin and beaver, and so on indefinitely through a series of combinations never before attempted. The tulle and velvet creation is exceedingly smart and well adapted to the theatre and picture hat. Tulle, as may readily be imagined, is far cheaper than osprey or bird of paradise plumes, and can, if a clever milliner deigns to use it, be substituted for the costly feathers, for the big tulle bows and pleatings are most charmingly light and airy in effect, and, terrible as may sound the statement, are every bit as becoming. But tulle and net cannot properly be dealt with by an amateur, and the price demanded for the tulle trimmed theatre hat is far in advance of what was formerly asked (note the statement – demanded) for a most elaborately trimmed feather hat.

It is quite a question whether there will be a feather left to any bird of note if the craze – it is nothing else – for the aigrettes and egrets continues. Apparently, women have gone quite mad over these trimmings, for no price is too high to pay, and all kinds of pleading against the slaughter of the birds goes for naught. Certainly, the feathers are exquisitely beautiful, but too many spoil the smartest and most becoming hat ever turned out, and look merely like an ostentatious display of what money can buy. There are many cleverly made up feathers this season that have the same general effect as the costly aigrettes, and those especially in white are used in quantities on the large hats that still are classed as theatre and “dress” hats.

Unquestionably small hats are considered very smart this season, but the large hat for “dress” still is a prime favorite, and this in spite of the fact that every day sees new models in the most fascinating small shapes, picturesque to a degree and more and more on the lines of a head-dress or Empire turban. In the theatre box or at the restaurant the large hat worn with the gown open at the throat seems to fit in with its surroundings. At the same time the close-fitting turban with the aigrette – a feather so placed as to give the needed height – seems marvellously in accord with the close clinging satin or velvet gown on the picturesque order. Which will win out, the small hat, only time can tell. For the moment it is essential to happiness to be possessed of both.

Prettiest and most becoming of all the many and varied styles this season are the fascinatingly becoming fur hats which are of so many different models. Made entirely of fur, of velvet or beaver with fur, in soft turban shape or in stiff three cornered style, there is an endless and most attractive variety to choose from. Much depends upon the furs with which is worn the hat, for this season everything must

¹²⁷ A stiff hexagonal net used in dress-making.

match. Two kinds of fur may be combined in the hat, but hat, stole or coat and muff must be the same. The woman who can afford to wear chinchilla – and this means that it must be becoming – can have a most fascinating turban or toque with crown of gray, cerise or blue velvet and brim of chinchilla. If the gray of the fur is becoming the velvet crown of the same color is the smartest, but if the touch of contrast is best, then it should be chosen instead. The band of skunk around the crown of a smooth beaver hat in the three-corner shape is effective, and two stiff feathers of cerise or bright scarlet make the model most becoming. A dull gold ornament and a tuft of marabou¹²⁸ feathers in a colored velvet turban, trimmed with a band of sable, is another popular fashion; but the plainer, more severe styles still win the greatest amount of approval. As a rule, the fur hats are small, but there are one or two styles that are quite large and are made in sealskin or baby lamb, trimmed with a band of skunk, lynx or fox.

The large Cossack shape turban, with a broad band of fur around the brim and the entire crown made of roses or orchids, is another of this season's models that is decidedly new. Although at first glance it may seem like the same old turban lines that have been known for so many, many years, it is quite different, larger in head size, so that it comes more over the face and with higher inside crown; and while it looks as if it were round, it is shaped larger in front and back than at the sides. The short haired furs, sealskin and baby lamb, are not so effective in this style of hat and are oftener used in the crown with the brim of chinchilla, skunk or sable, but there are one or two models that are charming, made of the shorter furs, so soft and pliable that they are treated as if they were velvet or beaver felt. These are best in a rather different shaped turban, higher in the crown and most effective with a high cockade of tulle or net bows.

There is a curious difference in style and shape of the hats to be worn with the different sorts of dress, and a hat suitable with the severely plain tailor gown would be as much out of place with the theatre gown as would the theatre hat with the street gown. For afternoon, with the more elaborate street gown a more elaborate style of hat is required, while with the fur coat the all-fur hat is essential. A useful and becoming model is the felt hat, with soft velvet crown, the only trimming a big silk bow at the left side or a stiff fancy wing, no feathers or trimming that can be injured by rain or wind. Ostrich feathers are still immensely fashionable for the more elaborate styles, the clusters of soft plumes, the long willow feather and the extraordinarily doctored or treated feathers split in half and made to look thin. These are wired or placed so as to be in the order of stiff quills and are used in the wide brimmed velvet hats. They are expensive, exceedingly so, for a lot of work is required to make them look as demanded, and they are one of the marked fashions of the winter – eccentric it may be, but all the same the fashion.

¹²⁸ An African stork.

“The run on beaver hats still continues”¹²⁹ (1909)

The run on beaver hats still continues, making it trying for dealers in general millinery goods. Custom was fairly good early in the season, but this scarcity of beaver hats and the small amount of decoration required, prevented duplicating on all but one or two special items. With everyone wanting the same thing there is naturally a fictitious importance given to the article.

The demand is principally for black, and the supply is still inadequate. The general opinion seems to favor the idea that the demand will continue right through the winter, as the manufacturers are unable to turn out sufficient quantities to spoil the market.

In order that you may know the reason these hats are so scarce it may be well to explain. To make beaver hats requires an immense amount of expensive special machinery. This machinery can be used only for the manufacture of beaver hats. Therefore, when the demand for this class of goods passes, the machinery is practically worthless for any other purpose.

This unexpected demand came with such sudden force it would few manufacturers equipped with the right kind of machinery. In fact there are, according to reliable information, only about ten manufacturers in the United States who have this special machinery for beaver hats. The production is slow. The biggest manufactory can turn out at the utmost only six hundred dozen a day. All the factories together are producing about two hundred thousand a month. This is scarcely enough to supply the territory tributary to one or two large cities in America.

The girl who fails to get a beaver hat need not take the matter seriously after all, for hatters' plush is one of the fashionable articles of the season. Hatters' plush is the same material that is used to make men's silk hats, and it has made an immense stride in favor lately. I mentioned this early, but black velvet made such a hit that the hatters' plush was scarcely noticed.

Tricornes and toques, both large and small, are especially favored. Large hats are still given preference. There was an attempt to bring in toques made of tulle for the theatre. They were pronounced rather “old looking,” and that did for them at once. The new fur and velvet toques do not differ much in shape from those of last winter. Velvet or fur are both becoming to the complexion, especially in dark colors. White is trying next to the face, so many of the toques are bordered with sable.

Ostrich is less expensive than paradise, and for a side trimming on toques, tips with a fancy aigrette are used, the tips banking in the vacancy that the aigrette alone would give.

¹²⁹ From Ricketts, E. G. (1909, December 7). MIDWINTER HATS AND THE MATERIALS. *Huntington Evening Herald*, p. 6. I believe this to be Ella Wiley, nee Ricketts (1858 – 1931), buried in Huntington, West Virginia. A notice in the Huntington, Indiana Herald of June 2, 1911, reads that “Miss E. Grace Ricketts, who has just sold her millinery store in the Milligan block, a business she conducted in the city a couple of years, leaves this evening for Huntington, W. Va., where she will take employment in a line of business conducted by a cousin, a well-to-do man of the city.” I've chosen to include non-beaver-hat material in this transcription to illustrate the other hat fashions that could be seen as substitutes for beaver hats at this time.

Gold is having its rivals in oxidized silver aluminums, copper and steel, all of them in the form of thread fabrics, and artificial flower makers use these materials in large roses.

Lace has returned to favor as a trimming, and it looks well in large butterfly bows on velvet or satin-covered hats, in combination with the metallic roses. Many hats are covered or edged with lace. Large medallions, such as roses or butterflies, are used to decorate the hat, and liven and brighten up a toque of fur also.

Black and bright blue make a stunning combination – also black and scarlet – in fact most any flashy color looks well on black.

A velvet hat with ostrich trimmings is always good to have. Novelties come and go but this kind of material is always what one is safe to invest in.

“Frocks, and smart women”¹³⁰ (1910)

“Please don’t write about a ‘galaxy of beauty,’” said the reporter [in the] next seat to mine, in the press gallery at the opening of the House¹³¹, on Thursday afternoon, at which the dog “Kelly,” the new mascot of the Gallery, grinned a knowing grin. [...] But “Kelly” can’t have it all his own way. To the Ladies – whom I have neglected for too long.

Never has there been such a brilliant showing of frocks, and smart women. On the floor of the House at the sides, in the Members’ chairs, they shone forth with a glory and a gorgeousness utterly unprecedented. The entrance of Mrs. Sifton¹³² and her guests caused quite a stir.

Mrs. Sifton looked as slim and girlish as a girl of seventeen, in a pale blue and white foulard frock with black pipings and tiny buttons, a corsage bouquet of pink roses, rich ermine stole and muff, and a great black silk hat with two coquettish pink roses.

With her was her daughter, Mrs. Clarke Dennis, in a striking Parisian gown of some soft black material with a little quilted double collar of white lace and a great black beaver hat with plumes and a knot of royal blue velvet, and some fine jet jewels.

Mrs. Nolan, Mrs. Sisley and Mrs. Van Want, all of Calgary, followed. Mrs. Nolan, was looking stunning in a gown of palest mauve dotted crepe, with some exquisite cream lace, a large black picture hat and some fine mink furs.

Mrs. Sisely wore an exquisite toilette of striped white satin, with quantities of lovely Spanish lace, a huge white beaver hat, swathed in lace with willow plumes, pearl jewels, and ermine furs.

Mrs. Van Wart was beautifully frocked and looking very attractive in a modish gown of black, with a dream of a black beaver hat, faced with white, some magnificent white fox furs, and diamond ornaments.

¹³⁰ From The Opening of the House. (1910, November 12). *Saturday News*, p. 1.

¹³¹ The Legislature.

¹³² Probably Elizabeth Armanella Burrows Sifton was married to Clifford Sifton, who in 1911 was Member of Parliament for Brandon, Manitoba. Prior to that, he had served as Minister of the Interior.

Mrs. Mitchell, the Attorney-General's wife, was very smartly gowned, wearing a pale blue gown in some sheer, soft material, with touches of gold, some fine lace, and a large black silk beaver hat with gold cord and handsome white willow plumes with a modish black and white satin scarf.

“Hats and more hats!” (1911)¹³³

Hats and more hats! Every week sees new styles exhibited, new materials and new colors until the average brain grows fairly dizzy trying to decide upon which really is the smartest and most desirable model to choose. It is acknowledged that the hat is all important in a woman's outfit, and there must be a suitable hat for each and every occasion if a strict adherence to the laws of fashion be contemplated, and each and every hat must be becoming and distinctive. With these rules to follow it can readily be understood that too much time and thought cannot be expended in quest of fashionable headgear.

The models are so varied this year that it is more confusing than usual to select just what is wanted. One moment large hats are declared absolutely the one and only style; the next moment the small hat is firmly stated to be the correct fashion, and there are so many of medium size, neither large nor small, that are extremely attractive and very smart. The picturesque style is much in evidence, and while the fashion is a dangerous one for the majority of women to follow blindly, it is often the most satisfactory, because it can be so distinctive and original. A soft mob cap of velvet with an inside pleating of fine lace, a twist of satin ribbon around the crown and a bunch of tiny silk roses at one side is a favorite model, one that hitherto has been associated more with fashions for children, but now is chosen for grown women. There are some faces to which this hat is extremely becoming; to others, it is grotesque and most unbecoming.

Large hats are more often on the picture order, but all large hats are not picture hats. At the moment the large hats are considered smartest for the afternoon and evening, while the small and medium size are relegated to the more severe style of dress. For the theatre hat, the hat to be worn in a box, at the theatre, the large hat continues to be the prime favorite, and is trimmed with ostrich plumes of the most costly description, aigrettes or some strange fantasy, as it is termed, of feather or aigrettes. The shaded ostrich plumes are the most fashionable this winter, and the colorings are exquisitely beautiful. Black shading to gray and white, two or three tones of blue or purple, all shading to very light, are put on black velvet hats both of large and small size. The posing of the feathers calls for the taste and skill of an expert, and whether the hat be large or small it can be becoming or the reverse, entirely as the feathers are arranged.

The feathers used are all most perfect and are extremely expensive. Aigrettes are also to be counted among the expensive trimmings, but in both instances, there

¹³³ From FASHIONS AND FANCIES. (1911, January 21). *Bow Island Review*, p. 7.

is at least the satisfaction that the money expended "shows." It is not only a question of line, but beauty of workmanship as well as the quality of the feathers.

Strange and weird feathers, plumes and stiff wings are to be noticed in this winter's millinery. The most learned ornithologist would have a task beyond his powers to name any bird on which such feathers grow, such startling combination of color and design and such quantities of feathers are used to trim the simplest of hats. Two and three spread out as large as turkey wings encircle small turbans and toques or are massed together at the side of a medium size soft velvet turban. Long stiff quills, black and white, made of velvet, cloth and a few real feathers, are most effective, and are used in the hats made of cloth and satin, or satin and velvet, and the willow feathers, so exquisite in detail and coloring and so becomingly soft and graceful, trim the velvet hats of medium size. A charming model of a rather stiff black velvet hat of medium size with a brim turned up at one side is trimmed with a cluster of short willow feathers in bright emerald green. The contrast of the feathers and hat is so marked that it would excite attention at once, and then the hat is so becoming it is not to be wondered at that it is a most popular model.

Flounces and fur are two most fashionable trimmings this winter and are used separately and together. The flounces are most effective in coloring and of the finest workmanship. The silk and velvet flounces are especially noticeable and the colors most unusual. The rather flat, low crowned hat of velvet and of beaver and velvet combined is a very smart [one] with the wreath of flowers around the crown, and the lack of height in the trimming and hat gives a certain air of distinction and individuality that the more eccentric shapes often lack. One point about these hats which makes them beloved by those to whom they are becoming is that they are not becoming to many faces and never are dangerously popular in consequence. They are most deceptive in appearance, for only the initiated can recognize at a glance the master hand in their manufacture. So, while seemingly simple, they require to be most carefully made, otherwise they lack style and are anything but smart. Made in colored velvet to match the gown with which it is to be worn, this hat affords a fine opportunity to carry out any scheme of one color or a color contrast, the flowers of different shades and of velvet and silk showing to the best possible advantage against the velvet.

This being a winter when fur is supremely fashionable, of course fur hats and hats trimmed with fur are most popular. The fur on the hat should match the muff and neck piece, but there are many hats trimmed with sable, skunk or fox that are quite complete in themselves and which will be worn with other furs. Most cleverly is the fur put on in one or two inch bands around the crown, or if it is a toque or turban shape then the bands of fur are used in trimming. White and light-colored cloth and beaver hats trimmed with fur are most effective and becoming, and again sable or skunk is chosen as combining best. A fascinating model that well deserves its popularity is a toque of yellowish cream white beaver trimmed with narrow bands of sable and a full white aigrette placed almost on the front of the hat. This same shape is also made in net, velvet or tulle and is smart in each material, but in the tulle or beaver it looks the best. For theatre or restaurant wear not only white, but

light colors, palest blue, rose or yellow, are smart made up in this style, but the cream white for the moment is the more popular.

Rough beaver hats of all kinds are extremely smart this season, and the useful soft black beaver is very popular. Worn as a knockabout, useful piece of headgear it is most satisfactory. Trimmed with anything, even a black or white cockade or fantasy, it is smart. There is another shape, something the same in effect, but not so soft and shapeless. This can be trimmed effectively with colored stiff feathers; one style has the feathers placed toward the back; another has the feathers, either two stiff ones or three soft ostrich tips, at the left side. Then there are the beaver hats trimmed with only a velvet bow across the front or at one side; the velvet, put through a piece of the material, is in two loops, with no ends, and lies flat against the hat. The beaver has quite a long nap and is becoming in any shade. There are more effective shapes in white with a black velvet bow, but the white is not so practical as color, and is most suitable for the girl who does not have to count the pennies she spends on her clothes and consequently can buy any number of hats. There are shades of light tan in this shape that are more practical and look well with fur coats. A bit of fur is sometimes substituted for the velvet bow, but it is not so smart, for the great charm of this model is its simplicity.

“A hat means everything”¹³⁴ (1911)

Once again must the question of millinery be dealt with, and in truth it is a question that can never be entirely put to one side, for a hat means everything to the finish of a costume. Nothing definitely has been decided about the size of the hat. As to whether the huge wide brim shape, a close all enveloping hood turban or the smart toque is the most fashionable, no definite authoritative word has been vouchsafed, and every woman follows her own idea as to which is the most becoming.

With a theatre or restaurant gown the large hat is the more effective. As a rule, the lines somehow seem better suited to the low-cut waist, giving a more picturesque appearance, especially when there are feathers and aigrettes used as trimming, but the hat must be so shaped that it frames the face. This is not an easy task, either, when fashion demands, as now, that the hat shall be pulled down over the head. The milliner of to-day, to succeed, must not only be possessed of skill in her trade, but must have also artistic talent. Large hats must not look stiff and hard, the brims must be flexible and at the same time must be so well made that they will not lose their shape. This means careful workmanship, and the high prices asked for the apparently perfectly plain hats are warranted in many instances by the skilled labor required to produce the desired results.

So much depends upon the placing of the trimming that here again trained taste and a knowledge of what is becoming to the individual wearer have to be utilized. The aigrettes and feathers of all descriptions are not placed so high, as was the fashion last year, and the trimming is more toward the back than the front of the

¹³⁴ From FASHIONS AND FANCIES. (1911, April 14). *The Raymond Rustler*, p. 3.

hat. Many of the largest hats have singularly little trimming, a spray of feathers or a velvet bow or stiff cockade being all that is used, but for an elaborate hat for theatre or restaurant [wear], several feathers or aigrettes look better.

There are several different colors fashionable this season in feathers. White with the black hats is very smart; pale grey, king blue, pale yellow, [and] green are one and all in style with the black hat, while there is no end of fancy feathers – black and white or colored and white – the colors most effectively blended and unlike any feathers that ever grew. All feathers for this style of hat are soft and floating, most carefully tacked over so there shall be no hard, stiff lines. It seems altogether unfitting that feathers, perfect in themselves, should be manipulated and worked over as is now demanded by fashion, but very few natural ostrich plumes are now seen. The willow feather and a variety of new names designate the made over, up to date feathers.

Almost without exception the fashionable hat is worn [pulled] down over the head, the head size being made large enough to permit of this; should it prove unbecoming in these circumstances, then a halo or a band can be worn in addition, but only when the hat is terribly unbecoming. Apparently, the aim of the present fashion is to cover up as much of the hair as possible, but, as this is singularly trying to the majority of women, something has to be done to mitigate the trouble, and the brim of the hat is rolled up or turned back at one side, far enough to throw out sufficient hair to soften the face more becomingly. The brims of the large hats extend out to the back, but the line they give is not ugly, provided the line at the side be becoming – the side of the turned-up brim, that is; the other completely hides the face. A curious thing about these large hats is that they look so much better on some women than on others. Older women will do well to avoid them, for the fashion is best suited to the soft contour and fresh complexion of youth.

There is something most attractive and very smart about the new toques and turbans, especially those designed for evening wear. They are often eccentric in shape as well as in color, while several materials quite incongruous one with the other are put together as to look as if they had been thrown together rather than most carefully selected, as is the case. The smartest toques are very soft; on the hand they appear shapeless, on the head they follow every line of the head. Brim and crown are the same height but of different materials. A velvet crown encircled with a band of old gold or jeweled passementerie and with a very full aigrette quite far back at the left side is very becoming. Another, with a crown of king blue velvet, has round it a band of chinchilla, and also a full aigrette, either white or black. This model is copied in an endless variety of colors and fabrics and is one of the most deservedly popular of the season.

Conservative minded women are rejoicing in the return of the always becoming and refined style of hat, velvet or beaver felt, of medium size, with brim turned up at the left side, and trimmed with a feather around the crown – one long, beautiful ostrich plume. If height be needed, two or three small ostrich tips arranged like a pompom or an aigrette pompom at the left side of the crown are all that is necessary. Nothing original, it is true, but there is a charm and elegance about such a hat that

is easily recognized, and when the color is the same as the costume, it is most attractive. Also in black is it a charming model, and made in fine lace or net it is suitable for reception or theatre. Following the trend of fashion, a black velvet had on this order is often made up with a colored feather, gray or white being the smartest, but the all black wins more approval.

Appendix: The 18th century Hudson's Bay beaver trade (1744)

Written by Scottish official Arthur Dobbs, Surveyor-General of Ireland, friend of Jonathan Swift, Member of Parliament and Governor of North California.

[THE COUNTRY AROUND FORT NELSON]

The country about Fort Nelson is very low; it is filled with the woods of small trees, and is very marshy. [...]

The Monsonis or Nation of the Marshes live higher up, [...] in a country full of marshes. As they have a great many small rivers and brooks, which fall into great rivers, these people kill a great many beavers; they find some very black, a quality rare enough; for they are commonly of a reddish color. These would have prevented the nations at a greater distance from trading with the English; but they obliged them to give them a passage if they would enjoy any commerce themselves. [...]

The Osquisakamais live upon fish; they kill but few beavers, but their Coat beaver is the best from their greasy way of living, and cleaning their hands upon them. [...]

These nations, who come a great distance, assemble in May at a great lake, sometimes 12[00] or 1500 together, to begin their voyage. The Chiefs represent their wants, and engage the young men to prepare and get beavers, and each family makes a feast, and fix upon a certain number to go together, and they renew alliances with each other; then joy, pleasure, and good cheer reigns, in which time they make their canoes, which are of birch bark; the trees are much larger than those in France; they make the floor-timbers of little pieces of white wood, four inches thick; they bind them at the top to a pieces an inch thick, which keeps the bark open above, and sew up the two ends; these are so swift as to go 30 leagues in a day with the stream; they carry them easily on their backs, and are very light in the water; they have no seats, and they must paddle either sitting in the bottom, or upon their knees; when they are ready for their voyage they choose several Chiefs; the number that trade annually are not certain, according as they happen to have war or not, which affects their hunting; but there comes down generally to Port Nelson 1000 men, some women, and about 600 canoes.

[TYPES OF BEAVER]

There are eight kinds of beavers received at the Farmer's Office. The first is the fat Winter Beaver, killed in Winter, which is worth 5s. 6d. per pound. The second is the fat Summer Beaver killed in Summer, and is worth 2s. 9d. The third, the dry Winter Beaver, and fourth, the Bordeau, [are] much the same, and are worth 3s. 6d. The fifth, the dry Summer Beaver, is worth very little, about 1s. 9d. per pound. The sixth is the Coat Beaver, which is worn till it is half greased, and is worth 4s. 6d. per pound. The 7th [is] the Muscovite Dry Beaver, of a fine skin, covered over with a silky hair; they wear it in Russia, and comb away all the short down, which they make into stuffs and other works, leaving nothing but the silky hair; this is worth 4s. 6d. per pound. The eighth is the Mitten Beaver, cut out for that purpose to make mittens, to

preserve them from the cold, and are greased by being used, and are worth 1s. 9d. per pound.

Before I mention the account given by Joseph la France, the French Canadian Indian, whose father, he says, was a Frenchman, and his mother an Indian of the Nation of the Saulteaux, who reside at the Fall of St. Mary, between the Upper Lake and Lake of Hurons; I shall mention the state of the English and French trade at present upon these Canada lakes.

[THE STATE OF THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH TRADE]

Mr. Burnet, when he was appointed Governor of New York in 1727, finding that the French in Canada were in possession of all the Indian fur trade, through all the countries adjoining to the Canadian lakes, except what trade the English carried on with the six Iroquois Nations (the Tuscarora Nation now united to the others, making the 6th tribe) and knowing that the chief support of the colony at Canada was the benefit they made by their Indian fur trade, though tit of great moment to gain that trade to our colony of New York from the French.

Upon inquiring into the nature of that trade, and manner of carrying it on, he found that the French at Quebec and Montreal were chiefly supplied with European goods from the merchants at New York, where they had them upon much easier terms than they could have them from France; by which he found we could trade upon much better terms directly with the Indians, than with the French, and would by that means make all the Indians our friends; and consequently by our giving them our goods cheaper at the first hand, we might gain most of that trade from the French, and by that means weaken their colony at Canada, whose chief support is from that trade.

Accordingly, he prohibited the trade from New York to Canada by an Act he got passed in the Assembly there; and being opposed in it by the merchants trading to Quebec, who appealed against it to the Council in England, at last got the Act confirmed by the Council; by this means a trade was opened directly with the western Indians through the Iroquois country, and an intercourse and familiarity of consequence, betwixt all these nations and our colonies.

The Assembly was at the expense to build and fortify a trading house at Oswego, on the Cataraqui or Frontenac Lake, in the neighborhood of the Iroquois, near the Onondagas, and have from that time maintained a garrison there; by this means they have gained a considerable part of the trade which the French formerly had with the western Indians, and all the allies of the Iroquois now trade with us, as well as those on the Illinois Lake, Michilimackinac, and Sault St. Marie.

Before that time a very inconsiderable number were employed in that trade; now above 300 are employed at the trading house at Oswego alone, and the Indian trade since that time has so much increased, that several Indian nations come now each year to trade there, whose names before were not so much as known to the English.

The several nations who are now in alliance with the Six Nations, and trade with us, according to the information given to Conrad Weaser Esq.; in open council

at Turpehawkie, at their return from the Indian Treaty at Philadelphia in July 1742, are:

1. A nation of Indians living on the west side of the Lake Erie, and along the straits to Huron Lake, and the south side of Huron Lake; they are called by the Iroquois, Unighkillyiakow, consisting of about 30 towns, each of about 200 fighting men.

2. The second live among the former called ---- [sic.] consisting of four towns of their own people, and 400 able men all.

3. The third called by them Ishisageck Roanu, live on the east side of the Huron Lake; several of the Council have been there, and they agree they have three large towns of 600, 800, and 1000 able men.

4. The fourth, called Twightwis Roanu, live at the head of Huakiky River, near the little lakes.

5. The fifth, Oskiakikis, living on a branch of Ohio, that heads near the Lake Erie, four large towns of about 1000 warriors.

6. The sixth, Oyachtownuk Roanu, near Black River, consists of four towns, and 1000 warriors.

7. The seventh, Kighetawkigh Roanu, upon the great Mississippi River, above the mouth of Ohio, three towns, the number of people uncertain.

8. The eighth, Kirhawguagh Roanu, several savage nations as their name signifies (the People of the Wilderness) they live on the north side of the Huron Lake; they neither plant corn, nor anything else, but live altogether upon flesh, roots and herbs; an infinite number of people of late become allies to the Iroquois.

The above account was communicated by a gentleman of good understanding and probity, and very well skilled in the Indian tongue and manners, being himself adopted into one of their tribes, and is their constant interpreter at the Philadelphia Treaties, and the account may be depended upon.

The Iroquois are now civilizing, and many of them become Christians and Protestants, by the care of Mr. Barclay now among them; who among the Mohawks has in great measure suppressed their darling vice, drunkenness, and has persuaded them to marry, and not to divorce their wives; they are not now so cruel to their enemies as formerly, and have in great measure left off their wars with their neighbors, having entered into alliances with them, and by that means have brought their fur trade to Oswego in their own country, and thus the most material points are gained towards civilizing and converting them to Christianity.

This account is of last Summer 1742.

Oswego is situated upon the Lake Frontenac, about 20 leagues below the Fall of Niagara; the Indian traders have two ways of something there, either by a short land carriage betwixt two rivers, which fall into Huron and Frontenac Lake, and so cross that lake to Oswego, or by the Strait of St. Joseph, betwixt Huron and Erie Lakes, and so to the Fall of Niagara, where they have one land carriage, and then go by water to Oswego. This is a much easier voyage and passage than to Montreal, and so to Quebec, there being above 36 falls on the Ottawa River, by which they pass from Huron Lake to Montreal; and if they should go by the Lake Frontenac down the River

St. Lawrence to Montreal, which is 80 leagues; above 60 leagues of it is all sharps and waterfalls, which makes it both dangerous and tedious in returning from Montreal, and the English also afford their goods better and cheaper than the French.

[THE ACCOUNT OF JOSEPH LA FRANCE]

Joseph la France is now about 36 years old. He was born at Michilimackinac, and was 5 years old when his mother died. His father then took him with him to Quebec to learn French, where he stayed the Winter, about 6 months. He says, as well as he can remember, Quebec was about a league long, and half a league broad, and had 4[000] or 5000 men in garrison, it being about the time of the Peace of Utrecht. He returned from thence with his father, and lived with him until his death, which happened when he was 14 years old.

After his death, when he was about 16, he went down to Montreal, to sell what furs and peltry his father had left him, and then returned to Michilimackinac, where he traded and hunted in the neighboring countries until he was 27 years old; in which time he went one year to Mississippi. He went by the Illinois Lake, which he calls Michigan. At the bottom of the lake there was a French fort, in which there were 15 French in garrison, about 11 years ago. The river upon which it is built, he calls St. Joseph; it is very rapid. He passed by Wisconsin to the Mississippi, and went down it as far as the Missouri River, and returned by the same route. In his return he passed by the Bay of L'Ours qui Dort, so called from a heap of sand upon a point, which resembles a bear sleeping.

When he was 28 years old, he went with a parcel of furs, with 8 Iroquois, in 2 canoes, cross the Lake of Hurons, by the Bay of Sakinac [Saginaw?], to the Straits of Erie, which they passed in the night for fear of being stopped by the French, who have a village or little fort there, in which he believes there may be 100 houses. He from thence passed through Lake Erie to the Fall of Niagara, and the Iroquois carried his canoes and furs down by the Falls to Lake Frontenac, for which he gave them 100 beavers, and thence went to Oswego, but was not within the fort or town, the Iroquois selling his furs for him, and then returned by the same way to Michilimackinac. He says the French have a fort on the north side of the Fall of Niagara, betwixt the Lakes Erie and Frontenac, about 3 leagues within the woods from the Falls, in which they keep 30 soldiers, and have about as many more with them as servants and assistants; these have a small trade with the Indians for meat, ammuniton and arms.

About 6 y ears ago he went to Montreal with two Indians, and a considerable cargo of furs, where he found the Governor of Canada, who wintered there. He made him a present of marten skins, and also 1000 crowns, for a Conge or Passport to have a License to trade next year: But in Spring he would neither give him his Conge nor his money, under pretense that he had sold brandy to the Indians, which is prohibited, and threatened him with imprisonment for demanding his money; so that he was obliged to steal away with his two Indians, and what goods he got in exchange for his furs, with his 3 canoes.

Montreal, he says, is about 60 leagues above Quebec. It is a large town, about a league and a half in circuit within the walls, which are 15 feet high, of lime and stone. They have 300 men in garrison. This is the only considerable town in Canada

besides Quebec; for Trois Rivieres is but a village. He says they have a fort the natives call Fort Catarauqui, 80 leagues above Montreal, near Lake Frontenac, in which they keep a garrison of 40 men, as the Indians informed him, and about as many more inhabitants. The River St. Lawrence, from thence to Montreal, is so full of waterfalls, and so rapid, that there is the utmost danger and difficulty in going by water, and no going so far by land through the woods, so that no trade can be carried on that way but at great expense.

They have no other fortified places in Canada but one fort called Champli, near Champlain Lake, upon the English and Iroquois frontiers, in which they have 20 men in garrison.

He was above 40 days in going up the river from Montreal to the Lake Nipissing, which is the source of that river which he calls St. Lawrence, and not the river which passes through the lakes, but La Hontan calls it the Ottawa River. He had 36 land carriages before he got to Nipissing. He was but 18 days in going down to Montreal. He says the Nipissing River runs from the same lake into the Lake of Hurons. This is what La Hontan calls French River; it is 20 leagues in its course, and had three falls upon it, which they descended in two days; and with a fair wind they might go from thence to Michilimackinac in two days more along the islands.

Upon his return he exchanged his goods for furs, and resolved to try his fortune once more to Montreal, and make his peace with the Governor. He says, when he left Michilimackinac, there were but 2 men with the Governor in garrison, which was only to open and shut the gates. He says, that of late the trade from thence to Montreal is so much lessened upon account of the English supplying the Indians much cheaper and better, by an easy navigation through the lakes to Niagara, that there does not go above 12 canoes in a year, and those licenses are generally given to superannuated officers; the avarice and injustice of the Governor of Canada has likewise disgusted the natives.

After having got a parcel of furs, he, with two Indian slaves, and 3 canoes, passed the Lake Huron, and entered the Nipissing River, and went up it several leagues; but at a turn in the river he met 9 canoes, in which was the Governor's brother-in-law, with 30 soldiers, and as many more to manage the canoes, who seized him and his furs, and slaves, as a runaway without a Passport, and would have carried him away to Montreal, but he made his escape into the woods in the night, with only his gun and five charges of powder and ball, and passed by land alone through the woods on the north side of Huron Lake, until he met with some of the Missada Indians, who live there, having been six weeks in his journey, traveling behind the mountains, on the north side of the lake, in a marshy country, abounding with beavers, and thus returned to Sault St. Marie; and having lost all, determined to go to the English in Hudson's Bay, by passing through the Indian nations west of the upper lake, until he should arrive, by these lakes and rivers which run northwards, at Fort York, on Nelson River.

He set out in the beginning of Winter 1739 upon this journey and voyage, and hunted and lived with the Indians, his relations the Saulteaux, on the north side of

the upper lake, where he was well acquainted, having hunted and traded thereabouts for fourteen years. [...]

Pachegoia is the lake where all the Indians assemble in the latter end of March every year, to cut the birth trees and make their canoes of the bark, which then begins to run, in order to pass down the river to Fort York on Nelson River with their furs. [...] He arrived there at the latter end of March, [1740,] and he, with the other Indians, cut the bark for their canoes, and then hunted for some time for provisions; they began to make their canoes the first day of April N. S. [sic.] which they finished in three days; on the 4th he, being appointed one of their leaders, set out with 100 canoes in company, for the factory at Fort York; there are generally two Indians in a canoe, but he was alone in his; they were three weeks in passing along the west side of the lake before they came to the place it is discharged by the River Savanne or Epinette; for they were obliged to coast the west side of the lake in their little canoes, and keep along the bottom of each bay; for these small canoes can bear no surge or waves when the wind blows, and when they came to any point on the lake, if there was any wind, they were obliged to carry their furs and canoes over the land to the next bay, which, with hunting for provisions delayed them greatly; at that time they had neither ice on the lake nor snow on the land. [...]

It was the 29th of June N. S. when he got to the Factory. [...]

Two days after he got to Fort York, one of the Monsoni Indians arrived there with his wife; he had four packs of beavers for 40 each; he told him he came by the River and Lake Du Pique, and was two years hunting from thence before he got to the Fort; that he had about sixty land carriages, passing from lake to lake, having no rivers running the course he came, except one which he passed down for two days; he came to one very great lake, in which he could discover no land on either side, but passed along it from island to island, which took him up a considerable time.

The Indians being obliged to go ashore every day to hunt for provisions, delays them very much in their voyages; for their canoes are so small, holding only two men and a pack of 100 beaver skins, that they can't carry provisions with them for any time; if they had larger canoes they could make their voyages shorter, and carry many more beavers to market, at least four times as many, besides other skins of value, which are too heavy for their present canoes; this, and the high price set upon the European goods by the [Hudson's Bay] Company in exchange, discourages the natives so much, that if it were not that they are under a necessity for their hunting, and tobacco, brandy, and some paint for luxury, they would not go down to the Factory with what they now carry; at present they leave great numbers of furs and skins behind them.

A good hunter among the Indians can kill 600 beavers in a season, and can carry down but 100; the rest he uses at home, or hangs them upon branches of trees, upon the death of their children, as an offering to them, or use them for bedding and coverings; they sometimes burn off the fur, and roast the beavers like pigs, upon any entertainments, and they often let them rot, having no further use of them.

[ABOUT THE BEAVER]

The beavers, he says, are of three colors; the brown reddish color, the black, and the white; the first is the cheapest, the black is not valued by the Company, and in England; the white, though most valued in Canada, giving 18 shillings, when others gave 5 or 6 shillings, is blown upon by the Company's Factors at the Bay, they not allowing so much for these as for the others; and therefore the Indians use them at home, or burn off the hair, when they roast the beavers like pigs, at an entertainment when they feast together. He says these skins are extremely white, and have a fine luster, no snow being whiter, and have a fine long fur or hair; he has seen 15 taken of that color out of one lodge or pond.

The beavers have three enemies: man, otters, and the Carcajou [wolverine] or Quecquehatch, which prey upon them when they take them at an advantage; the last is as large as a very great dog, it has a short tail like a deer or hair, and has a good fur, valued at a beaver and a half in exchange.

The beaver's chiefest food is the poplar or tremble, but they also eat sallows, alders, and most other trees not having a resinous juice; the middle bark is their food. In May when the wood is not plenty, they live on a large root which grows in the marshes a fathom long, and as thick as a man's leg. The French call it violet; but the beavers are not so good food as when they feed upon trees.

They will cut down trees above two fathoms in girth with their teeth, and one of them observes when it is ready to fall, and gives a great cry, and runs the contrary way, to give notice to the rest to get out of the way; they then cut off all the top twigs, and smaller branches two or three fathoms in length, and draw them to their houses which they have built in their ponds, after having raised or repaired their pond head, and made it staunch, and thrust an end into clay or mud, that they may lie underwater all the Winter, to preserve the bark green and tender for their Winter provision; after cutting off the small branches, they cut and carry away the larger, until they come to the bole of the tree.

The beavers are delicious food, but the tongues and tail the most delicious parts of the whole; they are very fat from November until the end of March; they have their young in the beginning of Summer, at which time the females are lean by suckling their young, and the males are lean the whole Summer, when they are making or repairing their ponds and houses, and cutting down and providing timber and branches for their winter store. They breed once in a year, and have from ten to fifteen a litter, which grow up in one season; so that they multiply very fast, and if they can empty a pond, and take the whole lodge, they generally leave a pair to breed, so that they are fully stocked again in two or three years. [...]

[THE INDIANS WEST OF THE BAY]

The Indians west of the Bay, living an erratic life, can have no benefit by tame fowl or cattle; they seldom stay above a fortnight in a place, unless they find plenty of game. When they remove, after having built their hut, they disperse to get game for their food, and meet again at night, after having killed enough to maintain them that day; they don't go above a league or two from their hut.

When they find a scarcity of game, they remove a league or two farther, and thus they traverse through these woody countries and bogs, scarce missing one day, Winter or Summer, fair or foul, in the greatest storms of snow, but what they are employed in some kind of chase. The smaller game, got by traps or snares, are generally the employment of the women and children, such as the martens, squirrels, cats, ermines, &c. The elks, stags, reindeer, bears, tigers, wild beeves, wolves, foxes, beavers, otters, Carcajou, &c. are the employment of the men.

The Indians, when they kill any game for food, leave it where they kill it, and send their wives next day to carry it home. They go home in a direct line, never missing their way, by observations they make of the course they take upon their going out, and so judge upon what point their huts are, and can thus direct themselves upon any point of the compass. The trees all bend to the south, and the branches on that side are larger and stronger than on the north side, as also the moss upon the trees.

To let their wives know how to come at the killed game, they from place to place break off branches, and lay them in the road, pointing the way they should go, and sometimes moss, so that they never miss finding it.

In Winter, when they go abroad, which they must do in all weathers, to hunt and shoot for their daily food, before they dress they rub themselves with bear grease, or oil of beavers, which does not freeze, and also rub all the fur of their beaver coats, and then put them on; they have also a kind of boots or stockings of beaver skin well oiled, with the fur inwards, and above them they have an oiled skin laced about their feet, which keeps out the cold, and also water, when there is no ice or snow; and by this means they never freeze, nor suffer anything by cold. In Summer also, when they go naked, they rub themselves with oils or grease, and expose themselves to the Sun, without being scorched, their skins always being kept soft and supple by it; nor do any flies, bugs, or mosquitoes, or any noxious insect ever molest them. When they want to get rid of it, they go into the water, and rub themselves all over with mud or clay, and lets it dry upon them, and then rub it off; but whenever they are free from the oil, the flies and mosquitoes immediately attack them, and oblige them again to anoint themselves.

The Indians make no use of honey; he saw no bees there but the wild humble bee; but they are so much afraid of being stung with them, they going naked in Summer, that they avoid them as much as they can; nor did he see any of the maple they use in Canada to make sugar of, but only the birch, whose juice they use for the same purpose, boiling it until it is black and dry, and then using it with their meat. They use no milk from the time they are weaned, and they all hate to taste cheese, having taken up an opinion that it is made of dead mens' fat. They love prunes and raisins, and will give a beaver skin for twelve of them to carry to their children, and also for a trump[et] or Jew's harp. He says the women all have fine voices, but have never heard any musical instrument. They are very fond of all kinds of pictures or prints, giving a beaver for the least print, and all toys are like jewels to them.

When he got to the natives southward of Pachegoia, he had about 30 cowries left, and a few small bells less than hawks' bells; when he showed one of them, they gave him a beaver skin for one, and they were so fond, that some gave him two skins,

or three marten skins for one, to give their wives to make them fine. The martens they take in traps, for if they shot them, their skins would be spoiled; they have generally five or six at a litter.

He says the natives are so discouraged in their trade with the Company that no peltry is worth the carriage, and the finest furs are sold for very little. When they came to the Factory in June 1742, the prices they took for the European goods were much higher than the settled prices of the Company, which the Governors fix so, to show the Company how zealous they are to improve their trade, and sell their goods to advantage. He says they gave but a pound of gunpowder for 4 beavers, a fathom of tobacco for 7 beavers, a pound of shot for one, an ell of coarse cloth for 15, a blanket for 12, 2 fish hooks, or three flints for one, a gun for 25, a pistol for 10, a common hat with white lace 7, an axe 4, a bill-hook 1, a gallon of brandy 4, a checkered shirt 7, all of which are sold at a monstrous profit, even to 2000 per cent. Notwithstanding this discouragement, the two fleets which went down with him, and parted at the great Fork, carried down 200 packs of 100 each, 20,000 beavers; and the other Indians who arrived that year, he computed carried down 300 packs of 200 each, 30,000, in all 50,000 beavers, and above 9000 martens.

The furs there are much more valuable than the furs upon the Canada lakes, sold at New York; for these will give five or six shillings per pound, when the others sell at three shillings and sixpence. He says, that if a Fort was built at the great Fork, 60 leagues above Fort York, and a Factory with European goods were fixed there, and a reasonable price was put upon European goods, that the trade would be wonderfully increased; for the natives from the southward of Pachegoia, could make at least two returns in a Summer, and those at greater distances could make one, who can't now come at all; and above double the number would be employed in hunting, and many more skins would be brought to market, that they can't now afford to bring for the expense and low price given for them.

The stream is so gentle from the Fork to Fort York, on either branch, that large vessels and shallops may be built there, and carry down bulky goods, and also return again against the stream; and the climate is good, and fit to produce grain, pulse, &c.; and very good grass and hay for horses and cattle; and if afterwards any settlements were made upon Pachegoia, and vessels built to navigate that lake, [...] the trade would be still vastly more enlarged and improved, and spread the trade not only up the rivers and lakes as far as the Lake Du Bois and De Plus, but also among the Assiniboine and nations beyond them, and the Nation de vieux Hommes, who are 200 leagues westward of Pachegoia.

He says the nations who go up that river with presents to confirm the peace with them, are three months in going up, and say they live beyond a range of mountains beyond the Assiniboine, and that beyond them are nations who have not the use of firearms, by which means many of them are made slaves by them, and are sold to the Assiniboine, Panis Blanc, and Christinaux. He saw several of them, who all wanted a joint of their little finger, which they said was cut off soon after they were born, but gave no reason for it. [...]

[THE ACCOUNT OF MR. FROST]

Mr. Frost, who has been many years employed by the [Hudson's Bay] Company in the Bay, both at Churchill and Moose River Factory, who was their interpreter with the natives, and traveled a considerable way into the country, both northwestward of Churchill and southward of Moose River Factory, and has resided at Moose River since the Factory was made there in 1730, gives a very good account of the climate and country there. [...]

The ice breaks up at Moose Factory in the beginning of April, but higher up in the country in March; it is navigable for canoes a great way up among the falls; at a considerable distance there is one fall of 50 feet, but above that it is deep and navigable for a great way. The climate above the fall is very good, and the river abounds with that wild rice.

The French have got a house or settlement for trade near the southern branch, about 100 miles above the Factory, where they sell their goods cheaper than the Company do, although it be so difficult to carry them so far from Canada, and very expensive, and give as much for a marten skin as they do for a beaver, when we insist upon three for one; so that the French get all the choice skins, and leave only the refuse for the Company. [...]

As to the trade at Churchill, it is increasing, it being at too great a distance from the French for them to interfere in the trade. The year 1742 it amounted to 20,000 beavers: There were about 100 upland Indians [who] came in their canoes to trade, and about 200 northern Indians, who brought their furs and peltry upon sledges; some of them came down the River of Seals, 15 leagues northward of Churchill, in canoes, and brought their furs from thence by land. They have no beavers to northward of Churchill, they not having there such ponds or woods as they choose or feed upon. [...]

At present the Company have a little wooden fort upon Hay's Island much decayed, in which they keep 25 servants to manage their trade, from whence they return annually about 50,000 beaver skins, or other furs to that value, all under the disadvantages the Indians trade with them at present. [...]

The present situation of the Prince of Wales Fort on Churchill River is vastly cold, and for that reason very inconvenient, as are all the other Factories in the Bay, all the others being fixed with a view only to profit, and this alone for profit and strength, without any view to other conveniences, and therefore they have fixed it upon an eminence 40 feet high, surrounded on all sides, without any shelter, by a frozen sea and river, and plains of snow, exposed to all storms, which causes its being colder than in proper situations within the Polar Circle, being vastly colder than a few leagues up the river among the woods, where the Factory's Men lived comfortably in huts or tents all the winter, without any complaint of cold or sickness, hunting, shooting and fishing the whole season.

The trade upon this river, though very much short of that on Nelson River, yet is very much increased. Last year, 1742, it amounted to 20,000 beavers, and all the amount of Moose, Albany, and Slude, don't exceed it, but rather falls short of it, which is occasioned by the monopoly, avarice and weakness of the Company, they having

but 25 men in Albany, as many at Moose River, and 7 or 8 at Slude, upon the East Main, and have therefore suffered the French to encroach upon them, and to trade and settle at the Head of Rupert's River, and near Moose River, within three days journey of their Factory, betraying the English right to that part of the Bay, by giving up the possession to the French by their weakness, and have lost the trade there to them by their avarice, upon account of the exorbitant gain they take upon their goods from the natives of near 2000 per cent. profit, taking a beaver skin, worth from eight to nine shillings in England, for a quart of English spirits, mixed with a third water, which probably may cost them a groat; they also in exchange value three martens or sable skins at one beaver; when the French give as much for a marten as for a beaver; so that the natives carry all their best furs to the French, and leave them the refuse; for which reason, and the French giving them goods at a cheaper rate than the Company, all the eastern and southern trade is in a manner lost to the French, and a considerable part of the southwestern trade, they scarce preserving the trade at Fort York and Churchill River to themselves; so that were the trade laid open, and the southern and western countries settled, we might not only regain that trade from the French, which would probably increase our profit from 40,000 *l.* which the Company gain at present upon their trade, to 100,000 *l.*, but we might in a short time increase it to 200,000 *l.* by supplying the natives with woollen goods, iron tools, guns, powder and shot, at reasonable rates; for this treatment, and fixing factories for goods higher up the rivers, upon Rupert's Moose, Albany, and Nelson Rivers; by having markets nearer them, and cheaper, the number of hunters would increase, and would bring four times as many furs, besides other valuable skins, not worth the carriage at present, and they would make two returns for one, and many come from greater distances, which don't now come at all; and we should have all that now perish and rot and they use at home, by getting better and cheaper European goods in return, and a shorter and quicker carriage to market; this would make them more industrious, and would preserve the lives of so many of them who can't subsist now without firearms and iron tools, having in great measure lost the use of arrows, and instead of our exporting to the value of 2[000] or 3000 *l.*, which is the most the Company exports in one season, we might export to the value of 100,000 *l.* in coarse woollen and iron manufactures, powder, shot, spirits, tobacco, paint, and toys, which would afford subsistence and employment to our industrious poor, and yet the merchant might gain near cent. per cent. upon his trade. [...]

STANDARD OF TRADE

Standard of Trade Carried on by the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Albany, Moose River, and the East Main, as it stood in the Year 1733, Beaver skins being the Standard. *Note that the Standard at Fort York and Churchill is much higher, the French being not so near those places, and therefore can't interfere with the Company's Trade so much as they do at Albany and Moose River, where they undersell the Company, and by that means carry off the most valuable furs.*

[Index]	[HBC Goods]	[Rate of Exchange]				
1	Beads, <i>le Milk</i>	0.5	pound	for	1	Beaver
2	Beads, colored	0.75	pound	for	1	Beaver
3	Kettles, brass	1	pound	for	1	Beaver
4	Lead, black	1	pound	for	1	Beaver
5	Gunpowder	1.5	pounds	for	1	Beaver
6	Shot	5	pounds	for	1	Beaver
7	Sugar	2	pounds	for	1	Beaver
8	Tobacco, Brazil	1	pound	for	1	Beaver
9	Tobacco, leaf	1.5	pounds	for	1	Beaver
10	Tobacco, roll	1.5	pounds	for	1	Beaver
11	Thread	1	pound	for	2	Beaver
12	Vermillion	1.5	ounce	for	1	Beaver
13	Brandy	1	gallon	for	4	Beaver
14	Broadcloth	1	yard	for	2	Beaver
15	Blankets	1		for	6	Beaver
16	Bays	1	yard	for	1	Beaver
17	Duffels	1	yard	for	1.5	Beaver
18	Flannel	1	yard	for	1.5	Beaver
19	Gartering	2	yards	for	1	Beaver
20	Awl blades	12		for	1	Beaver
21	Buttons	12	dozen	for	1	Beaver
22	Breeches	1	pair	for	3	Beaver
23	Combs	2		for	1	Beaver
24	Egg boxes	4		for	1	Beaver
25	Feathers, red	2		for	1	Beaver
26	Fishhooks	20		for	1	Beaver
27	Fire steels	1		for	1	Beaver
28	Files	1		for	1	Beaver
29	Flints	1		for	1	Beaver
30	Guns	1		for	10, 11 or 12	Beaver
31	Pistols	1		for	4	Beaver

32	Gun-worms	1		for	2	Beaver
33	Gloves, yarn	1		for	1	Beaver
34	Goggles	1		for	1	Beaver
35	Handkerchiefs	1		for	1.5	Beaver
36	Hats, laced	1		for	4	Beaver
37	Hatchets	1		for	1	Beaver
38	Hawk bells	1		for	1	Beaver
39	Ice chisels	1		for	1	Beaver
40	Knives	1		for	1	Beaver
41	Looking glasses	1		for	1	Beaver
42	Mocotaugan	1		for	1	Beaver
43	Needles ¹³⁵	12		for	1	Beaver
44	Net lines	2		for	1	Beaver
45	Powder horns	2		for	1	Beaver
46	Plain rings	6		for	1	Beaver
47	Stone rings	3		for	1	Beaver
48	Runlets	1.5		for	1 or 1.5	Beaver
49	Scrapers	2		for	2	Beaver
50	Sword blades	2		for	2	Beaver
51	Spoons	4		for	4	Beaver
52	Shirts, white & checked	1		for	1	Beaver
53	Shoes	1	pair	for	1	Beaver
54	Stockings	1	pair	for	1.5	Beaver
55	Sashes, worsted	2		for	1	Beaver
56	Thimbles	6		for	1	Beaver
57	Tobacco Boxes	2		for	1	Beaver
58	Tongs	2	pairs	for	1	Beaver
59	Trunks	1		for	2	Beaver
60	Twine	1	skein	for	1	Beaver

¹³⁵ L. 2 S. 2 & Glov. [Note in the original.]

Beaver being the chief commodity received in trade in these parts, it is made the standard to rate all the furs and other goods by:

3	Marten skins		1	
2	Otters		1 or 2	
1	Queequeehatch		1.5	
1	Fox		1 ¹³⁶	
1	Cat		2	
1	Moose		2	
2	Deer skins		1	
1	Wolf	as	1	Beaver
1	Pound castorum		1	
10	Pound feathers		1	
8	Pair moose hoofs		1	
4	Fathom netting		1	
1	Black bear		2	
1	Cub		1	
1	Weejack		1	

The furs and other commodities received in this trade in the year 1733 at Fort Albany, Moose River, and the East Main, [...] taken out of Captain Middleton's book in April 1741.

¹³⁶ Unless ext. then 2 [Note in the original.]

Annexe (en français) : L'histoire de la Chapellerie¹³⁷ (1765)

L'usage des Chapeaux en France ne remonte point au-delà de trois siècles : Charles VII ayant repris Rouen entra dans cette ville, coiffé d'un chapeau ; voilà le premier dont l'histoire fasse mention. Si notre nation a toujours aimé les nouveautés comme elle les aime aujourd'hui, on doit croire que cet exemple a été promptement suivi. Le Chaperon qui était alors la coiffure commune des François fut abandonné par tous les particuliers, qui n'étant assujettis à aucun uniforme, se trouvèrent libres de se coiffer à la nouvelle mode ; les Ecclésiastiques, les Religieux, les gens de loi & les suppôts de l'Université, le gardèrent plus longtemps : nous le reconnaissons encore (quoiqu'il ait bien changé de forme) dans le Capuchon, dans le Camail, & même dans le Bonnet carré & la Chausse des Docteurs : car le Chaperon dans ce temps-là, couvrit la tête & flottait du reste sur les épaules. On a commencé par séparer ces deux parties ; on s'est couvert la tête d'un bonnet, auquel on a fait quatre pinces par en-haut pour le prendre commodément ; & l'on a ramassé la partie flottante sur une seule épaule, le tout étant composé, comme auparavant, de quelque étoffe, qui est devenue une marque distinctive par sa qualité ou par sa couleur.

Indépendamment des attraits de la nouveauté, on fut porté par des motifs raisonnables, à préférer le Chapeau au Chaperon ; aucune étoffe ourdie n'est capable comme le feutre de résister à l'eau & à l'ardeur du soleil ; & ce grand bord qu'on peut abattre devient au besoin, une espèce de parapluie qui vaut toujours mieux qu'un collet ou une rotonde de drap ou de camelot.

Il ne faut pas croire cependant que les Chapeaux ayant été d'abord tels qu'ils sont aujourd'hui, ni pour la couleur, ni pour la forme. Il y a encore des provinces en France où les gens de la campagne en portent, qui n'ont jamais été teints : & nous voyons par les habillements des Acteurs comiques, qui empruntent le ridicule des usages étrangers, que nos pères ont porté des Chapeaux, qui différaient beaucoup des nôtres, tant par la tête que par le bord. Les Chapeliers ont été obligés plus d'une fois de renouveler & de changer les formes sur lesquelles ils moulaient les Chapeaux : on voulait d'abord que le dessus de la tête fut convexe ; après cela on a mieux aimé qu'il fut tout-à-fait aplati. Aujourd'hui l'on veut bien qu'il soit plat, mais on demande que l'angle soit arrondi à l'endroit où il joint le tour de la tête, & tandis qu'on le fait ainsi pour nous le Prêtre Espagnol exige que cet angle, au lieu d'être arrondi, soit au contraire très-vif, & que le tour de la tête, au lieu d'être cylindrique, soit creux du milieu. Quels changements n'a point éprouvés le bord du Chapeau depuis quelques années seulement ? Tel qui avait acheté un Chapeau à la mode, de six pouces de bord, n'a pas pu l'user qu'il n'en fit supprimer le tiers ou la moitié pour être coiffé comme le plus grand nombre.

Comme les nouvelles inventions ne se présentent point d'abord avec toute la perfection dont elles sont susceptibles, je croirais volontiers que les premiers Chapeaux feutres, n'ont été au commencement, que des bonnets pointus dont on relevait le bord tout autour. Si ma conjecture est juste, le Chapeau était fini lorsqu'il

¹³⁷ From L'Abbe Nollet. (1765). *L'art de faire des chapeaux*.

était *en cloche* ; c'est-à-dire, lorsqu'il était foulé jusqu'au terme ou on le prend pour le dresser. On aura imaginé ensuite d'abattre le bord dans le plan qui passe par la base de la tête pour mettre les épaules à couvert, sauf à le tenir relevé avec des attaches, dans le beau temps, ou pour la jeunesse : & puis cette pointe superflue & incommode, qui surmontait la tête, aura été tronquée de plus en plus, à mesure que l'on aura trouvé les moyens de la rabaisser en l'élargissant.

Avant l'usage du castor & des autres poils fins, les Chapeaux étaient si grossiers, que les gens du bon air les faisaient couvrir de velours, de taffetas, ou de quel qu'autre étoffe de foie ; on ne les portait nus que par économie, ou pour aller à la pluie.

Quelque progrès qu'ait pu faire l'usage des Chapeaux en France, il se passa un temps assez considérable, avant que les Chapeliers fissent corps entre eux, & que leur Art fut assujéti à des Règlements. Ce fut Henri III qui leur donna les premiers, en 1578. Ils en obtinrent la confirmation d'Henri IV au mois de Juin 1594, & de Louis XIII, avec quelques changements au mois de Mars 1612. Enfin, ces mêmes Règlements furent rédigés de nouveau en 38 articles, & autorisés sous le règne de Louis XIV par Lettre-Patentes du mois de Mars 1658. Je me dispenserai de les rapporter ici en entier, parce qu'ils sont imprimés avec d'autres pièces concernant la Communauté des Maitres Chapeliers, dans un petit volume qu'on peut aisément se procurer¹³⁸. J'observerai seulement que parmi ces 38 articles, il y en a quelques-uns dont les progrès de l'Art, & les circonstances du temps ont comme affranchi les Chapeliers, & que personne d'entre eux n'observe plus. Tel est, par exemple, le V^e, qui ordonne pour chef-d'œuvre, un Chapeau d'une livre de mère-laine cardée, teint & garni de velours ; un Aspirant, qui ne serait capable que d'un tel ouvrage (qui d'ailleurs n'est plus d'usage) ne mériterait pas aujourd'hui qu'on le reçût Maitre. Tel est encore l'article XXIII^e, qui défend de faire aucun Chapeau, *dit castor, qui ne soit de pur castor*. Cette marchandise est devenue si peu commune & si chère, qu'on ne fait plus de tels Chapeaux, que pour ceux qui les commandent expressément ; & l'on ne laisse pas que de nommer *castors*, ceux ou l'on fait entrer quelque partie d'autres poils.

L'apprentissage est de cinq ans, après lesquels il faut encore avoir travaillé pendant quatre années chez les Maitres en qualité de Compagnon, pour être admis à la Maitrise. Les fils de Maitres y sont reçus gratuitement, & sont dispensés de tout chef-d'œuvre : les Apprentis de ville qui épousent des veuves, ou des filles de Maitres, ne payent que le tiers des droits, c'est-à-dire, une somme de 200 liv. ou à peu-près. Les veuves jouissent des privilèges de la Communauté, pendant leur veuvage seulement, à moins qu'elles n'épousent en secondes noces des Maitres Chapeliers.

Autrefois les Compagnons Chapeliers avoient une Confrérie, qui leur donnait lieu de s'assembler à certains jours marques dans l'année, & par extraordinaire, lorsqu'ils avoient à délibérer entre eux : les Maitres ont prétendu qu'ils en abusaient, pour leur faire la loi, tant sur le prix des ouvrages, que sur le choix & l'emploi des

¹³⁸ Articles, Statuts, Ordonnances & Règlements des Gardes-jures, anciens Bacheliers & Maitres de la Communauté des Chapeliers de la ville, faubourgs, banlieue, Prévôt & Vicomte de Paris. [Note dans l'original.]

Ouvriers, & ils en ont porté leurs plaintes. Par une Déclaration du Roi donnée en 1704, il fut expressément défendu aux Compagnons Chapeliers de faire aucune assemblée en quelques endroit que ce fut, sous prétexte de Confrérie ou autrement : & par des Lettres-Patentes sur Arrêt du 2 Janvier 1749, la même défense leur fut réitérée, avec celle de quitter sans conge les Maitres chez qui ils travaillent, & avant d'avoir achevé les ouvrages commences ; de cabaler entre eux pour se placer les uns les autres chez tels ou tels Maitres, ou pour en sortir : d'empêcher de quelque manière que ce soit les dits Maitres de choisir eux-mêmes leurs Ouvriers, soit François, soit Étrangers, sous peine de cent livres d'amende.

Voilà, je crois, ce qu'il y a de plus intéressant dans l'histoire de la Chapellerie : ce Supplément avec ce que j'en ai dit par occasion dans différents endroits de cet ouvrage, suffira pour le plus grand nombre des Lecteurs qui seront peut-être plus curieux de connaître l'Art tel qu'il est aujourd'hui, que d'apprendre de point en point, comment il est parvenu a sa perfection, & comment il s'y maintenant.

Appendix: Bull vs. Roberts (1767)

“Of the best quality”¹³⁹ (1767)

Beaver hats (of the best quality, made by Jonathan Roberts, a noted workman) to be sold by Caleb Bull, at his store in Hartford, at 27s. cash, or 30s. in country produce in hand; good sole-leather at 1s. 4d. per lb. for cash only; the best of Bohea-Tea, at 5s. 4d. the single pound, and at 5s. to those that purchase 20 lb. at a time. Also, European and Indian goods, at a less advance (from the prime cost) than they were ever sold by said Bull.

“I am obliged to inform the public”¹⁴⁰ (1767)

Whereas Mr. Caleb Bull of Hartford, has seen fit to advertise in the Hartford newspaper, beaver hats, of the best quality, to be sold by said Bull, made by Jonathan Roberts, a noted workman; the public are hereby notified, that said hats were made of fur found by said Bull, and by his special order, were made with seven ounces in a hat, instead of eight ounces, the common rule, notwithstanding the fur was bad, and I advised said Bull to mix a great part of the fur with raccoon, as not fit for beaver hats. This I am obliged to inform the public of, to save my credit.

JONATHAN ROBERTS.

“He is guilty of a known falsehood”¹⁴¹ (1767)

I observed in your paper of the 23d ult. A note signed Jonathan Roberts, which he says he makes public for his credit. It obliges me to say (although good manners forbids) that I do him more justice, when I declare he is guilty of a known falsehood, in saying my special orders were to put seven ounces in a hat, I say more justice than in reporting him a noted workman.

The truth is, on the importunity of said Roberts (for 12 months past) to supply him with beaver to work on wages, saying he was not able to purchase stock; at length I complied, he received the beaver according to the Hatter’s Rule, as he said, 2 lb to each hat, but more was allowed him.

He engaged to make them in the best manner, and when he delivered them, said they were so. Now let the curious judge, whether the interest of the hatter being so at stake, when hats are sold below his price, is not the cause of these contests.

CALEB BULL.

¹³⁹ From Bull, C. (1767, February 16). BEAVER-HATTS [Advertisement]. *Connecticut Courant and Weekly Advertiser*, p. 4.

¹⁴⁰ From Roberts, J. (1767, February 23). Whereas Mr. Caleb [Advertisement]. *Connecticut Courant and Weekly Advertiser*, p. 3.

¹⁴¹ From Bull, C. (1767, March 2). Mr. Green. *Connecticut Courant and Weekly Advertiser*, p. 3.

“Let the curious judge”¹⁴² (1767)

I observe in your last paper, Mr. Caleb Bull, charges me of a known falsehood in saying my special orders were to put 7 ounces in a hat, and that I had received the beaver according to the Hatter’s Rule, two pounds for each hat, and that more was allowed me, &c.

I received of Mr. Bull, by his own weight 41¼ lb of beaver, but when weighed exact by two men, at my shop, [this] was [found to be] but 40¼ lb (and bad fur, as observed before) out of which beaver Mr. Bull insisted upon having nineteen beaver hats, for he said he could not afford to lose more than one hat (as the common rule is 2 lb of good beaver to a hat). Accordingly I cut all the beaver, without any separation, and the fur was weighed by two men that worked with me, and was but 134 ounces, which divided by 19 gives 7 oz. to a hat, & 1 oz. to be divided among the 19 hats, which 19 hats I made in the best manner I could, according to the quantity and quality of the fur, and told Mr. Bull so, when he found fault with the hats as thin & poor.

Now let the curious judge, the difference of making hats by the above orders, or making them by his special orders, with 7 oz. in a hat? And whether said Bull’s advertising the hats as of the best quality, when he *knew they were poor*, is not of a piece with all the rest of his flattering advertisements?

N. B. As said Bull represented me as poor and wanting to work on wages, he is desired speedily to pay me for the making the said hats.

JONATHAN ROBERTS.

¹⁴² From Roberts, J. (1767, March 9). Mr. Green. *Connecticut Courant and Weekly Advertiser*, p. 3.

Appendix: The beaver and its rivals¹⁴³ (1908)

The Robert Simpson Company, Limited, was a Toronto-based department store and mail order house that operated from 1858 to 1991. Its 1908 Summer and Spring catalog included few beaver hats, but offers a wealth of information on the large variety of hats popular at the time.

The images on the following pages were scanned from a copy of the catalog in the collection of C. Willmore.

¹⁴³ *Spring and Summer Catalogue (No. 107)*. (1908) Toronto: The Robert Simpson Company, Limited.



Children's Headwear

- J71. Dainty Bonnet of organdie muslin, insertion of embroidery, double frill with fine Valenciennes lace and insertion, colors, white, pink, sky blue, sizes 15, 16, 17. Price... \$1.00
- J72. Boys' Tam of Swiss embroidery, finely tucked, sizes 19, 20, 21. Price... .35
- J73. Very Dainty Cap of fine Swiss embroidery, trimmed with fine Valenciennes lace and two cute bow knots of satin ribbon at sides, sizes 13, 14, 15. Price... \$1.00
- J74. Finely Tucked Cap of fine lawn, dainty edge of hemstitched embroidery, sizes 13, 14, 15. Price... .50
- J75. Child's Corded Wash Hats, edged with Swiss embroidery, buttoned on crown, sizes 19, 20, 21. Price... .50
- Same style with braid edge... .39

- J76. Cap of fine Swiss embroidery, lace trimmed, sizes 13, 14, 15. Price... .25
- J77. Stylish Bonnet of shirred silk, double frill and back trimmed with fancy lace, colors, white, sky, pink, sizes 15, 16, 17. Price \$1.75
- J78. Embroidered Silk Cap, sizes 13, 14 15. Price... .25
- J79. Hat of white lawn, lace trimmed, sizes 19, 20, 21. Price... .25
- J80. High Frilled Bonnet of Swiss embroidery, sizes 15, 16, 17. Price... .50
- J81. Cap of finely tucked silk, trimmed with fine Valenciennes lace, sizes 13, 14, 15. Price... .50
- J82. Hat of Swiss embroidery, sizes 19, 20, 21. Price... .50
- J83. An All Silk Hat, finely fluted brim, embroidered crown, white only, sizes 19, 20, 21. Price... \$1.00
- J84. Misses' or Child's Hat of Swiss embroidery, bows and band of silk in white, pink, sky, sizes 19, 20, 21. Price... \$1.75

- J85. Child's Pretty Poke Hat of shirred silk, trimmed with fine Valenciennes lace, colors, white, sky, cardinal, navy, brown, sizes 19, 20, 21. Price... \$2.00
- J86. Very pretty Poke Hat of fine organdie muslin, beautifully shirred and tucked and trimmed with wide Valenciennes lace and satin ribbon around face and crown, sizes 19, 20, 21. Price... \$2.75
- J87. Dainty Hat of net and silk, crown and frill edged with double row of satin baby ribbon, knots of same on crown, colors of ribbon, white, sky, or pink, sizes 19, 20, 21. Price \$2.25
- J88. Boys' Silk Tam, puffed and shirred, lace ruche, with knots of ribbon, white only, sizes 19, 20, 21. Price... .90
- J89. Silk Cap, elaborately embroidered and trimmed with fine Valenciennes lace and knots of baby ribbon, sizes 13, 14, 15. Price... .85
- J90. An All Silk Hat, finely shirred and fluted, colors, cardinal, navy, brown, white or sky, sizes 19, 20, 21. Price... \$2.00

"How to Order by Mail." For Full Instructions see page 190. Index to this Catalogue on page 192

"Simpsons" Trimmed Hats



- J.1.** Pretty Mushroom in fancy mohair, plain facings of tulle, same draped around crown, clusters of roses and forget-me-nots, all colors. Price from \$6.50, as model..... **\$7.50**
- J.2.** Stylish Street Hat, caught high at side front with wings, strappings of ribbon over front and knotted at side, velvet fold on brim, made in natural undressed leghorn, trimmed in all colors. Price from \$4.75 to \$6.00, as model..... **\$5.00**
- J.3.** Stylish Small Hat of mohair braid, close rolling brim, interlaced with ribbon, chou of same at side caught with fancy stick pin, finished with two large ostrich plumes, all colors. Price,

- according to feathers, from \$10.00 to \$15.00, as model..... **\$12.50**
- J.4.** New Mushroom Style, in gophered lace or mohair braid, two ostrich plumes caught with mount of flowers, and finished with buckle, all colors. Price, according to plumes, from \$12.25 to \$15.00, as model..... **\$12.50**
- J.5.** Large Picture Hat, in leghorn, crown of gophered lace, two handsome plumes over brim, natural hat, with black, white or colored lace and plumes to match, or all black. Price, according to plumes, from \$16.00 to \$21.50, as model..... **\$16.00**
- J.6.** Dressy Style, in mohair braid with ostrich

- plume, loops of ribbon across side front, fold of velvet on underbrim, black, white or colors. Price from \$7.50 to \$10.00, as model.... **\$10.00**
- J.7.** Rolling Brim Hat, in fancy lace braid, crown wreathed in roses and foliage, band of ribbon velvet, fold of same on brim, tuscan hat with any color trimmings. Price..... **\$6.50**
- J.8.** Chic Hat, in mohair braid, trimmed with looped rosettes of ribbon and mount of roses and foliage, black, white or colors. Price **\$7.50**
- J.9.** Smart Tailored Hat, in leghorn or chip, collar of pleated taffeta ribbon, finished at side with handsome wings, caught with fancy stick pin, black, white or colors. Price..... **\$6.50**

We Pay Freight or Express Charges on All Orders of \$25 or Over. See Page 191 for Full Particulars

"Simpson" Trimmed Hats



J10. Pretty Flop Hat, either in leghorn, mohair, or chip, crown wreathed in roses and loops of ribbon, knot of same at side. Prices from \$6.00 to \$8.50. As model..... **\$7.50**

J11. Widow's Bonnet of folded grenadine, knots of same caught with dull jet ornaments, ribbon ties. Price, according to veil, from \$7.50 to \$12.75. As model..... **\$9.75**

J12. Smart Hat, in fine Milan, trimmed with large rosettes and drape of taffeta silk, velvet fold on underbrim, can be had in all black or natural, with colored trimmings. Price. **\$5.25**

J13. Mourning Toque of folded grenadine, pretty knots of same at side, draped with grenadine veil, also net face veil. Price, according to veil, from \$8.50 to \$10.75. As model..... **\$9.75**

J14. Handsome Large Picture Hat, in fancy tuscan straw, trimmed around crown with closely shelled ribbon, two ostrich plumes falling over side. Price, according to plumes, from \$13.50 to \$18.00. As model..... **\$16.00**

J15. Stylish Hat, in fancy braid, taffeta ribbon bows and around crown, and finished with plume. Price..... **\$7.25**

J16. New Turban in soft silk mohair braid and tulle, rosette of gophered lace with ornament in centre, finished with osprey. Prices from \$9.00 to \$10.75. As model..... **\$10.75**

J17. The New Broad Sailor, trimmed with profusion of flowers around crown, knot of velvet ribbon, black, white or colors. Price... **\$5.00**

J18. Pretty Bonnet of tulle and sequin, osprey caught with rosettes of gophered lace with jet centres, velvet ties. Prices from \$7.50 to \$9.50. As model..... **\$9.50**

New Styles for Spring and Summer



J21. Stylish Sailor Effect, in folded chiffon and mohair, ostrich plume and loops of ribbon caught with fancy pin, colors black, white, sky, brown, navy, pearl or champagne. Price **\$6.75**
J22. Stylish Mushroom Effect, in folded chiffon and mohair, trimmed with ribbon and flowers, colors as J21. Price **\$5.00**
J23. Good style in natural or black Leghorns or colored Chip flops, richly trimmed with ribbon. Price **\$3.25**
J24. Black Bonnet of mohair and chiffon, trimmed with ribbon and buckle and flowers, in black, white or colors. Price **\$3.50**
J25. Pretty Shape of natural lace braid, with flower and ribbon trimming. Price **\$5.00**
J26. Hat of fancy silk mohair and folded chiffon, trimmed stylishly with ribbon bows, colors as J21. Price **\$5.00**

J27. Shape of finely fluted mohair braid, with flower and ribbon trimming, colors as J21. Price **\$5.00**
J28. Neat Close-fitting Toque, made in soft, folded mohair and silk braid, ostrich feather at side, caught with ribbon and buckle, colors black, navy or brown. Price **\$5.75**
J29. Large Hat of folded chiffon with mohair braid, trimmed with chiffon and ostrich feather, colors as J21. Price **\$6.75**

MILLINERY SUNDRIES

Cut Steel Buckles, from 25c, 50c, 75c to **\$2.00**
 Jet, bright or dull, from 25c, 50c, 75c to **\$1.00**
 Fancy Hat Pins in gilt, steel, jet or fancy styles, in colors, from 15c to **\$1.25**
 Fancy Black Mohair Braids, 12 yards in piece. Price **.50**

Safe, Pliable Chip Braid, black, white, or colors, 12 yards. Per piece **.50**
 Fire Mohair Braid, in all colors, 12 yards. Per piece **\$1.00**
 Fancy Tuscan Braid, very durable and pliable, 12 yards in piece. Per piece **\$1.00**
 Fine stiff quality Paris Net, black or white, 27 inches wide. Price **.20**
 Heavy Buckram, black or white, 27 inches wide. Price **.20**
 Satin Shape Wire, black or white, ring of 8 yards. Price **.05**
 Satin Shape Wire, in colors, ring of 8 yards. Price **.10**
 Ribbon Wire, black or white, price per card of 12 yards **.10**
 Heavy Satin Wire, black or white. Price, per yard **.01**

We Pay Freight or Express Charges on All Orders of \$25 or Over. See Page 191 for Full Particulars

Smart Street Hats



- J.31.** Sailor of natural pressed rustic, draped with shirred silk, large knot of same at side, trimmings in navy, brown, black, white, cardinal, or sky blue. Price..... \$.75
- J.32.** Close-fitting Shape, in fine rustic braid, moire silk bows, black, navy, brown, or white. Price..... \$1.75
- J.33.** Broad Sailor, in mohair braid, bows of same with quills, colors black, navy, brown, champagne, sky, or white. Price..... \$1.50
- J.34.** Large Drooping Shape, in rustic braid, silk and quill trimming, colors black, navy, brown, burnt or natural. Price..... \$2.50
- J.35.** Smart Shape, in fancy braid, pure silk rib-

- bon trimming, colors black, navy, brown, white, pearl, burnt. Price..... \$2.75
- J.36.** Child's Fancy Flop, shirred chiffon facings, trimmings of baby ribbon and flowers. Price..... \$3.25
- J.37.** Stylish Hand-made Turban of soft satin braid, with chiffon trimming, colors black, navy, brown. Price..... \$2.75
- J.38.** Small shape in fine Milan, drape of silk and finished with soft, flowing feather effect, color of trimmings white, black, navy, brown. Price..... \$3.00
- J.39.** Smartly Trimmed Leghorn Flop, in natural or black, with large bows of ribbon, velvet

- fold on underbrim, trimmings in all colors. Price..... \$2.75
- N.B.—Can be had in fine chip, in pure white, black, sky, navy, brown champagne or Alice blue.
- J.40.** Fine Milan Sailor, with collar and bows of ribbon velvet, finished with wings, colors of trimmings black, navy, brown, cardinal, Alice blue, or sky blue. Price..... \$3.50
- J.41.** Mourning Toque of draped silk, finished with loops of silk and flowers, caught with buckle. Price..... \$4.00
- J.42.** Hand-made Shape, in soft tuscan braid, ready for trimming. Price..... \$2.50

“How to Order by Mail.” For Full Instructions see page 190. Index to this Catalogue on page 192



Ready-to-Wears and Shapes

J51. Stylish Shape in fancy braid, colors, navy, Alice blue, brown, burnt, white. Price. **\$1.00**
J52. Small Mushroom Shape, fits close to the hair all around, tuscan only. Price. .75
J53. Fine Milan Sailor, in black or white, corded silk bands in black, white or navy. Price. **\$1.50**
 N.B.—Same shape in rustic braids, 75c or **\$1.00**
J54. Crown of fine chip with rustic brim, colors, black, navy, brown. Price. **\$1.00**
J55. Fancy Flop, wired and with band, ready for trimming, *as cut*. Price. **\$1.25**
 N.B.—Any Flop, wired *as cut*, including velvet band, for, extra.50
J56. Fancy pressed rustic braid, colors, black, brown, navy, burnt, pearl, or white. Price.50
J57. Large Shape in soft fine Milan wired, colors, burnt, black, brown, navy, white. Price **\$1.50**
J58. Well-made Hat in rustic braid, bows of same, quills and velvet band, colors, champagne and brown, champagne and navy, champagne and black, or solid navy, black, brown, or Alice blue. Price. **\$1.25**

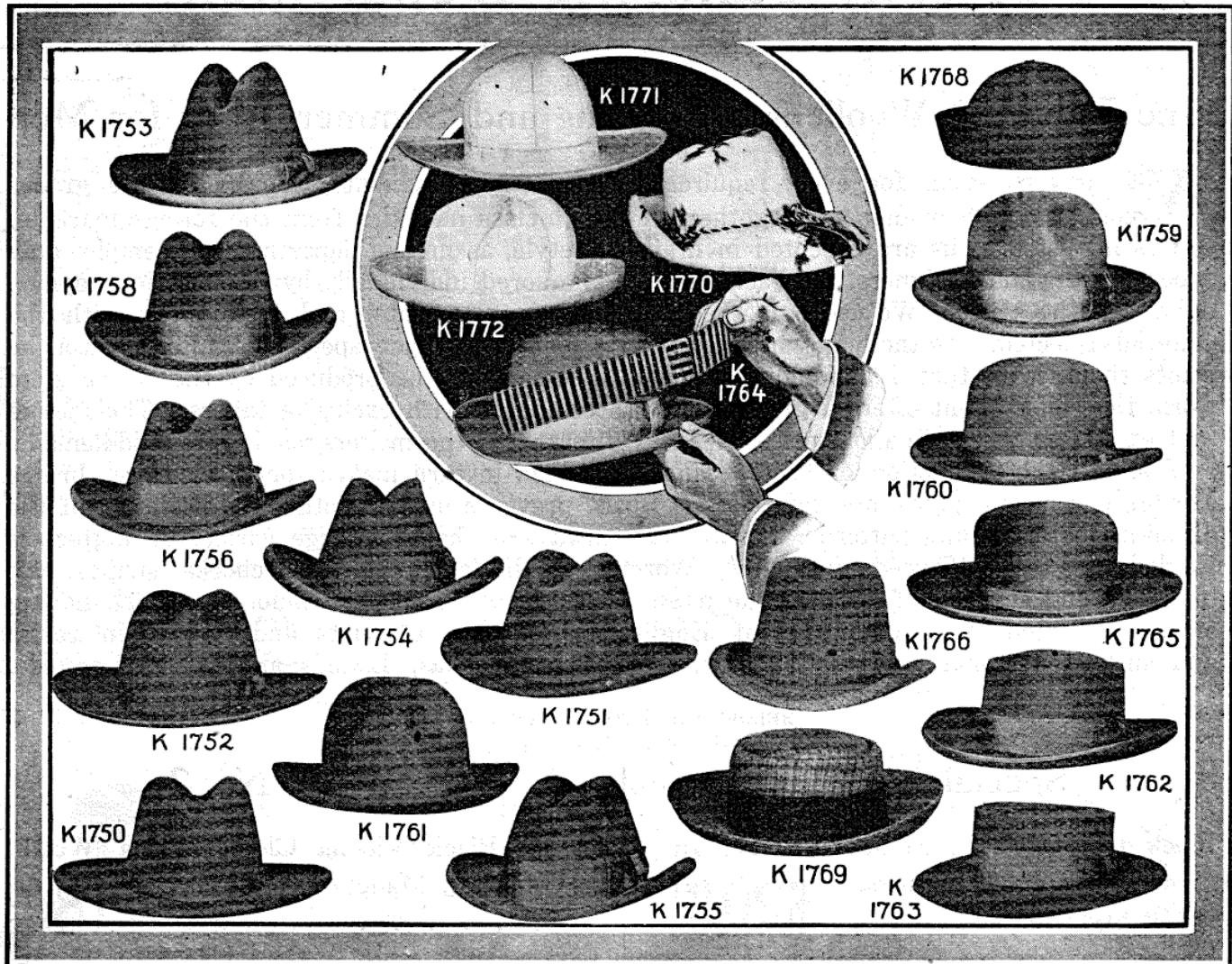
J59. Very fine fancy braid, colors, burnt, navy, black, or golden brown. Price. **\$1.25**
J60. Close-fitting Shape in fine chip, colors, black, navy, brown, or burnt. Price. . . **\$1.50**
J61. Large Shape in pressed rustic, colors, black, navy, golden brown, champagne, Alice blue, or white. Price.75
J62. Rustic Sailor with bell crown, and short front, colors, navy, black, brown, champagne, or white. Price.75
 N.B.—Same shape in fine Milan, in black or white. Price. **\$1.50**
J63. Mushroom Hat, in pressed rustic braid, natural only, with velvet trimmings, in black, navy, brown, myrtle, or cardinal. Price. **\$1.25**
J64. Small Close-fitting Shape in fine Milan, black, white, navy, brown. Price. . . . **\$1.50**
J65. Handsome Hat of lace straw, wired edge, natural only. Price. **\$1.75**
J66. Child's Rolling Brim Sailor, in fine white Milan, corded silk bands, in white, navy, cardinal, or brown. Price. **\$1.75**
 N.B.—Full range of Children's Sailors, with round or square crowns, from 75c, \$1.00 to **\$2.00**
J67. New Shape with broad sides and short

front and back, colors, black, navy, brown, or burnt. Price. **\$1.25**
J68. Large Stylish Shape in fine Milan, natural white only. Price. **\$1.75**
J69. Smart Sailor in white rustic braid with velvet and quill trimming, in brown, navy, black or cardinal. Price. **\$1.00**
J70. Good Shape in fine Milan, with lace straw insertion, colors, white or burnt. Price. **\$1.50**
 N.B.—Same shape in fancy rustic, colors, black, brown, navy, burnt, pearl, or white. Price.75

FLOPS

Fancy Tuscan Flop, with lace insertion, bell crown. Price. **\$1.50**
 Fancy Flops in natural and pretty color combinations from 35c, 50c, 75c, \$1.00 to. **\$2.50**
 Fine Italian Leghorns, in natural, from 50c, 75c, \$1.00 to. **\$2.50**
 Fine Black Leghorns, \$1.00 and. **\$1.50**
 Fine Chip Flops, in black, pure white or all good colors. Price. **\$1.25**
 Best Mohair Flops, silk-edged braid, bell crown, all colors. Price. **\$2.00**
 Mohair Flops, straight crown, all colors. Price. **\$1.00**

Men's and Boys' Soft Hats



K1750. Men's Soft Hat, extra fine quality, J. B. Stetson's make, style Dakota, black only, as cut K1750. Special..... **\$4.50**

K1750X. Fine quality fur felt, as cut K1750, black only, in Christy's English make, \$2.00 and..... **\$2.50**

K1751. J. B. Stetson's famous make, style Columbia, extra fine quality, black only, as cut K1751. Special..... **\$4.00**

K1751X. Very fine quality fur felt, black only, as cut K1751, in fine Italian and English make, \$3.50, \$2.50 and..... **\$2.00**

K1752. Men's Soft Hat, fine grade English fur felt, a popular and dressy shape, colors, black, pearl grey, and slate, as cut K1752, \$2.00 and..... **\$2.50**

K1753. Men's Soft Hat, Christy's famous 2 oz. brand, light weight and very durable hat, colors, black, slate, fawn, and pearl grey, as cut K1753..... **\$2.50**

K1754. Men's Fedora Hat, Christy's and King brand, much-worn style, colors, black, brown, fawn, slate, and pearl grey, brims silk bound, as cut K1754. Special, \$2.00 and..... **\$2.50**

K1755. Men's Fedora Hat, raw edge brim, dressy style, fine English fur felt, colors, black, fawn, drab, pearl, slate, and brown, Christy's and King brand, as cut K1755, \$2.00 and **\$2.50**

K1756. Men's and Youths' Soft Hat, special grade fur felt, colors, black, brown, fawn, and steel, as cut K1756..... **\$1.50**

K1757. Men's Soft Hats, fine quality fur felt, as cut K1751, black only; as cut K1754, in colors black, brown, and steel. Special..... **\$1.50**

K1758. Simpson's Special Soft Hat, made from pure English fur felt, and well finished, black only, as cut K1758, and as cuts K1751 or K1756. Special..... **\$1.00**

K1759. Men's and Youths' Soft Hat, negligee shape, fine American fur felt, colors, black, brown, or drab, as cut K1759, \$1.50 and **\$2.00**

K1760. Stetson's Famous American Make Soft Hat, style Greco, black only, as cut K1760 **\$4.00** Christy's English make, as above, fine quality **\$2.00**

K1761. Crusher or Knockabout Style Soft Hat, special quality, colors, black, brown, steel, or navy, as cut K1751, 50c and..... **\$1.00** Christy's Famous English Make, 2 oz. quality, as above..... **\$2.00**

K1762. Men's and Youths' Telescope Crown Soft Hat, fine fur felt, colors, black, brown, and fawn, as cut K1762..... **\$1.50**

K1763. Men's and Youths' Soft Hat, very popular shape, creased crown, raw edge brim, fine American fur felt, in colors, black, brown, fawn, steel, and pearl, as cut K1763, \$1.50 and..... **\$2.00**

K1764. Men's and Youths' Soft Hat, nobby American shape, colors, black, brown, and pearl, as cut K1764, without band, \$1.50 and \$2.00; with fancy band, \$2.00 and..... **\$2.50**

K1765. Clergyman's Soft Hat, extra fine fur felt, Christy's make, black only, as cut K1765. **\$2.00**

K1766. Men's Tweed Fedora Hat, very light weight, fine quality English tweeds, silk lined, as cut K1766, \$1.50 and..... **\$2.00**

K1768. Boys' Turban Hats, stitched brims, in fancy tweeds and navy or black serges, as cut K1768 **.25** Also in fine navy and black worsted at..... **.35**

K1769. Men's Linen or Crash Telescope Hat, in neat patterns and designs, as cut K1769, 50c and..... **.75** Boys' as above..... **.50**

K1770. This is the popular Land and Water Hat for men, boys or ladies, warranted fast in color, and the best quality. This Hat beats 'em all for any outing, colors, plain white, cardinal, and navy, or in splashed or mottled colors, as cut K1770. Special..... **.45**

K1771. Men's, Boys' and Ladies' Crusher Crown Summer Outing Hat, in plain white, tan or slate, drills, as cut K1771, 25c and..... **.35**

K1772. Men's and Boys' Crusher Hat, in fine linen drill, splendid hat for summer sports or outings, soft and light in weight, in plain white and tan colors, as cut K1772, 35c and..... **.50**

K1773. Fancy Silk Hat Bands, made so as to put on any hat, will hook on over ordinary hat band (as in illustration K1764). We carry a very large range of the best selling lines, in designs for clubs, college, class and fraternity colors, also plain black, brown and navy colors. (Cheer up, and wear a fancy Hat Band this coming season). Special Prices, 1½ inch wide, 25c; 1½ and 2 inches wide, 35c and **.50**

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Men's Stiff Hats



- K1775.** Men's Silk Hats, correct shapes for 1908, fine American make, well finished, as cut K1775, \$3.50 and..... **\$5.00**
- K1776.** Men's Silk Hats, Christy's famous English manufacture, best finish and fine quality, as cut K1776, \$5.00 and..... **\$7.50**
- K1777.** Men's Square Crown Stiff Hat, Christy's English make, special quality fur felt, black only, as cut K1777, \$2.00 and..... **\$2.50**
- K1778.** College Hat or Mortar Board, fine English make, as cut K1778, \$1.50 and..... **\$2.00**
- K1779.** Men's Stiff Hat, new style, large full crown and medium large brim, fine English fur felt, Christy's and King brand, color, black only, as cut K1779. Special, \$2.00, \$2.50 and **\$3.50**
- K1780.** Men's Derby or Stiff Hat, correct spring style, in Christy's famous English make, colors, black and the new brown, as cut K1780, \$2.00 and..... **\$2.50**
- K1781.** Men's Stiff Hat, half square crown, fine English fur felt, colors, black only, as cut K1781..... **\$2.00**
- K1782.** Men's and Youths' Stiff Hat, very dressy and up-to-date shape, Christy's, fine English make, colors, black and the new shade of fawn, as cut K1782, \$2.00 and..... **\$2.50**
- K1783.** Men's Stiff Hat, nobby style, light in weight and easy fitting, famous English makes and fine fur felt, black only, as cut K1783 **\$2.00**

- K1784.** Men's Stiff Hat, popular shape, fine English fur felt, and very new, black only, King brand, as cut K1784. Special..... **\$2.00**
- K1785.** Men's and Youths' Derby Hat, up-to-date shape, fine fur felt, famous King brand, black only, as cut K1785..... **\$2.00**
- K1786.** Men's Stiff Hat, a very popular style, extra fine quality fur felt, colors, black, brown, and fawn, as cut K1786..... **\$2.00**
- K1787.** Men's Stiff Hat, new shape, fine English fur felt, in King, Imperial, Victor and Gresham brands, black only, as cut K1787..... **\$2.00**
- K1788.** Men's and Youths' Derby Hat, up-to-date shape, in fine English make, light in weight, black only, as cut K1788..... **\$2.00**
- K1789.** Men's Stiff Hat, new spring style, fine English fur felt, colors, black and the new shade of brown, as cut K1789..... **\$2.00**
- K1790.** Men's and Youths' Stiff Hats, special quality English fur felt, black only, as cuts K1784, K1787, K1788..... **\$1.50**
- K1791.** Men's Stiff Hat, medium, large shape, full crown and curl brim, fine English fur felt, black only, as cut K1791..... **\$1.50**
- K1793.** Simpson's Special Fur Felt Stiff Hat, made from guaranteed pure English fur felt, special quality of leather sweats and pure silk bindings, black only, as cut K1793. Special Price..... **\$1.00**
- Also in styles as cuts K1781 and K1785. **\$1.00**

HAT SUNDRIES

- K1795.** Silk Elastic Cloth Mourning Armlets, for the coat sleeve, 2½ and 3 inches wide. **.25**
- K1796.** Mourning Bands for the Hat, in fine black cloth, 1½, 2, 2½ and 3 inches wide **.10**
- K1797.** Silk Hat Guards, for straw hats, plain or fancy ends, 5c and **.10**
- We carry a large range of fancy Silk Hat Bands in stock, made adjustable, so as to hook on. They are going to be very popular this season, get one and be in the swim. Prices, 25c, 35c, and..... **.50**

INSTRUCTIONS FOR HEAD MEASUREMENT

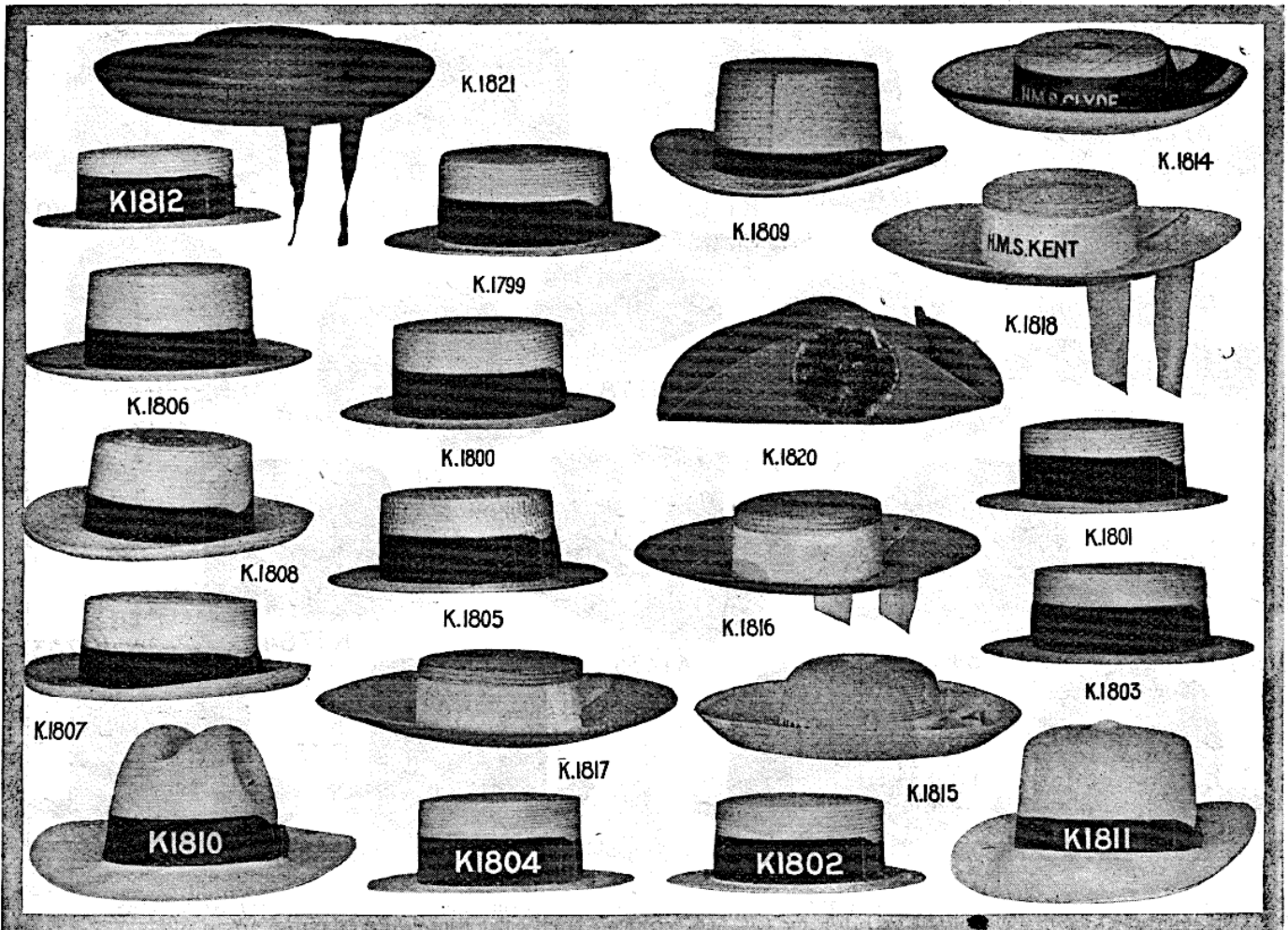
Measure the Head with a tape line at position where hat or cap is usually worn, and compare the inches with scale. This will give you correct size you want.

MEASUREMENT SCALE

Inches.	Sizes	Inches.	Sizes,
19	6	22¼	7
19¾	6½	22½	7½
19¾	6¾	23	7¾
20¼	6¾	23¾	7¾
20¾	6½	23¾	7½
21	6¾	24	7¾
21½	6¾	24½	7¾
21¾	6¾	25	7¾

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Men's Straw Hats



- K1799.** Men's Straw Boater Hat, in fine Canton and Shansi braids, black, silk bands, leather sweats, as cut K1799, 25c, 35c, 50c and. **.75**
- K1800.** Men's Straw Hat, new shape, fine quality American, split braids, black silk bands, as cut K1800, \$1.00 and..... **\$1.50**
- K1801.** Men's and Youths' Straw Boater, neat and dressy style, fine split braids, good finish, black silk bands, as cut K1801, \$1.00 and **\$1.50**
- K1802.** Men's and Youths' Nobby American Shape Straw Boater Hat, very fine quality, split braids, black silk bands, as cut K1802, \$2.00 and..... **\$2.50**
- K1803.** Men's Straw Boater Hat, medium, large shape, very fine split braids and best finish, black silk bands, as cut K1803, \$2.00 and **\$2.50**
- K1804.** Men's Large Shape Straw Boater Hat, latest style, fine quality, split braid, black silk bands, easy fitting, sweatbands, as cut K1804, \$2.00 and..... **\$2.50**
- K1805.** Men's Straw Boater Hat, fine quality, Sennit braids, clear, and even color, best finish, fine black silk bands, as cut K1805, 75c, \$1.00, \$1.50 and..... **\$2.00**
- K1806.** Men's Straw Hat, slight curl brim, medium high crown, in fine quality Canton and split braids, black, silk bands, as cut K1806, 75c, \$1.00, \$1.50 and..... **\$2.00**

- K1807.** Men's and Youths' Neglige Shape Straw Hat, much worn and popular style, in fine Canton, Shansi and split braids, black silk bands, as cut K1807, \$1.00, \$1.50 and. **\$2.00**
- K1808.** Men's Straw Hat, telescope crown, in Java and Manilla braids, black silk bands as cut K1808..... **\$1.50**
- K1809.** Men's Straw Hat, high crown, curl brim, in Java, Canton and split braids, black silk bands, \$1.00, \$1.50 and..... **\$2.00**
- K1810.** Men's Panama Hat, fedora shape, fine and close braid, fine leather sweats, black silk bands, as cut K1810, \$5.00 and.... **\$7.50**
- K1811.** Men's Panama Hat, high full crown, with heavy curl brim, pure black silk bands, and best leather sweatbands, as cut K1811, \$5.00, \$6.00 and..... **\$7.50**

Fancy Silk Hat Bands are going to be very popular, get one and tone up your hat, prices, 25c, 35c and..... **.50**

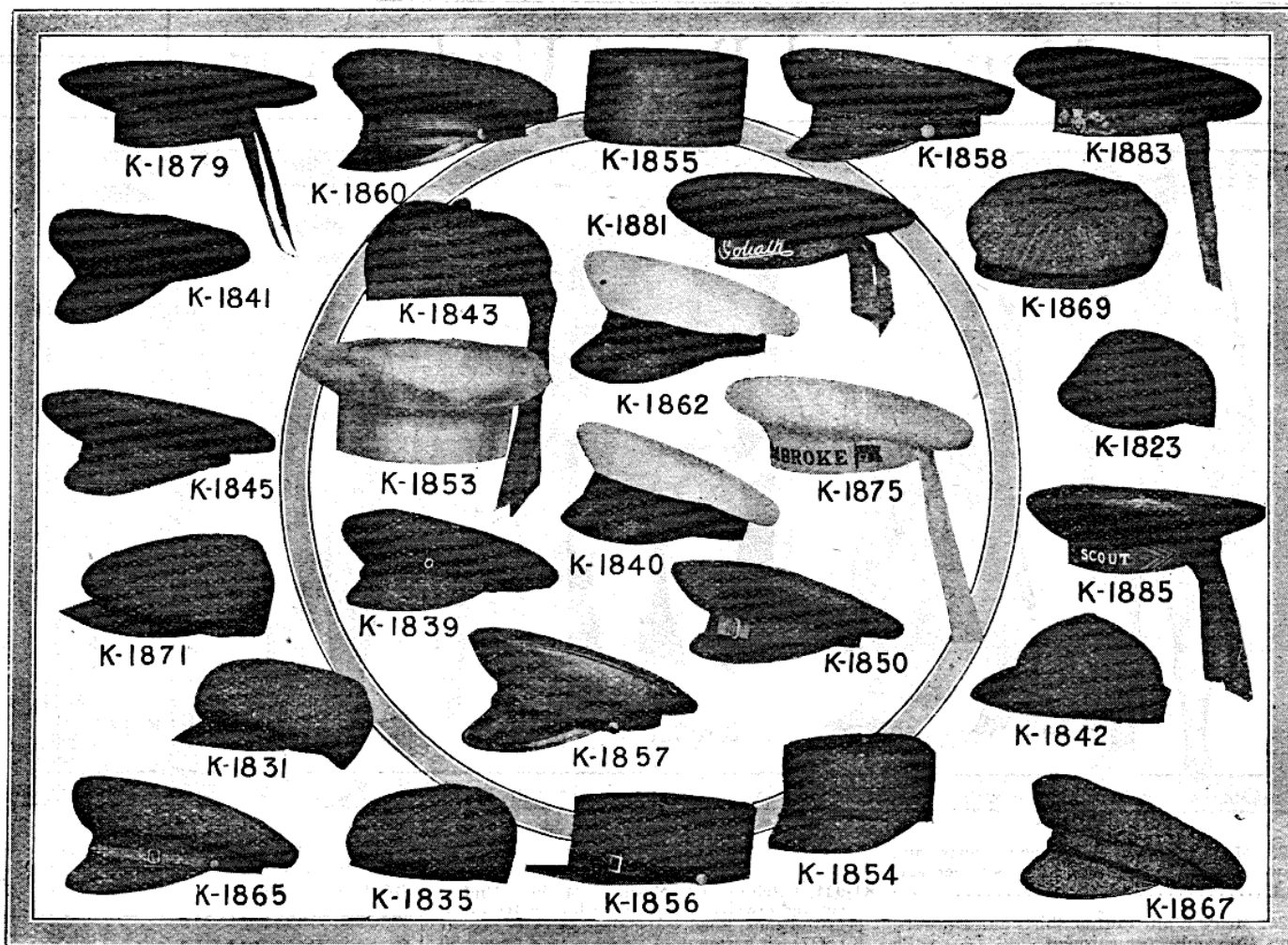
BOYS' STRAW HATS

- K1812.** Boys' Straw Boater Hat, fine Canton braids, black silk bands, as cut K1812, 25c, 35c, 50c and..... **.75**
- K1813.** Boys' and Youths' Boater Hat, in very fine American split braids, black silk bands, fine leather sweats, as cut K1812, \$1.00 and **\$1.50**

CHILD'S STRAW SAILOR HATS

- K1814.** Child's Jack Tar Style Straw Hat, in fine white Canton braids, named satin bands, as cut K1814, 50c, 75c, \$1.00 and..... **\$1.50**
- K1815.** Child's Straw Turban Style Hat, fine white Canton braids, white satin bands, as cut K1815, 75c and..... **\$1.00**
- K1816.** Child's Straw Sailor Hat, plain white Canton braids, satin bands, as cut K1816, 19c, 25c and..... **.35**
- K1817.** Child's Straw Sailor, very fine plain white Canton braids, fine satin bands, as cut K1817, 50c and..... **.75**
- K1818.** Child's Extra Fine Quality, plain white Canton braid, Straw Sailor, best satin bands, as cut K1818, \$1.00 and..... **\$1.50**
- K1819.** Child's Fine Plain White Canton Braid Straw Admiral, as cut K1820..... **.75**
Also same quality in plain white straw, Napoleon, at..... **.75**
- K1820.** Child's Fine Quality Felt Admiral, in navy, cardinal, green, and brown colors, as cut K1820..... **.75**
- K1821.** Child's Fine Quality Felt Sailor Hats, in navy, brown, green, and cardinal colors, as cut K1821..... **.75**
- K1822.** Men's and Boys' Harvest Straw Hats, in plain white Canton braids, at 10c and **.15**

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Boys' Caps

- K1823. Boys' or Girls' Varsity Shape Caps, in fine imported navy or black worsteds, fine finish, as cut K1823, 15c, 25c, 35c and.50
- K1824. Boys' or Girls' Varsity Cap, in black, white, brown, red, navy, cardinal, or green color felt cloth, lined or unlined, as cut K1823.25
- K1825. Boys' or Girls' Velvet Varsity Caps, black, navy, cardinal, green, and brown, as cut K1823.25
- K1826. Boys' or Girls' Varsity Cap, in fine grade black or navy beaver cloth, unlined, taped seams, as cut K1823, 35c and.50
- K1831. Boys' Hookdown or Golf-shape Cap, fine quality, new patterns imported tweeds, and navy or black worsted serges, as cut K1831. Special at 15c, 25c, 35c and.50
- K1835. Boys' Strap Crown Golf-shape Cap, in neat dressy tweeds, as cut K1835, 25c, 35c and.50
- K1836. Boys' Strap Crown Golf-shape Caps, in fine navy and black worsted serges, as cut K1835, 35c and.50
- K1839. Boys' Motor Yacht-shape Cap, in fine quality imported tweeds, or navy beaver cloth, as cut K1839, 35c and.50
- K1840. Boys' White Duck Yacht Cap, fine quality, black leather peak, and black braid band, as cut K1840, 25c, 35c and.50
- K1841. Boys' 6/4 Piece Crown Motor Yacht-shape Cap, in fine navy cloth, or latest patterns in spring tweeds, as cut K1841, 35c and.50
- K1842. Boys' Skidoo Cap, in black, navy, or brown felt, as cut K1842.50
- K1843. Boys' or Girls' Scotch or Glengarry Cap, best make, silk or leather bound, as cut K1843. Special at 25c, 35c, 50c, 75c and. \$1.00
- K1844. Boys' or Girls' Velvet Scotch Caps, fine quality, in tartan or plain silk bindings, as cut K1843.50

Ladies' Caps

- K1845. Ladies' or Misses' 8/4 Crown Motor Yacht-shape Cap, in fine beaver cloth, or velvets, self peak, colors, black, navy, brown, cardinal, or green, as cut K1845.50
- K1846. Ladies' or Misses' 8/4 Crown Yacht Cap, in fine cream color cloth or white drill, or pique, self peaks, as cut K1845.50
- K1850. Ladies' or Misses' Motor Yacht Cap, plain crown, self peak, in fine beaver cloth, or velvet, colors, black, brown, navy, green, or cardinal, as cut K1850.50
- K1851. Ladies' or Misses' Motor Yacht Cap, as cut K1850, in fine quality cream color cloth, or white drill, or pique, self peaks. Special .50

Men's Caps

- K1853. Chefs' or Bakers' Caps, fine quality white duck, as cut K1853.25
- K1854. Men's Office or Shop Caps, as cut K1854, in black silesia or white and tan duck, 10c; in black silk, 35c and.50
- K1855. Men's Black Silk Travelling or Office Cap, as cut K1855.50
- Same as cut K1855, in black velvet (smoking cap), nicely worked in silk, with large silk tassel, silk lined. \$1.50
- K1856. Uniform Cap, in fine navy beaver cloth, black leather peak, well finished, as cut K1856. \$1.00
- K1857. Automobile Yacht-shape Cap, in fine quality black leather, black shiny peaks, with or without green goggles, as cut K1857, \$1.50, \$2.00 and. \$2.50
- K1858. Men's Auto Yacht-shape Cap, in extra fine quality navy blue beaver cloth, also black leather, with glazed leather peaks, as cut K1858, 75c, \$1.00 and. \$1.50
- K1860. Men's Yacht-shape Cap, in fine navy beaver cloth, black leather peaks, as cut K1860, 25c, 35c and.50

- K1862. Men's White Duck Yacht-shape Cap, black leather peak, black braid bands, as cut K1862, 25c, 35c and.50
- K1865. Men's 8/4 Crown Motor Yacht Cap, in latest patterns, neat spring tweeds, or navy beaver cloth, as cut K1865, 35c and.50
- K1867. Men's Motor Yacht-shape Cap, plain crown, in newest spring tweeds, or navy beaver cloth, as cut K1867, 35c and.50
- K1869. Men's Strap Crown Golf-shape Cap, in large range of new and up-to-date tweeds, or in navy and black serges, as cut K1869, 50c75
- K1871. Men's Hookdown Golf-shape Cap, in fine imported worsted serges, in black or navy, also complete range of newest tweeds, as cut K1871, 15c, 25c, 35c, 50c and.75
- K1872. Men's Hookdown Cap, extra light weight, only one ounce, in extra fine quality imported tweeds, as cut K1871. \$1.00

Children's Tams

- K1875. Child's Cream Serge Tam, fine quality, also white duck, pique, drill, or linen crash, as cut K1875, 25c, 35c and.50
- K1876. Child's Fine Quality Cream, Cardinal or Scarlet Serge Tam, as cut K1875, 35c and.50
- K1879. Child's Tam, in fine navy or black beaver cloth, plain or named silk bands, as cut K1879, 25c, 35c and.50
- K1881. Child's Extra Fine Quality navy or black beaver cloth Tam, silk lined, plain or named bands, as cut K1881, 75c and. \$1.00
- K1883. Child's Velvet Tam, fine make, colors, black, navy, brown, cardinal or green, named bands, as cut K1883, 25c, 35c, 50c and.75
- K1884. Child's Velvet Corduroy Tam, fine quality, as cut K1883, colors, black; navy, brown, cardinal, or green, 50c and.75
- K1885. Child's Leather Tam, in russet, chocolate, or tan shades, as cut K1885, 75c and. \$1.00
- K1886. Undressed Leather Tam, as cut K1885. \$1.00

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