

From the Caudebec to the Borsalino: A Tribute to the Hat

Maria Teresa Zanola

pp. 433–447

Translator's note: This is an English translation of the article text, bibliography, and notes. French technical terms are retained in parentheses where a direct modern English trade equivalent would be uncertain. Titles of cited French works are generally left in French.

1. Introduction

1. Cap, tricorne, toque, little blue mountain beret, flat cap, boater, top hat, bowler: so many hats with which to cover oneself, identify oneself, and present oneself fashionably:

One could no doubt produce a curious and important work for history if one were able to collect and make known all the varieties of headgear that men of every age and in every part of the world have devised to defend their heads against the assaults of the weather, to adorn themselves, or to serve them as distinguishing marks [...]. But that is not my purpose: in this writing I propose only to record the materials employed and the different ways in which they are treated in making that kind of broad-brimmed cap which we call a hat, and which by itself constitutes the subject of a fairly extensive art, distinguished in commerce. (Nollet 1777: 230) ¹

2. In his treatise on the hatter's craft—one of the volumes of the *Descriptions des arts et métiers*, prepared and approved by the gentlemen of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris (see the plate relating to this trade)—Abbé Nollet sets out the plan of his work in the introduction from which we have just read an extract.

3. In 1865, Eugénie de Guérin emphasized the elegance and distinction of a gesture performed with a felt hat: “The Duke of Nemours passed beneath our windows, returning from the hunt. He greeted us with all the grace he could find in his grey felt hat. Very few could equal him in reply” (1865: 485). The model of that felt hat was the top hat. This is why, in March 1923, the magazine *Monsieur – Revue des élégances* published an article by Paul Sentenac (Sentenac 1923: 7–8) ² concerning the proper use of the hat: the soft felt hat no longer permitted gestures of courtesy; the top hat had to be restored if greater courtesy was to accompany daily life.

4. Among these hats, we shall limit ourselves to the history of the soft felt hat, whose name changes according to the shape of its brim and crown. We shall wander among these fashionable hats, from the felt hat known as the caudebec to the Borsalino felt hat, while at the same time taking a journey through the world of a trade—the hatter's trade—as well as

through the terminology and culture of the hat-making tradition, and the traces it has left in certain literary images.

2. The History of an Everyday Object: Caudebec, Fedora, and Borsalino—The History of Houses and Production

5. In the Middle Ages, the hatter's trade was divided into several branches, one of which was that of felt-hat makers; their first statutes date from the end of the reign of Saint Louis (see Étienne Boileau). ² Felt was required to be made from lamb's wool; from the fourteenth century onward, beaver was permitted, rabbit hair was used later, and by the eighteenth century even camel hair was employed.

6. Chazelles-sur-Lyon was one of the earliest centres of felt-hat making and was very well known for the production of hair felt hats. But we shall follow the history of felt hat-making through the history of another eponymous town, Caudebec in Normandy, as recounted by Georges Dubosc (1854–1927), ³ a Flaubert scholar from Normandy, member of the Academy of Rouen, and learned regional writer.

7. Tanning had long been established in Caudebec, whereas felt-hat making was a new industry that rapidly became prosperous. In Caudebec, making a hat was regarded as the masterpiece required under the 1578 statutes of the Paris hatters. At the end of the sixteenth century, the town produced, for women, the tall Cauchois headdresses ornamented with lace and barbe, and for men, the traditional cotton cap. This production was replaced by the caudebec, a rain hat made of lamb's wool or camel hair:

These fashions were first replaced in Normandy, and then throughout the country, by the felt hat manufactured at Caudebec, chiefly by Protestant masters and workers. Soon all the Huguenots wore the black Caudebec felt, adorned with a green feather, and through this small town in the Pays de Caux, all France subsequently wore the Caudebec hat. Louis XIV himself, over his majestic wig, sported a round black felt hat adorned with a long white feather. (Dubosc 1922: 2)

8. This was the height of the Caudebec hat industry, its commerce, and its widespread reputation. ⁴ The Cauchois hat attained such popularity, Dubosc recalls, that it is cited by Boileau in his "Epistle to Lamoignon," with this note in Boileau's own hand: "Caudebec, a kind of wool hat made in Normandy":

Pradon has brought out a book against you,

And at the hatter's on the corner of our square,

I read its preface around a caudebec.

(Ibid.)

9. Savary describes the caudebec in his *Dictionnaire du Commerce*: in its manufacture, “lamb’s wool, ploc, ostrich down, or camel hair were used. These [hats] took their name from the little town of Caudebec, where the first hats of this shape were made” (Savary des Bruslons 1748: 205). Dubosc corrects the composition thus described for the making of the caudebec, because although camel hair was used, being durable and lustrous, ostrich down was never used. ²

10. This manufacture—at Caudebec, La Rochelle, in the Dauphiné, and in Provence—was in Protestant hands. From the end of the seventeenth century, competition in the felt industry from Lyon, the Dauphiné, and Provence began to make itself felt at Caudebec. Above all, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes caused an exodus whose effects extended to the rapid disappearance of the hat-making industry:

A good number of the Reformed had first sent their wives or children abroad to spin, and then had their industrial equipment shipped through Paris, where customs officials did not look too closely. Then, with false passports, they obtained permission to embark for England or Holland, from which the Reformed could travel to Germany and especially Brandenburg [...].

Formerly, he says, a great number of hats were sent from these regions to Holland, throughout the North, and even to England, despite the prohibition against admitting them. But over the past ten or fifteen years, several hatters have gone abroad, where they established this manufacture; so that all the hats made at Caudebec, Rouen, or elsewhere are now consumed only within the kingdom. (Dubosc 1922: 4) ²

11. The list of hats available in the nineteenth century—and of felt hats—is long. Limiting ourselves to the top hat, which became the symbol of the seductive man, the man important in his recognized social role, and the scrupulous civil servant: every man acquired importance when he wore a top hat well. ²

12. It would be enough to follow the adaptations of this hat in caricature to understand the symbolic role it attained, even before reaching the emblematic hats of cinema, to which we shall return. Everyone has a hat; everyone has his own hat: a useful hat, a magician’s hat—it is the hat that makes the man.

13. Thus, as we have seen in the case of the caudebec, a hat takes its name from the town in which it is made or from the name of the factory brand. While French Second Empire fashion was triumphant and top hats reigned supreme, the story of the Borsalino hat opened a new path for headwear. The middle of the nineteenth century marked the end of

the artisanal period and of small workshops, as the mechanization of certain manufacturing stages reached hat-making (Bolomier 1996; Bolomier 2005).

14. The first Borsalino left the factory in Alessandria, south of Turin, on 4 April 1857, thanks to the enterprise of Giuseppe Borsalino (see Carrieri 1957: 75–87). A courtyard on Via Schiavina in Alessandria was Borsalino's first workshop in 1857; it then moved to a building on Via del Vescovado, and finally to the Corso Cento Cannoni factory in 1890, where it remained until the middle of the twentieth century.

15. Giuseppe Borsalino had learned the trade in Paris, at the Berteil establishment on Rue du Temple, which produced only luxury beaver-hair hats. But he had understood that, if the art of hat production was French, the art of marketing it was English. ¶ On 8 December 1856, Borsalino returned to Italy and upheld the principles of quality in this production through a hat whose felt was composed of rabbit or beaver hair. With these new materials, the head covering gained fineness and suppleness, and thus style, notably through the indentation at the top of its crown.

16. It appears that the origins of the Borsalino shape were linked to riots in which all participants wore bowlers and emerged from fights with their hats bent down and crushed by blows received on the head. Giuseppe Borsalino made this voga—as the depression in the hat was called—his distinguishing feature. Still unsatisfied with the shape of his hat, he refined it further and added two small dents, called bozze, which became the handholds used to lift the hat and put it back on. In this way, one could lift one's hat in greeting to a woman, in accordance with the elegance of manner advocated by Sentenac.

17. Hence the success of a hat that united practicality and elegance while preserving the importance of a form of production: the felt hat. This stroke of genius earned Borsalino a “Grand Prix” at the Paris Universal Exposition in 1909, and in 1911 a collaboration with Marcello Dudovich began for the creation of advertising posters. When its founder died in 1900, the Borsalino house produced nearly 750,000 hats a year, 450,000 of them for export. Between blowing, basting, shrinking, wetting, and fulling, a Borsalino felt hat passed through nearly seventy stages of manufacture, and most of the machines dated from the company's founding.

3. The Language of Hat Manufacture: Preserving a Craft

18. The history of felt-hat manufacturing in the nineteenth century allows us to trace the reasons behind a body of know-how that was above all French—born in France, partly emigrating to England following the flight of Huguenot craftsmen at the end of the seventeenth century, and then returning to France. We shall follow Dubosc's account, which lists the stages in felt-hat manufacture:

Before cutting and shaving the hair from rabbit, lamb, and hare skins, the hair first had to undergo secreting [secrétage]. This was one of the arcana, one of the mysteries, of hat-making. The hairs had little felting property, so this property was imparted by subjecting them to an infusion of marshmallow and comfrey; then, by a mysterious process—a secret brought from England by hat workers, which was none other than mercury-nitrate secreting—they were given this property still further. It was enough to rub the skins with boar-bristle brushes coated with the mercurial solution. After this preparation, women cut the hair with very sharp knives.

Then began bowing [arçonnage], an extraordinarily curious operation carried out with the bow [arçon], a kind of enormous bow several metres long, hung from the ceiling by a cord. The bowman moved this bow above the hair spread over a hurdle. He set the metal string of the bow vibrating above the cut hair, and through the vibration the hairs were mixed. Not just anyone could operate the bow. It was a task that required skill and dexterity.

With this first blend, a kind of coarse fabric was formed, called capades; these were rolled, kneaded, and worked by hand. Once the capades had been thus worked, they were felted by passing them over copper plates alternately heated and moistened with water. With four capades put together, one began to form ... the beginnings of a hat. It then went to the fulling process, in water heated in vats with wine lees. Then the hat was finally blocked over a wooden form, using a wooden tool, the choque; the brims were shaped. All the hats then passed into the drying room. There still remained dyeing; washing; a glue dressing; rubbing with pumice stone or seal skin, in the English manner, to give them lustre; then brim shaping, which curved the brims; and finally trimming with the hatband and a watered-silk lining. Sometimes they were given lustre with a hot iron, as Parisian hatters did at the time. (Dubosc 1922: 3)

19. The concern for preserving this art and trade—which had succeeded in transforming itself from a producer of luxury goods into a producer of fashion goods for everyone—appears in the purpose of the Roret manual series. ☐ It was designed to record knowledge and disseminate the achievements of the period to workers, manufacturers, producers, and scholars. A systematic analysis of the principles of work, together with an effort to deepen their understanding, made it possible to move beyond the domain reserved to masters and their acquired trade secrets, making an open system of training and learning increasingly accessible.

20. Julia de Fontenelle wrote the Roret manual devoted to hat-making, the *Manuel complet des fabricans de chapeaux en tous genres*, ☐ dividing the work into four parts. The first describes all materials used in hat-making; the second describes all felted hats and all operations required for their manufacture; the third surveys hats of silk, cotton, and

filamentary fabrics; and the fourth covers all types of straw hats (of wicker, wood, and so forth). It sets out the best manufacturing methods used in France and abroad for all these classes of hats, and illustrates the known invention patents in the different branches of hat-making. It emphasizes improvements to this production made possible by advances in chemistry, as well as the principal documentation coming from French and foreign technicians (Zanola 2012: 47–58). We read in the introduction:

Hat manufacturing is one of the branches of industry that most requires the application of advances in chemistry. This manufacture includes a multitude of varied operations, some of which require numerous improvements, both from the standpoint of the art and of workers' health. We shall confine ourselves to speaking of the operation known as secreting, which is carried out by means of mercury nitrate. This salt, as is known, is a powerful poison; the vapours and particles released from the hair are therefore very harmful to workers. Dyeing methods likewise fall far short of what might have been expected from the great advances made in chemical arts. It has in fact been shown that blacks are often obtained which, over time, turn bronze, brown, and even reddish. This serious disadvantage is generally attributed to iron sulphate, for which tartrate—and, better still, acetate—of that metal has been proposed as a substitute. The Society for the Encouragement of National Industry, whose vigilant eye is directed toward all branches of the chemical, economic, mechanical, and industrial arts that call for the benefits of science, has not failed to turn its attention to the various operations of hat-making, several of which have already been the subject of prizes it has offered. (Julia de Fontenelle 1830: V–VI)

21. The work concludes with a Vocabulary of the Principal Operations and Instruments Used in Hat Manufacture (pp. 227–241). We quote several of the entries, which show how the vocabulary is presented. They have been selected both from descriptions of the stages of felt working (appropriage, assorting, blocking, tying with cord, singeing, fulling, secreting) and from types of felt (semi-hair hats, bear-hair hats, plume hats, felt, so-called Flemish-hair felts, gilded felts, grainy felts, scaly felts, and feather felts):

Finishing hats (*Appropriage des chapeaux*). Hats that have reached the proper stage of manufacture have neither the sheen nor the softness that constitute their beauty. Those qualities are given to them by finishing. As for felts intended for headwear, they are simply passed under the iron or placed in a press in order to catir them, as is done with wool fabrics.

Assorting (*Assortiment*). To assort a hat is to place it on a form similar to the one it is to have, taking care to choose a form a little higher than the one used for blocking during fulling, so that the cord does not occupy the same place that it occupied during fulling,

thereby avoiding compressions in the felt that produce a kind of strangulation. In trade language this is called lowering the tie [baisser le lien].

Semi-hair hats (Chapeaux mi-poils). The term half-hair indicates that this dorure is superior to that of ordinary gilded felts and inferior to that of bear-hair hats. This quality therefore occupies a middle position between the other two. The two dorures applied to this felt are called, in trade language, the first and second applications.

Bear-hair hats (Chapeaux oursons). These hats have a more beautiful and longer dorure. The word ourson derives from the fact that, because of their nap, these hats are compared with bear skin, although their hair is far from being as long.

Plume hats (Chapeaux plumets). So-called plume hats, like edged hats and so forth, differ from bear-hair hats only in that they are given their dorure on one side only, or only on the brims, and so on.

Blocking (Dressage). This is putting hats on the form in order to give them the appropriate shape.

Tying with cord (Enficelage). After the hats have been partly placed on the proper forms and secured with a cord, they are plunged into a bath of pure boiling water to scour them and extract any cream of tartar the hair may contain. After they have been held for a few moments in the covered vat, they are removed and placed on tables similar to those used for fulling, with a rim at their lower end that carries water draining from the felts out of the workroom. The felt is then pulled over the form until it adheres well and shows no fold. Two turns of cord are then made around the middle of the form by means of a slipknot, moderately tightened.

Felts (Feutres). Materials used in hat manufacture which, through the process of building up [bâtissage], have been converted into a kind of fabric called felt.

So-called Flemish-hair felts (Feutres dits poils flamands). This name derives from the fact that this method of preparation was originally imported from factories in Flanders. This felt is most often made with pure hare hair and is brushed with a rubbing tool during fulling, which draws out a very long, smooth nap that constitutes its quality and is its chief beauty.

Gilded felts (Feutres dorés). The name gilded felts is given to those of ordinary or lower quality whose outer surface is covered with a thin layer of finer material or hair.

Grainy felts (Feutres grigneux). We have already explained what is meant by grigne; we add here that grainy felts are those which, after being squeezed and pressed between the fingers and slid horizontally one over the other, still present the roughness and grain that constitute grigne. This defect has two causes: first, the worker has given the felt too little

building-up in order to bring it more quickly to the desired dimension; second, a defect in the mixture has produced a fabric too weak to be built up further.

Scaly felts (*Feutres écaillés*). After manufacture, these felts, when pressed between the fingers as above, show points where the fabric has so little consistency that it is on the verge of coming unfelted; that is, the adhesion and interlacing of the nap resulting from building-up and fulling is about to cease [...].

Feather felts (*Feutres à plume*). So-called feather felts are a richer *dorure* for which the finest hare hair and beaver hair are used. In general, this *dorure* is applied only after the felt has been fullled. It differs from the process used for gilded felts in that several layers of hair, or *dorure*, are applied to feather felts.

Singeing (*Flambage*). Feather hats of every kind are singed before receiving the first application. For this purpose, when the worker has reduced the body to the size on which the application is to be placed, he drains it as much as possible with the roller and passes the surfaces that are to receive the applications over a fire of straw or shavings, in order to rid them of the hairs that cover them and would interfere with the insertion of the hairs that make up the feather finish. After this singeing, a light stroke with the rubbing tool is given to clean these surfaces thoroughly.

Fulling (*Foule*). After the building-up operation, the felt is far from having the consistency, strength, and solidity needed to ensure durability. These qualities are given by fulling, which drives the hairs into one another in every direction and thereby tightens the fabric, making it more compact, much stronger, or, in trade language, more substantial. As the hairs take on this new arrangement, they occupy less space than before; the fabric therefore shrinks in every direction. Thus, on leaving the building-up operation, the felt must have one-third more, or twice, the area it will have after fulling. This renewed felting is always carried out hot by means of certain agents that increase the felting quality of the materials, although this new mode of action has not yet been chemically determined.

Secreting (*Sécrétage*). Secreting is an operation performed on hairs to increase their felting property. At first, a decoction of marshmallow root and *symphytum*, or comfrey, was used in France for this purpose, but with little success. Around 1730, a hat worker named Mathieu brought from England the process of secreting skins by means of mercury nitrate.

22. Jules Verne also describes the operations involved in preparing felt when Cyrus Smith undertakes the fulling of wool to make “warm and sturdy clothing” (Verne 2010: 222). Thus, on Lincoln Island, good clothing is produced for settlers who will survive the fictional winter without fear:

It goes without saying that, having neither carding machines, combing machines, smoothing machines, drawing frames, twisting machines, mule-jennies, self-acting machines for spinning wool, nor a loom for weaving it, Cyrus Smith had to proceed in a simpler manner so as to dispense with spinning and weaving. In fact, he simply intended to make use of the property wool fibres possess when pressed in every direction: they become interlaced and, through their simple entanglement, form the fabric called felt. This felt could therefore be obtained by simple fulling, an operation which, if it diminishes the suppleness of the fabric, notably increases its heat-retaining properties. The wool supplied by the mouflons was made of very short fibres, and that is a favourable condition for felting. [...] It was “Lincoln felt,” and Lincoln Island had one more industry. (pp. 222–223)

4. The Felt Hat in Film and Literature

23. Felt hat or caudebec: this is the model we find in Cyrano’s dress when Ragueneau, the pastry cook and poetry lover, describes him for the first time (emphasis in the original):

Certainly, I do not think that solemn Monsieur Philippe de Champaigne

Would ever paint him;

But strange, excessive, extravagant, grotesque,

He would, I think, have supplied the late Jacques Callot

With the maddest swordsman to place among his masks—

A felt hat with triple plume and a doublet with six skirts,

A cloak which, from behind, the sword

Lifts with pomp like an insolent cock’s tail,

Prouder than all the Artabans of whom Gascony

Was and always will be the generous Mother Gigogne,

He strides about in his Pulcinella ruff,

A nose! ... Ah, gentlemen, what a nose! ...

(Cyrano de Bergerac, I.2, Rostand 1999: 14–15)

24. Although the Caudebec now remains in a museum and felt models have varied since then, we have seen how greatly felt in Borsalino models influenced what followed.

25. Borsalino gave its name to its creation, and its fame has appeared under several names. It was also called a fedora from 1882 onward, after a play by Victorien Sardou in

which Sarah Bernhardt performed. The actress played Princess Fedora, who wore a hat of the Borsalino type. The term entered usage in 1891, and women's fashion used it until the first half of the twentieth century. Fedora is also the English name for the borsalino: the difference lies in the brims, which are wider on the fedora than on the borsalino, as can be seen in the film *The Great Gatsby* (1974). Indiana Jones is never without his brown fedora, which rose from the status of an accessory to that of a cult object.

26. To identify each model, the Borsalino house uses three qualities of its creation: the Q.S. model (*qualité supérieure*, "superior quality")—the anniversary hats belong to this category (for example, Virgilio and Giuseppe, named for the founder); Vivax (unshorn felt, distributed in Germany); Icaro (a lighter felt with very careful finishing); Guanaco; then Alessandria (Alessandria quality); and finally Marengo (Marengo quality). But the most important gallery of Borsalino models remains that of the films in which the Borsalino played a leading role: Bogart in *Casablanca*, Delon in Jacques Deray's eponymous 1970 film, to mention only a few.

27. Hemingway and Fellini were fans of Borsalinos; Al Capone and his associates made them their signature; even Michael Jackson wore a Borsalino in 1983. The Borsalino alone is capable of turning its wearer into an extraordinary adventurer or a dandified rogue, playing a major role in the public imagination.

5. Conclusion

28. René Bizet, editor of the magazine *Monsieur*, insisting on the integrity of Parisian men's fashion, was pleased to observe that bowlers were rare and did not compete with the distinctive elegance of the top hat. ☐ It was this same magazine that began, from 1921 onward, to introduce borsalinos and fedoras into its cover illustrations, promoting the image of a man who was elegant and athletic at once.

29. Diderot clearly understood that the hat keeps the secret thoughts of the person who chooses and wears it. His tale *Mystification ou Histoire des portraits*—written in 1768, unpublished until 1954, when it was issued by *Éditeurs Français Réunis* with a preface by Yves Benot and illustrations by Picasso—tells the story of Prince Galitsine. On the day after his marriage, he asks the storyteller Diderot to help him recover compromising portraits given to his former mistress, Mlle Dornet, an opera dancer of Diderot's time. Mlle Dornet expresses her anxiety by stressing that her most hidden thoughts remain only between herself and her bonnet, in this intimate bond of possession between headwear and its wearer, to such an extent that the head covering becomes personified and acts according to its own decisions and whims:

Diderot — It has a fine game of it. And what has it taught you, shown you, that is so incomprehensible and frightening?

Mademoiselle Dornet — The depths of my heart; my most unknown actions, my most secret thoughts, what no one knows but my bonnet and I.

Diderot — It must have conversed with your bonnet, which was not discreet.

30. This hat, which has become a character, is identified by proper names that remain hidden within the production of the house, while more generic terms spread through everyday fashion. Although the most common felt headwear includes the cap, chapka, cloche, fedora, felt hat, and bowler, one must not forget the felt beret, the cap, the peaked cap, and the top hat. But after celebrating the hat's 150th anniversary in 2007, the Borsalino came back into fashion ...

Bibliography

Boileau, E. 1879. *Le livre des métiers*. Edited by R. de Lespinasse and F. Bonnardot. Paris: Imprimerie nationale. (Original work 1268.)

Bolomier, E. 1996. *Le chapeau, grand art et savoir-faire*. Paris: Somogy.

Bolomier, E. 2005. *Du poil de lapin au chapeau de feutre, la chapellerie à Chazelles-sur-Lyon*. Chazelles-sur-Lyon: Atelier-Musée du Chapeau.

Carrieri, M.; Trevisani, G.; et al. 1957. *Omaggio al cappello 1857–1957*. Milan: Arti Grafiche A. Pizzi.

Corneille, T. 1708. *Dictionnaire universel géographique et historique*. 3 vols. Paris: Coignard.

Dubosc, G. 1922. "Les 'Caudebecs' de Caudebec." *Journal de Rouen*, 3 July 1922, pp. 1–5.

Guérin, E. de. 1865. *Lettres (1841–1847)*. Paris: Lecoffre.

Julia de Fontenelle, J.-S.-E. 1830. *Manuel complet des fabricans de chapeaux en tous genres*. Paris: Librairie Encyclopédique de Roret.

Muller, F. 1993. *Les chapeaux: une histoire de tête*. Paris: Syros.

Nollet, J.-A. 1765. *L'art de faire des chapeaux*. Paris: n.p. (Description des arts et métiers).

Nollet, J.-A. 1777. "L'art de faire les chapeaux." In *Descriptions des arts et métiers*, vol. 7. Neuchâtel: Imprimerie de l'art typographique.

Rostand, E. 1999. *Cyrano de Bergerac*. Paris: Gallimard. (Original work 1897.)

Savary des Bruslons, J. 1748. Dictionnaire universel du commerce, vol. 2. Paris: Estienne.

Sentenac, P. 1923. "De l'influence du chapeau sur la politesse." *Monsieur – Revue des élégances, des bonnes manières et de tout ce qui intéresse Monsieur* 39: 7–8.

Terras, L. 1982. *L'histoire du chapeau*. Paris: Damase.

Verne, J. 2010. *L'île mystérieuse*. Paris: Hachette. (Original work 1875.)

Zanola, M. T. 2010. "Histoire des sciences et des techniques, histoire des dictionnaires: quelques réflexions." *Les Cahiers du dictionnaire* 2: 37–52.

Zanola, M. T. 2012. "Ordre et désordre dans le dictionnaire technique." In G. Dotoli and P. Ligas, eds., *Ordre et désordre dans le dictionnaire*. Paris: Hermann.

Zanola, M. T. 2014. *Arts et métiers au XVIIIe siècle. Essais de terminologie diachronique*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Notes

1. This volume includes descriptions of several trades, among them the art of drapery by Duhamel du Monceau and the art of pin-making by Réaumur.

2. The magazine *Monsieur – Revue des élégances, des bonnes manières et de tout ce qui intéresse Monsieur*, founded in Paris in December 1919 by Jacques Hébertot and Paul Poiret, was one of the first periodicals devoted exclusively to men's fashion in the Art Deco era.

3. Louis IX entrusted Étienne Boileau, provost of Paris, with listing the capital's various trades and codifying their regulations and usages; see his work (1879).

4. Dubosc (1922).

5. In his *Dictionnaire universel géographique et historique*, after describing the small town, Thomas Corneille recalls the manufacture of Caudebec hats, "highly esteemed," he said in 1704, "because they resist rain" (1708, vol. 1, p. 575). These were qualities also recognized in England and France, where they were used by troops as rain hats.

6. "Abbé Nollet, in his *Art du Chapelier*, is categorical on this point and explains that ostrich down had been confused with remnants of Austrian wools" (Dubosc 1922: 2). This refers to Jean-Antoine Nollet's *L'art de faire les chapeaux* (1777).

7. "The manufacturers of Caudebec also tried to establish trade in their hats in Portugal. As early as about 1672, the Portuguese had drawn hat workers to Lisbon on the advice of the French consul Desgranges; but Colbert advised against establishing these manufactories

as unsuitable to the climate, and a certain Tesson, who had been charged with setting them up, had to be re-embarked.” Further on: “In summary, according to a memorandum of 1720, the cause of the decline in hat manufacture was not exclusively the departure of the Protestants. Above all, it was competition from the factories of Rouen, Paris, Bolbec, and Le Havre, where hats were made and sold under the name ‘Caudebecs,’ although they were less substantial than those of the true manufacture of that town and, moreover, had more dressing, which is a considerable and essential defect” (Dubosc 1922: 5).

8. For further study of hat history, see also Terras (1982) and Muller (1993).

9. As for its diffusion, new machines replaced the traditional bow with the mechanical bow machines of Denton, Stockport, and Manchester. It should be recalled that Borsalino opened its production to export on four continents, especially in Australia and the United States.

10. This series met both the challenge of describing the state of knowledge in industrial, commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural civilization and that of providing an indispensable source of terminological documentation. In most cases, these works end with a complete glossary of the subject treated, with terms followed by their definitions (see Zanola 2010).

11. Jean-Sébastien-Eugène Julia de Fontenelle (1780–1842), professor of chemistry at the Paris School of Medicine, wrote twenty-two Roret manuals between 1826 and 1841, devoted to the technological description of industrial arts. He sought to solve problems of technical education and renew the means of transmitting practical know-how. In 1830 he published *Manuel complet des fabricans de chapeaux en tous genres, tels que feutres divers, schakos, chapeaux de soie, de coton et autres étoffes filamenteuses, chapeaux de plumes, de cuir, de paille, de bois, d’osier, etc., mis au niveau des progrès des arts chimiques, et enrichi de tous les brevets d’invention qui ont été pris sur la fabrication des chapeaux*, with the Librairie Encyclopédique de Roret (Julia de Fontenelle 1830).

12. See *Monsieur – Revue des élégances*, no. 18, June 1921, p. 2.

Author

Maria Teresa Zanola

Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano

Source text: Maria Teresa Zanola, “Le feutre, du Caudebec au Borsalino: hommage au chapeau,” pp. 433–447. Text use indicated in the source as CC BY-SA 4.0.